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Vernacular Terms in Sinitic Texts: Multilingualism in Eighth-century Japanese Documents

Abstract: The paper proposes the analysis of manuscript Japanese documents in Sinitic (on wooden tablets or on paper) in which specialised vernacular Japanese terms are employed. These terms are used regardless of the availability of equivalent Sinitic terms, their referents are not culturally specific and, therefore, their usage may not be justified on the basis of cultural particularity. The paper explores the factors that motivate such departures from established norms and their implications for the communicative efficacy of the documents in question, and aims to elucidate the rationale behind the compiling of such multilingual texts. Additionally, the study touches tangentially upon the process of sharing and learning such terminologies among different actors of the eighth-century state.

1 Introduction

In this paper, I present some results of ongoing research into the technical and artisanal terminologies of ancient Japan, specifically from the late seventh to the eighth centuries CE, with the aim of shedding light on such terms and their underlying concepts in the domains of craftsmanship and technology. As no Japanese treatises on technical knowledge from this period have been found, and probably none were produced,[1] reconstructing these matters involves recognising terms, actors and practices in other types of texts, such as legal sources, dictionaries and encyclopaedias, and administrative and practical documents. I use the term 'practical documents' to refer to texts containing highly technical content, composed for practical purposes.

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1 It goes without saying that Chinese technical books circulated widely in Japan, since, as is well known, the reception of the Chinese civilisation had a bookish character. For a synthesis of the problems regarding the history of technical knowledge in pre-1600 Japan, refer to Buhrman 2017. For more information on the reception of Chinese civilisation and its bookish character, see von Verschuer 1985, 251–256.

The present study entails the examination of five distinct case studies that showcase a diversity of examples regarding the typology of the documents, the context of their production and consumption, and the related terminology. Through the discussion of these sources, the paper contends that, despite the established conventions governing the compilation of documents in Sinitic, there are instances where specialised vernacular terms are employed,[2] regardless of the availability of an equivalent Sinitic term. It is notable that referents of these terms are not culturally specific, and, therefore, their usage may not be justified based on cultural particularity.

The paper, thus, explores the factors that motivate such departures from established norms and their implications for the communicative efficacy of the documents in question, and aims to elucidate the rationale behind the compilation of such multilingual texts. Additionally, the study touches tangentially upon the process of sharing and learning such terminologies among different actors of the eighth-century state.

2 Multilingual texts in ancient Japan

The linguistic repertoire[3] of ancient Japan was characterised by a macroscopic variation related, first of all, to the presence of sources in Sinitic versus those in Japanese vernacular. Sinitic, as the cosmopolitan language of prestige and learning, and widespread throughout East Asia, was a conservative written medium over a large and shifting area that went far beyond the lands where Chinese languages were spoken, and Japanese was certainly also a spoken language of the archipelago.[4] Actually, scattered evidence suggests that spoken Chinese was also used on the archipelago, at least in the early eighth century, but only at the level of cultural elites. One passage, for example, reports that

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2 I use the word 'term' in the sense of modern terminological science and particularly as 'a conventional symbol that represents a concept defined within a particular field of knowledge' (Cabré 1999, 81).

3 I use the term 'linguistic repertoire' to refer to the collection of linguistic resources available to a language community, which individuals within that community use to communicate and convey meaning.

4 It was particularly the obligatory language of diplomacy and statecraft throughout East Asia until the late nineteenth century, but it was not imposed by China, since each East Asian society used the language of its neighbour voluntarily. On the choice of the term 'Sinitic' rather than 'Classical' or 'Literary Chinese', see Mair 1994 and 2001.

five scholars were each ordered to teach 'Han speech' (*kango* 漢語),[5] in other words, the spoken language of the Han country (i.e. Chinese), to two pupils apiece. In any case, the phenomenon was transitory and not solidified as in the case of written Sinitic.[6]

The limited use of Sinitic as an oral language speaks against the existence of 'diglossia' (much less that of 'bilingualism') in Charles Ferguson's terms, leading some scholars to state the 'fallacy of bilingualism' in favour of a continuum in terms of written language/script between Sinitic and Japanese vernacular.[7]

This script continuum exhibits several variations. In the realm of Sinitic, the language of translated Buddhist scriptures, laws and official documents, and literary poetry displays significant differences. Moreover, certain texts exhibit a distinctive style that lies somewhere between the two ends of the scriptural continuum. The *Kojiki* 古事記 ('Record of Ancient Matters', 712) and the *Harima no kuni fudoki* 播磨国風土記 ('Record of the Province of Harima and its Customs', *c.* 714), for instance, feature a sort of 'multi-grammatical prose' in which logograms are arranged in both Chinese and Japanese syntax.[8] But Japanese had prestigious uses too, such as being the language of royal edicts (*shō* 詔) that 'conveyed the august word' (*mikotonori*) of the sovereign[9] – the only official documents written in Chinese characters used as phonograms – and the language of *norito* 祝詞 prayers and formulas, with the magic implications they possess. The script used for edicts and *norito* prayers is called *senmyōgaki* 宣命書 ('writing in the style of edicts').[10]

Moreover, local variation is also attested in sources, since, besides the so-called Western Old Japanese, we also find some languages of fragmentary attes-

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5 In this paper, Japanese names and bibliographic references are transcribed in the revised Hepburn system, and Chinese names and bibliographic references in *pinyin*. Linguistic data from Old Japanese are presented following Vovin 2020, from Medieval Chinese following Baxter and Sagart 2014. Characters are furnished only for titles of books and when useful to the argument.

6 The passage is in the *Shoku Nihongi* 続日本紀 ('Chronicle of Japan. Continuation', 797), Book 10, Tenpyō 2.3.27 (Aoki Kazuo et al. 1990, 132–133). See also Duthie 2014, 208–209, Manieri 2022a, 182.

7 Lurie 2011, 323–334.

8 Lurie 2011, 227–228; Sema Masayuki 2011, 35–48; Palmer 2016, 13, 55–56.

9 In Japanese the character *shō* 詔 ('edict') was spelled as *mikotonori*, lit. 'relating the august word', as it was intended to be read publicly. On the form of *shō*, cf. Migliore 2011, 18–21.

10 On *senmyōgaki*, see Bender 2009; Lurie 2011, 250–253; on *norito*, see Philippi 1990. On the prestige usage of Japanese in general, see Hayakawa Shōhachi 1997, 3–21, which highlights the passage from the 'world of orality' (口頭の世界) of pre-*ritsuryō* Japan to the 'world of documents' (文書の世界) established by Nara's strong administrative state.

tation, such as Eastern Old Japanese and the Kyūshū dialects.[11] When discussing the languages of ancient Japan, scholars usually refer to a passage from the somewhat cryptic text titled *Tōdaiji fuju monkō* 東大寺諷誦文稿 ('Tōdai Monastery Recitation Draft Text', early ninth century), which refers to languages spoken in Japan, Great Tang, Silla, Persia, India and South East Asia, as well as several local dialects spoken in the archipelago, namely those of 'this land', the Emishi, Hida (to the north of Yamato) and the Azuma (eastern regions).[12] Although the passage does not aim to present the linguistic scenario and focuses instead on the Buddha's universal ability to communicate, it indirectly provides information about the languages spoken during the period under examination, suggesting a sort of awareness of linguistic diversity.

Various terms have been proposed to describe this linguistic repertoire of ancient Japan where, rather than a speech community, it is the emergence of a script community centred on the use of written Sinitic that is relevant.[13] One convincing framework is the 'Sinographic cosmopolis', originally elaborated by Ross King in his study of Sinitic and vernacular Korean,[14] which may also be fruitfully applied to Japan, Vietnam and other peripheries in the Sinic world. The concept highlights the 'supraregional dimension' ('cosmo-') of this sphere, with a focus on the political dimension and the common aesthetics of political culture ('-polis'). The term 'Sinographic' is used to emphasise the graphological

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11 Western Old Japanese is the language of songs in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 ('Chronicle of Japan', 720), as well as of almost any book of the *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 ('Collection of Myriad Leaves', *post* 759). Eastern Old Japanese is attested in Books 14 and 20 of the *Man'yōshū* and in some poems of the *Hitachi no kuni fudoki* 常陸国風土記 ('Record of the Province of Hitachi and its Customs', *c.* 713–718), while sparse attestations of the Kyūshū dialect are found in the *fudoki* (geographical records) of the Saikaidō region. For Western Old Japanese, see Vovin 2020; for Eastern Old Japanese, see Vovin and Ishisaki-Vovin 2021; for the old dialect of Kyūshū, see Manieri 2022b.

12 For a detailed and updated introduction to the manuscript and its complex history, see Whitman 2022. The text is reproduced in Nakada Norio 1969. For a translation of the passage and an analysis in the wider context of the construction of imperial power, refer to Duthie 2014, 209–211. Terada Akira argues that the passage shows no awareness of the 'difference among the languages', since both the language group outside the archipelago and that within are referred to as *hōgen* 方言 ('dialects') (Terada Akira 2009, 167–168). However, in my view, the fact that the text distinguishes two different language groups and statutes – 'the language of this land' in relation to 'foreign' languages – indicates the opposite.

13 Cf. 'hieroglossia', discussed by Robert 2006, and 'Sinoglossia', by Saitô Mareshi 2021. Cf. also the concept of 'brush talk' in Denecke 2014. For a detailed review of other terms, see Kornicki 2018, 33–41.

14 King 2014. See also Handel 2019 and Kin Bunkyō 2021.

and scriptological dimension that distinguishes this sphere from the mega-regions studied by Sheldon Pollock in his 'Sanskrit cosmopolis'.[15]

This diverse array of texts often incorporates multiple languages. It is not uncommon to encounter texts written in Sinitic that use phonograms to indicate vernacular pronunciation for the proper names of people or places. Further-more, some works in Sinitic, such as diaries, annals and fiction, include poems, edicts and prayers in vernacular. In some cases, such as in reports from the provinces, even local variants of certain words are documented.[16] Finally, texts in Sinitic with lexical and/or grammatical glosses in vernacular are not rare in the eighth century.

The focus of this paper, however, is not the attestation of local varieties or Japanese poetic diction in texts in Sinitic, but rather, the occurrence of vernacu-lar terms in bureaucratic and practical texts in Sinitic, whose models are more or less standardised or even defined by rule.

The *Yōrōryō* 養老令 ('Administrative Code of the Yōrō Era', 718), for exam-ple, which is the official code of the eighth century, includes the *Kūjikiryō* 公式令 ('Law on Official Documents'), where twenty-two out of eighty-nine articles are specifically devoted to establishing the formats of official documents, such as the edict, petition, notification, appointment, register and pass, providing information on their opening and closing formulas, the character of the main text and the procedure to follow when compiling them.[17] All the text forms are in Sinitic, with the sole exception of the edict (*shō* 詔). Other kinds of documents, however, even ones not possessing a format determined by law, follow a tradi-tion of procedures and precedents, as shown by the wide availability of practi-cal texts in Japanese archives and later legislation.

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15 King 2014, 6. On the Sanskrit cosmopolis, see Pollock 2006.

16 See, for example, the occurrences of the Kyūshū dialect of Western Old Japanese in records from the provinces of the Saikaidō region (Manieri 2022b, 40–45).

17 The text of the law has been preserved in two commentaries from the ninth century, name-ly, the *Ryō no gige* 令義解('Official Commentary on Administrative Laws', 833) and the *Ryō no shūge* 令集解 ('Collection of Commentaries on Administrative Laws', compiled between 859 and 877). The reconstructed text of the *Kūjikiryō* 公式令 can be found in Inoue Mitsusada et al. 1976, 365–406. For translations and commentaries into European languages, see Dettmer 2010, 329–415 and Migliore 2011. An introduction to the law is in Migliore 2018, 183.

3 Multilingualism in practical texts

This paper focuses on instances of multilingualism in practical texts on wooden tablets or paper.

Wooden tablets are called *mokkan* 木簡 in modern Japanese and they are, by a simple definition, documents written down by the use of ink on wooden slips, made of Japanese cypress or cedar, of varying size, usually not very big.[18] Most tablets date back from the late seventh to the eighth century and originate from Nara, the ancient capital, but a significant number also come from the surrounding regions of other former capitals such as Fujiwara, Nagaoka and Heian, from the headquarters of certain provinces and from Buddhist monasteries, that were, in any case, areas of power with a more advanced level of literacy.

Japanese scholars at the Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties have elaborated a taxonomy in fifteen types of surviving tablets according to shape, showing a diversity that does not emerge in their Chinese counterparts.[19] In terms of their contents, they can be classified into three major types: labels or tags, which were attached to tax goods; documents in the strict sense; and slips for calligraphy practice and learning.[20]

Regarding the paper documents, this study refers to some *Shōsōin monjo* 正倉院文書 (lit. 'Shōsōin documents'), which are the documents contained in around 660 scrolls preserved in the Shōsōin 正倉院, the repository of Tōdai Monastery 東大寺 in Nara. The Shōsōin consists of three sections: the North Section contains artefacts connected with the sovereign Shōmu 聖武 (701–756, r. 724–749), donated by his consort Kōmyō 光明 (701–760) in 756, forty-nine days after his demise; the Middle Section, documents and objects related to the Office for the Construction of the Tōdai Monastery (Zō Tōdaiji shi 造東大寺司); and the South Section, Buddhist and ritual implements used at the Tōdai Monastery.[21] The documents of the Office for the Construction of the Tōdai Monas-

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18 Tōno Haruyuki 1983, 4. The initial significant collection of wooden tablets was excavated at the Heijō Palace site in Nara in 1961. Subsequently, more than 150,000 slips have been uncovered across approximately five hundred sites spanning from northern Honshū to Kyūshū. For a general introduction to *mokkan*, see Tōno Haruyuki 1977; Tōno Haruyuki 1983; Tōno Haruyuki 2005; and Satō Makoto 1997. For some remarks in English, see Piggott 1990; Farris 1998; Manieri 2020.
19 Farris 1998, 201.
20 A corpus of about 50,000 tablets is freely available online at the *Mokkanko – Wooden Tablet Database* (<https://mokkanko.nabunken.go.jp/>, accessed 25 June 2023) by the Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties.
21 After being maintained by Tōdai Monastery for over a thousand years, and under the responsibility of the Imperial Household Agency (former Imperial Household Ministry) since

tery were actually inscribed on the reverse side of discarded documents that were originally created by other offices in the capital or the provinces. Consequently, this practice of utilising them as ledger paper ensures the preservation of various distinct documents.[22]

The practical texts, which are the focus of this article, are 'service' texts that were entrusted to writing supports that – not being intended for preservation, such as wooden tablets or loose sheets of paper – were more likely to be lost. Those that do remain available to us have been preserved for often accidental reasons, such as being reused on the back for transcribing other documents.

The use of these texts associated with temporary material support offers a glimpse into a form of writing that maintains a sense of naturalness. Moreover, it sheds light on the practice of multilingualism, even within contexts characterised by limited institutional formality.

Although these sources have been widely studied for their contents, historical reconstruction or document genres, scant attention has been paid to their linguistic features, and particularly to the co-presence of Sinitic syntax and specialised terms in Japanese vernacular. Thus, insights into technical and artisanal terminology contribute to the ongoing and enthusiastic debate surrounding the linguistic repertoire of seventh- and eighth-century Japan.

4 Attestations of vernacular terms in practical texts in Sinitic

In this section, I will provide five different sources in Sinitic containing specialised terms in vernacular Japanese. I will introduce each source in terms of its philological features and textual genre; I will then focus on the terms, eliciting their scriptural features and meaning by consulting ancient Japanese dictionar-

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1884, as of 31 March 2010, the catalogued collection held 8,932 items. The details of the items belonging to Shōmu are recorded in the *Kokka chinpōchō* 国家珍宝帳 ('Record of Rare Treasures of the Country', 756). For a general introduction to the Shōsōin, see Hayashi Ryoichi 1975, in particular on the *Shōsōin monjo*, see Tōno Haruyuki 1977; Tōno Haruyuki 2005.

22 The digitised version of the documents is available at the database of the Shōsōin official website (<https://shosoin.kunaicho.go.jp/>, accessed 25 June 2023). Most of *Shōsōin monjo* have been published as *Dai Nihon Komonjo* 大日本古文書 ('Old documents of Japan') (1901–1940), also available at the open access databases of the Historiographical Institute of the University of Tokyo (<https://wwwap.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/ships/>, accessed 25 June 2023).

ies or, when no lexicographic information is available, by linguistic reconstruction with reference to later sources or lexical data.

I will mainly consult the *Wamyōruijushō* 和名類聚抄 ('Classified Notes on Japanese Nouns', *c.* 930), compiled by the scholar-official Minamoto no Shitagō 源順 (911–988). It is a bilingual Sinitic-Japanese dictionary, and though it dates to *c.* 930 CE – thus, much later than the period of compilation of the texts under investigation – it is an essential tool because it is organised into categories and composed of quotations from previous sources, including eighth-century dictionaries, as we will see more thoroughly below. The work survives in a twenty-book version (*nijikkanbon* 廿巻本) and a ten-book version (*jikkanbon* 十巻本) that differ in their respective number of books and internal arrangement; there is not always complete correspondence between the lemmas of the two versions, and it is difficult to determine which of the two is the oldest or most faithful to the author's intentions.[23]

I will also occasionally refer to other dictionaries, such as the *Shinsen jikyō* 新撰字鏡 ('Mirror of Characters, Newly Edited', *c.* 898–901) by the monk Shōjū 昌住 (?–?), which is a character dictionary organised by character radical – but also includes an appendix where words are listed by semantic category – and to the later *Ruijumyōgishō* 類聚名義抄 ('Notes on Classified Meanings', late eleventh century), which is also arranged by radical.[24]

4.1 Source A: A bay horse in *mokkan* 1926

The first example comes from the *mokkan* numbered 1926, unearthed at excavation SD1900 at the Heijōkyū Suzakumon site in Nara (Sakichō), on the Shimo-

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23 There are several testimonies of the two versions in the form of both manuscripts and print editions. All of the manuscripts are either incomplete or have lacunas, but the two versions have vulgates in the form of printed editions: for the twenty-book version, the *Genna sannen kokatsujiban nijikkanbon* 元和三年古活版廿巻本 ('Movable-Type Edition in Twenty Books of the Third Year of Genna Era'), an edition printed with movable type and published in 1617 by the Confucian scholar Naba Kassho 那波活所 (1595–1648); and, for the ten-book version, the *Senchū Wamyōruijushō* 箋注倭名類聚抄 ('Annotated Commentary on the *Wamyōruijushō*'), the edition annotated by Kariya Ekisai 狩谷棭斎 (1775–1835), completed in 1823 but published only in 1883. In this paper, I will mainly consult the *Genna sannen kokatsujiban nijikkanbon*, for which I follow Nakada Norio 1978. Other testimonies are in Kyōto daigaku bungakubu kokugo kokubungaku kenkyūshitsu 1968. For a general introduction to the *Wamyōruijushō*, see Lin Zhongpeng 2002.
24 For the *Shinsen jikyō*, I follow Kyōto daigaku bungakubu kogaku bungaku kenkyūshitsu 1967; for the *Ruijumyōgishō*, I follow Tenri daigaku fuzoku Tenri toshokan 2018.

tsumichi, one of the three main roads that ran north-south through the ancient Yamato plain, and which extended northward from the Fujiwara capital leading to Nara. It is a rectangular plate measuring 656 × 36 × 10 mm.[25] It is written on both the recto (one line) and the verso (two lines). Around seventy-three characters are readable, while one character may be delineated as missing.

The text of the *mokkan* reads as follows:[26]

関々司前解　近江国蒲生郡阿伎里人大初上阿□勝足石許田作人
　　　　　　　大宅女右二人左京小治町大初上笠阿曽彌安戸人右二
同伊刀古麻呂
　　　　　　　送行乎我都　鹿毛牡馬歳七　　　　里長尾治都留伎

A tentative translation is as follows:

> Petition to the official of frontiers
> Aki nə Suⁿguritaruiwa, upper great initial rank, a man from the village of A[ki], district of Kamapu, province of Apumi, allowed the tillers of rice fields.
> The tillers of rice fields [are] the two men Itokomarə and Opoyakɛme. The two aforementioned [are] men of the residence unit of Kasa nə Asəmi Yasu, upper great initial rank, of Woparimati, in the Left Capital.
> Accompanied by Wokatu. Male bay horse, seven years old.
> – Village Chief Wopari nə Turuⁿgi

The *mokkan* is a permit issued by the village chief Ohari no Tsurugi (Wopari nə Turuⁿgi) to allow two men, Itokomaro (Itokomarə) and Ōyakeme (Opoyakɛme), members of the residence unit (*ko* 戸) of Kasa no Yasu in Oharimachi (Woparimati), to return to the capital from the village of Aki. They were working as rice field tillers for Aki no Suguritaruiwa (Aki nə Suⁿguritaruiwa) in the village of Aki, district of Kamō (Kamapu), in the province of Ōmi (Apumi).

The *mokkan* does not contain a date, but several hints suggest that it may have been issued in the early eighth century. Firstly, the institution of the village chief was regulated by the *Taihō ritsuryō* 大宝律令 ('Penal and Administrative Codes of the Taihō Era') of 701, but the character 里 was used for 'village' until 715 and then again after 740. Between these two years, the more complex *gōrisei* (郷里制) system came into effect, in which the character 郷 (Ch. *xiang*, Sino-Jp. *gō*) was used for 'village', while 里 (Ch. *li*, Sino-Jp. *ri*) was used to indicate its subunits. Secondly, in

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25 For the excavation report, see Nara kokuritsu bunkazai kenkyūjo 1974b. A photographic reproduction is found in Nara kokuritsu bunkazai kenkyūjo 1974a, pl. 1. See also Kiyota Yoshiki 1980.
26 All translations are my own unless otherwise noted. In the transcriptions of the texts and the translations, round brackets indicate portions of text printed in characters of smaller size in the original; square brackets in translations indicate my insertions to facilitate understanding.

715, the use of wood and bamboo for transit permits was prohibited, and they began to be produced on paper instead.[27] Thirdly, some textual features, such as 前, were present in the seventh-century *mokkan*, but became less common in the eighth century,[28] showing that the *mokkan* was inscribed in a transitional period, possibly the early eighth century. Finally, several places in Fujiwara, the capital from 694 to 710, are called by proper nouns, such as Oharimachi, while there are no such cases for Nara, the capital from 710.[29] Therefore, we can assume that this *mokkan* was created between 701, the year of the promulgation of the *Taihō ritsuryō*, and 710, the year of the capital's transfer from Fujiwara to Nara.

The fact that the *mokkan* was unearthed near Nara is due to the likelihood that the travellers using the ancient pass crossed Yamashiro Province via the Tōkaidō road to enter Yamato Province, where the pass was abandoned as it was no longer necessary. The two men were accompanied by another man named Okatsu (Wokatu), likely a serf, and a seven-year-old male bay horse.

The 'Law on Official Documents' of the *Yōrōryō* of 718 contains an article on the form of the transit pass, probably also present in the *Taihō ritsuryō* of 701, since the *Ryō no shūge* 令集解 ('Collection of Commentaries on Administrative Laws', compiled between 859 and 877), in the section regarding the law, contains some quotations from the *Koki* 古記 ('Ancient Records', early eighth century), which was a commentary to the code of 701. The article reads as follows:

過所式
其事云云。度某関往其国。
某官位姓。（三位以上。称卿。）資人。位姓名。（年若干。若庶人称本属。）従人。某国某
郡某里人姓名年。（奴名年。婢名年。）其物若干。其毛牡牝馬牛若干疋頭。
年　月　日　　　　主　典　位　姓　名
次　官　位　姓　名
右過所式。並令依式具録二通。申送所司。々々勘同。即依式署。一通留為案。一通判
給。[30]

Transit Pass: Form.
Purpose of travel. Crossing such barriers and reaching such province.
The official, rank, honorific title (if holder of a third rank or higher: family name and lord).
Assistants: Rank, honorific title, name (age. If a commoner, [the family register] he belongs to shall be indicated). Accompanying people: Province, district, village, honorific ti-

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27 Kiyota Yoshiki 1980. For the prohibition on using bamboo and wooden tablets for transit passes, see *Shoku Nihongi*, Book 6, Reiki 1.5.1 (Aoki Kazuo et al. 1989, 224–227); *Ryō no shūge*, Book 34 (*Kyūjikiryō*), 'Tenshi shinji jō' (Kuroita Katsumi 1955, 852).

28 Nara bunkazai kenkyūjo 2017, 1.

29 Nara bunkazai kenkyūjo 2017, 2.

30 Inoue Mitsusada et al. 1976, 389.

tle, name, age (male slaves: name and age; female slaves: name and age). Objects and their quantities. Number of heads of horses and cattle, their coat colour and sex.

Year, month, day.　　　　　　Official of the fourth class, rank, honorific title, name.

Vice director: rank, honorific title, name.

The aforementioned transit pass forms shall be prepared in two copies according to this format and sent to the relevant office. The relevant office shall carry out the checks. Then, the copies shall be signed according to the format. One copy shall be filed [in the relevant office], and the other shall be delivered [to the interested party].[31]

The transit pass on *mokkan* 1926 deviates from the law article in some respects, but it does not fail to record the names of the travellers, their origin, purpose, the accompanying people and the heads of horses, along with their coat colour and sex.

In the *mokkan*, the horse's coat colour, which we have translated as 'bay', is expressed by the two characters 鹿毛, respectively meaning 'deer' and 'coat'. This compound seems to refer to a colour similar to the 'coat of a deer', but it is not attested in Chinese sources as a term for an equine coat. Additionally, the two characters are also often used as phonograms of the *kungana* 訓仮名 type for *ka* and *kɛ*.

The *Wamyōruijushō*, Section 16 'Bovines and Horses' (牛馬部), Subsection 149 'Bovine and Equine Coats' (牛馬毛) has the largest early organised nomenclature of equine and bovine coat colours. Among the various lemmas, we find the compound 鹿毛 in the following entry:

Wamyōruijushō, Book 11, 16/149
騮馬[...] 毛詩注云騮(音留漢語抄云騮馬鹿毛也[...])赤身黑鬣馬也[...][32]

Bay horse. The *Maoshizhu* states [that] bay 騮 (the sound is [that of the character] *ljuw* 留; the *Kangoshō* states [that] a bay 騮 horse is a *kakɛ* horse [...]) is a horse with a brown body and black hair.

The entry explains that the *Kangoshō* 漢語抄 ('Notes on Chinese Words'), which is a lost bilingual Sinitic-Japanese dictionary from the eighth century, furnishes the compound 鹿毛 as an equivalent of the Sinitic 騮, which is defined by a quotation from the Chinese source *Maoshizhu* 毛詩注 ('Mao's Commentary on the Classic of Poetry', pre-221 BCE) as a horse with a reddish-brown body and black extremities (called 'bay' in English). In the 'Bovine and Equine Coats' section of the *Wamyōruijushō*, there are many examples of vernacular equiva-

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31　A translation into Italian can be found in Migliore 2011, 81; into German, in Dettmer 2010, 370–371.

32　Nakada Norio 1978, 128.

lents with the morphological structure 'name + *kɛ* 毛', none of which is attested in the varied Sinitic nomenclature. Finally, these vernacular terms with phonograms that also have a semantic value do not occur in contemporary poetry, such as in the poetic anthology *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 ('Collection of Myriads of Leaves', post-759), where the horse-coat colours are only basic terms, such as *aka* 'red', *kuro* 'black' and *awo* 'white'.[33]

4.2 Source B: Unusable horses in the *Suō no kuni shōzeichō*

The second text I would like to present is a passage from the *Suō no kuni shōzeichō* 周防国正税帳 ('Register of Correct Taxes for the Province of Suō').

The *shōzeichō* 正税帳 was the register that each province compiled to record the amount of annual regular taxes collected, expenditures borne in the previous year and balances. The form of this register has varied, but without straying significantly from the model later recorded in Book 27 of the *Engishiki* 延喜式 ('Procedures of the Engi Era', 927) related to the Bureau of Public Resources (Shuzeiryō 主税寮).[34] About twenty-five *shōzeichō* from the Tenpyō era (729–749) have been preserved among the documents of the Shōsōin, some being more or less complete, others fragmentary.

Shōzeichō were prepared in three copies: one copy was kept at the provincial administration headquarters as a reference for subsequent governors and the drafting of the following year's document; two copies were submitted to the Great Council of State (Daijōkan 太政官) by the end of the second month,[35] forwarded by provincial officials called *shōzeichōshi* 正税帳使 or *shōzeishi* 正税帳使 (lit. 'messengers of the registers of regular taxes'). The *shōzeichō* were inspected for errors or irregularities in each category at the Bureau of Public Resources of the Ministry of Popular Affairs (Minbushō 民部省), and, if any were found, they were returned, and adjustments would be ordered. The entries in the register are, therefore, related to quantities of rice, millet or salt, expenses for repairing weapons or transportation expenses, and it is also possible to come across expenses related to livestock, particularly post and relay horses.[36]

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33 For other attestations of 'name + 毛' types of coat colours in ancient Japanese sources, see Manieri 2012.

34 Kuroita Katsumi 1938, 671–685. As for the *Engishiki* see Bock 1970; Bock 1972; Bock 1985.

35 The provinces of the Saikaidō (present-day Kyūshū) were required to send them to the Dazaifu before the thirtieth day of the second month, and, once checked, to send them to the Council of State before the thirtieth day of the fifth month.

36 On the *shōzeichō*, see Inoue Tatsuo 1967; Hérail 1966, particularly 106–107.

The extant registers held at the Shōsōin also include that of the province of Suō, a territory corresponding to the eastern part of present-day Yamaguchi Prefecture. The *Suō no kuni shōzeichō* dates to 738.[37] The document survives on 15 sheets that are part of manuscript scroll Seishū 正集 35 (paper, 26.2 × 617.2 cm, consisting of 18 glued sheets in total) and Seishū 36 (paper, 26.6 × 556 cm, consisting of 15 glued sheets in total).[38] These sheets have survived because the Office of Sutra Transcription (Shakyōshi 写経司) used their reverse sides as second-hand paper for several types of registers and documents from the eighteenth (746) to the twentieth (748) year of the Tenpyō era. The *Suō no kuni shōzeichō* from 738 occupies fols 12–18 of Seishū 35 and 1–8 of Seishū 36,[39] which are marked with the province's stamp. The document is incomplete, but it provides various pieces of information regarding the province's expenditures and rice reserves. It also includes a brief section on horses that are no longer usable (*fuyō uma* 不用馬), which reads as follows:

不用馬陸匹　（一匹天平三年買、歯七、経傳八歳、左前足宇弓。二匹天平五年買、歯六、経傳五歳、左後足多利。一匹天平四年買、歯七、経傳八歳、右前足宇弓。一匹天平六年買、歯四、経傳五歳、左前足宇弓。一匹天平六年買、歯五、経傳五歳、右前足宇弓。）

Unusable horses: six. (One horse purchased in the third year of the Tenpyō era, seven years old, eight years old according to the manual, with a bruise on the left front leg. Two horses purchased in the fifth year of the Tenpyō era, six years old, five years old according to the manual, with lameness on the left hind leg. One horse purchased in the fourth year of the Tenpyō era, seven years old, eight years old according to the manual, with a bruise on the right hind leg. One horse purchased in the sixth year of the Tenpyō era, four years old, five years old according to the manual, with a bruise on the left front leg. One horse purchased in the sixth year of the Tenpyō era, five years old, also five years old according to the manual, with a bruise on the right front leg.)

Other *shōzeichō* – such as that of the province of Echizen in 733, of Owari in 734, and of the administration of the eastern part of the capital (Sakyōshiki) in 738 – also give an indication of the 'unusable horses', though recording only the

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37 On various questions about the *Suō no kuni shōzeichō*, see Inoue Tatsuo 1967, 247–294.

38 The manuscripts Seishū 35 and 36 are both held at the Shōsōin, Section Centre, 15. Their digitised versions are at the following URLs, respectively: <https://tinyurl.com/4278fmh8>; <https://tinyurl.com/kzywvtc3> (accessed on 25 June 2023). A diplomatic edition of the document is in DNK, vol. 2, 130–146.

39 In Seishū 35, the height of the sheets in is 26.6 the length of each sheet, from 12 to 18, is 14.2 + 50.8 + 50.8 + 56.2 + 56.0 + 56.1 + 29.3. In Seishū 36, the height of the sheets is 26.6 the length of each sheet, from 1 to 8, is 29.9 + 40.6 + 55.3 + 56.2 + 56.3 + 5.2 + 17.5 + 28.

number of heads.[40] The *Suō shōzeichō* under examination provides additional information, including the year of acquisition, age (expressed by the character 歯, lit. 'tooth', as usual in the technical field of hippology) and, notably, the reasons for the animals' lack of utility.

Specifically, all six heads of cattle are reported to have a leg issue, which in two cases is attributed to a condition known as *tari* 多利, and in the remaining four cases, to a condition called *ute* 宇弓. A peculiarity of the text is the fact that although the document is written in Sinitic, the names of the two diseases are conveyed by the phonograms 多利 and 宇弓. The term *ute* has no other attestations in sources. It could have the same root as the verb *utsu* 打つ [Old Jp. *utu*], meaning 'to strike, to hit', and it could, thus, indicate a contusion (bruise) occurring when a blow strikes part of the body. The term *tari* is, etymologically, the converb form of the intransitive quadrigrade verb *taru* 垂る, which means 'to droop' or 'to sag', and could refer to the formation of fleshy warts on a part of the body that droop and sag. The term is also attested in several ancient dictionaries. In the *Shinsen jikyō*, it occurs in the following lemma in Section 27 'Radical Sickness' (疒部):

Shinsen jikyō, 27
疲 三形同有流反平腫也。伊比保又太利又比志比子。[41]

Lameness. It is the same as the word 'three-formed' 三形. [The sound is that of *hjuw*, like the initial of the character] *hjuwX* 有 plus [the final of the character] *ljuw* 流. It is an ordinary 'swelling' 腫. [Vernacular terms:] *ihiho*, and *tari*, and *hisihisi*.

A precise definition is found in the *Wamyōruijushō*, Section 16 'Bovines and Horses', Subsection 151 'Bovine and Equine Maladies' (牛馬病):

Wamyōruijushō, Book 11, 16/151
鷙　唐韻云鷙（陟利反、興到同、俗云鷙多利。）馬脚屈重也。[42]

Lameness. The *Tangyun* states that lameness 鷙 (the sound is that of [the initial of the character] *trik* 陟 plus [the final of the character] *lijH* 利, the same [as that of the character] *trijH* 致; the vernacular of 鷙 is *tari*) is [the malady in which] the horse's leg bends and trudges.

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40 The *shōzeichō* of Echizen Province, dating to the fifth year of the Tenpyō era (733), and that of Owari Province, dating to the sixth year of the Tenpyō era, are in DNK, vol. 1, 461–469 and 607–622, respectively, while that of Sakyōshiki, dating to the tenth year of the Tenpyō era, is in DNK, vol. 2, 106.

41　Kyōto daigaku bungakubu kogaku bungaku kenkyūshitsu 1967, 44.

42　Nakada Norio 1978, 130.

The later *Ruijumyōgishō*, Section 'Clergy/Part 2' (僧中), Subsection 102, reads as follows:

> *Ruijumyōgishō*, Book Clergy/Part 2, 102
> 驚　今正音至馬重皃音致　タリ　ナツム　ナヘク　ツマック[43]
>
> Lameness. Present-day correct sound is the same as [that of the character] *tsyijH* 至. Troublesome appearance of a horse. [Vernacular terms:] *tari*, *natumu*, *naheku*, *tumatuku*.

Tari is, therefore, the vernacular equivalent of 驚, a pathology of the horse's leg most likely identifiable with what is known as 'lameness', a disease in which a deformed hoof curves backwards, generating a defect in the flatness of the horse's foot, due to which the animal proceeds by resting predominantly on the toes of the hooves.

In conclusion, ancient dictionaries attest that *tari* is the vernacular equivalent of the Sinitic veterinary term 驚 or 疣. For the purpose of this analysis, it is interesting to note that the *Wamyōruijushō* specifically mentions *zoku* 俗 in its twenty-book version (but *zokujin* 俗人, 'common people' in its ten-book version). Within the *Wamyōruijushō*, Japanese equivalents are marked with *wamyō* 和名 and *zoku* (or alternatively *zokujin* or *zokugo* 俗語) where there is no attestation in previous dictionaries. As Tsukishima Hiroshi has pointed out, *wamyō* refers to a term for which the compiler Shitagō recognises a previous attestation, while *zoku* is used when he does not recognise it and takes it from spoken language.[44]

4.3 Source C: Struts and beams in the *Zō Ishiyamain shō yōdochō*

The third text is a passage from the *Zō Ishiyamain sho yōdochō* 造石山院所用度帳 ('Register of Expenses of the Institute for the Construction of the Ishiyama Monastery'), which is a budget document listing necessary supplies.

The monastery was originally built in 747 at the request of sovereign Shōmu, when the monk Rōben 良弁 (689–773), founder of Tōdai Monastery, enshrined Nyoirin Kannon 如意輪観音.[45] Later, from 761, the expansion of the

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43 Tenri daigaku fuzoku Tenri toshokan 2018, vol. 2, 257.

44 Tsukishima Hiroshi 1963, 57.

45 Established as a temple of the Kegon lineage, its foundation and history is told in the *Ishiyamadera engi emaki* 石山寺縁起絵巻 ('Illustrated Scroll of the Origins of Ishiyama Monastery', first version: *c.* 1325; enlarged version: 1805) (Aizawa Masahiko and Kuniga Yumiko 2016).

halls and the maintenance of the temple complex were promoted as a state project and carried out under the government office known as the Institute for the Construction of the Ishiyama Monastery (Zō Ishiyamadera sho 造石山寺所), to which Buddhist monks and other staff members were dispatched from the Office for the Construction of the Tōdai Monastery.

Several documents preserved at the Shōsōin date to 761 (i.e. the sixth year of the Tenpyō hōji era) are related to works of expansion and maintenance, including the *Zō Ishiyamain sho yōdochō* under examination. The document survives on 14 sheets: 19ᵛ–7ᵛ of the manuscript scroll Zokuzokushū 続々集 38.9 (paper, 29.1 × 921 cm, consisting of 19 glued sheets) and 9ᵛ of Zokuzokushū 43.9 (paper, 29.0 × 287 cm, consisting of 9 glued sheets).[46]

The document provides various pieces of information regarding the supplies necessary for the expansion of the complex, including a section on the coating to apply to the double-level roof of the pulpit (*kōza* 高座), which reads as follows:

三斗六升高座蓋二覆塗料
　　一斗五升蓋二覆壊料
　　　九升一蓋三重壊料（重別三升）
　　　六升一蓋二重壊料（重別三升）
　　九升二蓋裏於一度土漆料（蓋別四升五合）
　　五升二蓋枚桁丸桁垂木并多々理形及波佐目等《塗二度土》塗二度土漆
　料（蓋別二升五合）
　　七升二蓋枚桁丸桁垂木多々理波佐目等塗三度墨漆料（蓋別三升五合）[47]

Here is a translation of the passage:

3 *to* and 6 *shō* as the quantity of coating to apply to the two levels of the roof of the pulpit.
1 *to* and 5 *shō* as the quantity of dry lacquering to apply the two levels of the roof.
9 *shō* as the quantity for three layers of dry lacquering for one level of the roof (three *shō* for each layer).
6 *shō* as the quantity for two layers of dry lacquering for one level of the roof (3 *shō* for each layer).

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46 The manuscripts Zokuzokushū 38.9 and Zokuzokushū 43.9 are both held at the Shōsōin, Section Centre, 20. In Zokuzokushū 38.9, the length of each sheet from 19ᵛ to 7ᵛ is 56 + 57 +55 + 56 + 58 + 56 + 38 + 44 + 26 +56 + 57 +57 + 57; in Zokuzokushū 43.9, the length of sheet 9ᵛ is 45 cm. Their digitised versions are, respectively, at the following URLs: <https://tinyurl.com/yzvjsn5p>; <https://tinyurl.com/6esptbtv> (accessed on 25 June 2023). A diplomatic edition of the document is in DNK, vol. 16, 263–274. Another document with the same name, but dated to the twelfth (intercalary) month of the sixth year of the Tenpyō hōji era (761), is preserved in Zokuzokushū 45.5, 1ᵛ–5ᵛ; 45.6, 5ʳ; 45.7, 1ʳ–3ʳ, 1ᵛ–3ᵛ. The diplomatic edition of this second document is in DNK, vol. 16, 219–252.
47 Zokuzokushū 38.9, 11ᵛ.

9 *shō* as the quantity of clay lacquering to apply once each to the two roof insides (4 *shō* and 5 *gō* for each inside).

5 *shō* as the quantity of clay lacquering to apply twice to flat beams, round beams, rafters, struts, *pasamɛ*, etc. of the two roofs (2 *shō* and 5 *gō* for each roof).

7 *shō* as the quantity of black lacquering to apply three times to flat beams, round beams, rafters, struts, and *pasamɛ* of the two roofs.

In the passage, quantities are expressed by the system of measurement in *to* 斗, *shō* 升 and *gō* 合,[48] and refer to lacquering to apply to each part of the cover of the pulpit. Therefore, the recorded specialised terms are related to lacquering, such as 'dry lacquering' 壞 and 'black lacquering' 墨漆,[49] and to carpentry and building construction, such as 'flat beams' 枚桁, 'round beams' 丸桁 and 'rafters' 垂木.[50] Among these terms, which are all written in Sinitic, we also find two words indicating other parts of the construction framework spelled in phonograms: *tatarikata* 多々理形, which, as we see below, is the 'strut', and *pasamɛ* 波佐目, a term that is not yet clear. The *Wamyōruijushō*, Book 10, Section 13 'Residences' (居処部), Subsection 137 'Parts of the Dwelling' (居宅具), records the vernacular term *tatarikata*:

Wamyōruijushō, Book 10, 13/137
楄 爾雅注云梁上謂之楄（音而文選師説多々利加太）欂櫨也。説文云欂櫨［薄盧二音］柱上枅也[51]

Strut. *Eryazhu* states [that what is] on the beams is called a 'strut' 楄 (the sound is that of *nyi* 而; the master's explanation to the *Wenxuan* [states it is] *tatarikata*), and [it] is the bracket [supporting the beams]. The *Shuowen* states [that] the bracket (the sound is that of *bak lu* 薄盧) is the capital at the top of the columns.

Thus, the vernacular *tatarikata* is furnished as the equivalent of the term 楄 ('strut'), which is explained as 欂櫨 ('bracket'); this, in turn, is explained – with reference to the *Shuowen jiezi* 説文解字 ('Explaining the Graphs and Unravelling the Characters', 100 CE) – as 柱上枅, the 'capital', the square wooden block at

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48 According to Article 1 of the *Zōryō* 雑令 ('Miscellaneous Law') of the *Yōrōryō*, 1 *to* is equivalent to 10 *shō*, and 1 *shō*, in turn, is equivalent to 10 *gō* (Inoue Mitsusada et al. 1976, 475; Dettmer 2010, 536). In the present-day usage of these traditional units, 1 *gō* is equivalent to 0.18 litres.

49 Dry lacquering is a lacquer craft technique in which a lacquer-coated linen cloth is applied to the bare surface, allowed to dry, and then coated over and over again.

50 A 'flat beam' 枚桁 (*hirageta*) is a light, horizontal, rectangular structure that is inserted into the corner-post between the top and bottom rails of a balustrade; a 'round beam' 丸桁 (*marogeta*) is a circular beam that supports the rafters; and a 'rafter' 垂木 (*taruki*) is the simplest type of structure, extending from the ridge to the end of or beyond the eave.

51 Nakada Norio 1978, 118.

the top of the column. In the *Wamyōruijushō*, the word is indicated by the *ongana* 音仮名 phonograms 多々利加太, while in the attestation of the word in the *Zō Ishiyamain shō yōdochō*, the last two syllables, *kata*, are rendered by the disyllabic *kungana* 形. The source that the compiler Shitagō uses is marked by the expression 師説, meaning 'master's explanation/comment', and refer to the explanations the master provides while commenting on a certain text.

Unfortunately, ancient dictionaries do not record the vernacular term *pasamɛ* 波佐目, and it is not clear what part of the construction it indicates. It could be related to the verb *pasamu* (Modern Jp. *hasamu* 挟む or 挿む), meaning 'to insert', 'to put between', and which also has a bigrade conjugation. Thus, *pasamɛ* could refer to an 'insert' to be put between the beams. In any case, it is worth noting that this additional word, so specific as not to be recorded elsewhere, is recorded in the vernacular, using only phonograms.

These two terms related to carpentry are not the only ones recorded in Shōsōin documents in vernacular, as we can infer from the list of architecture terminology collected by Fukuyama Toshio, where eight of the eighty-five terms enlisted are written in phonograms,[52] showing a trend of making use of vernacular terms in the domain of carpentry and architecture.

4.4 Source D: Things to arrange in the *Shasho zōyōchō*

The text in this subsection is a *Shasho zōyōchō* 写書雑用帳 (lit. 'Register of Miscellaneous Expenses for Copying Books'). It is a document on paper preserved at the Shōsōin, inscribed on the verso of the manuscript scroll Zokushū 続集 16 (paper, 29.1 × 397.3 cm, consisting of 10 glued sheets), in particular on sheets 2ᵛ and 3ᵛ, respectively 45 and 27.7 cm long. The document is cut off at the beginning and the end.[53]

This budget document dates to the fourth day, seventh month, second year of the Tenpyō era, which is 730 CE. Its compiler is Takaya no Akamaro 高屋赤麻呂 (fl. 730), an official of the Office of Sutra Transcription – established around

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52 Fukuyama Toshio 1986. The list includes *tatarikata* 多々理形, but not *pasamɛ* 波佐目. The useful article of Fukuyama lacks a discussion of the typology of terms.

53 The manuscript Zokushū 続集 16 is held at the Shōsōin, Section Centre, 16. Its digitised version is at the following URL: <https://tinyurl.com/398dder9> (accessed on 25 June 2023). A diplomatic edition of the document is in DNK, vol. 1, 303–394.

729 under Queen Consort Kōmyō – who was already engaged at the scriptorium when it was still part of Kōmyō's household organisation.[54]

The text is a list of entries with quantities of supplies needed at the office,[55] which can be grouped into four main sections: (1) wrappers with the number of scrolls they contain; (2) ink, paper sheets and rollers for transcribing the texts; (3) garments (e.g. the 'pure robe', a hemp mantle, trousers and caps) and tools (e.g. fragrances, a cauldron and a small knife) useful to the transcription practice and rite; and (4) things to arrange and set up.

This fourth section, titled 'Things to Arrange and Set Up' (舗設物), includes fifteen entries:

舗設物
長畳二枚　　　　　短畳五枚　　　立薦二枚　　苫二帙
簀四枚　　　　　　長席一枚　　　短机九枝（四寺送附安宿熊取見五足）
辛櫃七合（又須利一合）　㼑三口　　　由加六口　　叩戸二口
缶一口　　壺二口　　　長机二枝　　~~缶一口~~[56]

A translation, useful to the current argument, is as follows:

Things to arrange and set up
Long mats: two; short mats: five; 'vertical' woven mats: two; straw mats: two.
Bamboo-plaited mats: four; long seats: one; short desks: nine (four sent by the temple; Asaka no Kumatori now has five of them).
Chests: seven (and bamboo basket: one); shallow-bottomed jars: three; crocks: six; containers [for liquids]: two.
Vases: one; jars: two; long desks: two.

Among the several types of mats and pieces of furniture listed, there are two entries on boxes, counted by the classifier 合, and five entries on kinds of containers, all counted by the classifier 口 (lit. 'mouth'), used for things with 'mouths' or 'openings'. While 辛櫃 ('chest'), 㼑 (a 'shallow-bottomed jar' used for carrying water or making liquors), 缶 (a 'vase' for holding liquids, large-bodied and small-mouthed), and 壺 ('jar') are represented by the Sinitic words, the three words appearing in the third line, 須利, 由加, and 叩戸, are rendered by phonograms.

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54 For the reconstruction of the various institutions dedicated to the copying of scriptures and related to Queen Kōmyō, as well as to aristocratic households and provincial organisations, see Lowe 2017, 106–145.

55 There are similar extant budget documents from the same office, as in Zokuzokushū 39.4ᵛ (DNK, vol. 21, 121). See also Lowe 2017, 106.

56 This entry is struck through, a correction necessary because the entry had already been inserted at the beginning of this line.

The compound 須利 is recorded twice in the *Wamyōruijushō*, both in the subsection on 'Travel Utensils' (行旅具) in Book 14 and in that on 'Bamboo Implements' (竹器類) in Book 16.

> *Wamyōruijushō*, Book 14, 22/189
> 篗 説文云（音鹿楊氏漢語抄云篗子須利）竹篋也[57]

> Bamboo basket. The *Shuowen* states (the sound is that of *luwk* 鹿; the *Yōshi kangoshō* states [that] 'bamboo basket' 篗子 is the *suri*) [that it] is a small bamboo box.

> *Wamyōruijushō*, Book 16, 23/205
> 篗 考声切韻云篗（音祿和名須里）箱類也[58]

> Bamboo basket. The *Kaosheng qieyun* states that the 'bamboo basket' 篗 (the sound is that of *luwk* 祿; the Japanese name is *suri*) is a type of box.

In both cases, *suri* 須利 is attested as the equivalent of 篗子 or 篗, defined as a 'small box made of bamboo'.

The term *yuka* 由加 is attested in the *Wamyōruijushō*'s subsection on 'Earthen Implements' (瓦器類) in Book 16.

> *Wamyōruijushō*, Book 16, 23/204
> 游塪 唐韻云塪（音剛楊氏漢語抄云游塪由賀）甕也（今案俗人呼大桶為由加乎介是弁色立成云於保美加）[59]

> Urn. The *Tangyun* states [that] a 'crock' 塪 (the sound is that of *kang* 剛; the *Yōshi kangoshō* states [that] 'crock' 游塪 [corresponds to the vernacular] *yuka*) is a [kind of] urn 甕. (It is possible that people call a big bucket 大桶 *yuka woke*. The *Benshiki rissei* states [it is] *opomika*.)

The lemma *yuka* is rendered by the phonogram 由 and the phonogram 賀, which has the same value as 加, and is presented as the equivalent of an earthen crock. The same phonograms also appear in *mokkan* 159 (198 × 26 × 2 cm), unearthed in Nara:

> r. 移　務所　経師分由加六口
> v. 附秦忌寸万呂[60]

> Notification: Scripture master divides six crocks.
> Submitted by Pata nə Imiki Marə.

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57 Nakada Norio 1978, 164.
58 Nakada Norio 1978, 179.
59 Nakada Norio 1978, 179.
60 The *mokkan* is an item with a square end and a hole perforated. The digitised version is at <https://tinyurl.com/3wtnny2y> (accessed on 25 June 2023). A diplomatic edition is found in Terasaki Yasuhiro 1989, 9.

This *mokkan* is an *i* 移, i.e. a notification between equivalent offices regulated by Article 12 of the *Kūjikiryō*.[61] Though only a few characters are inscribed, we can see that 経師 'scripture master' occurs, and the name Hata no Imiki Maro (Pata nə Imiki Marə) 秦忌寸万呂 is that of the same Hata no Maro 秦麻呂 attested in another *mokkan*, where he is declared a 'proofreading attendant' (文校帳内), thus, again involved in scripture transcription.[62]

Finally, the third word, 叩戸, though not attested as a Sinitic word, has a slightly different aspect than the other two terms. The character 戸 is a *kungana*-type phonogram for *pɛ*, while the first one, 叩, is used as a trisyllabic *kungana*-type *tataki*. Also attested in the *Engishiki*, Book 1 'Festival to the Four Deities of Hiraoka' (*Hiraoka no kami shiza no matsuri* 平岡神四座祭), where it is glossed as *tataihe* タタイヘ, it is a synonym of 叩瓷 (*tataibe*), which is a type of pottery container for water or wine.[63]

To sum up, also in the passage from the *Shasho zōyōchō*, vernacular terms rendered by phonograms, including *kungana*-type ones, are used in a Sinitic text and even inserted among other terms in the same semantic family of containers, which are written in Sinitic (semantograms). Finally, it is also worth noting that in furnishing the Japanese equivalents of these terms, the *Wamyōruijushō* quotes some previous dictionaries, such as the *Yōshi kangoshō* 楊氏漢語抄 ('Notes on Chinese Words by Master Yako', 720 *c*.) and the *Benshiki rissei* 弁色立成 ('Compendium of Classifications', early eighth century).

4.5 Source E: Weaving tools in the *Hizen no kuni fudoki*

The last example I shall provide is drawn from a received document, namely the *Hizen no kuni fudoki* 肥前国風土記 ('Record of the Province of Hizen and its Customs'). This bureaucratic record was compiled in eighth-century Japan pur-

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61 Inoue Mitsusada et al. 1976, 379; Dettmer 2010, 358–359; Migliore 2011, 62–63.
62 The term is also attested in the *Engishiki*, for example, in Book 1, *Kasuga no kami shiza no matsuri* 春日神四座祭; *Hiraoka no kami shiza no matsuri* 平岡神四座祭; and *Hirano no kami shiza no matsuri* 平野神四座祭 (Kuroita Katsumi 1938, 12, 16, 21). See also Bock 1970, 66, 71, 75.
63 *Engishiki*, Book 1, *Hiraoka no kami shiza no matsuri* (Kuroita Katsumi 1938, 16). See also Bock 1970, 71; Arai Hideki 2019, 380.

suant to a decree promulgated by the sovereign Genmei 元明 (660–721, r. 707–715) in 713, which stipulated that the governors of each province should prepare an elaborate report on the geographic features of their provinces, with particular emphasis on natural resources and legends of bygone times. The primary objective of this edict was to establish the legitimacy of the Yamato court's authority.[64]

We do not have the precise date of compilation or completion of the text, but several features suggest dating it between 732 and 739.[65] The authors of the *Hizen no kuni fudoki* remain unknown, as is the case for the majority of the *fudoki* 風土記 (geographic records) corpus. However, it is possible that the compilation of the text involved a layered approach. The initial phase of writing may have been conducted by district officials who provided sources of a purely bureaucratic nature on their lands. These officials probably played an important role in consulting with the elders, as mandated by Genmei's edict. The second phase of writing probably consisted of revision by provincial officials. It is evident that the texts were the product of officials dispatched to the provinces on behalf of the central government, who were strongly aligned with the central government and supported its prerogatives and needs. It is worth noting that the province of Hizen was also subject to the authority of a supra-provincial institution known as the Dazaifu, located on the island of Kyūshū. Consequently, it is plausible that the *Hizen no kuni fudoki* was further reviewed by this office, as suggested by the numerous similarities shared with reports from other provinces.[66]

The oldest extant manuscript of the *Hizen no kuni fudoki* is the *Inokumabon* 猪熊本 from 1297, preserved at the private archive of Inokuma Nobuo 猪熊信男 (1883–1963), who discovered it at a book market. Nowadays recognised as a 'national treasure' (*kokuhō* 国宝), it is acknowledged as a reliable version of the

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64 The edict is in the *Shoku Nihongi*, Book 6, Wadō 6.5.2. For the text see Aoki Kazuo et al. 1989, 196–199.

65 Manieri 2022b, 37.

66 Manieri 2022b, 37–38. If we accept the dating of the text between 732 and 739, the governor-general of the island would be Fujiwara no Umakai 藤原宇合 (694–737), who was the son of Fuhito 不比等 (659–720), Genmei's powerful minister of the right, an expert in Sinitic both in terms of vocabulary and sentence structure, especially after his participation in the 717 mission to the Tang. Umakai became governor-general after 734 (the exact date is not known) until 737, so his contribution to the writing of the text appears very probable and, according to Akimoto Kichirō 1958, 29, even inevitable.

text. The few other existing manuscripts of the text are much later and do not show consistent variations from *Inokumabon*.[67]

The passage to be examined in this study, for which no variant has been found among the several testimonies, pertains to a narrative section describing the village of Himekoso, located in the District of Ki. This section is valuable for elucidating the origin of the place name, which is a customary feature of the *fudoki*. The compilers specifically record the legend of the shrine attendant Kazeko, who was able to appease a cursing deity after receiving an oracle. Kazeko is visited by a dream where he sees weaving tools that dance, push him around and indicate that the cursing deity is Orihime, the 'princess of weaving'. As a result, the popular etymology recorded in the passage suggests that the name Himekoso means 'princess's shrine'. The passage I will be focusing on reads as follows:

其夜、夢見臥機謂（久豆比岐）絡垜謂（多々理）。儛遊出来、圧驚珂是古。於是、知織女神。[68]

That night, in a dream, [Kazeko] saw that a heddle cord of the loom (called *kutupiki*) and a warping reel (called *tatari*) were dancing and pushing him around. From this, he understood that [the deity] was Orihime.

The two tools Kazeko sees in the dream are a heddle cord of the loom 臥機 (MC *ngwaH kj+j*), which is the tool used to wind the sewing threads, and a warping reel 絡垜 (MC *lak thwaX*). The compilers used the two Sinitic terms 臥機 and 絡垜, but they needed to gloss the two terms for weaving tools with notations in *man'yōgana* 万葉仮名 phonograms to furnish the vernacular equivalents: *kutupiki* 久豆比岐 and *tatari* 多々理, respectively. The glosses are introduced by the character 謂 (MC *hjw+jH*, Ch. *wei*, Jp. *iware*), meaning 'referred to as, termed'. Both terms are recorded in the *Wamyōruijushō*, Section 22 'Utensils. 2' (調度部), Subsections 185 'Parts of the Loom' (織機具) and 186 'Sericulture' (蚕糸具):

Wamyōruijushō, Book 14, 22/185
臥機 楊氏漢語鈔云臥機（久豆比岐）[...][69]

Heddle cord of the loom. The *Yōshi kangoshō* states ([that this is called] *kutupiki*).

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67 The oldest printed editions date back to 1800, when the *kokugaku* 国学 philologist Arakida Hisaoyu 荒木田久老 (1746–1804) published the annotated edition with a preface by Hasegawa Sugao 長谷川菅緒 (d. 1848) at the Yanagihara Kihee 柳原喜兵衛 publisher in Ōsaka.

68 The text is from the *Inokumabon* in the critical edition by Okimori Takuya, Satō Makoto and Yajima Izumi 2008, 70.

69 Nakada Norio 1978, 161.

Wamyōruijushō, Book 14, 22/186
絡垛 楊氏漢語鈔云（多々理）[...]⁷⁰

Warping reel. The *Yōshi kangoshō* states ([that this is called] *tatari*).

As these two entries show, the *Wamyōruijushō* quotes the lost *Yōshi kangoshō* in turn. In Saikaidō (Kyūshū) *fudoki*, glosses with vernacular equivalents are usually inserted just to provide the local variant of a word. But in this case, the compilers feel the need to clarify these Sinitic terms by means of vernacular equivalents that are used to facilitate the understanding of difficult technical words related to the specialised domain of the textile sector.

5 Discussion

In the previous section, we have analysed five different texts in Sinitic from which the following vernacular terms have been elicited (Table 1). The eight terms belong to different lexical domains, from hippology and veterinary (texts A and B) to carpentry and architecture (text C), from bamboo and pottery craftsmanship (text D) to the textile sector (text E). The attestations provided are not isolated or rare cases, since some terms are also found in other eighth-century texts or in later documents, such as the term *yuka*, also occurring in a *mokkan*, or the same *yuka* and *tatakipe* found in the *Engishiki*. Previous literature confirms trends in this direction, given the large repertoire of coat colours⁷¹ attested in documents on paper or wooden tablets, or the list of architectural terminology in the *Shōsōin monjo*.⁷²

It is useful to evaluate the nature of the terms from two different perspectives. On the one hand, we need to evaluate the intrinsic character of the words elicited in terms of their classification and exposition in ancient dictionaries. On the other hand, we have to consider the register and usage of the words, focusing on the semantic domains to which they belong, the textual genres in which they occur, the aim of the texts and the actors involved in the communication.

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70 Nakada Norio 1978, 163.

71 Manieri 2012.

72 Fukuyama Toshio 1986.

Table 1: Vernacular terms.

Text	Term	Attestation in the *Wamyōruijushō*
A	*kakε* 鹿毛 ('bay')	*Kangoshō*
B	*tari* 多利 ('lameness')	*zoku* (vernacular)
	ute 宇弓 ('bruise'?)	not attested
C	*tatarikata* 多々理形 ('strut')	*Yōshi kangoshō*
	pasamε 波佐目 ('insert'?)	not attested
D	*suri* 須利 ('bamboo basket')	*Yōshi kangoshō*
	yuka 由賀 ('crock')	*Yōshi kangoshō*
	tatakipe 叩戸 ('container')	not attested
E	*kutupiki* 久豆比岐 ('heddle cord')	*Yōshi kangoshō*
	tatari 多々理 ('warping reel')	*Yōshi kangoshō*

5.1 Dictionary description of the terms

Verifying the attestation of terms in phonograms within the *Wamyōruijushō* has been necessary not only to search for the meanings of these words but also to ascertain the treatment they received in Shitagō's dictionary. The Japanese equivalents are always provided, either through a citation from a previous dictionary or glossary or through a label indicating a lexicographic marker.

The labels *zoku* 俗 and *shisetsu* 師説 occur in the entries analysed in this paper.

The character *zoku* can indicate different meanings in different contexts, as recently demonstrated by Baba Mariko.[73] Generally, *zoku* can be interpreted as referring to what is typical of everyday life: what is common, usual or not particularly noteworthy. Incidentally, *zoku* also appears in the compound *sezoku* 世俗, meaning 'the world of common people', in the preface of the *Wamyōruijushō*, where it is contrasted with *fūgetsu* 風月, a well-known and widely used metaphor for *belles lettres*, intended as both poetry and prose in Sinitic. Moreover, *zoku* is often associated with spoken language and idiomatic expressions such as 'the talks of the streets and discussions of the alleys' (街談巷説). This expression, which is still used as a four-character idiom in both China and Japan, refers to what is not canonical, has practical utility and is performed orally. In summary, the concept of *zoku* (and *sezoku*), as outlined in the preface, per-

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73 Baba 2022.

tains to orality, everyday life and what is not canonical or officially transmitted, such as popular conversations and discussions.

The label *shisetsu* refers to explanations offered by the master while commenting on a certain text in public or private lectures. In the *Wamyōruijushō*, it is applied to several Chinese texts, such as the *Wenxuan* 文選 ('Literary Selection', *c*. 530), the *Youxianku* 遊仙窟 ('The Dwelling of Playful Immortals', early eighth century) and the *Yanshi jiaxun* 顔氏家訓 ('Family Instructions of Master Yan', second half of the sixth century), as well as some Japanese works, such as the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 ('Chronicle of Japan', 720). The lectures were commonly conducted in private learning contexts outside the official state curriculum, thus, merging philological activity with oral transmission.[74] Therefore, as has been noted previously, these terms have a strong oral character and are not typically associated with written language. Additionally, none of these terms are found in contemporaneous poetry, not even the ancient songs of the *Kojiki* or *Nihon shoki* or the *Man'yōshū*. Incidentally, of the eight terms, only *tari*, *suri*, *yuka*, *kutupiki* and *tatari* are recorded in the dictionary of Old Japanese language *Jidaibetsu kokugo daijiten. Jōdaihen* 時代別国語大辞典—上代編, while only *tatari* is attested in the *ONCOJ – Oxford-NINJAL Corpus of Old Japanese*.[75]

5.2 Context of use of the terms

The texts exist on wooden tablets or paper, and represent different genres, including brief documents required by common people, such as transit passes; long documents consisting mostly of lists of words and quantities, such as registers of expenses and necessities; or geographical reports, where compilers choose to explain technical terms even when used in a narrative passage related to a myth.

Consequently, some texts have a predominantly bureaucratic purpose, such as recording goods, registering budgets and reporting the situation of provinces, while others have practical aims, such as allowing the crossing of frontiers and organising an office. However, regardless of their purpose, the texts are not private communications or individual notes, but are 'public', if not even 'offi-

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74 The *shisetsu* label applied to the *Wenxuan* has been studied by Yin Xianhua 2009, to the *Youxianku* by Kuranaka Susumu 1967, to the *Yanshi jiaxun* by Kuranaka Shinobu 2011, and to the *Nihon shoki* by Kuranaka Shinobu 1988.
75 Manieri 2022a has shown how very few vernacular terms that the *Wamyōruijushō* quotes from the Nara-period *Yōshi kangoshō* are effectively recorded in the *Jidaibetsu kokugo daijiten. Jōdaihen* or the *ONCOJ – Oxford-NINJAL Corpus of Old Japanese*.

cial', and presume one or more readers, not necessarily in a close relationship. As such, the authors are aware that their texts would be read and must be understood. Thus, the authors did not use vernacular terms on their own whims or as a personal stylistic choice.

In terms of the relevant offices, there are various levels and responsibilities involved. Text A, for instance, was issued by the village chief and addressed to officials stationed at the internal frontiers for inspection of the passage of travellers and goods. The district-level officials, probably aided by the village chiefs, were responsible for the initial drafting of the information in the *fudoki* (text E), which was subsequently refined by the provincial officials, including the provincial governor. Regarding the *Hizen no kuni fudoki*, the text was further scrutinized and endorsed by the governor-general of Dazaifu before being submitted to the central government. The provincial officials were also the authors of the *shōzeichō* (text B), which had to undergo review by the Bureau of Public Resources before being presented to the Great Council of State. Texts C and D were compiled by officials from the Institute for the Construction of the Ishiyama Monastery and the Office of Sutra Transcription, respectively, both in connection with the Office for the Construction of the Tōdai Monastery.

In all of these offices, as in any office, bureau or ministry of the state, fourth-level officials played an important role in assisting higher officials in the compiling of documents. This type of petty official, holding a rank of 7 to 9 on a ranking scale of 1 to 10 (where 10 is the lowest), was indicated by different characters according to the office, but all refer to the so-called *reishi* 令史 (clerks), who were in charge of drafting texts, such as correspondence and records, and reading, selecting and summarising official documents.

However, clerks and their superiors, as well as the village and the district chiefs, were not expected to be experts in the fields of knowledge treated in the documents that they compiled.

In other words, the official who had to compile the document did not necessarily have a command of the knowledge, sources and related terminology to be used in the document. At the same time, there were offices of *shinabe* 品部 (or *be* 部), professional groups of skilled artisans, who were the actual experts and possessed the skilled know-how required by the developed bureaucratic system of the so-called 'code-based state' (*ritsuryō kokka* 律令国家).[76]

Therefore, apparently specialised terminologies were employed at two distinct levels of the state system: firstly, in the production and management of

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76 *Shinabe* were a relic of pre-*ritsuryō* Japan. See Kanō Hisashi 1960. In general, on the *ritsuryō* state, see Enomoto Jun'ichi 2010.

activities for the benefit of the state, where labourers undertook hands-on work; and secondly, in the compilation of various document types, where users ranging from clerks to high-ranking officials engaged in managerial or intellectual work.[77]

The two categories of actors using terminologies had differing typologies of training in and command of technical knowledge and its lexicon. Skilled labourers held a procedural form of technical knowledge, and would learn terminologies orally and by performative acts, consisting, for example, of naming things while indicating them, or describing procedures while showing how to do them. Conversely, document compilers were not necessarily immersed in such a learning environment. They were expected to possess a descriptive, almost exclusively conceptual and lexical form of specialised knowledge, not imparted by the official system of education established by the *Gakuryō* 学令 ('Law on Education') or represented by the Bureau of Higher Education (Daigakuryō 大学寮, i.e. 'State Academy').[78] They needed to know only the terms to fill out the documents, and it seemed essential for them to acquire such words, or, at least, know the tools to search for the words.

In my previous research, it has been demonstrated that the *Wamyōruijushō* cites dictionaries such as the *Yōshi kangoshō* for words that frequently appear in the types of texts under investigation. Unfortunately, the *Yōshi kangoshō* is now lost and survives only in indirect transmission. It is one of the fragmentary dictionaries collectively known as *kangoshō* ('notes on Chinese words'), which also includes the *Kangoshō* found for the lemma *kakε*, and the *Benshiki rissei*. The textual reconstruction and analysis of their lexicographic macro- and microstructure show that they are bilingual, monodirectional dictionaries with Sinitic as the source language and vernacular Japanese as the target language. They collect terms covering technical domains of knowledge: generally, low-frequency words or *hapax*, not attested in refined literature, but mostly in handwritten

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77 The presence of clerks and skilled artisans in most offices and bureaus can be ascertained by looking at the *Shiki'inryō* 職員令 ('Law on Officialdom'). See Inoue Mitsusada et al. 1976, 157–196. An introduction to the system in English is in Sansom 1932.

78 An exception is the field of medicine, since the *Ishichiryō* 医病令 ('Law on Medicine') also regulated the official education of medicine and acupuncture students, and had a special institution, the Bureau of Medicine (Ten'yakuryō 典薬寮), dedicated to their training. For an introduction to the official educational system in ancient Japan, see Momo Hiroyuki 1994; the translation of the *Gakuryō* into English is in Crump 1952; for medical education, see Maruyama Yumiko 1998.

practical documents on wooden tablets or paper. The contents of these diction-aries are arranged thematically to provide easy access to their contents.[79]

Therefore, they were intended to serve as 'passive' dictionaries, as they were consulted for passive assistance in comprehending unfamiliar Sinitic terms encountered in reading. Additionally, due to their thematic organisation, they were surely used as pedagogical instruments for learning technical termi-nologies across various semantic domains.[80] Specifically, they proved valuable for the technical instruction of state clerks, whose cultural backgrounds may not have encompassed the competencies and specialised vocabulary necessary for their assigned office. Their compilers, thus, mediated the passage of tech-nical-artisanal knowledge from the oral and performative layer of specialised labourers to the conceptual and literary layer of the clerks.

The learning of terminologies and vocabulary in ancient Japan is an area of research that has been largely overlooked and deserves greater attention. While this paper touches on this issue only briefly, it is also essential to consider some wooden tablets that were used in educational settings, called *shūsho mokkan* 習書木簡 ('wooden tablets for learning texts'). Previous research has focused on tablets where Sinitic words are accompanied by their vernacular equivalents, which are known as *ongi mokkan* 音義木簡 (literally, 'wooden tablets with pro-nunciation');[81] where characters are repeatedly written down along with similar characters or those with the same radical component;[82] or where texts from classics are copied.[83] However, a third group of wooden tablets for learning also exists; this consists of items containing words that share a semantic relation-ship, such as meronymy, co-hyponymy and antonymy, in a way that resembles the arrangement found in the *kangoshō* dictionaries. These various types of *shūsho mokkan* show how part of education focused on learning terminologies that did not occur in the classics or in *belles lettres*, but were useful for practical and bureaucratic work.

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79 Kuranaka Susumu 2001; Kuranaka Susumu 2002; Kuranaka Susumu 2003; Lin Zhongpeng 2012; Manieri 2022a.
80 Manieri 2022a.
81 Yamamoto Takashi 2020.
82 Watanabe Akihiro 2009; Inoue Miyuki 2017.
83 Satō Makoto 1997, 429–465; Watanabe Akihiro 2009.

6 Conclusion

This paper has presented an analysis of five multilingual texts from eighth-century Japan employing Sinitic syntax and lexicon but also containing some vernacular Japanese terms. These terms cover a range of semantic domains, including hippology, carpentry, craftsmanship and the textile sector. As evidenced by the dictionaries consulted, these terms have Sinitic counterparts, which, however, were not made use of in the texts themselves. Therefore, their use in the vernacular is not based on a Japanese cultural specificity of the concept or object that would require the use of phonograms, such as culturemes or proper names. Instead, the referents of the terms are known in both Japan and China, and, thus, the use of the Sinitic equivalent in the texts does not appear meaningless. Moreover, other specific words in Sinitic are also used in the same texts. The lexicographic exposition of the words by means of labels, such as *zoku* or *shisetsu*, has shown a solid relation to orality, and the usual contexts of usage of these words confirm this. Incidentally, viewed from a transcultural perspective, this phenomenon does not appear exceptional: as in some European traditions, the origins of the artisanal lexicon are rooted in dialects, which are vernacular and popular means of expression of craftsmanship, in contrast to the learned and educated varieties used by cultural elites.[84]

The artisanal lexicon and specialised terminology in ancient Japan were, therefore, based on a dense social and economic network, whose actors were the workers, who possessed the know-how and, in fact, used the vernacular terminology; the officials, who mostly had a role of management and control through the drafting of documents modelled on Sinitic formats; and the scholars ('lexicographers'), who connected theoretical and bookish erudition from Chinese sources with practical and procedural instruction from local professional groups. The latter were particularly able to promote broader access to technical knowledge through the compilation of dictionaries and glossaries. The attestations of Sinitic – vernacular word pairs in the dictionaries – suggest that officials effectively learned the terminologies in both versions.

Therefore, the choice of vernacular terms in documents with formalized Sinitic models does not invalidate the function of the texts or affect communication, since the terms are expressions of a residual orality justified by the environment in which they were used more, and because related tools, such as the *kangoshō*-type dictionaries, were produced in the same period.

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84 See e.g. Zanola 2018.

In conclusion, the code-mixing of bureaucratic Sinitic and artisanal vernacular found in the texts results from the interaction between two different systems of knowledge: that of Chinese scholarship and literature (in the broader sense of 'writing texts'), which were described by books and approached in formalized settings, and that of local practices, which were transmitted, learned and disseminated orally and performatively via work experience. These two systems are not intended in a strictly binary opposition, as both were interrelated in the management of the relevant offices to which officials and labourers belonged, and both contributed to the good governance of the state.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviation

DNK = Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjo 東京大学史料編纂所 (eds) (1901–1940), *Dai Nihon komonjo* 大日本古文書, Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai.

Dictionaries, corpora, databases

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