

The Ubiquity of the Gloss

John Whitman

Cornell University, U.S.A./NINJAL, JAPAN

jbw2@cornell.edu

1. Background

A standard account of the borrowing of writing systems goes something like this:

- a. Bilingual speakers of languages A and B become readers of language A.
- b. Bilingual speakers use the graphs of A to write B.
- c. Monolingual (or imperfect bilingual) speakers of B further adapt the graphs of A to write B.

A scenario like (1) appears in standard accounts of the development of writing in Korea prior to the invention of hangŭl. First, probably prior to the formation of the Koguryŏ, Paekche, and Silla polities, speakers of Korean were exposed to Chinese writing (1a). Next, speakers borrowed sinographs to write Korean (1b). This is the technique known as *ch'aja pyokipŏp* 借字表記法 'loan character orthography'. Korean scholars usually distinguish two subvarieties of loan character orthography: *koyumyŏngsa*

pyogipŏp 固有名詞表記法 ‘proper noun orthography’ and *hyangch'al* 鄉札 ‘local letters’. The former refers to the use of phonographic sinographs to write vernacular personal names or place names. The second refers to the mix of phonographic and logographic writing found in the *Hyangga* 鄉札 songs. Stage (1c) corresponds to the development of *idu* 吏讀 writing, whose systematization is commonly attributed to Sŏl Ch'ong (薛聰) in the late 7th or early 8th century .

(1) is attractive because of its simplicity, but there are facts that it does not explain. One is why writing in the donor language persists even after stages (1b) and (1c), sometimes even replacing the vernacular writing systems introduced in (1b-c). A point related to this is made by the American scholar Sheldon Pollock in relation to the creation of Sanskrit written culture. Pollock observes that that “For its first 400 years, inscriptional culture in South Asia is almost exclusively non-Sanskrit (the languages used were instead the Middle-Indic dialects called Prakrit), but this situation changed dramatically at the beginning of the common era when we first begin to find expressive texts eulogizing royal elites composed in Sanskrit and inscribed on rock-faces, pillars, monuments, or copper-plates” (Pollock 1998: 10). In other words, from the 4th century BCE until the beginning of the common era, public inscriptions in South Asia correspond to stage (1c): writing in a local vernacular using a Brāhmī script ultimately derived from a foreign source. At the start of the common era, however, the written vernacular is replaced by what Pollock calls the cosmopolitan variety, in this case Sanskrit. The South Asian example is not exactly congruent to the scenario in (1), because scripts for the Prakrits and other vernaculars in South Asia are not derived from Sanskrit writing (as Sanskrit at that stage was not written down at all); Brāhmī scripts were used to write Prakrits before they were used to write Sanskrit. Nevertheless, the example shows that fully developed vernacular writing is not always an endpoint. Writing in the cosmopolitan language may supplant vernacular writing.

The history of writing in Korea shows this phenomenon even more clearly. Korean writing reveals a repeated pattern of de-emphasis or abandonment of vernacular writing for the cosmopolitan, in this case Chinese. *Hyangch'al* 鄉札 writing is not attested after the early Koryŏ period, even in verse. *Idu* 吏讀 writing is used in official documents alongside Chinese versions through the Chosŏn 朝鮮 period, but it is never used for the purposes of literary production.

The history of *kugyŏl* 口訣 writing in Korea presents a similar pattern of reversion to the cosmopolitan. *Kugyŏl* is a system for glossing Chinese texts similar to Japanese *kunten* 訓点. Like *kunten*, *kugyŏl* uses character glosses, called *cath'o* 字吐 (字吐), in the form of abbreviated phonographs, formally and functionally similar to Japanese *katakana*. It also uses morphosyntactic glosses, including inversion glosses (*yŏkt'o* 逆吐) that indicate the word order in the Korean rendition of the text, and morphosyntactic or point glosses (*cŏmtho* 點吐) that designate Korean functional morphemes. These correspond to Japanese *hendokuten* 返読点 and *wokototen* フコト点 respectively. Early Koryŏ period *kugyŏl* is of the subtype referred to by Korean scholars as *sŏkdok kugyŏl* 釋讀口訣, interpretive or translation *kugyŏl*. *Sŏkdok kugyŏl* glosses the text so that it can be read in Korean, not dissimilar to the mixed hangŭl/ sinographic texts of the 15th century, or the Japanese reading of a *kunten* annotated text. From the 13th century on, however, *sŏkdok kugyŏl* begins to be replaced by so-called *sundok* 順讀 'consecutive' *kugyŏl*, referred to by some scholars as *ŭmdok* 音讀 'Sino-Korean' *kugyŏl*.¹ In *sundok kugyŏl*, a whole sentence or clause is read as written in Chinese, with Sino-Korean pronunciations; clauses are concluded or connected by Korean morphemes, usually forms of the copula or the light verb *hA-* 'do/say'. There is no counterpart of *sundok kugyŏl* in Japanese; in Japanese *ondoku* 音読 reading, the entire

¹ The translation 'consecutive *kugyŏl*' for *sundok kugyŏl* 順讀口訣 is due to Ross King (2007).

text is read in Sino-Japanese, with no insertion of Japanese morphemes at clause boundaries. If *sōkdok kugyōl* represents a vernacular reading, *sundok kugyōl* represents a reading closer to the cosmopolitan, Chinese. Once, again, over the course of time a cosmopolitan form supplants the vernacular.

We can give many explanations for replacement of the vernacular by the cosmopolitan. In Korea, the pressure of the cosmopolitan, the prestige of Chinese writing, is elevated beyond anywhere else in the Sinosphere except Vietnam. Scholars also point to the relatively high level of Chinese literacy in Korea. In the case of *sundok kugyōl*, a shift toward formulaic reading of Buddhist texts may have contributed to the abandonment of interpretive/ translational glossing.

However I will argue in this paper that another factor should be considered when we confront the puzzle of why cosmopolitan written culture persists even after the establishment of vernacular writing, sometimes even supplanting the former. The persistence of the cosmopolitan seems strange only when we focus on the written object, the inscribed text. This focus is an anachronism. It is a product of the modern conceit that reading involves a direct relationship between the individual reader and text. There has been a longstanding debate over the past half century over to what extent silent, individual reading existed at all in the ancient and medieval West. Proponents of the idea that reading was primarily an oral, communal activity often point to a famous passage in Augustine's *Confessions* describing St. Ambrose's silent reading:

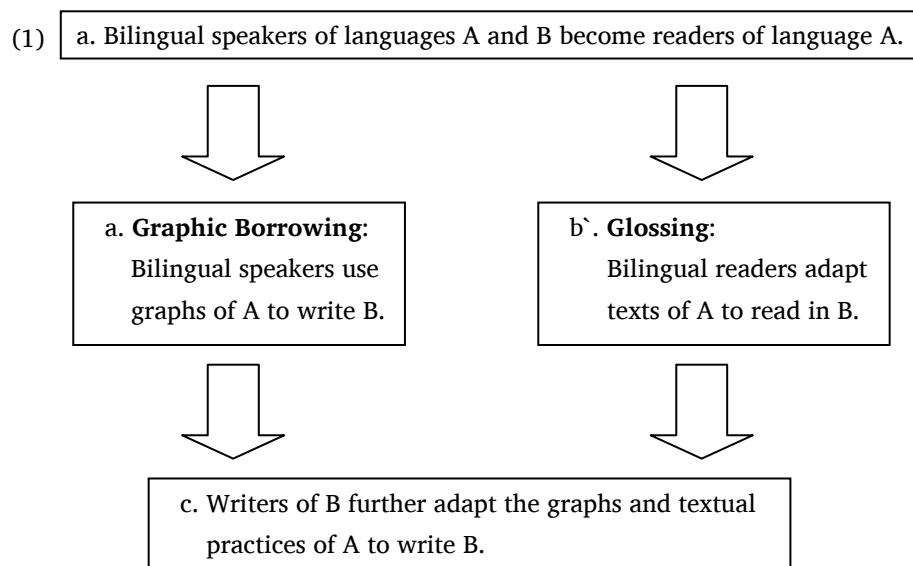
When [Ambrose] read, his eyes scanned the page and his heart sought out the meaning, but his voice was silent and his tongue was still. Anyone could approach him freely and guests were not commonly announced, so that often, when we came to visit him, we found him reading like this in silence, for he never read aloud.

Augustine, *Confessions*, Book Six, Chapter Three.

That Augustine wonders at Ambrose's silent reading has been widely taken in Western scholarship to show that reading out loud was the norm. Knox (1968) in fact shows that silent reading was known in Western antiquity. But the mere existence of silent reading says little about the main purposes for which texts were created, copied, and annotated. Saenger (1997) makes the point that the prevalence of oral reading was due to economic and social factors. Manuscripts were expensive, rare, and difficult to produce. Specialists (slaves in antiquity, later specialized clerics) were trained in the skills of reading aloud, as well as of copying and annotating texts. It is almost certain that the main objective of the production of written manuscripts was for oral delivery to a group audience (Green 1990, Grotans 2006).

The fact of oral reading calls into question any absolute distinction between cosmopolitan and vernacular texts. Texts composed or copied in cosmopolitan form could be read in the vernacular. This is exactly what Korean *kugyŏl* and Japanese *kunten* materials represent: conversion of cosmopolitan written texts for reading in the vernacular. In other words, when we confront the problem of reversion to the cosmopolitan, we must be careful to distinguish production (writing) from consumption (reading). In the case of Korea and Japan, texts produced in the cosmopolitan form (Chinese) were consumed (read, chiefly aloud) for the most part in the vernacular. The evidence for this is the widespread appearance and nature of the glossing techniques developed in both countries to read Chinese texts. In fact we can determine from the glossing technique used for certain texts that they were prepared to be read out loud in the cosmopolitan variety, Sino-Korean or Sino-Japanese. The *sundok kugyŏl* glossing style mentioned above is such a case. But until the 13th century in Korea, and throughout the history of production and consumption of Chinese texts in Japan, such cases are a minority of glossed texts. Outside of ritual recitation, people read Chinese texts in the vernacular.

Thus the aparent paradox of rejection of the vernacular and reversion to the cosmopolitan can be understood not as a reversal in the stages in (1), but as the instantiation of a stage parallel with (1b), where cosmopolitan texts are prepared to be read in the vernacular. How universal such a stage is in the development of vernacular writing remains to be determined. I represent this parallel stage as in (2):



In (2) I have distinguished two contemporaneous stages between initial contact with the donor language (2a) and development of vernacular writing (2b). In addition to the conventional stage of graphic borrowing (2b), I have added another stage called here, for lack of a better established term, “glossing”. Glossing refers to the adaptation of a donor language text to be read in the borrowing (vernacular) language. Adaptation here may refer to forms of annotation (glossing), or pedagogical practices which teach students how to read a cosmopolitan text in the vernacular. Most often a combination of such techniques must have been used, but I will refer to the entire process of adaptation as glossing. The main argument of this paper is that glossing, in this very broad sense, plays as important a role in the

development of a written vernacular as the more widely discussed process of graphic borrowing. In the remainder of this paper I will make an initial comparison of glossing practice and effects in the medieval West and Korea and Japan. My discussion will be brief and in some places superficial, but I hope that it will help to establish the importance of the glossing stage in the diffusion of writing systems.

2. Glossing practice in Korea and Japan

It is well known that the adaptation of sinography in Korea and Japan did involve a series of stages like (1a-c), as I sketched above for the case of Korean. Written material on wooden slips (木簡 *mokkan*) uncovered in both places tell us that by the mid 7th century, modified forms of sinographs were used for phonographic writing. Graphic modifications consisted both of cursive forms and abbreviated forms (略体字 *yakcheja* /*ryakutaiji*). In both cases most of the forms have Chinese precedents, but by the end of 7th century the particular sets of phonographs favored in the archipelago and in the Three Kingdoms of Korea seem to have emerged. Around this time (earlier in Korea) we have attestations of syntactically modified sinography: Korean *idu* and Japanese *hentai kanbun* 変体漢文. Thus the elements of vernacular adaptation (1c) are in place.

The origins of glossing practice are harder to trace in Japan, but in Korea, Nam (2006) provides a narrative of the development of *kugyŏl* glossing. According to Professor Nam's account, the first attestation of *kugyŏl* glossing is in the third fascicle of the *Sŏk hwaŏm kyobungi* 釋華嚴教分記, a commentary on 法藏 Fazang's *Huayan jiaofenji* 華嚴教分記 composed by Kyunnyŏ 均如 (923-973), the Koryŏ period clerical scholar and author of 11 of the surviving *hyangga* songs. The data consist of two lines, first studied by Ahn Pyong-hi (1987):

- (3) 或^如有^如佛性^隱闍提人^隱有^豆^亦善根人無^如^好^尸^丁
 或^如有^如佛性^隱善根人^隱有^豆^亦闍提人無^如^好^尸^丁

The boxed characters in (3) make no sense from the standpoint of the Chinese text. The lines are a quotation from the Mahayana Nirvana sutra (*Mahāyāna-mahāparinirvāna-sūtra*; *Da banneipan jing* 大般涅槃經). The Chinese text reads:

- (4) 或有佛性，一闍提有善根人無。或有佛性，善根人有一闍提無。

The original text (4) is the same as (3) without the boxed characters. Professors Ahn and Nam point out that the boxed characters are unabbreviated forms of *kugyŏl* characters, indicating postnominal particles, verb suffixes, and verbs in Korean. The *kugyŏl* characters were restored to their unabbreviated shape by later redactors of Kyunmyŏng's manuscript. The Korean text reads word-for-word as follows according to Professor Nam's interpretation:

- (5) 或^如有^如佛性^隱闍提人^隱有^豆^亦善根人無^如^好^尸^丁
 ?-ta is-ta 佛性^隱 闍提人^隱 有^豆 is-tu-yə 善根人 əp(s)-ta ho-r t.yə
 -DEC exist-DEC Buddha-nature TOP deprived TOP exist-fact?-and virtuous
 not.exist-DEC say-ADNOM fact.and
 或^如有^如佛性^隱善根人^隱有^豆^亦闍提人無^如^好^尸^丁
 ?-ta is-ta 佛性^隱 善根人^隱 有^豆 is-tu-yə 闍提人 əp(s)-ta ho-r t.yə
 -DEC exist-DEC Buddha-nature TOP virtuous TOP exist-fact?-and deprived
 not.exist-DEC say-ADNOM fact.and

In order to produce a complete Korean rendition, the reader would transpose the shaded existential verb 有_如 *is-ta* ‘exist-DEC’ with its theme argument ‘Buddha-nature’:

- (6) 或_如 佛性 隱_{有_如} 闍提人 隱_{有_豆} 亦 善根人 無_如 好_尸 丁_丁
 ?-ta 佛性 \wedge n is-ta 闍提人 \wedge n is-tu-yə 善根人 əp(s)-ta ho-r t.yə
 -DEC Buddha-nature TOP exist-DEC depraved TOP exist-fact?-and virtuous
 not.exist-DEC say-ADNOM fact.and

或_如 佛性 隱_{有_如} 善根人 隱_{有_豆} 亦 闍提人 無_如 好_尸 丁_丁
 ?-ta 佛性 \wedge n is-ta 善根人 \wedge n is-tu-yə 闍提人 əp(s)-ta ho-r t.yə
 -DEC Buddha-nature TOP exist-DEC virtuous TOP exist-fact?-and depraved
 not.exist-DEC say-ADNOM fact.and
 ‘Either is said that there exists a Buddha-nature and icchantika (depraved people or unbelievers) have it and virtuous people do not, or it is said that there exists a Buddha-nature and the virtuous have it and icchantika do not.’

This example shows that *kugyōl* glossing was practiced in the 10th century, but two additional types of evidence show us that the origins of the practice probably go back to the 7th century. First, Professor Nam (2006) provides documentary evidence that the teachings of Ŭisang 義湘, the founder of the Huayan sect in Korea, were recording using glossing techniques similar to *kugyōl* upon his return to Silla from Tang China around 670. Professor Nam points out that in the accounts of Ŭisang’s teachings, it is reported that they were recorded “mixed in with the vernacular” 雜以方言. The second type of evidence for early Korean *kugyōl* glossing is from glossed texts discovered in Japan, which either because of their known provenance or linguistic properties, seem likely to be glosses or copies of glosses added in Korea (specifically, Silla). Such texts date to the 8th century. The matter is controversial, but the best candidates for such material are Huayan-related texts held in such

repositories as the library of Todaiji 東大寺 in Nara and identified as texts or copies of texts from Silla (新羅写經).

The nature of this early material is relevant for considering the origins of glossing in both Japan and Korea. First, the earliest surviving material involves character glosses (Korean *chat'o* 字托, Japanese *kana ten* 仮名点). Kasuga (1956: 266) proposes a rough chronology of what he considers the oldest glossed texts known in Japan at the time of his research. The glosses in these texts, all added in white ink, are undated, but Kasuga places the oldest of them in the late 8 century. The four oldest of these texts, as judged by Kasuga, contain only character glosses (*kana ten* 仮名点), in unabbreviated form (*magana* 真仮名), inversion glosses, and punctuation marks. These four oldest texts are:

- (7) a. The Keiun (768) ms. of the *Konponsetsu issai ubu binaya* 根本説一切有部毘奈耶
(Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya vibhaṅga)
- b. The Keiun ms. (768) of the *Konponsetsu issai ubu hisshunibinaya* 根本説一切有部苾芻尼毘奈耶 (Mūlasarvāstivāda bhikṣuṇī vinaya vibhaṅga)
- c. The Keiun ms. (768) of the *Jinin bosatsu kyō* 持人菩薩經
(Lokadharapariṣcchā-sūtra)
- d. The Keiun ms. (768) of the *Ōkutsumara kyō* 央掘魔羅經
(Aṅgulimāliya sūtra)

The first two of these texts (7a-b), are *vinaya* texts, that is, texts laying out the rules and regulations of monastic discipline for monks and nuns respectively. It makes sense that such texts should be glossed for vernacular reading, since they are of practical use.² The last text, the

² It is noteworthy, however, that the two texts represent the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition, as the dominant vinaya tradition in China, Japan, and Korea is the Dharmagupta (*Shifen lu* 四分律) vinaya. It is possible that the relatively recent date

Āṅgulimāliya-sūtra, differs from the first three in that it is glossed entirely in Sino-Japanese, and was clearly meant to be read in that form (音読 *ondoku/ūmdok*). It therefore contains no inversion glosses, but only Sino-Japanese phonological glosses and linking glosses (*gōhu* 合符), showing which sequences of characters are to be read together as compound-like units. Kasuga draws two conclusions from these characteristics of the earliest glossed data:

- (8) a. In reading Chinese texts in the vernacular (漢文訓讀), morpho-syntactic glosses (wokoto ten 乎已止點) developed later than readings indicated by phonograms (假名附訓).
- b. The “symbolicization” of vernacular glossing (訓點法の符號化) begins with punctuation marks (句點) and inversion glosses (反讀符). (Kasuga 1956: 267)

The corpus of potential 8th century glossed texts in Japan has increased since the time of Kasuga’s writing, particularly due to the identification of drypoint or stylus-glossed (角筆 *kakuhitsu/kakphil*) texts (Kobayashi 2004). Like the material cited by Kasuga, the 8th century drypoint glosses are undated, but Kasuga’s generalization that phonogram glosses, punctuation, and inversion glosses are older than morphosyntactic glosses appears to hold true for drypoint gloss material as well.

This generalization matches Professor Nam’s characterization of early Korean *kugyōl* texts, including (3). These too involve phonogram glosses. Professor Nam lists the following 6 such texts, dating from the 10th to the 13th century.

of translation made these vinaya texts of interest to 8th century monastics. According to Vogel (1970), the Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya vibhaṅga was translated from Sanskrit into Chinese between 703 and 710.

- (9) Translation *kugyōl* 釈讀口訣 with phonogram glosses 字吐, following Nam 2006
- a. 釋華嚴教分記 (mid-10th century)
 - b. 華嚴疏卷第 35 (est. late 11th ~ early 12th century)
 - c. 華嚴經卷第 14 (est. first half of 12th century)
 - d. 合部金光經卷第 3 (est. beginning of 13th century)
 - e. 舊釋仁王經上卷 (5 leaves attested; est. beginning of 13th century)
 - f. 瑜伽師地論卷第 3 (mid-13th century, after 1246)

We must be cautious in drawing conclusions from the Korean data, as it involves only 6 texts over 3 centuries. However Nam and Kasuga concur that the early stage in the development of glossing technology involves phonological (phonogram) glosses and devices for marking syntactic inversion. Let us look at an example of this kind of combination of phonological and syntactic glossing. The example in (10) is taken from Chung (2006: 153-4; see also Nam & Chung 1997). (10) presents Chung's analysis of the first line and a portion of the second in the second leaf in source (9e) above, the Humane King Sutra (*Kuyōk Inwang-gyōng* 舊釋仁王經 *Renwang jing*), held by the Dongguk University library.³

- (10) A: [...]信行し具足ソニテ復ソテ有ヒナカ 五道セ一切衆生リ、復ソテ有ヒナカ他方セ不_知リモセ可_レソテ量ノヤ、衆、
- B: [...]信行し 具足ソニテ 復ソテ 五道セ 一切 衆生リ 有ヒナカ 復ソテ 他方セ 量ノヤ 可_レソテ 不_知リモセ 衆有ヒナカ <舊仁02:01-2>

³ The *Renwang jing* 仁王經 is an apocryphal Mahayana sutra, supposedly translated from a Sanskrit original but in fact originally composed in Chinese. The version referred to in the Korean tradition as the *Kuyōk Inwang-gyōng* 舊釋仁王經 'Old translation Humane King Sutra' is the 仁王般若波羅蜜經 *Renwang banruo boluomi jing* 'Humane King Perfection of Wisdom Sutra', apocryphally attributed to Kumārajīva. The text discusses the virtues a humane ruler should practice for the protection of the nation, and is thus important in the development of state Buddhism in East Asia.

C: [...]信行을 具足히시며 또한 五道へ 일체 중생이 잇거며 또한
他方へ 量畧(헤아림) 짓흔 안다이닛 무리 잇거며

D: [...]信行_{△r} 具足 h^si-mjə 復 (stoh^_n)五動 s 一切衆生 i 有
(i)s-kjə-mjə
faith.practice ACC complete do-HON-CONJ again 5.destinies-
GEN all sentient.beings NOM be-ASP-CONJ

復(stoh^_n)他方 s 量 h-o-m 可(ci)s h^_n 不(an)ti i-n^_s 衆
有(i)s-kjə-mjə
again other.side-GEN measure do-MOD-ing can(act) do-ADN
not-ADV be-?-GEN multitude be-ASP-CONJ
'Completing faith and practice, again there were all the living
things of the five destinies, and again on the opposite side were
countless multitudes.'

Lines (10A-C) are presented directly from Professor Chung's 2006 article. Line (10A) is a horizontal transposition of the original glossed text. The smaller characters are *kugyŏl* graphs, phonographs derived by abbreviating a Chinese character read for its sound. In the original text, *kugyŏl* graphs may appear either to the right or the left of the Chinese lemma. In the transposition in (10A), *kugyŏl* graphs directly following Chinese characters are on the right of the lemma in the original text; superscripted *kugyŏl* graphs are on the left in the original text. Placement of *kugyŏl* graphs to the right or the left of the lemma was a device for indicating inversion of word order when the text was read in Korean. The reader follows the text in the original Chinese order, supplying Korean functional items from the *kugyŏl* graphs to the right of the lemma. When the reader encounters *kugyŏl* glosses to the left of the lemma, the reader inverts the glossed material with what follows it, placing the glossed item where indicated by the dot '·'. Line B performs this inversion. Thus in line B, the existential verb with its Korean suffixes 有セナ_く (i)s-kjə-mjə 'be-ASP-CONJ' is inverted

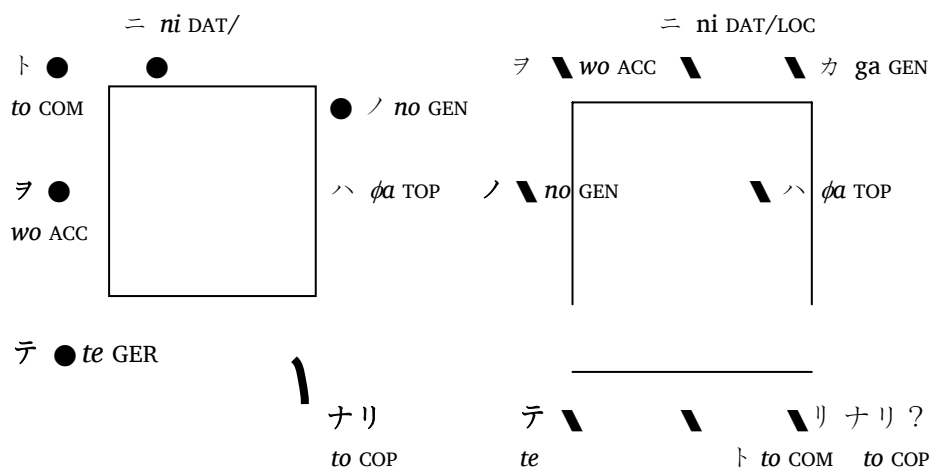
with its theme argument 五動 ᵛ 一切衆生 i ‘five destinies GEN all living things NOM’ as it would be read following Korean word order. Line C supplies Middle Korean values for the *kugyŏl* graphs. Line D is my transcription of line C, with gloss and translation.

This technique for marking syntactic inversion (syntactic glossing) is not found in Japanese *kunten* materials. However many of the other devices for syntactic glossing, such as marking changes in word order by numerals, or by dedicated inversion glosses, are shared by both traditions. As we see in the next section, some are shared by medieval Western glossing traditions as well.

After the four phonogrammatically glossed texts in (7), the next oldest Japanese *kunten* text ranked according to Kasuga (1956) is a little-studied text called the *Ramaka-kyō* 羅摩伽經. This original text in this manuscript, like the four in (7), was copied in response to the imperial command issued in Keiun 2 (768). However the glossing in this manuscript is radically different from the previous four texts. The glosses include a primitive version of the technique of morphosyntactic glossing known in the Japanese *kunten* tradition as *wokototen*. This technique uses dots or lines placed around the periphery (and occasionally the center) of the glossed Chinese character to represent vernacular suffixes, particles, or auxiliaries. Over the period between the 9th and 12th centuries, Japanese *kunten* glossing practice developed over 8 distinctive morphosyntactic point or *wokototen* traditions, with many subvarieties. But Kasuga observes that the *Ramaka-kyō* system is unlike any other subsequently attested in Japan. In his article, Kasuga also comments on a second late 8th century or early 9th century text, the Satō-bon *Kegon mongi yōketsu* 佐藤本華嚴文儀要決 studied by Nakata Norio (1969). Kasuga (1956: 267) comments that this text contains only punctuation and reversal marks. But in fact, as noted by Nakata, the Satō-bon *Kegon mongi yōketsu* also contains rudimentary morphosyntactic glosses or *wokototen*. An inspection of the

wokototen system in the Satō-bon *Kegon mongi yōketsu*, as analyzed by Kobayashi (2002, 2004) and Kim (2002, 2006) shows that the two systems are almost identical (Whitman 2009). (11) below shows the two systems.

- (11) a. The Satō-bon *Kegon mongi yōketsu* 佐藤本華嚴文儀要 glosses as analyzed by Kobayashi (2002, 2004) b. The *Ramaka-kyō* 羅摩伽經 glosses as analyzed by Kasuga 1956: 268 and Tsukishima (1996: 417)



Kobayashi, 2002, 2004 points out that the Satō-bon *Kegon mongi yōketsu* morphosyntactic gloss system is virtually identical to the drypoint glosses (*cath'o* 點 厶) found in two partial versions of the *Hwaōm-gyōng* (Avataṃsaka sūtra; *Huayan-jīng* 華嚴經), held by the Sōngam Museum in Seoul. These are Chu-bon *Hwaōm-gyōng* 周本華嚴經 fascicles 6, 22, 36, and 57, estimated to date from the 11th century, and the Chin-bon *Hwaōm-gyōng* 晉本華嚴經 fascicle 20, estimated to date from the 10th or 11th century. Kobayashi (2002) concludes that the Korean drypoint glossing system was the source for the scheme in the Satō-bon *Kegon mongi yōketsu* (11a), while Kim (2002, 2006) argues that the glosses in the Satō-bon *Kegon mongi yōketsu* were intended to be read in Korean. Kim's argument is

not implausible, because we know that the author of the original text, the *Kegon mongi yōketsu mondō* 華嚴文儀要決問答, was a Silla cleric, and Kobayashi shows that the text was brought to Japan from Silla. However certain details of the linguistic usage revealed in the glosses is inconsistent with later *kugyōl* practice, in particular the use of the gloss in the lower right-hand corner to represent the copula rather than a declarative ending (Whitman 2009). Given the consensus among most scholars that this text represents a link between the Korean and Japanese glossing traditions, and that the glossing was applied (or at least copied) in Japan, it would make sense to assume that the glossator had some familiarity with both languages. The morphosyntactic similarity between the two languages would make the glosses useful for reading the text in both.

Above I have sketched a scenario for which we have no exact parallel in the West, as far as I know: the possibility that in addition to the borrowing of graphs (2b above), some part of the process in (2b'), that is, the borrowing of glossing techniques, may also have been mediated by contacts from the Korean peninsula. I will close this section by addressing two related issues.

The first is the possibility that the direction of borrowing morphosyntactic glosses is the opposite of that suggested by Kobayashi. The basis for such an argument would be that, so far, the oldest texts found in Korea with morphosyntactic glosses (*cath'o* 字托) date from the 9th century, while the oldest Japanese morphosyntactic glosses (*wokototen* ヲコト点) are slightly older, from the late 8th century. The history of glossing in Japan and Korea, however, argues against this reverse scenario. The earliest glossed texts in both countries are associated with Huayan (華嚴 *Kegon/Hwaōm-gyōng*) Buddhism. As we saw in at the beginning of this section, Huayan Buddhism reached Korea from Tang China around 670. It reached Japan about a half century later, and when it did, both liturgical texts (sutras and commentaries) and clerics from Silla played a crucial role.

A thorough review of the importation of Huayan texts and practice into Japan exceeds the scope of this paper, but a brief chronology of relevant events is in (12).

- (12) The importation of Huayan Buddhism into Japan (Girard 1980, Horiike 1980-82, Inoue 1978)
- 718 Dōji 道慈 brings the 80 volume Avataṃsaka sūtra from China.
- 727 Office 写経所 established to copy sutras.
- 734 Genbō 玄昉 brings the Buddhist canon, including the 80 volume Avataṃsaka sūtra back from China.
- 739 A new office for copying sutras is established (Girard, Horiike I:19).
- 740 The “Silla student” (新羅学生) cleric Shinjō 審祥 gives the first lecture on the 60 volume Avataṃsaka sūtra at Konshuji 金鐘寺 (later Tōdaiji) with the help of Fazang’s *Huayan-jing tanxuanji* 華嚴經探玄記.
- 743 First copy made in Japan of the *Huayan-jing tanxuanji*.

Aside from the central event of Shinjō’s lectures in 740, we have records of a steady importation of Huayan sutras and exegetical texts from Silla to Nara in the middle of the 7th century. There is no record of the importation of such materials in the opposite direction.

The second related issue is the question of the source of Japanese abbreviated character glosses, the source of the *katakana* syllabary. Discussion of Silla sources for Japanese *kunten* glossing in the popular media inevitably jumps to this topic – yet more evidence on the fixation on (2b) – the borrowing of graphs – in the popular and scholarly conception of the borrowing of writing. While there is good evidence that many of many of the techniques of glossing in Japan may have been influenced by Korean precursors, there is less evidence that the abbreviated characters that went on to become *katakana* were borrowed in a direct way. As many

have noticed, some *kugyōl* graphs and *katakana* graphs show a formal resemblance. Some also show the same sound value:

(13)	<i>Kugyōl</i>	sound value	<i>Katakana</i>	sound value
a.	力加	ka	カ	ka
b.	可	ka	可	ka
c.	口古	ko	古	ko ₁
d.	夕多	ta	タ	ta
e.	那	na	那	na

However, of the 147 source characters for Koryō period *kugyōl* graphs listed by Paek (2005: 23-27), only 20 show this match in form and function: 阿才(於)伊已力可古夕尹刀矢リ(利)里馬麻末毛也與乎. (Note that both scripts used multiple alternate phonographs for the same syllable.) All 20 are commonly used phonograms not just in Korea and Japan but in the entire Sinosphere. In the case of other phonograms, for example *kugyōl* ヒ 尼 /ni/ and *katakana* 尔, 仁 /ni/, the two scripts make different choices for the same syllable, even though 尼 is a fairly widely attested *ongana* (Sino-Japanese) phonogram in Japanese 8th century materials as well.⁴ If *kugyōl* graphs were directly borrowed to form the basis for *katakana*, we would expect to find exact matches in every case where Japanese and Korean had homophonous syllables, but we do not. The set of phonograms used in Japan in the 8th century formed a well established syllabary (Case 2000). *Katakana* were selected from this syllabary. Here again, focusing on the direct borrowing of graphs is an example of graphic fixation. It is possible that the **technique** of abbreviated phonogram glossing in Japan was influenced by models from Silla, without it being the case that each individual gloss was borrowed.

⁴尼 occurs in the *Nihon shoki* and the *Man'yōshū*.

3. Glossing in the medieval West

Glossing in medieval Europe is a vast subject, intensively studied over the past century and a half. Of course glossing did not originate in medieval Europe, any more than it did in Korea and Japan. But there are certain parallels between the technique and function of glossing in the medieval West and the Sinosphere. In both places, glossing emerged in response to the dominance of a cosmopolitan written language (Latin, Chinese) that whose social imperative rested on religious texts, but which was supported by a massive classical literature as well. In both places monastic communities played a central role in the development of glossing technology. In both places oral reading was a major impetus for glossing.

The focus of Western scholarship on medieval glossed texts has largely been on lexical glosses, (usually) vernacular equivalents provided for lemmata in the form of words or phrases. Vernacular glosses on Latin texts is one of the earliest sources of lexical information, particularly for non-Romance languages. Glosses appear beginning in the 8th century in Old High German (Elias & Sievers 1879-1922; see also Bergmann & Stricker 2009), Old Irish (Stokes 1877), and Anglo-Saxon (Sweet 1885). It is no accident that vernacular glosses appear first in these languages: Latin written language presented a challenge for non-Romance speakers comparable to the challenge presented by Chinese to speakers of Korean, Japanese, or Vietnamese. However glosses on Latin texts also appear in Latin. Broadly speaking, Latin glosses may be divided into two types. The first are glosses for speakers of non-Romance languages, such as Anglo-Saxon. Wieland (1983, 1985) argues that such glosses were for pedagogical purposes. According to this view, instructors added the glosses to assist themselves in class; for Wieland, then, such glossed texts were “classbooks”. The second type of Latin glossing formed an extended commentary on a Latin text. The best known example of this type are the glosses of Italian

jurist Accursius on Justinian's codification of Roman law. The second type of annotation, traditionally labeled glossing, is a type of commentary. Pedagogical glossing as studied by Wieland, however, has properties in common with Korean and Japanese glossing practice. Wieland makes a useful division of glosses by function, which may be applied to glossing traditions West and East:

(14) Wieland's (1983) classification of glosses by function

- (a) Prosodic glosses Mark metrical information: accent or syllable length.
- (b) Lexical glosses Give lexical equivalents for a word or phrase.
- (c) Grammatical glosses Give morphosyntactic information: case, part of speech, etc.
- (d) Syntactical glosses Give syntactic information (mainly word order).
- (e) Commentary glosses Summarize content, give etymologies, etc.

(14b and d) have direct counterparts in the Korean *kugyŏl* and Japanese *kunten* traditions. Prosodic glosses are partial counterparts of phonological glosses giving character readings, although the former are limited to poetic texts, and the latter are a feature of logographic writing. Grammatical glosses, according to Wieland's interpretation, give pedagogical information such as the case of a noun or the tense of a verb. They are not direct counterparts of the morphosyntactic glosses found in *kugyŏl* and *kunten*, which are aids for vernacular reading.

As noted above, the focus of glossing scholarship in the West has been on lexical glosses. Robinson (1973), however, makes an argument for the importance of syntactic glosses in Latin manuscripts glossed by Anglo-Saxon speakers.⁵ Robinson points to a number of different glossing systems used to re-arrange the word order of a Latin text into Anglo-Saxon word

⁵ I am indebted to Ross King for bringing Roberts' paper to my attention.

order. These systems use the letters of the Roman alphabet (a, b, c...), systems of dots, combinations of dots and strokes, and brackets and enclosures to show that words function together as a phrase. Below is one of Robinson's examples, the first line of Psalm 100 in the Lambeth Psalter (11th century). The Anglo-Saxon word order is specified by the number of dots in increasing order. The original text includes both the dots indicating word order, under the text, and Anglo-Saxon glosses above the text, shown below in italics.

(15) **Dot glosses in the Lambeth Psalter (Robinson 1973: 454)**

<i>Freamdremað</i>	<i>drihtne</i>	<i>eala</i>	<i>eorð</i>	<i>ƿeowiað</i>	<i>drihtne</i>	<i>on blisse</i>
Iubilate	domino	omnis	terra	seruite domino/	in	laetitia
...

(16) below rearranges provides the Anglo-Saxon word order following Robinson's analysis.

(16) **First line of Psalm 100 in Anglo-Saxon order (Robinson 1973: 454)**

Eala	eorð	freamdremað	drihtne;	ƿeowiað	drihtne	on	blisse
Every	land	make a noise	unto God,	serve	God	in	gladness

Robinson comments on the hypothesis that syntactic glossing was intended for pedagogical purposes, and affirms that this may have been the origin of glossing in the West. But he notes that glossing systems like those in the Lambeth Psalter, containing both lexical and syntactic glosses and extending throughout the entire text, are too elaborate to have been mere classroom cribs. Robinson's conclusion is that the glosses in such case were intended as a kind of learned syntactic commentary. But this conclusion raises the question: why would the 100th Psalm, one of the most familiar texts in Christendom, require a scholarly analysis of Latin syntax? Unlike classical texts used in the medieval West to teach Latin, such Boethius'

Consolatio Philosophiae or Prudentius' *Psychomachia* (both texts which appear with glosses from the Old English period) the Psalms are not models of Latin prose. They are texts of religious significance, in Latin for ritual meaning, and the vernacular to be understood by believers. A word-for-word lexical gloss does not provide the reader – and her audience – with a version intelligible in the vernacular. But the combination of a lexical and syntactic gloss, as with Korean *kugyŏl* and Japanese *kunten*, makes a complete vernacular version accessible to a skilled oral reader.

4. Conclusion

Vernacular glossing of Chinese texts was a linguistic habitus practiced throughout the non-Chinese speaking Sinosphere. In this paper I have made a very brief comparison of glossing in Korea and Japan with similar practices in the medieval West. I suggested at the end of the last section that at least some glossed texts in the West were intended as aids to the oral reader. The argument for Japan and Korea is still stronger: Glossed texts tell us that in these countries it was common to read an entire Chinese text, typically a sutra or sutra commentary, in the vernacular, and in some cases to gloss most of the text for this purpose. We understand from this that reading was an oral performance, as in the ancient and medieval world generally. We might call the extensive glossing found in Japanese *kunten* and Korean *kugyŏl* texts “performance glossing”, specifically designed for oral reading in the vernacular. The fact of performance glossing tells that vernacularization in East Asia proceeded to some degree independently of the visual form of the graphic text. This stands in contrast to Pollock's argument that vernacularization in East Asia, unlike South Asia, was delayed or in some cases never accomplished:

“In Vietnam... vernacularization was consummated only under the vastly changed circumstances of colonialism. The same holds true for almost the entire periphery of the Middle Kingdom, Japan excepted. In China itself, vernacularization in the full sense of the term used here never occurred ...”
(Pollock 2006: 259-260)

In South Asia vernacular scripts replace cosmopolitan scripts in the monumental record. But epigraphic artifacts tell us about reading practice only indirectly. Performance glossing in Japan and Korea tell us that the form of writing tells only part of the story of how writing is used.

References

- Ahn, Pyong-hi 安秉禧. 1987. *Kunnyŏ ŭi pangŏn-bon chŏsul ey tay hayŏ* 均如의 方言本 著述에 대하여. *Kugŏhak* 國語學 9.4, 41-54.
- Bergmann, Rolf & Stricker, Stefanie. 2009. *Die althochdeutsche und altsächsische Glossographie: Ein Handbuch*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Case, Theresa. 2000. *Kana in the Eighth Century: An Ancient Japanese Writing System*. Cornell University Ph.D. dissertation.
- Chang, Kyungjun 張景俊. 2007. *Yugasajiron chŏmt'o soktok kugyŏl i haedok pangbŏp yŏngu* 瑜伽師地論 點吐釋讀口訣의 解讀 方法 研究. *Kukŏhak ch'ongsŏ* 國語學叢書 58. Seoul: Kukŏ hakhoe.
- Chung, Jaeyoung 鄭在永. 2006. *Hanguk ŭi kugyŏl* 韓國의 口訣. *Kugyŏl yŏngu* 口訣研究 17, 129-189.
- Girard, Frédéric. 1990. *Un moine de la secte Kegon à l'époque de Kamakura, Myōe (1173-1232) ; et le 'Journal de ses rêves'*. Paris : École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1990.
- Green, D. H. 1990. Orality and Reading: The State of Research in Medieval Studies. *Speculum* 65, 267-280.
- Grotans, Anna A. 2006. *Reading in medieval St. Gall*. Cambridge, England; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Proceedings of the SCRIPTA 2010, Seoul, Oct. 8~11, 2010

- Horiike, Shunpō. 1980-1982. *Nanto Bukkyō shi no kenkyū* 南都仏教史の研究. Kyoto: Hozokan.
- Inoue, Kaoru 井上薫. 1978. *Narachō Bukkyō shi no kenkyū* 奈良朝仏教史の研究. Tokyo : Yoshikawa Kobunkan.
- Kasuga, Masaji 春日政治. 1956. *Kokunten no kenkyū* 古訓點の研究. Tokyo: Kazama shoten
- Kim, Young-uk 김영욱(金永旭). 2002. 佐藤本華嚴文儀要訣의 國語学的研究. 口訣研究 10, 47-76.
- Kim, Young-uk 김영욱(金永旭). 2006. 佐藤本華嚴文儀要訣의 新羅時代點吐研究」李丞宰外、角筆口訣의 解讀과 飜役譯 47-68, 서울: 태학사.
- King, Ross. 2006. Korean *kugyōl* writing and the problem of vernacularization in the Sinitic sphere. Paper presented at the Association for Asian Studies, Boston, MA. March 2007.
- Kobayashi, Yoshinori 小林芳規. 2002. 韓国の角筆点と日本の古訓点との関係 『口訣研究』 8, 50-76.
- Kobayashi, Yoshinori 小林芳規. 2004b. *Kakuhitsu bunken kenkyūdōron, chūkan. Nihon kokunaihen(jō)* 角筆文献研究導論 中巻 日本国内篇(上). Tokyo: Kyūko shoin.
- Kobayashi, Yoshinori 小林芳規(2006) 「日本語の訓点の一元流」 『汲古』 59, 1-19.
- Kobayashi, Yoshinori 小林芳規(2008) 「日本語訓点表記としての白点・朱点の始原」 『汲古』 53, 1-11.
- Kugyōl hakhoe 口訣学会. 1997. *Asia che minjok ūi muncha* 아시아 諸民族의 文字. Seoul: T'aehaksa.
- Kugyōl hakhoe 口訣学会. 2006. *Hanmun tokpōp kwa Tong Asia ūi muncha* 漢文讀法과 東아시아의 文字. Seoul: T'aehaksa.
- Lee, Seungjae et al 李丞宰 外. 2005-2009. *Kakp'il kugyōl ūi haedok kwa pōnyōk* 角筆口訣의 解讀과 飜譯 1-5. Seoul: T'aehaksa.
- Mair, Victor H. 1994. Buddhism and the rise of the written vernacular in East Asia: the making of national languages. *Journal of Asian Studies* 53: 707-51.
- Meritt, Herbert. 1945. *Old English Glosses*. New York: Modern Language Association.
- Meritt, Herbert. 1934. Old High German scratched glosses. *The American Journal of Philology* 55.3, 227-235.
- Meritt, Herbert. 1961. Old English glosses, mostly dry-point. *Journal of English and*

Germanic Philology 60, 441-450.

- 中田祝夫(1969) 『東大寺諷誦文稿の国語学的研究』 東京：風間書房.
- Nam, Pung-hyun 南豊鉉. 1999 *Kukō-sa lul wihan kugyōl yōngu*. 國語史를 위한 口訣 研究. Seoul: T'aehaksa.
- Nam, Pung-hyun 南豊鉉. 2006. *Hanguk ūy kodae kugyōl charyo wa ku pyōnch'ōn ey taeyhayō* 韓國의 古代口訣資料와 그 變遷에 대하여究. In Im, Yonggi and Hong, Yun'yo (eds.) *Kukō-sa yōngu ōdi kkaji wa innūn ga*. 국어사 연구 어디까지 와 있는가, 615-638. Seoul: T'aehaksa.
- Nam, Seong U 南星祐 & Chung, Jaeyoung 鄭在永. 1997. 舊譯仁王經 釋讀口訣의 表記法과 한글 轉寫. 口訣研究 第3輯
- Peterson, Janine. 2003. Defining a textbook: Gloss versus gloss in a medieval schoolbook. *Essays in Medieval Studies* 20, 2003, 18-30.
- Paek, Tu-hyun. *Sōkdok kugyōl ūy munja ch'egye wa kinūng* 석독 구결의 문자와 기능. Seoul: Hanguk munhwasa.
- Pollock, Sheldon. 1998. The cosmopolitan vernacular. *Journal of Asian Studies* 57(1): 6-37.
- Pollock, Sheldon. 2000. Cosmopolitan and vernacular in history. *Public culture* 12(3): 591-625.
- Pollock, Sheldon. 2006. The language of the gods in the world of men. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.
- Robinson, Fred C. 1973. Syntactical glosses in Latin manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon provenance. *Speculum* 48(3): 443-475.
- Rusche, Philip. 1994. Dry-point glosses to Aldhelm's *De laudibus virginitatis* in Beineke 401. *Anglo-Saxon England* 23, 195-204.
- Steinmeyer, Elias, and Sievers, Eduard. 1879-1922. *Die althochdeutschen Glossen*. 5 vols. Berlin: Weidmann.
- Stokes, Whitley. 1887. *The Old-Irish glosses at Würzburg and Carlsruhe. Part I, The Glosses and translation*. London: Philological Society of London & Cambridge.
- Sweet, Henry. 1885. *The oldest English texts*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (Early English Text Society no. 83, reprinted 1957.
- Tsukishima, Hiroshi 築島裕(1996a) 『平安時代訓点本論考』 東京：汲古書院.
- Tsukishima, Hiroshi 築島裕(1996b) 『平安時代訓点本論考・ヲコト点仮名字体表』 東京：汲古書院.

Proceedings of the SCRIPTA 2010, Seoul, Oct. 8~11, 2010

- Vogel, Claus. 1970. The teachings of the six heretics: According to the Pravrajyavastu of the Tibetan Mulasarvastivada Vinaya: with an appendix containing an English translation of the pertinent sections in the Chinese Mulasarvastivada Vinaya. Mainz: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft; Wiesbaden : Kommissionsverlag F. Steiner,
- Whitman, John. 2009. Kōketsu shiryō to kunte shiryō no setten – Satō-bon *Kegon mongi yōketsu* no okototen/toten o chūshin ni. 100th Meeting of the Kuntengo gakkai, Kyoto University, May 2009.
- Whitman, John, Valerio Luigi Alberizzi, Masayuki Tsukimoto, Teiji Kosukegawa, Tomokazu Takada, Miyoung Oh, and Jinho Park. 2010. Toward an International Vocabulary for Research on Vernacular Readings of Chinese Texts (漢文訓讀 *Hanwen Xundu*). 101st Meeting of the Kuntengo gakkai, Tokyo University, May 2009. Submitted to *Scripta*.
- Wieland, Gernot. 1983. *The Latin glosses on Arator and Prudentius in Cambridge University Library MS GG. 5. 35. Studies and Texts*, 61. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.
- Wieland, Gernot. 1985. The glossed manuscript: Classbook or library book? *Anglo-Saxon England* 14, 153-73.
- Wieland, Gernot. 1998. Interpreting the interpretation: The Polysemy of the Latin gloss. *Journal of Medieval Latin* 8, 59-71.
- 李丞宰(2006)「京都国立博物館蔵の『華嚴經』巻17の訓点」『訓点語と訓点資料』117, 1-17.

Discussion: The Ubiquity of the Gloss

Chung Jaeyoung

Korea Univ. of Technology and Education, Korea

1. “The former refers to the use of *phonographic sinographs* to write vernacular personal names or place names.” on p.2 needs to be corrected. To this problem one needs to understand the way of lexical representation (including proper nouns) of Ancient Korean. In fact there are many □□(or □□) writings for proper nouns in Ancient Korean.

- (1) 蓋鄉言也 或作弗矩內王 言光明理世也
- (2) 永同郡 本吉同郡 景德王改名 今因之
- (3) 買忽一云水城

In (1), which is an annotation on □□ □□□□ in 『□□□□』 Vol. 1, if one compares ‘□□□’ with ‘□□□’, one can find □□ representation. (2) and (3) are found in 『□□□□』 □□□. In (2) ‘□’ in ‘□□□ □□□□’ means ‘long’. In (3) one can find ‘□/ㅁ’ which means “water, □” and ‘□/홍’ which means “fortress, □”. Beside these, one can also find □□ representation in the official title of Silla ‘□□’ and ‘□□’.

2. On the problem of the term “inversion glosses(yökt’o □□)” on page 3
In □□ □□□□ or □□□□(□□) in Korean data, the word order is indicated mainly through □□□, □□□, or numbers □, □, □, □. Thus we understand this as a □□□(□□□) or marks for word order notation.

3. The examples (3), (5), and (6) on pages 8~9 are citations from □□□ □□□(written by □□), which is a kind of □□□□□. ‘□□ □□ □□□ ……’ should be corrected as ‘□ □□ □□□…….’

4. “However, of the 147 source characters for Koryŏ period kugyŏl graphs listed by Paek (2005: 23-27)……” on page 18 also needs to be corrected. Because among 147 characters listed in Paek(2005), those of Joseon era were also included.

5. Would you please explain more in detail about “performance glossing” in the conclusion?