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Contested Vernacular Readings, c. 800–830 CE: The Satō-bon *Kegon mongi* *yōketsu* and the *Tōdaiji fujumonkō*

Abstract: This ninth-century scroll, now destroyed in war, contained on either side the graphic record of strategies of writing, reading and interpretation between languages. On one side, the *Tōdaiji fujumonkō* text shows the *katakana* syllabary originally designed for glossing Chinese used for the first attested time to write Japanese in combination with Chinese characters; on the other side, the *Kegon mongi yōketsu* manuscript bears witness to the technique of ‘vernacular glossing’, enabling Chinese text written by a Korean cleric to be read in what can be argued to be either Korean or Japanese.

1 Introduction

Among the more than 170,000 buildings destroyed in the United States B-29 raid on Tokyo on April 13–14, 1945 was the residence of Baron Satō Tatsujirō 佐藤達次郎, director of Juntendō Hospital. Incinerated together with Baron Satō’s personal library was a scroll designated in May 1938 as a National Treasure (*kokuhō* 国宝) with the description ‘Paper document inscribed in ink, the *Kegon mongi yōketsu* fascicle 1, one scroll; on the reverse side of the paper is the *Tōdaiji fujumon* manuscript’.¹ Satō’s adoptive father Satō Susumu 佐藤進 had acquired the scroll from the 75th abbot of Chion’in temple in Kyoto, Ugai Tetsujō 養鷗徹定, an early historian of Buddhism in Japan and a noted antiquarian. In 1939 Satō had a two-colour collotype reproduction made in a limited edition. Each side of the original was reproduced as a separate scroll. The reproduction was accompanied by a booklet² containing a preface by Satō, an exegesis by the prominent linguist and historian of Japanese, Yamada Yoshio 山田孝雄, and a transcription of what has come to be known as the *Tōdaiji fujumonkō* (東大寺 諷誦文稿) by Tayama Nobuo 田山信郎, member of the Committee for Preservation of Cultural Assets.³

1 Tsukishima 2001, 5. 紙本墨書華嚴文義要決卷第一一巻 紙背ニ東大寺諷誦文草本アリ。

2 Satō 1939.

3 English translation of the title *Tōdaiji fujumonkō* is a vexed matter. Miller 1986, 231 excoriates Habein 1984 for translating the title as ‘The Draft for the Recitation of the Sutra for Tōdaiji

2 Adaptations of Chinese writing

Sinoxenic writing, developed by speakers of the languages around the periphery of the Chinese-speaking cultural sphere using the graphic resources of Chinese writing, is by its very nature a form of writing between languages. Graphic adaptations of Chinese characters were developed by speakers of Japanese, Khitan (Mongolic), Korean, Tangut (Tibeto-Burman), Vietnamese, and Zhuang (Tai) to write their own languages. The *Tōdaiji fujumonkō* is the earliest example of the *katakana* syllabary, a Japanese graphic adaptation, being used to write an extended Japanese text. *Katakana*, like their Korean counterpart *kugyōl* (口訣) graphs, were developed from abbreviated Chinese characters as phonogram glosses for Chinese texts. In the *Tōdaiji fujumonkō* they are used for the first time not to gloss Chinese but to write Japanese.

The *Kegon mongi yōketsu* manuscript on the recto side of the Satō scroll exemplifies another way of adapting sinography, the technique that we might call ‘reading adaptation’. We now know that most of the non-Sinitic peoples who used Chinese writing practised ‘vernacular reading’: the custom of writing, or copying, a text in Chinese, but reading it in their own vernacular language.⁴ The Japanese term for this practice is *kundoku* (訓読), while the term for the reading glosses is *kunten* (訓点), translated by Whitman et al. as ‘vernacular glossing’.⁵ The author, or compiler, of the recto side text was the Korean cleric P’yowŏn. The first line of the manuscript associates him with Hwangyongsa, the major temple in Kyōngju, the capital of Silla (皇龍寺表員集; see Fig. 1). The text, Korean *Hwaŏm munŭi yogyōl mundap* (華嚴文義要決問答) ‘Questions and answers on the essentials of the textual meaning of *Avatamsaka*’, is one of the oldest surviving

Temple’, but does not suggest a translation himself. Miller characterizes the text as ‘the unique interpolated palimpsest that preserves fragments from a number of different early Buddhist homilies and sacramentaries’, but the manuscript is neither interpolated nor a palimpsest. Ono 1970, 44 translates it as ‘Homilies of the Tōdaiji Temple’, but (as Miller points out) the connection with Tōdaiji is speculative. Morse 2007’s ‘Text of Buddhist Recitations from Tōdaiji’ faces the same difficulty. The title *Tōdaiji fuju mon* ‘Tōdaiji recitation text’ is used by Satō and Yamada 1939, while (as Miller notes) Nakada 1969, 179 adds a parenthetical *kō* 稿 ‘draft’ to the title in his list of precious books originally in Ugai’s possession. The standard title might simply be translated as *Tōdaiji recitation draft text* or *Tōdaiji recitation draft*.

⁴ See Imre Galambos’ contribution to this collection for an example of vernacular reading of Chinese in Uighur.

⁵ Whitman et al. 2010, 77. On *kunten* glossing, see Seely 1991, 62–70, 91–95; Lurie 2011, 184, 202, 210, 332, 396n4.19, 415n7.2; and Whitman 2011, 103–112.

Korean liturgical texts.⁶ It is written entirely in Chinese. The reason we know that this text was read in the vernacular is that the Satō manuscript is inscribed with punctuation, inversion marks, and morphosyntactic glosses, yellow ochre in the original manuscript and vermillion in the 1939 collotype. The punctuation might be useful for a Chinese reader, but the inversion marks convert the Chinese verb-object word order in the text to the object-verb order of Korean or Japanese, and the morphosyntactic glosses flag Japanese or Korean particles and affixes. There are no phonographic (sound) glosses in the *Yōketsu/Yogyōl*, or any kind of writing that is specifically Korean or Japanese. As far as current scholarship can determine, the text could have been read in Japanese, or Korean, or both. And a Chinese reader could have read it in Chinese, although it is unlikely that any ever did.

It is for these reasons that the Satō scroll, an object that no longer exists except in the form of its collotype copies, is a meaningful addition to the present collection of papers. The two manuscripts on the scroll exemplify the two ways in which Chinese writing was adapted by neighbouring peoples to write their own languages. More important, these adaptations, as they are attested in the Satō scroll, call into question the basic assumption of a fixed relationship between written and spoken language, the assumption that characterizes much Western thinking about texts. It is customary to describe a text as ‘written in language X’, or perhaps ‘a mixture of X and Y’, as if the correspondence between written form and spoken language were transparent and fixed. But in the case of the copyist and glossator of the Satō-bon *Yōketsu/Yogyōl* manuscript, we do not know in which language he (for he was likely a man) intended the glossed text to be read. He almost certainly spoke little or no Chinese, and probably little or no Korean. He may have copied glosses in the text just because they were there in the original brought from Korea, or (just as likely) because the glosses were helpful for reading the text in Japanese due to the syntactic similarity of Korean and Japanese. In what follows I give a brief description of the glossing system used in the Satō *Yogyōl* manuscript and the adaptations of sinographic glossing in the *Tōdaiji fujumonkō*.

6 Translation of the title here follows McBride 2012, 73. McBride, following Korean scholarship, refers to the text as the *Hwaōm-gyōng munūi yogyōl mundap* (華嚴經文義要決問答) ‘Questions and answers on the essentials of the textual meaning of Avatamsaka Sūtra’. The character 經 ‘sūtra’ is absent in the Satō-bon and Enryakuji-bon titles. *Mundap/mondō* (問答) ‘questions and answers, dialogue’ is present in the Satō-bon manuscript (see Fig. 1), but circled in black ink. It is omitted in the 1938 National Treasure designation and Satō’s title for the text, and perhaps for that reason is typically omitted in citations of the title by Japanese scholars. I refer to the text as the *Yōketsu/Yogyōl*, an abbreviation of the Japanese and Korean titles.

3 The manuscripts

Satō himself writes that he was inspired by the expressions of filial piety in the *Tōdaiji fujumon* to publish the reproduction in memory of his distinguished forebears, founders of Juntendō Hospital in Tokyo, but his preface makes clear that he was aware of the broader historical importance of this text.⁷ Nakata describes the excitement surrounding its discovery among *kokugogakusha* (scholars of Japanese language) in the 1930s.⁸ The *Tōdaiji fujumonkō* contains the first manuscript examples of *kanji kana majiribun* (漢字仮名混じり文) ‘mixed *kanji* and *kana* writing’, where Chinese characters are used to write content morphemes and *katakana* phonograms are used to write Japanese particles and suffixes. Since modern Japanese writing is based on this principle, the *Tōdaiji fujumonkō* is well known among scholars and students of the language as the earliest exemplar of this aspect of Japanese writing.

Satō refers to the scroll in his possession as the *Kegon mongi yōketsu* (華嚴文義要決).⁹ The description of the National Treasure cited by Tsukishima also designates the scroll by the title of this text.¹⁰ The original scroll was made up of 18 attached sheets of mulberry paper (*kōzo* 楮 *Broussonetia papyrifera*), not all of equal size, measuring in total approximately 26.6 by 917 cm according to Yamada.¹¹ There is no dispute that it was created to inscribe a copy of P’yowŏn’s *Hwaŏm(-gyōng) munŭi yogyōl mundap*. The *Yōketsu/Yogyōl* is written in the Chinese style of Buddhist commentaries of the period. The *Tōdaiji fujumonkō* was written on the reverse of the scroll at a later date, estimated to be about 30 years later, in a less formal fashion. The focus of Japanese scholarship has been on the latter text; thus Yamada reverses the order of primary and secondary text in the title to his introduction *Tōdaiji fujumon narabi ni Kegon mongi yōketsu kaidai* (東大寺諷誦文并華嚴文義要決解題) ‘Exegesis of the *Tōdaiji fujumon* together with the *Kegon mongi yōketsu*’.¹² Later scholars have only the haziest of notions of the text on the recto side of the scroll: Miller simply makes it up when

⁷ Satō 1939, 1–2.

⁸ Nakata 1969, 1.

⁹ Satō 1939, 1.

¹⁰ Tsukishima 2001, 5. Satō correctly cites the last character in the title as 決. This less common variant of the character 決 is clearly visible in the reproduction of the Satō-bon manuscript. Subsequent Japanese and Korean scholarship uses the standard variant 決.

¹¹ Yamada 1939, 15.

¹² Yamada 1939, 3.

he describes the *Yōketsu/Yogyōl* as ‘several canonical texts written on the reverse of the scroll’.¹³

The focus of Korean scholarship is exactly the opposite, for the author of the *Yogyōl* was a Korean. P’yowŏn’s text is a compilation of citations and original passages, addressing fundamental questions such as where and when the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* was first preached, the location and timing of the earliest Buddhist assemblies, and doctrinal issues such as the meaning of the six characteristics (六相義) and the analogy of ten coins (數十錢喻). P’yowŏn’s own identity is uncertain. Earlier Korean scholarship identified him with the Sillan cleric P’yohun (表訓), a disciple of Ŭisang (義湘), the founder of Korean Hwaŏm (華嚴 Huayan) Buddhism, but the content of the text makes it clear that P’yowŏn was a follower of Wŏnhyo (元曉), a more syncretic but highly influential contemporary of Ŭisang.¹⁴

Manuscript texts from this period of Korean Buddhism are exceedingly rare. The five manuscript copies of the *Hwaŏm munŭi yogyōl mundap* survive only in Japan. The oldest of these are the Satō-bon manuscript, which contains only the first of a total of four fascicles, and the Enryakuji-bon (延暦寺本) manuscript, which contains the first two. The Satō-bon is undated, but the Enryakuji-bon has colophons in black ink at the end of both fascicles which identify the date of copying as Enryaku 18 (799 CE).¹⁵ The Enryakuji-bon is punctuated in yellow ink, and the first fascicle has an additional colophon in the same ink indicating that a certain Chi’en (智圓) punctuated the text on hearing it read aloud.¹⁶ Yamada, who saw both originals, observes that the format and appearance of both manuscripts is essentially identical, aside from the titles, and Nakada adds that the

¹³ Miller 1980, 781.

¹⁴ Kim 1996, 3.

¹⁵ Yamada 1939, 15; Nakada 1969, 192. Both Yamada and Nakada point out that the title of the two manuscripts differs, but the style of punctuation is identical. The title of the Enryakuji manuscript is the *Kegon yōgi mondō* (華嚴要義問答 *Questions and answers on the essential meaning of the Avatamsaka*).

¹⁶ 同年廿一年十月間智圓 (Nakada 1969, 192). Nakada points out that Yamada (1939, 15) misreads 聞 ‘hear’ as 閱 ‘review, proof-read’. The inference is that the text was punctuated by a scribe who listened to it read aloud. Nakada comments that the Enryakuji-bon is the second-oldest punctuated manuscript in Japan after the Daitōkyū Kinen Library manuscript of the *Kegonkyō kanjōki* (華嚴經刊定記) fascicle 5. As Nakada notes, both are Kegon (Huayan) texts. As Kobayashi (2008, 3–5) points out, the *Kegonkyō kanjōki* also has a strong Silla connection. It is cited in the *Hwaŏm munŭi yogyōl mundap*; the Daitōkyū Kinen Library manuscript has punctuation and inversion marks that resemble those in the Satō-bon *Hwaŏm munŭi yogyōl mundap*, and one of the colophons in the Daitōkyū Kinen Library manuscript refers to correcting it against the Silla original at Tōdaiji in 783 CE (延暦二年十一月廿三日於東大寺與新羅正本自校勘).

style of punctuation is the same. Both authors conclude that the Satō-bon *Yōketsu/Yogyōl* was also copied in or around the year 799.

The *Yogyōl* first came to the attention of Korean Buddhist scholars through its publication in the *Shinsan dai Nihon zokuzōkyō* (新纂大日本続藏經, Kawamura 1975–1989),¹⁷ which published a version based on a manuscript in the Kyoto University library. This version was republished *in toto* in the *Hang'uk Pulgyo Chōnsō* (韓國佛教全書, P'yōnch'an Wiwōnhoe 1979–2004).¹⁸ With the publication of Korean (Kim and Kim 1998) and English (McBride 2012) translations, the *Yogyōl* has assumed the status of a canonical text of early Korean Buddhism. Black and white photographic and print editions of the *Tōdaiji fuju monkō* were published by Nakata in 1969 and Tsukishima in 2001.¹⁹ Tsukishima also includes a photographic reproduction of the *Yōketsu/Yogyōl*. In both cases photographic reproductions are taken from the 1939 collotype. As far as I am aware no photographs of the original scroll survive, although it must have been photographed to produce the collotype reproduction.

So there we have it: two texts sharing opposite sides of the same scroll by circumstance, separated into two scrolls by mid-twentieth-century mechanical reproduction and sundered completely by a mid-twentieth-century war. Both have canonical status in the nations that claim them, and there would be no further reason to consider them together except for an additional historical accident that brings into focus the contradictions in our assumptions about script, reading, and linguistic identity.

4 The glosses in the *Kegon mongi yōketsu* / *Hwaōm munŭi yogyōl mundap*

In 2000 the Japanese *kunten* scholar Kobayashi Yoshinori was invited to view a tenth-century xylograph, the Chin-bōn (晉本) *Hwaōm-gyōng* (*Avataṃsaka Sūtra* 華嚴經) in the collection of the Seong'am Museum in Seoul.²⁰ Kobayashi is the leading specialist on Japanese *kakuhitsu* 角筆 drypoint or scratch glossing.

¹⁷ Vol. 8, 1978.

¹⁸ Vol. 3, 1982.

¹⁹ Nakata 1969; Tsukishima 2001.

²⁰ This document is among the earliest of Korean xylographs; judging from the shape of the characters and the paper, the date of printing precedes the first edition of the *Tripitaka Koreana* (1011–1087 CE), suggesting that it is a tenth-century text. The xylograph is said to be based on a Silla dynasty manuscript of this sutra.

Kobayashi noticed that the Chin-bŏn *Hwaŏm-gyŏng* contained drypoint glosses. The drypoint marks include punctuation, inversion glosses (which indicate that two or more characters are to be read in inverted order), and the type of morphosyntactic gloss known in Japanese as *okototen* (ヲコト点), and in Korean as *chŏmt'o* (點吐). This type of gloss indicates, by the placement of a dot or other mark around the character that is glossed, dependent elements such as case particles and postpositions or verbal suffixes that are absent in the Chinese text but required to properly read it in Korean or Japanese. Drypoint glosses, inscribed with a stylus, are often difficult to discern (see Fig. 2), a common challenge for glossing specialists east and west, but Kobayashi availed himself of a specially devised viewing device of his own design called a *kakuhitsu-sukōpu*, a ‘drypoint-scope’, which shines light on the inscribed surface from adjustable angles. Kobayashi was able not only to see but to interpret the glosses, although he knew almost no Korean, based on the morphosyntactic similarity of Japanese and Korean. He noticed something else: the scheme of placement of the morphosyntactic glosses in the Chin-bŏn *Hwaŏm-gyŏng* xylograph closely resembled the glossing scheme in the early Heian period glossed manuscript that he knew as the Satō-bon *Kegon mongi yōketsu*. Fig. 3 shows the *chŏmt'o* (點吐) morphosyntactic gloss scheme in a slightly later but more thoroughly glossed Korean xylograph of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, the Chu-bon *Hwaŏm-gyŏng*.²¹ Fig. 4 shows the morphosyntactic glossing scheme in the *Yōketsu/Yogyŏl*, based on Kobayashi.²² The two schemes are almost identical. Proceeding clockwise from the upper left-hand corner, the order of glosses is as follows: Comitative/Noun coordination, Locative, Genitive, Copula/Declarative, Gerund/Verb coordination, Accusative/Object marker. The *Yōketsu/Yogyŏl* scheme is simpler, lacking counterparts for the Korean *Hwaŏm-gyŏng* Suspective and Instrumental. Aside from this, the only difference is that the *Hwaŏm-gyŏng* scheme places the Topic marker in the middle of the character, while the *Yōketsu/Yogyŏl* places it on the centre right. This follows from the difference between drypoint and ink glosses: drypoint glosses can be placed on a graph without obliterating it, while an ink

21 Park 2006, 71. The titles Chin-bon *Hwaŏm-gyŏng* 晉本華嚴經 and Chu-bon *Hwaŏm-gyŏng* 周本華嚴經 refer to the two Chinese translations of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*. The Chin-bon (Chinese Jin-bēn) is the so-called 60 fascicle version translated from Sanskrit to Chinese by Buddhahadra (佛駄跋陀羅) in the fifth century, during the Jin (晉) dynasty. The Chu-bon (Chinese Zhōu-ben) is the 80-fascicle version translated by Śikṣānanda 實叉難陀 at the end of the seventh century, during the short-lived Zhou (周) dynasty interregnum in the Tang period. Both versions were transmitted to Korea.

22 Kobayashi 2002, 27.

gloss cannot. Fig. 5 shows punctuation and compound marks as well as inversion glosses and morphosyntactic point glosses in the *Yōketsu/Yogyōl*.

Previous Japanese research has ignored the *Yōketsu/Yogyōl* morphosyntactic glosses, as no other known glossing system in Japan resembled them. Kobayashi suggested an explanation for this: the *Yōketsu/Yogyōl* glosses came from Korea.²³

Kobayashi's discovery set off an explosion of research among Korean *kugyōl* scholars.²⁴ Hitherto glossing research in Korea had focused on *kugyōl* phonogram glossing. The discovery of morphosyntactic point glosses similar to Japanese *okototen* meant that the full array of medieval glossing techniques studied in Japan for almost a century must also have existed in Korea. Scholars identified two traditions of glossing in Korea, primarily found during the early to middle Koryō dynasty: the tradition associated with Hwaōm (Huayan, Avataṃsaka) texts, and another associated with Yogācāra or Pōpsang (Fāxiāng 法相 Dharma characteristics) texts. The morphosyntactic point glosses in the *Yōketsu/Yogyōl* fall into the former tradition.

Korean scholars interpreted the Satō-bon *Yōketsu/Yogyōl* glosses as the earliest surviving example of the Hwaōm glossing tradition.²⁵ As shown in Figs 4 and 5, it is the same basic system as found in later Korean Hwaōm texts. There are clear records of a copy of the original *Hwaōm munŭi yogyōl mundap* being brought to Tōdaiji in Nara from Silla in the mid-eighth century. The specific glossing scheme in the manuscript is widely attested in Korea but not in Japan. According to this view, the original manuscript brought from Korea, which has not been found, contained the glosses and punctuation. When the Enryakuji-bon and the Satō-bon manuscripts were copied at the end of the eighth century, the former was copied with punctuation only, while the latter was copied with glosses as well. Kim points out that the hand of the glossator and the hand of the copyist of the Satō-bon are the same.²⁶

The only difficulty with the view of the *Yōketsu/Yogyōl* glossing scheme as a tool for reading Korean alone is the existence of discrepancies between the function of some of the glosses in the *Yōketsu/Yogyōl* and later Korean glossed Hwaōm texts.²⁷ An example of such a discrepancy is the gloss located in the lower right-hand corner of the character 説 'theory, account' in Fig. 6, position

²³ Kobayashi 2002, 34.

²⁴ See, for example, Nam 2002, and the papers collected in Lee et al. 2006.

²⁵ See, for example, Kim 2003 and 2006.

²⁶ Kim 2003, 54.

²⁷ Whitman 2009, 124 and 2015, 128–135.

55 according to the scheme of Park.²⁸ There are 12 examples of this gloss. It is slightly elongated in a vertical direction (see Fig. 6). As a Japanese vernacular reading, it is most naturally the copula *nari*, as read by Kobayashi.²⁹ Kim reads it as the Korean verbal declarative suffix *-ta*, as this is its clear function in the Chu-bōn *Hwaōm-gyōng* glosses in Fig. 3.³⁰ The difficulty with the latter view is that in the *Yōketsu/Yogyōl* this gloss follows only nouns.

There are several possible interpretations of this fact. One is that the gloss in question originated in the Korean tradition as a gloss for the copula *i-*, and was later extended to mark inflecting (verbal and adjectival) predicates of all kinds. The problem with this idea is that among Koryō period point glosses, such as those in the Chu-bōn *Hwaōm-gyōng*, this gloss is never used to indicate the copula, only the declarative suffix *-ta*. The alternative interpretation is that the copyist and glossator of the Satō-bon *Yōketsu/Yogyōl* found the original glosses useful, and did not copy them merely out of reverence or custom (for remember, glosses are not copied in the other manuscripts). Glossing in the Satō-bon *Yōketsu/Yogyōl* is quite sparse. Marking declarative sentence boundaries, a main function of Korean *-ta*, is accomplished where necessary in the Satō-bon manuscript by punctuation. But distinguishing nominal and verbal predicates when reading a Chinese text in Japanese or Korean can be a challenge for any reader. By the Middle Chinese period, some characters could be read either as nouns or as verbs, although typically with distinct pronunciations. This posed a difficulty even for Chinese readers, to the extent that a type of point gloss, the so called *pòyīn* (破音) ‘sound breaker’, was invented in China to distinguish such different readings.³¹ For readers in Korean or Japanese, where verbs inflect but nouns do not, and predicate nominals are normally accompanied by an inflected copula, proper reading depends even more critically upon making the distinction between predicate nominals and verbs. The sentence containing the gloss shown in Fig. 6 is a nominal predicate sentence, but it is potentially confusing to interpret because the character 說 ‘theory, account’ could be interpreted as a verb in other contexts. Here, though, it is clearly a noun.

²⁸ Park 2006, 69–70.

²⁹ Kobayashi 2002, 27.

³⁰ Kim 2002, 67 and 2006, 62.

³¹ Ishiduka 1993 shows that *pòyīn* were the source of the graphically similar *sìshēng* (四聲) tone marks in the Chinese tradition. It has also been suggested that they are the original source of Korean and Japanese morphosyntactic point glosses.

- (1) 前之五會・是仏成道初七日説.

‘(The) previous five assemblies, this is the account that they are the first seven days of the Buddha achieving enlightenment.’

Without the gloss indicating that 説 here is the predicate nominal, a Japanese or Korean reader might mistakenly take it to be a verb.

Further research has shown that the *Yōketsu/Yogyōl* morphosyntactic glosses are not completely isolated within the Japanese tradition. In previous publications I showed that the *Yōketsu/Yogyōl* glossing scheme is almost perfectly duplicated by another system of *okototen* reported by Tsukishima,³² the *Ramaka-kyō* (羅摩伽經 *Luómójiā-jīng*); see Fig. 7.³³ This text is a translation of the last chapter of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, and thus like the *Yōketsu/Yogyōl*, is a Keron/Huayan-related text.³⁴ Kobayashi sketches a path of development though which the *okototen* morphosyntactic point gloss system attested in the Satō-bon *Yōketsu/Yogyōl* and the *Ramaka-kyō* develops into the complex of glossing systems found in Japanese Buddhist texts by the end of the ninth century.³⁵ If Kobayashi’s hypothesis is correct, Japanese morphosyntactic glossing originated from Silla, that is Korean, precursors. Given the massive importation of Huayan texts and learning from Silla to Nara that occurred in the eighth century, this is not surprising. Stepping back from the East Asian context, the transmission of morphosyntactic glossing is a particularly clear example of transmission across languages, but it is also an example of the transparency of the gloss: glosses help to render one language into others, but that rendition is not necessarily tied to a single specific target language.

5 The *Tōdaiji fujumonkō*

Approximately 30 years after the copying of the Satō-bon *Yōketsu/Yogyōl*, the reverse of the scroll was used to inscribe 395 lines of text, which appear to be drafts of prayers or sermons to be used at Buddhist memorial services (*hōe* 法会).

³² Tsukishima 1996, 417.

³³ Whitman 2009, 124 and 2015, 135–136.

³⁴ Properly the *Bussetsu ramaka-kyō* (佛說羅摩伽經 *Foshuo luomoqie-jing*). The translation corresponds to the last chapter of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, *Gaṇḍavyūha*. The translation was produced by Shengjian 聖堅 between 389 and 406, preceding the 60-fascicle translation (Hamar 2014, 37).

³⁵ Kobayashi 2014, 56–62.

The text is the work of a single hand³⁶ but has no title or colophon; its author is unknown. Yamada suggests that the title *Tōdaiji fujumon* was given by Ugai Tetsujō in recognition of the Kegon (Huayan) origins of the *Yōketsu/Yogyōl* on the recto side;³⁷ Tōdaiji was the main Kegon temple and location of the sutra-copying office in the Nara period. Nakada points out that both the *okototen* morphosyntactic glossing scheme in the *Tōdaiji fujumonkō* and some of its vocabulary indicate a close connection with the Hossō (法相 Dharma characteristics) school.³⁸ It is possible to roughly date the text by its orthographic retention of the Old Japanese distinction between /kwo/ ([ko], written with *kana* 古) and /ko/ ([kə], written with *kana* 己), and by the textual citations which it contains.³⁹ Kobayashi dates it to the period 824–834 CE.

The *Tōdaiji fujumonkō* is not a single unified text but rather a series of passages intended for oral recitation on ritual occasions. Some passages are general templates or memos for a prayer or other recitation, with the date or object of the prayer left unspecified. Take for example the following passage:

- (2) 父[は]以某年月日長逝、母氏以某年月日没逝 (line 118)

‘Father died in X year – month – day. Mother died in X year – month – day.’

Here the character 某 *bō* ‘a certain, unspecified’ is a placeholder for the priest delivering the prayer to fill in as appropriate.

The writing techniques used in the *Tōdaiji fujumonkō* are extraordinary in their variety, as if the author was experimenting with every expressive technique made available by the repertoire of *kunten* glossing. The first clear *kata-kana* occur in the second and third sentences or clauses of line 5. I have transposed and analyzed these two sentences in (3) and (4) below:

- (3) a. 不信者不瞻佛金軀. (line 5, second sentence)

(みず)

b. 不信者(の)者(は)佛(の)金軀瞻(を)瞻不.

c. Pusin(=no) mono(=pa) potoke(=no) konku(=wo) mi-zu.

d. Nonbeliever(=GEN) person(=TOP) Buddha(=GEN) gold body(=ACC) see-NEG

e. ‘Nonbelievers do not see the gold body of the Buddha.’

シテハ

³⁶ Yamada 1939, 4.

³⁷ Yamada 1939, 4.

³⁸ Nakada 1969, 214–215.

³⁹ Nakada 1969, 192–199; Kobayashi 1993.

- (4) a. 卞和^ノ玉^モ不植時^ニ不寶. (line 5, third sentence)
 (あわず) (にあらず)
 b. 卞和ガ玉モ時ニ植シテハ寶不.
 c. Benka=ga tama=mo toki=ni apa-zu si-te=pa takara=niara-zu.
 d. Bianhe=GEN jewel=also time=DAT match-NEG do-GER=TOP treasure=be-NEG
 e. ‘Bianhe’s jade too, if it had not been right for its time, would not have been a treasure.’

In (2), (3), and (4), I have transposed the text horizontally. (3) and (4) represent the second and third sentences respectively of line 5. (3-4a) give the original text. In the original text corresponding to (4a), the third sentence of line 5, *katakana* representing the Japanese post-nominal particles =*ga* (genitive), =*mo* ‘also’, and =*ni* (dative-locative) appear for the first time in this text. These *katakana* are written below and slightly to the right of Chinese characters, while the conditional expression *si-te=pa* ‘if doing’, also written in *katakana*, appears to the right of the line (see Fig. 8). It is important to understand that the *katakana* are not in their standardized 20th century shapes; instead they are abbreviated versions of the phonograms used in 8th century Japanese writing known as *man’yōgana*, many of which are not included in the modern *katakana* inventory. (3-4b) rearrange the graphs in the order of Nakada’s and Tsukishima’s vernacular readings.⁴⁰ The first and second sentences of line 5 have no *katakana* (the *hiragana* inserted in parentheses in (3-4b) are based on Nakada and Tsukishima’s reading), but they sentence are set off from the third sentence by a full stop, inserted at the time of writing. The third sentence contains the *katakana* indicated by underlining in (4b and c). The particles =*ga* (genitive), =*mo* ‘also’, and =*ni* (dative-locative) were clearly inserted at the time of writing. In other words, rather than adding these phonographs as glosses to assist with vernacular reading, the writer composed Chinese character and Japanese phonograph in the order of a Japanese sentence. However, the conditional phrase *si-te=pa* (‘if doing’), also in *katakana*, was added to the side of the main line, perhaps after the line was composed.

The two sentences in (3–4) exemplify a feature of the genre with which the *Tōdaiji fujumon* is usually associated: *ganmon* (願文), translated by Lowe as ‘prayer texts’.⁴¹ Lowe points out that *ganmon* texts mix the language of Buddhist piety with allusions from the classical Chinese canon.⁴² Following the reference

⁴⁰ Nakada 1969, 104 and Tsukishima 2001, 89.

⁴¹ Lowe 2016, 59.

⁴² Lowe 2016, 62–66.

to the golden body of the Buddha in the first sentence, the second sentence alludes to the story of Bianhe's jade that originates in the Han Feizi.⁴³

The two sentences in (2) express another common subgenre in the *Tōdaiji fujumonkō*: prayers for departed relatives, particularly parents. But these sentences are written using a completely different technique, also drawn from vernacular glossing. Lines 80–122 are written in Chinese characters with relatively few interspersed *katakana* phonograms. Japanese bound morphemes are supplied by *okototen* morphosyntactic glosses, shown as vermilion in the collotype copy. In (2), from line 118, a vermilion dot at the lower right-hand corner of the first character 父 *titi* 'father' indicates that the topic marker =*pa* is to be inserted here. Horizontal vermilion lines are inserted at the end of each of the two sentences in (2) as punctuation marks, where I have indicated full stops in the English translation. Elsewhere this section of the text contains inversion and compound marks. All of these are quite distinct from the glosses and punctuation in the *Kegon mongi yōketsu* on the recto side. The latter seem to have played no direct role in the glossing system used in the *Tōdaiji fujumonkō*. The Satō-bon *Kegon mongi yōketsu* is judged by many scholars to be the earliest example of *okototen* morphosyntactic glossing in Japan, although as we have seen the date of the glosses is not completely certain. In a mere 30 years or so, *kunten* glossing seems to have begun to differentiate by sect, to be used in combination with *katakana* phonogram glossing, and become part of the first moves toward independent vernacular writing that mixes Chinese characters and phonographs.

Above all, the *Tōdaiji fujumonkō* displays an astonishing virtuosity with the techniques of *kunten* glossing: phonograms, morphosyntactic glosses, inversion and compound marks, punctuation. The use of these techniques to compose in Japanese shows that *kunten* glossing was not just a passive gesture for the reception of Chinese texts. It was understood by its adepts as a way to write Japanese.

6 Conclusion

It is difficult to think of another single object comparable to the Satō scroll in respect of the wealth of information contained in it about written language, and

⁴³ In this story, first attested in the Han Feizi (mid-third century BCE), Bian He presents a stone that eventually turns out to be a precious piece of jade to successive kings of Chu. It is a good example of a well-known trope in secular Chinese literature being used in a *ganmon* text.

about the subtleties of manuscript form and use across languages. A certain poignancy is added by the fact that the original object no longer exists. Scholarship on earlier stages of the Japanese language, perhaps more than equivalent research in the West, very rarely puts scholars in direct contact with original manuscripts, except in the case of research on *kunten* glossing. In the case of the Satō scroll, the physical configuration of the object forces us to reconsider what it means to ‘write’ ‘in’ a particular language.

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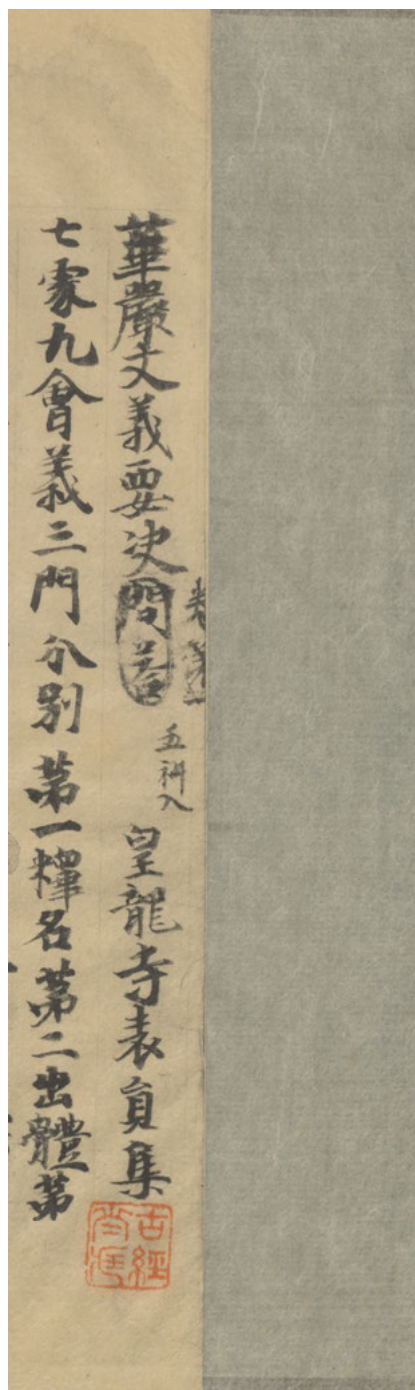


Fig. 1: The first line of the Satō manuscript of the *Kegon mongi yōketsu/Hwaŏm munŭi yogyŏl mundap* 華嚴文義要決問答. The five characters at the bottom of the line 皇龍寺表貞集 ‘Compiled by P’yowŏn of Hwangryongsa’ identify the compiler as P’yowŏn of Hwangryongsa temple. Image from the Satō (1939) collotype reproduction in the author’s personal possession.

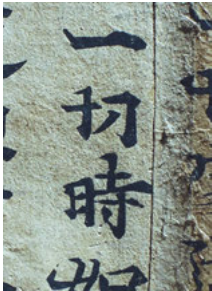


Fig. 2: Drypoint glosses in the Chin-bon *Hwaõm-gyõng* 晉本華嚴經 (c. 10th c.). Image courtesy of Chung Jae-young.

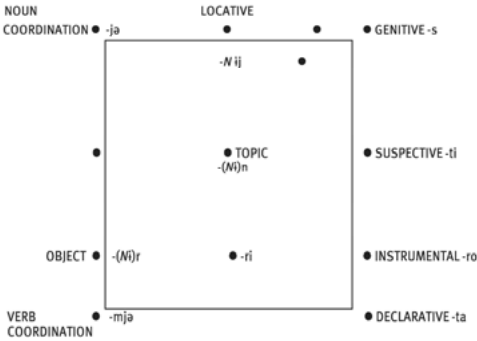


Fig. 3: Morphosyntactic gloss (*chõmt'o* 點吐) scheme for drypoint glosses in the Chu-bon *Hwaõm-gyõng* 周本華嚴經 fascicle 36, based on Park 2006, 70.

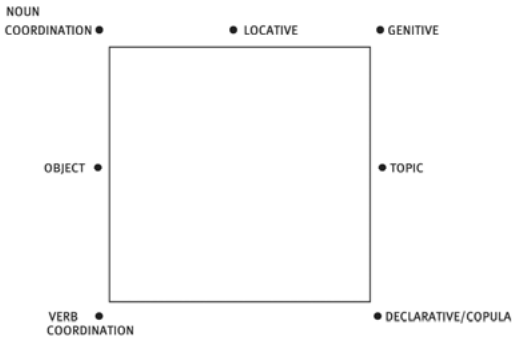


Fig. 4: Morphosyntactic glosses in the *Kegon mongi yõketsu/Hwaõm munõi yogyõl mundap* 華嚴文義要決(問答), based on Kobayashi 2002, 27, and Kim 2006, 62.

第二七日故知第二七日時也問若尔何故菩提
 流支云前之五會是仏成道初七日說第六
 會後是第二七日說耶問法藏師云此解不可十
 地論云何故不初七日說思惟行因緣行故既云
 思惟明知非說法問有人說下文中有鷲子亦
 五百聲聞並後時度故知是後時說耶答此
 所判恐不順之第八會者亦非後時何得於一
 部經前已說半中說餘後方更讀豈念仏无施
 羅尼力不能一念說一切法祇因鷲子並是九世

Fig. 5: Syntactic and morphosyntactic glossing in the Satō ms of the *Kegon mongi yōketsu* / *Hwaōm munūi yogyōl mundap*. Image from the Satō (1939) collotype reproduction in the author's personal possession.

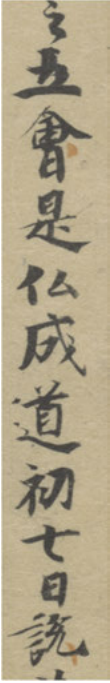


Fig. 6: The morphosyntactic gloss *-ta* (Korean declarative suffix) and/or *nari* (Japanese copula) in the Satō ms of the *Kegon mongi yōketsu* / *Hwaōm munūi yogyōl mundap*. Image from the Satō (1939) collotype reproduction in the author’s personal possession. This detail is from the second line of the text in Fig. 5. The vermillion dot to the right of the third character, 會 ‘meeting’ is a gloss indicating that this word is to be taken as the topic of the clause. The dot to the lower righthand corner of the character 説 ‘say, expound, theory’ is a gloss indicating that this character is to be followed by the copula (if read in Japanese) or the declarative suffix *-ta* (if read in Korean). Here 説 clearly has a nominal interpretation, so the copula reading of the gloss is appropriate.

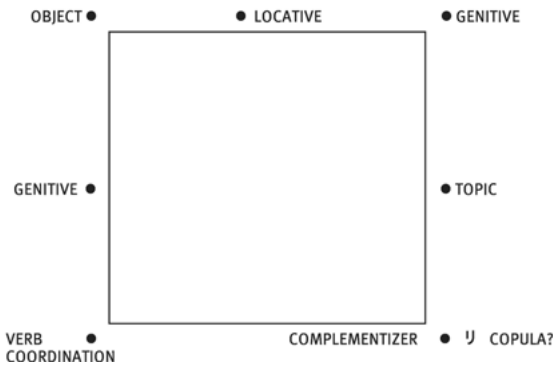


Fig. 7: Morphosyntactic glosses in the Ramaka-kyō 羅摩伽經, based on Tsukishima 1996, 417.

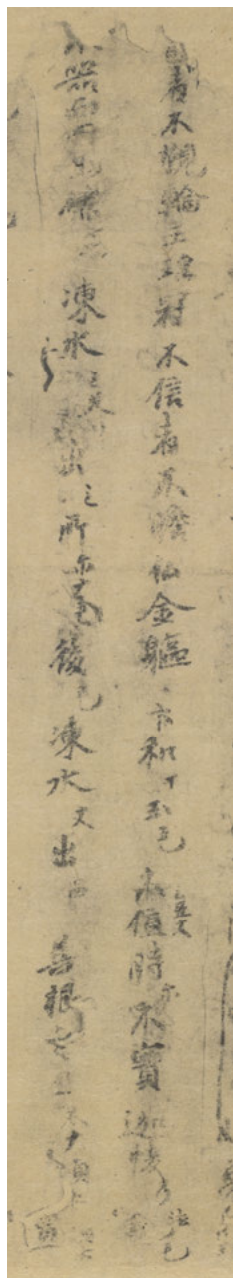


Fig. 8: Excerpt from line 6 in the *Tōdaiji fujumonkō*, showing the two sentences in examples (3–4) ‘Nonbelievers do not see the gold body of the Buddha. Bianhe’s jade too, if it had not been right for its time, would not have been a treasure’. Image from the Satō (1939) collotype reproduction in the author’s personal possession.

