

A Natural Treasury: Plants and Animals in *Izumo fudoki*

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From the first half of the eighth century, only five texts that describe a region (*fudoki*) survive. Just one of these books remains intact. It provides an account of the topography of Izumo province, and it also includes regional myths and other stories. *Izumo fudoki* mentions as many as two hundred plants and animals that inhabit the land and waters of the province. This article tries to throw new light on the reasons the compilers of *Izumo fudoki* devoted so much attention to issues of flora and fauna. In this study plants and animals that appear in *Izumo fudoki* are grouped into “kinds” and “contexts,” and then several contemporary sources (for example, *Engishiki*, wooden tags with labels [*mokkan*], and *Man'yōshū*) are examined. The comparison of sources reveals several patterns. Finally an attempt is made to interpret the patterns and to address objections that might be raised to the interpretation.

Keywords: *IZUMO FUDOKI*, TERRESTRIAL PLANTS, TERRESTRIAL ANIMALS, AQUATIC PLANTS, AQUATIC ANIMALS, TAXATION, REGIONAL LEADERSHIP

In the eighth-century Japanese text *Izumo fudoki* 出雲風土記, which describes Izumo province (Izumo no kuni 出雲国), some two hundred plants and animals are mentioned.¹ Until now, most research on *Izumo fudoki* has evaded the intricate problem the many plants and animals compose. The few attempts that have been made to explain their presence have mostly advanced the idea that both plants and animals were used as tax-revenue, and that the plants were medicinal ones.² The present study has pursued the problem much deeper than previous research has done. As a result, it has been revealed that it is of fundamental importance to see where in the text the plants and animals are mentioned. Listed in one context the plants and animals were used as tax revenue, but mentioned in another they were not. Disregarding what context they belong to, most of the plants and animals had practical uses in eighth-century Japan and could very well have been used to pay taxes. Plants and animals represent wealth. In the case of Izumo province, two major contenders were interested in gathering these riches: one was the court situated in the grand capital of Nara; the other was the regional aristocracy governing the province on behalf of the royal elite. The universal

dilemma of loyalty to the rulers on one hand, and the always-existing desire to gain personal power on the other, can be found in *Izumo fudoki* as well. The present study argues that this incessant conflict is the reason why the plants and animals in *Izumo fudoki* are presented the way they are.

Background

Eighth-century Japan was ruled from a splendid court that resided in a huge palatial complex in the northern part of the grand capital Heijōkyō 平城京, today better known as Nara 奈良. The nation was governed through a bureaucratic pyramid that literally reached out to every village in the Japanese archipelago.³ Japan was divided into some sixty provinces (*kuni* 国). The court sent trusted officials (*kuni no miyatsuko* 国造) to govern the provinces for periods of four years. The provinces themselves were further divided into smaller units (*kōri* 郡), that this article will term “counties.” While the provinces were governed by men closely connected with the court, the counties were ruled by men (*dairyō* 大領) who originated from the locale itself. The combination of loyalty towards the court and the indisputable authority these county-leaders held over their locality was crucial to the success of the imperial control of the nation. The office was a hereditary one that required the approval of the emperor.⁴ Further, the counties were administratively split into smaller units. These were called villages (*gō* 郷). Like the province and the county, the *gō* was also headed by a leader. This leader was responsible to the county-leader and thereby indirectly to the court. The *gō*, in spite of meaning “village,” were by far larger than the actual villages of the time. While the inhabitants of the counties resided in tiny communities, often consisting of only a few numbers of households, the administrative unit *gō*, at the time *Izumo fudoki* was compiled, included about fifty households. It has been estimated that a total of some five hundred counties and four thousand *gō* existed in the administrative pyramid of Nara-period Japan.⁵

The Japanese provinces varied greatly in size, the smallest consisted of only two counties while the largest of more than twenty. The provinces were divided in four groups (*daikoku* 大国, *jōkoku* 上国, *chūgoku* 中国, and *gekoku* 下国) according to their size and annual yield of rice. The provinces were also arranged in categories according to other criteria: they were classified into four groups according to how far they were situated from the capital (*kingoku* 近国, *chūgoku* 中国, *ongoku* 遠国, and *hen'yō* 辺要), and into seven groups according to what main road passed through the province (Tōkaidō 東海道, Tōsandō 東山道, Hokurikudō 北陸道, Nankaidō 南海道, San'yōdō 山陽道, San'indō 山陰道 and Saikaidō 西海道). The provinces closest to the capital were incorporated in an eighth group called Kinai 畿内. Also the various counties varied greatly in size. The counties accordingly were divided into groups. Five such groups existed (*daigun* 大郡, *jōgun* 上郡, *chūgun* 中郡, *gegūn* 下郡, and *shōgun* 小郡). While the smallest consisted of only two *gō*, the largest hosted as many as twenty.

The present study will concentrate on Izumo province in the 730s. With its nine counties it belongs to the second largest group of provinces. Situated some ten days of walking distance from the capital, it forms part of the middle-distanced category. Located along the Japan Sea to the west of the capital, it merges with the group of provinces that were linked to Nara by the San'in Road. None of these classifications makes Izumo special. It is neither big nor small, the distance from the capital is neither far nor short, and the San'in Road leading through the province belongs to the most common category of roads. Today the San'in

area (the name is still in use) could be seen as Japan's back garden. No major towns thrive, no large industries prosper, and no significant areas of agriculture exist. Fish are abundant, but not more than in other parts of Japan. The name San'in means the shadowy side of the mountains. Corresponding to the name, the winds constantly carry thick layers of clouds to the San'in coast, and the dark skies bring frequent rain. In spite of the climate, eighth-century Izumo was far from being an insignificant province. It seems to have been of considerable interest to the court.

While most provinces were governed by loyal subjects dispatched from the vicinity of the court, Izumo province was governed by a local family called Izumo no omi 出雲臣, and the office as leader of the province was inherited within a branch of this family. The distinctiveness of Izumo province does not come to a halt here: in the eighth century, Izumo was the only province where beads (*tama* 玉), important symbols of power, were manufactured. The province hosted a remarkable shrine, Kizuki Great Shrine 杵築大社, Japan's tallest building at the time. *Izumo fudoki* contains great numbers of local myths and deities not to be found in the writings of the central government. And the court held as many as three army divisions (*gundan* 軍団) in the province, a considerable demonstration of power. While the physical attributes of Izumo province do not demonstrate any distinctiveness, circumstances such as the ones listed above disclose that the province was somewhat unusual and accordingly treated with special attention by the court.

Taxation

At one time there were individuals who directly handed over the bounty of their land to rulers. In the eighth century, however, most of the tax revenue was gathered by the county leaders from among the inhabitants of the villages in the county, passed on to the province offices (*kokufu* 国府), and from there transported to the capital.⁶

Lists of tax revenue that the court expected the different provinces to pay each year remain in *Engishiki* 延喜式, a legal book containing supplementary laws. *Engishiki* is the only law-book describing the eighth-century administration that still remains intact. It was compiled in 927, at the end of the ritsuryō era. Even though it was compiled two centuries after the period that will be studied in the present paper, it is believed that *Engishiki* adequately reflects the situation in the eighth century.⁷

Another useful text for understanding what kind of items were used as taxation in eighth-century Japan is *Buyakuryō* 賦役令. This is not a book in itself, but a part of a larger text called *Ryō no gige* 令義解 compiled in 833.⁸ Compared to *Engishiki*, *Buyakuryō* is very fragmentary. While *Engishiki* is believed to reflect on the whole the actual state of affairs, *Buyakuryō* is perhaps more to be seen as a "list of desiderata" where the court expresses what it wants the provinces to pay; payments that in many cases might never have been realized.

Much of the information concerning tax revenue given in *Engishiki* and *Buyakuryō* can be verified by archaeological finds. The tax revenue itself has naturally disappeared, but important documentation has remained: a large portion of the tax revenue that was sent from the provinces to the court was labeled with small wooden tags. When the goods reached the capital it was often stored somewhere, and relabeled accordingly with another wooden tag. These tags, called *mokkan* 木簡, have been found in abundance, particularly at and around the site of the Heijō Palace in Nara. In many cases, their existence confirms that the flow of

tax revenue, which *Engishiki* and *Buyakuryō* narrate, actually took place.

Fudoki

In the year 713 the imperial government commanded the provinces to compile texts that provided detailed information on themselves. The decree is presented in the historical chronicle *Shoku Nihongi* 続日本紀.⁹ The reason for this decree was surely to enable the government to more effectively govern the new nation. One of the objectives was to more efficiently benefit from the riches of the Japanese archipelago. It is unknown how many of the provinces complied with this commandment; today only five *fudoki* 風土記 remain. Of these, only one is intact, namely, the *fudoki* compiled in Izumo province. No general name was used for these texts at the time they were compiled, but during the following century they came to be called *fudoki*.¹⁰ The text from Izumo province is thus called *Izumo fudoki*.

The person who compiled *Izumo fudoki* has left no other achievements in the contemporary records.¹¹ Miyake no Omi Kanatari 神宅臣金太理, from the small county of Aika (Aika no kōri 秋鹿郡) in Izumo province, was by all means a local. The work he conducted was supervised by the leader of the province, also a local, Izumo no Omi Hiroshima 出雲臣広島. An analysis of the mountains mentioned in *Izumo fudoki* shows that the nine counties that constituted Izumo province at the time provided Miyake no Omi Kanatari with reports.¹² This information he arranged in nine chapters, one for each county. To this main body of text Miyake no Omi Kanatari added a first introductory chapter and a last concluding chapter, this latter mainly dealing with the overall infrastructure of the province.

Izumo fudoki discusses various aspects of Izumo province in accordance with the decree as handed down by the government. A large portion of the text is dedicated to the presence of various plants and animals in different localities of the province. As many as two hundred species are mentioned.

The Analysis

In order to answer the question why *Izumo fudoki* devotes so much space to plants and animals, the present study has carefully arranged them in three “types” and three “contexts” as will be explained below.

Types

First of all, it should be noticed that *Izumo fudoki* deals with three different types of plants and animals. Type 1 constitutes terrestrial plants. Type 2 is formed by terrestrial animals. Type 3 relates to aquatic plants and animals. These three types could all be further divided into “sub-types.” *Izumo fudoki* divides terrestrial plants into grasses (*kusa* 草) and trees (*ki* 木), and terrestrial animals into birds (*tori* 禽) and beasts (*kedamono* 獸). In the introductory chapter of *Izumo fudoki* a division of aquatic plants and animals is also suggested, but it is never followed. This division consists of fish (*uo* 魚), clams (*kai* 貝) and seaweed (*me* 海藻). Also a fourth kind of “animals and plants” is dealt with by *Izumo fudoki*, but due to its very different nature and the few times it is mentioned, this fourth kind has not been considered here. While rock-crystal (*suishō* 水精), pottery (*suemono* 陶器), go-stones (*goishi* 碁石) and grind-stones (*karato* 唐砥) are all spoken of only once in the text, the presence of

iron (*magane* 鉄) is mentioned only a few times.

Contexts

Plants and animals appear in three different contexts in *Izumo fudoki*. Context 1 consists of long lists of plants and animals in each county. In Context 2 geographical localities are described. To Context 3 belong myths and names of people, places, and deities.

A portion of every chapter that deals with a county is labeled “All the grasses and trees that exist in the many mountains and wildernesses [in the county]” and “The birds and beasts [in the mountains and wildernesses in the county].” Following these headings, long lists of plants and animals that existed in the respective county are listed. To facilitate an analysis, the plants and animals mentioned in these lists will be treated as belonging to Context 1. *Izumo fudoki* does not only deal with terrestrial plants and animals, it also takes keen interest in the life in the waters as well. In and around Izumo province three different types of marine habitats can be found. The salty ocean, called the Large Sea (*Ō umi* 大海) or the Northern Sea (*Kita umi* 北海) is one such habitat in *Izumo fudoki*.¹³ The province is almost divided in two by a large body of brackish water, called the Iri Sea 入海 in *Izumo fudoki*, which constitutes a second habitat.¹⁴ The third habitat is the fresh water in the many rivers, lakes, ponds and dams scattered all over the province. *Izumo fudoki* makes lists, much like the ones of plants and animals explained above, when it comes to the plants and animals living in the seas, both the salty and the brackish ones. But these lists are not labeled “fish, clams and seaweeds in the seas [in the county].” Thus, a faithful comparison between terrestrial plants and animals, and aquatic plants and animals cannot be conducted. Despite this **discrepancy, the aquatic plants** and animals that appear in the lists describing their presence in the Large/Northern Sea and in the Iri Sea will be considered as belonging to Context 1.

While many plants and animals are mentioned in Context 1 as explained above, also a fairly large number appear in another context. *Izumo fudoki* gives much attention to geographical matters. It describes mountains, rivers, islands, etc. that are found in the counties. Often, although not always, *Izumo fudoki* mentions the presence of plants and animals at these localities. This context has been labeled Context 2 in the present study. While the lists of plants and animals in Context 1 tend to be very long, in Context 2 it often happens that only one, or just a few, plants or animals are mentioned at each geographic locality.

Correspondingly, the aquatic animals and plants that are mentioned when rivers, lakes, ponds and dams are described will be regarded, in this article, as being part of Context 2.

The difference between Context 1 and Context 2 could thus be elucidated as while the plants and animals mentioned in Context 1 are items apparently listed in their own right, the list itself being the main purpose, the plants and animals referred to in Context 2 are items listed in a supplementary fashion to the place names.

The plants and animals that belong to Contexts 1 and 2 are all bound to the topography of the province. In *Izumo fudoki* some plants and animals are also mentioned without directly being related to the geographical reality, though. These are plants and animals that constitute parts of names, or appear in some of the many myths related in *Izumo fudoki*. The plants and animals mentioned in this way will be treated as belonging to Context 3 in the present investigation.

To illustrate what has been said above, short passages of *Izumo fudoki* will be quoted. Since three types of plants and animals, and three different contexts exist, nine examples will

follow below. All but one of these examples are from the chapter dealing with Ou county (Ou no kōri 意宇郡), the first county described in *Izumo fudoki*. The list of animals and plants in the Iri Sea in Ou county is missing in the surviving manuscripts, although it seems very likely that such a list existed in the original manuscript. Instead, the following chapter which treats Shimane county (Shimane no kōri 島根郡), has been cited for the list of plants and animals found in the Iri Sea. The translations throughout this article are the author's. Whenever modern English names for plants and animals were not forthcoming, Latin names are provided. In cases where no such names have been found, classical Japanese names are given. Discrepancies between manuscripts have not been accounted for.¹⁵

Examples of How Plants and Animals are Mentioned in *Izumo fudoki*

Kind 1. Terrestrial plants

Context 1. Connected to the lists “All the grasses and trees that exist in the many mountains and wildernesses [in the county]”

Example 1:1

All the grasses and trees that exist in the many mountains and wildernesses: *Liriope platyphylla*, *Angelicae pibescentis radix*, *Dendrobii herba*, *Angelica decursiva*, *Alpina formosana*, Chinese forsythia, Peony, *Stemona aponica*, *Oniwarahi*, *Atractylodes japonica*, *Discorea japonica*, *Sophora angustifolia*, *Asarum sieboldii*, Indian poke, *Nothosmyrniium japonicum*, *Polygala japonica*, *Kadzura japonica*, False holly, *Puerariae radiz*, Tree peony, *Yamaasa*. Wisteria, Japanese plum, White cedar (another character for this is 榎), Japanese cedar (another character for this is 榎), *Akagiri*, *Paulownia tomentosa*, Camphor wood, Chinquapin, Camellia (another character for this is 椿), *Myrica rubra*, Pine, Japanese nutmeg (another character for this is 榎), Cork-tree, *Zelkova serrata*.¹⁶

Context 2. Connected to the geography

Example 1:2

Kumano mountain. Due south of the *gūke* 郡家 (county office). 18 *ri*.¹⁷ White cedar [and] Japanese spindle tree exist. The shrine of [he who] is referred to as the great god Kumano is situated [here].

Context 3. Connected to names or myths

Example 1:3

He took a hoe [flat as] the breast of a young girl and thrust it into [like he had harpooned] the gills of a big fish. And he tore off [the surplus land just like] the ears of weaving silver grass is torn off [when] swung [by the wind]. He lashed a three-ply rope [around the land] and frosty *kurokazura* he reeled, he reeled. [Like] a riverboat, slowly, slowly, the land came, the land came.

Kind 2. Terrestrial animals

Context 1. Connected to the lists “The birds and beasts [in the mountains and wildernesses in the county]”

Example 2:1

The birds and beasts are the following: Eagle, Peregrine falcon (another character for this is 隼), Copper pheasant, Dove, Japanese quail, White-naped crane (another character for this is 離黄), Owl (another character for this is 横致; it is a good bird). Bear, Wolf, Wild boar, Deer, Hare, Fox, White-cheeked giant flying squirrel (other characters for this are 猫 and 蝠), Monkey. These kinds are greatly manifold and I have not been able to record them all.

Context 2. Connected to the geography

Example 2:2

Tsumanuki Pond. The circumference is 2 *ri* 40 *ho*. Grey-headed lapwing, Duck, Crucian carp, *Polygoneaceae* exist.

Context 3. Connected to names or myths

Example 2:3

Manai Pond. The circumference is 1 *ri*.¹⁸

Kind 3. Aquatic plants and animals

Context 1. Connected to the lists describing life in the seas.

Example 3:1

The various things that exist in the Iri Sea to the south [are] Dolphin, *Wani*, Mullet, Japanese sea perch, Gizzard shad, Black porgy, Whitebait, Trepang, Shrimp. Species like *miru* and the like [are] very many [and I] cannot [record] all the names.¹⁹

Context 2. Connected to the geography

Example 3:2

Tamatsukuri River. The spring wells out at Shi Mountain. Due west of the *gūke*. 19 *ri*. [The river] flows northerly. It pours into [the Iri Sea]. Sweetish exists.

Context 3. Connected to names or myths

Example 3:3

At that time, after a while, more than 100 *wani*, purely encircling 1 *wani*, quietly led it slowly and it came obediently to below where [Imaro] was. They did not advance and they did not retreat, yet encircling only.

At that time, he raised his sword, thrust it into the heavenly 1 *wani*, killed [and] caught it. When finished, more than 100 *wani* dispersed.²⁰

The Troublesome Context 3

While the appearance of plants and animals in Contexts 1 and 2 are easy to observe and correlate to each other, the presence of plants and animals in Context 3 is more troublesome to understand. While the notion of a plant or an animal in connection to a county, i.e., to Context 1, or a specified geographical spot, i.e., to Context 2, automatically shows that the plant or animal existed there, the mentioning of plants and animals in names or myths, i.e.,

Context 3, is more difficult to interpret.

In Example 3:3 above, the myth tells that *wani* exist in the Iri Sea. (The northeastern shore of Ou county, facing the Iri Sea, is the stage for the myth.) This information corresponds well to what *Izumo fudoki* tells when it describes the plants and animals in the Iri Sea, as seen in Example 3:1. Here it is mentioned that *wani* exist in the Iri Sea south of Shimane county.

In the example of Context 3 related to plants, Example 1:3, silver grass (*susuki* 須々支) and *kurokazura* 黒葛 are mentioned. Both these plants are only mentioned in this myth, and nowhere else in *Izumo fudoki*. In the myth a god is working his way along the coast facing the Northern Sea, but *Izumo fudoki* does not mention the presence of silver grass or *kurokazura* in any of the counties here (and nowhere else in Izumo province either). While the information given in the myth in Example 3:3 corresponds to what another section of *Izumo fudoki* relates, this is not the case with the plants in the myth quoted in example 1:3.

In the case of example 2:3 the character for wild boar is used in the name of the pond described. We might conjecture that this character was used because wild boar often passed in its vicinity, but whether the compiler used this character because wild boar often came to drink from the water of the pond cannot be verified. Since Manai is the name of a pond, and since both “well” (*ido* 井戸), and “spring” (*izumi* 泉), are carrying i-sounds, the character “wild boar” might have been used for its phonetic value rather than for its semantic value.

Although the actual presence of the animals and plants mentioned in names and myths cannot be confirmed, it can at least be stated that a consciousness of these plants and animals must have existed. An analysis of plants and animals in Context 3 of *Izumo fudoki* is beyond the scope of the present study and is worthy of elaboration in future research.

The First Pattern (Presence in the Contexts)

Thus, the following analysis will focus on the plants and animals mentioned in Contexts 1 and 2. To start with, examples 1:1 and 1:2 will be used. In 1:2 a mountain called Mt. Kumano 熊野 is described. Here *Izumo fudoki* mentions the presence of two trees, white cedar, *hi* 檜, and Japanese spindle tree, *mayumi* 榲. Kumano mountain is a mountain in Ou county and therefore it would be consistent if both trees were found in the list of “Grasses and trees in the mountains and wilderness [in the county]” in Ou county. But a careful review of this list reveals that only one of the two trees is mentioned here: while white cedar is mentioned, Japanese spindle tree is not.

At first glance, most observers would probably assume that the character for Japanese spindle tree had been omitted during transcription. The original manuscript was written in 733. The oldest extant manuscripts are copies made in the late sixteenth century. Paper is a delicate material, and several copies might have been written and destroyed during the long time span between the eighth and the sixteenth century. The surviving manuscripts of *Izumo fudoki* show some, even though fairly few, divergences. These indicate that copyists sometimes confused the order of, and also skipped, individual characters and in some cases whole rows of characters. The seemingly contradictory statement that Japanese spindle trees exist on a mountain in Ou county in Context 2, but not in Context 1, could simply be explained by assuming that an early copyist missed the character for Japanese spindle tree that originally was

included in the list of “Grasses and trees in the mountains and wilderness” in Ou county.

A more cautious reading of *Izumo fudoki* reveals a totally contradictory trend, however. Usually plants mentioned in Context 2 do not appear in Context 1, and vice versa. More plants appear in Context 1 than in Context 2, resulting in different figures. Even so, 69 percent of the plants mentioned in Context 2 do not appear in Context 1, and 85 percent of the plants mentioned in Context 1 do not appear in Context 2. Among the plants that appear in both contexts only three are “grasses”; the others are classified as “trees.” (Please refer to the Appendix for a complete survey of the plants and animals in *Izumo fudoki*.)

Also terrestrial animals and aquatic plants and animals will be examined at a later stage, but for the time being the present study will continue analyzing the terrestrial plants.

The Second Pattern (Relation to Taxation)

The division of terrestrial plants into two contexts seems to more reflect the compiler’s understanding of plants rather than the geographical reality. Could this perception be linked to the possible use of the plants? One major use for plants in eighth-century Japan was as tax revenue. The court was continuously striving to impose taxes on the provinces, and its existence was totally dependent on an uninterrupted flow of tax revenue from the regions to the capital. Could the plants mentioned in one context of *Izumo fudoki* have been used for some type of taxation, and plants mentioned in the other context for some other purpose?

The author of the present study has, mainly by using data-files, but also manually, looked up all the plants and animals mentioned in *Izumo fudoki* in the principal eighth- to tenth-century sources dealing with taxation. These sources are *Engishiki*, *Buyakuryō* and *mokkan*. (To search through the large number of *mokkan*, the *mokkan*-database provided by National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Nara has been employed.) The present analysis has provided a clear answer to the question of context and taxation: while 73 percent of the plants listed in Context 1 have been found as tax revenue in *Engishiki*, *Buyakuryō* and *mokkan*, only 21 percent of the plants in Context 2 seem to have shared this function. Thus it is evident that a large portion of plants that appear in Context 1, but relatively few of the plants mentioned in Context 2, were used as tax revenue. (Please refer to Table 1 for a summary.)

Thus, it appears that the great majority of the terrestrial plants in Context 1 were in fact plants that the court desired. It can also be observed that, on the other hand, very few of the terrestrial plants mentioned in Context 2 were plants that were in demand by the court.

The Third Pattern (Context and Usage)

So far, it has been shown that different terrestrial plants are mentioned in Contexts 1 and 2. It further has been demonstrated that while a clear majority of the terrestrial plants listed in Context 1 were used as tax revenue in Nara-period Japan, only very few of the terrestrial plants in Context 2 shared that usage. If the plants used as tax revenue were mentioned due to their function as such, why then are the other plants mentioned? Did they also have some kind of use? Does the use of the plants differ from one context to the other?

In order to determine the use of the plants mentioned in *Izumo fudoki*, in addition to the three sources dealing with taxation, the four other eighth-century *fudoki*, and the large

poetry collection *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 also has been consulted. Once again, data-files have been employed in this search. For reference, documents in Shōsōin 正倉院 have been indirectly employed as well.²¹ The analysis conducted in the present study has not directly consulted the documents found in Shōsōin. Instead, the results presented by Sekine (1969) have been used. He mainly bases his research on documents from Shōsōin.

The results obtained show that a clear majority of the terrestrial plants listed in Context 1 were medicinal plants used for the manufacture of medicine. While 70 percent of the plants in Context 1 had this usage, only seven percent of the plants in Context 2 were used as such. Several of the terrestrial plants in Context 2 were used in Nara-period Japan for other purposes, though. While 31 percent of these plants were used as alimentation, the corresponding digit for terrestrial plants in Context 1 is only 14 percent. Further, 17 percent of the plants in Context 2 were used as material, while only four percent of the plants in Context 1 shared that use. (See Table 1.)

In the case of terrestrial plants it seems clear that *Izumo fudoki* divides them into different contexts based on their function. Plants used as tax revenue, many of them having medicinal usages, were listed in Context 1. Plants rarely used as tax revenue, but possessing practical functions such as alimentation and as material, were listed in Context 2. Does an analysis of the terrestrial animals and the aquatic plants and animals corroborate this observation?

Were the Plants and Animals Extracted?

Before continuing the analysis, an important question has to be dealt with: *Izumo fudoki* mentions about two hundred plants and animals that existed in Izumo province. But does it actually say that they were extracted? Is it not possible that the plants and animals recorded are mentioned only to describe the geography of the province?

This question is basic and therefore very important. *Izumo fudoki* only says “exist” (*ari* 有) when it talks about plants and animals.²² There is only one exception. In some places on the eastern part of Shimane peninsula it is clearly stated that tuna is “caught” (*toru* 捕). Although the word “exist” is used in all other cases, it still seems likely that most of the plants and animals in *Izumo fudoki* were extracted and used. The distribution of the terrestrial plants strongly suggests that they actually were extracted. One clear example of this can be found in the southern, insular areas of Izumo province. Far down to the south the presence of trees is very scarce. In Context 2, where geographical localities are described, no trees are mentioned when the mountains in the south are described. Beyond all doubt, trees did exist in these localities, but they are not mentioned. Grasses (i.e., herbaceous plants) are mentioned, though. As geographical places further to the north are portrayed, trees start to be mentioned; significantly, however, only in localities adjacent to large rivers. The only explanation for this state of affairs is that since trees were not viable to transport from the mountains in the south, there was no reason for the compilers of *Izumo fudoki* to mention these remote trees. Grasses, on the other hand, could more easily be transported. People could walk up in the mountains, extract the plants and carry them back in baskets. Thus, grasses are mentioned also in the far south. Trees are only mentioned further to the north, where they could be shipped out by river. That timber was indeed transported on the rivers can be observed in *Izumo fudoki* itself. In the chapter about Izumo county, Izumo Big River (Izumo no ōkawa 出雲大川), the larg-

est river of the province, is described as follows:

Commencing at the beginning of spring and brought to a halt at the end of spring, boats [travel] with the current and against the current in the river [in order to] watch over the timber.

Even though maybe not every single plant and animal mentioned in *Izumo fudoki* were extracted and used, there is little doubt that this was the case for the great majority of them.

Terrestrial Animals and Aquatic Plants and Animals

Izumo fudoki strongly emphasizes the terrestrial plants. Including the ones in Context 3, it mentions a total of as many as 130 plants. On the other hand, *Izumo fudoki* only mentions 28 terrestrial animals and 38 aquatic plants and animals. The reason why *Izumo fudoki* concentrates on plants remains unclear, but in the first chapter the compiler announces that he has given the terrestrial plants more attention than the terrestrial animals and aquatic plants and animals:

The old man has thought thoroughly [concerning the most] trivial matters, [and] judged the origin of the tales. Furthermore, the places [among] the mountains, the wilderness, the seashores, and the bays [where] the birds' nests and the beasts' [lair]s exist], and the species of fish, mollusks and seaweeds, are very plentiful. [Therefore] not all have been mentioned. But what I could not omit I have given [as] a rough summary and this is how [the book] has been compiled.

Here the compiler confesses that he has not mentioned all the terrestrial animals and aquatic plants and animals. He says that there are too many to be mentioned. As was observed in examples 2:1 and 3:1 above, he repeats this statement. On the contrary, however, the compiler did not regard 130 as an excessively large number when identifying different species of terrestrial plants. Even though the reason why has not been determined, it is clear that the compiler of *Izumo fudoki* has given greater importance to terrestrial plants than to either terrestrial animals or aquatic plants and animals. Considering the limitations quoted above, an analysis of plants and animals in *Izumo fudoki* should concentrate on the terrestrial plants. It cannot be expected that an analysis of the terrestrial animals and the aquatic plants and animals will disclose the same clear results as the ones obtained in the case of terrestrial plants. The comparatively small numbers of terrestrial animals and aquatic plants and animals that are mentioned in *Izumo fudoki* further obstruct the possibility to obtain clear results. This should be kept in mind when the analysis now continues with the terrestrial animals and aquatic plants and animals.

Sixty-eight percent of the animals mentioned in Context 1 are not to be found in Context 2. This corresponds to the results achieved in the case of plants. But, on the other hand, as many as 70 percent of the animals mentioned in Context 2 do also appear in Context 1. Here the pattern is different. The reason for this must be sought in the very low number of animals mentioned in context 2: only ten in total.

Very few of the animals mentioned in *Izumo fudoki* were used as tax revenue in eighth-century Japan. While 73 percent of the plants in Context 1 were used as tax revenue only 23 percent of the animals in Context 1 were used as such. Once again the prevailing pattern that

could be observed in the case of terrestrial plants has been broken. The digit for animals used as tax revenue in Context 2 is 30 percent. Even though relatively few animals were used to pay taxes, many of them had practical usages in Nara-period Japan. However, no substantial differences between animals in Context 1 and Context 2 can be observed. (See Table 1.)

In the case of aquatic plants and animals the comparison to terrestrial plants is even less fruitful. *Izumo fudoki* does not divide aquatic plants and animals in contexts as it does with terrestrial plants and animals. What can be stated, however, is that while about half of the aquatic plants and animals were used as tax revenue, as many as three-fourths had practical usages, all of them as alimentation. (See Table 1.)

Summary of the Analysis

Since no real differences could be observed between Contexts 1 and 2 in the case of terrestrial animals and aquatic plants and animals, the usages of the plants and animals in *Izumo fudoki* could be summarized as follows.

Table 1: Frequency of Mention of Natural Resources in *Izumo fudoki*

	<u>Plants (1)</u>	<u>Plants (2)</u>	<u>Animals</u>	<u>Aquatic</u>
Medicine	numerous	none	none	none
Alimentation	few	some	some	numerous
Material	none	few	some	none
Tax revenue	numerous	few	few	some

Note: "Plants (1)" and "Plants (2)" correspond to terrestrial plants in Context 1 and Context 2 respectively. "Animals" refers to terrestrial animals. "Aquatic" refers to both aquatic plants and animals. The definitions are as follows. "None" equals between 0 and 7%. "Few" equals between 14 and 24%. "Some" equals between 28 and 47%. "Numerous" equals 70% and more.

A summary of the analysis conducted above presents a number of important observations:

- While the compiler of *Izumo fudoki* mentions many plants and animals, both on land and in water, he concentrates on the terrestrial plants. He mentions 130 species of terrestrial plants, but restricts himself to only mention a comparatively small number of terrestrial animals and aquatic plants and animals. An analysis of plants and animals in *Izumo fudoki* thus has to focus on the terrestrial plants.
- Terrestrial plants are divided into three different contexts. Context 3 deals with plants related to names and myths and has not been included in the analysis conducted. The other two contexts deal with plants in a more pragmatic way. Context 1 consists of lists of plants that exist in the mountains and wilderness in each county. Context 2 consists of descriptions of various geographical localities in each county. Incongruently, most of the plants mentioned in Context 1 do not appear in Context 2, and vice versa. This shows a difference in perception concerning the plants listed in Context 1 and the ones mentioned in Context 2.
- Many of the plants listed in Context 1 were used as tax revenue in eighth-century Japan. On the other hand, very few of the plants that appear in Context 2 were used as such.

Although many of the plants in Context 2 did not have the function of tax revenue, most of them did possess practical uses.

- Terrestrial animals are also divided into different contexts in the exact manner that plants are. Just as in the case of plants, most animals listed in Context 1 cannot be found in Context 2, but since only a very limited number of animals are mentioned in Context 2, most animals that appear here are also listed in Context 1. The pattern observed in the case of plants does not pertain to animals.
- Very few of the animals that appear in *Izumo fudoki* were used as tax revenue. Even so, just like the plants in Context 2, many of them had practical uses in Nara-period Japan.
- Aquatic plants and animals are also divided in contexts in a way similar to that of terrestrial plants and animals. However, in and around Izumo province three different habitats exist: salty, brackish and fresh water. Most of the species can only live in one of these habitats. Thus, a comparison to terrestrial plants and animals cannot be usefully carried out.
- It is noteworthy, though, that while about half of the aquatic plants and animals were used as tax revenue at the time, as many as three-fourths of the aquatic plants and animals were used as alimentation.

Interpretation

The scholars of Nara-period Japan are fortunate in that a large body of books, *mokkan* and other records still remain, thereby aiding in a fairly good understanding of the period. The analysis conducted here is based on some two hundred plants and animals. Despite that even more plants, animals, produce, resources and products existed and were in fluctuation in the eighth century, the number dealt with here is still large enough to compose the basis of a rewarding study. Although the age of the material and the restricted number of objects examined could result in erroneous conclusions, an interpretation of the results of the analysis will nevertheless be conducted.

Izumo province, like all the other provinces in eighth-century Japan, had to pay large amounts of taxes to the court. Most of these were paid in rice and in various kinds of cloth, but also other goods, such as plants and animals, were requested by the emperors.

As the local administration took its toll, the provinces, besides sending tax to the court, furthermore had to cover other expenses too. Exact figures might be hard to estimate, but a rare document from Tajima province provides a clue. The record is called *Tajima no kuni shōzeichō* 田島国正税帳 and accounts for expenses the province bore in the year 737. (It should be noted that the document only deals with expenses paid in rice.) *Tajima no kuni shōzeichō* shows that half of Tajima province's expenses were paid to the central government. Forty percent were paid in tax, and ten percent were used for transportation expenses as the tax revenue was sent to the capital. Tajima province is situated closer to the court than Izumo province, the distance being only half. Eight, rather than fifteen, days were required to transport goods to the court.²³ The remaining fifty percent were spent in the province itself. Thirty percent were used to cover expenses directly connected to the local administration such as sermons at and maintenance of temples and shrines, and for the maintenance of stations and the

mending of weapons. Twenty percent were used for the social welfare, this being stipulated by the court. Elder people without families were given food, and sick people were given care.²⁴

Corresponding figures are not known for Izumo province, but they might be similar. Due to its more remote position from the court, Izumo province probably spent a larger percentage to cover transportation costs. Due to the structure of the headship of Izumo province, it is possible that the overall ratios differed even more. Anyhow, it should be noticed that the provinces had two major expenses: one towards the court, and one to cover the local administration.

Most provinces were governed by men closely connected to the imperial institution. As was mentioned above, the court dispatched trusted officials to govern the provinces for periods of four years. The other four provinces from where *fudoki* have survived were all governed in this way, by men with strong relations to the court. Izumo province, though, was an exception to this governmental procedure. The province office and some of the county offices were dominated by the Izumo no Omi family, a family with strong local connections. The same pattern can be seen in the actual compilation of *fudoki*: While other *fudoki* were compiled by men sent out by the court, *Izumo fudoki* was compiled by men closely connected to the province itself. This might be the key to why different contexts, as described above, cannot be observed in other *fudoki*; Context 1 is unique to *Izumo fudoki*.

Considering the governmental situation of Izumo province, where a family with strong interests in the province itself governed on behalf of an imperial court eager to benefit from the riches of the area, *Izumo fudoki* must be regarded as a compromise. It had to comply with two different wills: that of the court, and that of the leaders of the province. At the same time as *Izumo fudoki* had to serve the court, it also had to protect the interests of the local government. In addition, since it was compiled by men from the province, it accordingly gives precedence to the needs of the local administration.

Izumo fudoki deals with many aspects that could not have been of much interest to the court. It mentions the circumference of tiny islands and insignificant ponds. It gives distances to remote mountains, and it lists plants and animals that were not used as tax revenue. The book also mentions many aspects that for some reason are not recorded in the official documents. It enumerates hundreds of shrines that were not officially recognized by the central government and it mentions numerous deities that were not mentioned in the official mythology. Conclusively, *Izumo fudoki* gives a solid impression of being more written to fulfill the needs of the local administration than of the imperial government.

Izumo fudoki contains a large number of myths. While almost all myths in *Izumo fudoki* are related in very abbreviated forms, two are told in their full length. These two myths are related in the beginning of *Izumo fudoki*. Together with a third, abbreviated, myth (also in the beginning of *Izumo fudoki*) they give a clear picture of a province that aimed for some kind of self-government.²⁵ These myths are totally different from the ones in the official mythology presented by the court. The local deities in *Izumo fudoki* are extremely powerful, they are helpful to the inhabitants of the province, and the most potent of the gods promise to protect the province and to govern it.

It would be too presumptuous to interpret the myths in *Izumo fudoki* as indicating that the province was aiming to separate from the Japanese empire and become an independent kingdom. What they might indicate though, is that the leaders of the province wanted to maintain the partial autonomy they enjoyed. To maintain this autonomy, the province sought

a stable income to cover its own expenses. The plants and animals of the province composed one such source of income.

As was mentioned in note 15, it seems likely that originally two copies of *Izumo fudoki* were compiled and that while one copy was sent to the court the other one was kept by the local government. If this supposition is correct, the information gathered in *Izumo fudoki* was certainly used at the province office as well.

Izumo province was thus governed by men with strong ties to the province itself. These men were also responsible for the compilation of *Izumo fudoki*. The province had great expenses to cover. These expenses could be divided into two groups: taxes that were sent to the court; and local expenses within the province itself.

Izumo fudoki does not list all plants and animals that actually existed in the province, but instead it lists the plants and animals that were used by the local government. This is reflected by the words of the compiler himself as he says that he cannot mention all the species in the province due to there being too many. The plants and animals listed in Context 1 are known to have been used as tax revenue in eighth-century Japan. It can be inferred that Izumo province used these plants and animals to pay its annual taxes to the court. On the other hand, as the plants and animals mentioned in Context 2 were not used as tax revenue at the time, it seems likely that these plants and animals served other purposes. Although they were not used as tax revenue, many of these plants and animals seem to have had valuable and practical functions. It therefore may be inferred that plants and animals that constitute Context 2 were used by the province office to cover its own expenses on a local basis.

Related Questions

When dealing with ancient records it is always tempting to draw overly bold conclusions. To verify that such has not been done in the present study, some related and important questions will be dealt with.

What evidence is there that the plants and animals mentioned in Izumo fudoki were really used as tax revenue? In a time when rice and various kinds of cloth were the most prominent tax revenues, *Izumo fudoki* totally neglects to mention the presence of rice on the one hand and hemp, mulberry and silkworms are hardly touched upon on the other. (The leaves from mulberry were used to feed silkworms.) Why was this so?

Analyses of pollen show that large areas in Izumo province were cultivated with rice in the eighth century.²⁶ *Izumo fudoki*, however, does not mention rice plants at all. The other main staple food at the time was millet, but neither is millet mentioned in *Izumo fudoki*. The fact is that *Izumo fudoki* hardly gives any attention at all to agricultural produce, despite the evidence from pollen studies that a considerable amount of land was under cultivation.

In the case of plants that were used to manufacture cloth, the same tendency can be observed. Both hemp and mulberry are mentioned in *Izumo fudoki*, but only three times each, and in these somewhat special cases it seems rather as though the compiler wants to draw attention to the fertility of the vicinity that is described than on any possible production of cloth.

In Nara-period Japan many documents were sent between the provinces and the court. There were so many that every year records called *keikaichō* 計会帳 were compiled by the

court. *Keikaichō* list the names of the documents that were forwarded between the court and the provinces. It seems very likely that the correspondence dealing with rice plants and cloth was already abundant and therefore *Izumo fudoki* (and the other *fudoki*) did not need to mention agricultural products.

Thus the lack of mention of rice and plants used in the production of cloth cannot be seen as an indication that the plants and animals mentioned in *Izumo fudoki* were not used as tax revenue.

Were the plants and animals transported to the court? Izumo province is situated far to the west from Heijōkyō where the court resided. According to *Wamyō Ruijūshō*, it took fifteen days to transport goods from Izumo to the capital of the nation. In a time when no refrigerators and no containers like cans and tins existed, was it really possible to transport perishables like fish and meat all the way to the court?

Engishiki, and in some cases also *mokkan*, tell how foodstuff transported to the court should be, and were, preserved. Consulting these sources it can be seen that basically four methods of preservation were employed; to dry, to salt, to ferment, and to boil. Sometimes combinations of the various methods were used.

Some of the *mokkan* found in the capital also show that perishables were transported to the court from remote parts of the nation. It is thus clear that plants and animals could be preserved, and that they were transported to the capital.

What was the role of medicinal plants in Izumo province? As was mentioned above, many of the terrestrial plants mentioned in Context 1 were used for the production of medicine. The fact is that Izumo province supplied the court with a comparatively large variety of medicinal plants. Could this signify that the compilers of *Izumo fudoki* and, by extension, the court, were mainly interested in Izumo province for its capacity to provide plants that were used for medicinal purposes?

According to *Engishiki* only two provinces, Ōmi no kuni and Mino no kuni delivered a larger variety of medicinal plants to the court than Izumo province. This might appear to be astonishing, but Izumo province shares third place with Harima province, (Harima no kuni) and is closely followed by some other provinces, Ise, Sanuki and Owari, that delivered only a slightly smaller number of medicinal plants.

In terms of volume, however, Izumo province was not such an important supplier of medicinal plants to the court. This is indicated by the small quantities supplied by the province. According to *Engishiki*, roughly three-fourths of the medicinal plants provided by Izumo province comprised only five percent or less of the total amount for any given plant requisitioned by the court.

Thus, it cannot be said that the compilers of *Izumo fudoki*, nor the court, were mainly interested in Izumo province as a supplier of medicinal plants.

Conclusion

The eighth-century text *Izumo fudoki* that describes Izumo province mentions about two hundred plants and animals. The present study has analyzed these plants and animals in relation to how *Izumo fudoki* deals with them, and to how they are treated by other contemporary sources.

Based on a thorough analysis of *Izumo fudoki* itself, and comparing it to the other contemporary records that have survived, the present paper tentatively concludes that the content of *Izumo fudoki* fulfilled the interests of the compilers themselves, i.e., the local administration, rather than the court. Almost all the plants and animals that appear in the text were used by the province office. While plants and animals listed in what has been labeled Context 1 were sent to the court as tax revenue, plants and animals mentioned in what has been labeled Context 2 were used by the province office to cover its expenses on a local basis.

Izumo fudoki was written almost 1300 years ago. The original manuscripts have been lost, and so have much other material of the ritsuryō state of Nara-period Japan. Even so, books, *mokkan* and other records do remain. Taken together with *Izumo fudoki* and correctly interpreted, they can still provide us with much knowledge of the period. This article is one attempt to acquire such knowledge. I hope it will serve as a stimulus for further studies about the role played by the regions in ritsuryō Japan.

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NOTES

- 1 The oldest manuscripts of the text contain the name *Izumo no kuni fudoki* 出雲国風土記, but the present study uses the popular name *Izumo fudoki*.
- 2 Mizuno 1965, pp. 147-188; Kotani 1999, pp. 236-247; Katō 1997, p. 14; Matsushima 1977, pp. 91-99; Makabe 1999, p. 39; Gotō and Muraoka 2000, pp. 266-281.
- 3 “Japan” at the time occupied a smaller area than today. It did not include the Ryūkyū Islands, nor the northern part of Honshu, nor any part of Hokkaido.
- 4 Piggott 1997, pp. 186-187.
- 5 Aoki 1980, p. 22.
- 6 Kanō 1990, pp. 171-172.
- 7 The Japanese state that was formed in the seventh century and that reached its culmination in the following century was based on laws called *ritsuryō* and the era during which this form of government prevailed is accordingly called the *ritsuryō* era. As *Engishiki* was compiled during the static (seen from an administrative point of view) *ritsuryō* era, it is regarded as an important source that faithfully describes the situation of eighth-century Japan, although the book was compiled in the tenth century. Torao 1995, pp. 54 and 149-150.
- 8 Egami, Ueda and Saeki 1993, p. 345.
- 9 Ōtsuka 1998, vol. 1, pp. 197-198.
- 10 Kojima 1988, p. 583; Funke 1994, p. 2.
- 11 Sakamoto and Hirano 1990, p. 621.
- 12 Carlqvist 2004, pp. 42-44.
- 13 Today’s Japan Sea.
- 14 Today’s Shinji Lake 宍道湖 and the Naka Sea 中海.
- 15 The original manuscript of *Izumo fudoki* is lost. The oldest manuscript is from the end of the sixteenth century. The translations presented in the present study have been made consulting some of the oldest manuscripts. These are *Hosokawa-ke bon* 細川家本 from 1597, *Kuranoshi hon* 倉野氏本 from the end of the sixteenth or the beginning of the seventeenth century, *Hinomisaki jinja hon* 日御碕神社本 from 1634, *Kuwahara bunko hon* 桑原文庫本, which title is *Izumo fudoki shō* 出雲国風土記抄, from 1683, and *Man’yōi hon* 万葉緯本 from the end of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century. Photographs of *Kuwahara bunko hon* as presented in Nakamura, Andō, and Matsumoto 2003, and photographs of the other four manuscripts as published in Akimoto Yoshinori 1984, have been consulted.
It should also be mentioned that the surviving manuscripts of *Izumo fudoki* seem to originate from two different traditions. This might suggest that originally two copies were written. Besides the copy sent to the court it seems very probable that another copy was kept by the local government. Katō 1997, p. 17; Akimoto Kichirō 1997, p. 21.
- 16 *Izumo fudoki* sometimes uses small characters for explanations of alternative writings, hence the use of smaller letters here. The possible meaning of these small characters has not been investigated in the present study. Usually they seem to denote the equivalent of parentheses.
- 17 *Gūke* 郡家 is the county office from which the county was governed. 1 *ri* 里 consists of 300 *ho* 步 and equals about 530 meters.
- 18 The “i” sound in the name Manai is written 猪. This character means “wild boar.” In Japanese several characters that can be read “i” exist. The use of this character here might be related to its meaning, “wild boar,” or purely for its sound “i,” or both.
- 19 *Miru* 海松 is frequently mentioned in *Izumo fudoki*. It refers to a species of seaweed.
- 20 It is unclear what a *wani* 和爾 is. Mizuno 1965, p. 161, Katō 1997, p. 99, Akimoto Kichirō 1997,

p. 153, and Shōgakukan 2000, vol. 13, p. 1325, suggest some kind of shark. Asayama 1998, p. 86-107, analyzes several ideas about what *wani* might refer to, but gives up and settles for some kind of sea-monster.

21 Shōsōin is a warehouse where objects belonging to the great Tōdai Temple (東大寺) in Nara were stored. This warehouse has remained intact since the Nara period, and due to its surprisingly good ventilation the objects stored here have survived remarkably well. Of these objects, many are written records. Watanabe 2001, p. 11. Originally several *shōsōin* existed, but only one remains today; thus, the name Shōsōin now refers to this one extant warehouse. Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan 1994, pp. 8-9.

22 The readings of verbs are from Okimori, Sato and Yajima 2005.

23 The distances are given in *Wamyō Ruijushō*. Nakada 1996, p. 56.

24 Yoshida 1995, p. 258.

25 Carlqvist 2005a, pp. 30-32.

26 Takayasu and Takehiro 1995, pp. 47-48.

Appendix: Plants and Animals Mentioned in *Izumo fudoki*

Terrestrial Plants and Animals

Common Name ^d	Terrestrial Plants Mentioned in Context 1 but not in Context 2				
	Jp. Name ⁱⁱ	Kanji ⁱⁱⁱ	Occurrences in Context 1	Use A ^{iv}	Use B ^v
—	<i>Akagiri</i>	赤桐	7	—	tax (?)
Japanese bellflower	<i>Arinohifuki</i>	桔梗	3	tax, medicinal	tax
Burnet-blood wort	<i>Ayametamu</i>	地榆	1	tax, medicinal	tax
Japanese aconite	<i>Bushi</i>	附子	1	tax, medicinal	tax
—	<i>Ebisugusa</i>	説月	1	—	tax (?)
Peony	<i>Ebisugusuri</i>	芍薬	2	tax, medicinal	tax
Gentian	<i>Eyamigusa</i>	龍膽	1	tax, medicinal	tax
Tree paeony	<i>Fukamigusa</i>	牡丹	2	tax, medicinal	tax
Snake's head	<i>Hahakuri</i>	貝母	1	tax, medicinal	tax
Euonymus japonica	<i>Hahimayumi</i>	杜仲	4	tax, medicinal	tax
False holly	<i>Hibiragi</i>	黄芩	1	tax, medicinal	tax
Stemona japonica	<i>Hotodsura</i>	百部根	6	tax, medicinal	tax
Dendrobii herba	<i>Ibagusuri</i>	石斛	5	tax, medicinal, beverage (?)	tax
Selaginella tamarislina	<i>Ihakumi</i>	卷柏	1	tax, medicinal	tax
Japanese fern	<i>Ihakusa</i>	石葦	1	tax, medicinal	tax
Chinese forsythia	<i>Itachigusa</i>	連翹	2	tax, medicinal	tax
Indian poke	<i>Iwosuki</i>	商陸	3	tax, medicinal	tax
Paper mulberry	<i>Kadji</i>	楮	4	—	tax (?)
Metaplexis japonica	<i>Kagami</i>	白芨	1	—	tax (?)
Japanese prickly ash	<i>Kahabajikami</i>	秦椒	1	tax, medicinal	tax
Paederia scandens	<i>Kahanegusa</i>	女青	1	tax, medicinal	tax
Gastrodia elata gara	<i>Kaminoya</i>	赤箭	1	tax, medicinal	tax
Ginseng	<i>Kanonikegusa</i>	人參	1	tax, medicinal	tax
—	<i>Karasuafugi</i>	夜干	1	tax, medicinal	tax

Cowherb	<i>Kasakusa</i>	王不留行	1	tax, medicinal	tax
Angelica dahurica	<i>Kasamochi</i>	白芷	2	tax, medicinal	tax
Cork-tree	<i>Kihada</i>	藥	5	—	tax (?)
Indigo	<i>Komatsunagi</i>	狼牙	1	tax, medicinal	tax
Alpina japonica	<i>Kōrabajikami</i>	高粱薑	1	tax, medicinal	tax
Quercus acutis	<i>Kunugi</i>	櫟	1	medicinal	tax (?)
Sophora angustiflora	<i>Kurana</i>	苦參	4	tax, medicinal	tax
Chestnut	<i>Kuri</i>	栗	1*	tax, alimentation	tax
Pueraria lobata	<i>Kuzunone</i>	葛根	6	tax, medicinal	tax
China root	<i>Matsuhodo</i>	伏苓	3	tax, medicinal	tax
Asarum sieboldii	<i>Miranonegusa</i>	細辛	6	tax, medicinal	tax
Acanthopanax sieboldianus	<i>Mukogi</i>	苦茄	1	tax, medicinal	tax
Superb pink	<i>Nadeshiko</i>	瞿麥	1	tax, medicinal	tax
Japanese prickly ash	<i>Narubajikami</i>	蜀椒	4	tax, medicinal, alimentation(?)	tax
Elm	<i>Nire</i>	榆皮	4	tax, medicinal, spice	tax
Japanese azalea	<i>Nitsutsuji</i>	茵芋	1	tax, medicinal	tax
—	<i>Nokagami</i>	白芎	1	—	tax (?)
Bupleurum falcatum	<i>Nozeri</i>	茈胡	1	tax, medicinal	tax
Peony	<i>Ohowemi</i>	黃精	3	tax, medicinal	tax
Windflower	<i>Okinagusa</i>	白頭公	2	tax, medicinal	tax
Dioscorea tokoro	<i>Onidokoro</i>	卑解	4	tax, medicinal	tax
Arch angle	<i>Oninoyagara</i>	續斷	2	tax, medicinal	tax
—	<i>Oniwarabi</i>	貫衆	2	tax, medicinal	tax
Milkwort	<i>Oshikusa</i>	玄參	2	tax, medicinal	tax
—	<i>Riru</i>	離留	1	—	tax (?)
Nothosmyrnum japonicum	<i>Sahasorashi</i>	高本	3	tax, medicinal	tax
Adenophora remotiflora	<i>Sakikusana</i>	薺苳	1	tax, medicinal	tax
Kadzura japonica	<i>Sanekadsura</i>	五味子	2	tax, medicinal	tax
Smilax	<i>Sarutori</i>	拔莢	1	tax, medicinal	tax
Japanese plum	<i>Sumomo</i>	蓼	9	alimentation	tax (?)
Ash	<i>Toneriko</i>	秦皮	1	tax, medicinal	tax
Astilbe congesta	<i>Torinoashigusa</i>	升麻	4	tax, medicinal	tax
Zelkova tree	<i>Tsuki</i>	槻	7	—	tax (?)
Mulberry	<i>Tsumi</i>	柘	3	—	tax (?)
Angelica pubescentis raix	<i>Udo</i>	獨活	7	tax, medicinal	tax
Japanese apricot	<i>Ume</i>	梅	1	alimentation	tax (?)
Bracken	<i>Warabi</i>	蕨	4	tax, alimentation	tax
Clematis	<i>Wemikusa</i>	女萎	5	tax, medicinal	tax
—	<i>Yamaawi</i>	藍漆	6	tax, medicinal, dye (?)	tax

Thistle	<i>Yamaazami</i>	大薊	1	—	tax (?)
Yam	<i>Yamatsuimo</i>	薯蕷	6	tax, medicinal, alimentation	tax
White lotus	<i>Yamakagami</i>	白斂	4	tax, medicinal	tax
Euphorbia sieboldian	<i>Yamakusa</i>	根毒	1	—	tax (?)
Myrica rubra	<i>Yamamomo</i>	楊梅	4	—	tax (?)
Liriope platyphylla	<i>Yamasuge</i>	麥門冬	5	tax, medicinal	tax
Angelica acutiloba	<i>Yamazeri</i>	當歸	2	tax, medicinal	tax
Lily	<i>Yuri</i>	百合	2	tax, medicinal	tax

* Also occurs 3 times in Context 3.

Terrestrial Plants Mentioned in Context 2 but not in Context 1

<u>Common Name</u>	<u>Jp. Name</u>	<u>Kanji</u>	<u>Occurrences in Context 2</u>	<u>Use A</u>	<u>Use B</u>
—	<i>Abagi</i>	多年木	2	—	unclear
Hemp	<i>Asa</i>	麻	3 ^a	tax, oil, medicine, clothing, foodboxes	oil, medicine, clothing, wooden material
Reed	<i>Ashi</i>	葦	6 ^b	straw material, lightening material	straw material, lightening material
Imperiata cylindrica	<i>Chi</i>	茅	10	alimentation	alimentation, descriptive
—	<i>Ebikadsura</i>	鹽味葛	5	—	unclear
—	<i>Fufuki</i>	蔞	2	alimentation	alimentation
—	<i>Hachisu</i>	荷葉	1	alimentation (?)	(alimentation)
Cyperus rotundus	<i>Hamasuge</i>	沙	1	—	unclear
Eurya	<i>Hisagi</i>	比佐木	1	—	unclear
Taro	<i>Ihetsuimo</i>	芋	2	alimentation	alimentation
Tree	<i>Ki</i>	木	8 ^c	—	descriptive, unclear
Grass	<i>Kusa</i>	草	4 ^d	—	unclear
Mulberry	<i>Kuwa</i>	桑	3	food for silkworms	base for silk production
Indian rice	<i>Makomo</i>	蔣	3	alimentation	alimentation
Japanese euonymus	<i>Masaki</i>	眞前	1	—	unclear, (wooden material?)
Japanese spindle tree	<i>Mayumi</i>	檀	1	bow material	wooden material
Water-pepper	<i>Midsutade</i>	水蓼	1	alimentation (?)	(alimentation)
—	<i>Miranonekusa</i>	葶	1	—	unclear, (spice?)
Gromwell	<i>Murasaki</i>	紫草	8	tax, dye	dye
Vegetable	<i>Na</i>	菜	4	alimentation (?)	(alimentation)
—	<i>Ohobako</i>	苡	1	—	unclear
Fern	<i>Shida</i>	師太	1	alimentation(?)	(alimentation)
Small bamboo	<i>Shinu</i>	小竹	2	filling material, wooden material	filling material, wooden material

Sedge	<i>Suge</i>	菅	1 ^c	straw material	straw material
Smartweed	<i>Tade</i>	蓼	1	tax, medicinal, alimentation	medicinal, alimentation
Cereals	<i>Tanatumono</i>	土穀	1	alimentation (?)	descriptive, (alimentation)
Japanese silver leaf	<i>Tsuha</i>	都波	9	—	unclear
—	<i>Udake</i>	宇竹	1	—	unclear
Miscanthus sacchariflorus	<i>Wogi</i>	荻	1 ^f	—	unclear, (filling material?)

^a Also appears 18 times in Context 3.

^b Appears 2 times in Context 3.

^c Appears 3 times in Context 3.

^d Appears 6 times in Context 3.

^e Appears 1 time in Context 3.

^f Appears 1 time in Context 3.

Terrestrial Plants Mentioned in Both Context 1 and Context 2

<u>Common Name</u>	<u>Jp. Name</u>	<u>Kanji</u>	<u>Placement (Occurrences)</u>	<u>Use A</u>	<u>Use B</u>
Wisteria	<i>Fudji</i>	藤	Con. 1 (9) Con. 2 (1)	—	(tax?), (rope material?), (alimentation?)
White cedar	<i>Hi</i>	檜	Con. 1 (4) ^a Con. 2 (2) ^a	—	(tax?), (wooden material?)
Japanese nutmeg	<i>Kabe</i>	栝	Con. 1 (9) Con. 2 (3)	tax, medicinal, alimentation	tax, medicinal, alimentation
Oak	<i>Kasbi</i>	樞	Con. 1 (2) Con. 2 (2)	—	(tax?), (alimentation?)
Empress tree	<i>Kiri</i>	白桐	Con. 1 (6) Con. 2 (1)	wooden material(?)	(wooden material), (tax?)
Camphor wood	<i>Kusunoki</i>	楠	Con. 1 (5) Con. 2 (1)	—	(tax?), (wooden material?)
Pine	<i>Matsu</i>	松	Con. 1 (7) ^b Con. 2 (37) ^b	alimentation (?)	descriptive, (alimentation), (tax?)
Aster	<i>Ohagi</i>	薺頭蒿	Con. 1 (1) Con. 2 (10)	—	(tax?), unclear
Chinquapin	<i>Shibi</i>	椎	Con. 1 (5) Con. 2 (6)	tax, alimentation	tax, alimentation
Japanese cedar	<i>Sugi</i>	杉	Con. 1 (5) Con. 2 (5)	tax, building material	tax, building material
Camellia	<i>Tsubaki</i>	椿	Con. 1 (7) Con. 2 (9)	tax, alimentation	alimentation, tax
Angelica decursiva	<i>Utana</i>	前胡	Con. 1 (3) Con. 2 (1)	tax, medicinal	tax, medicinal

<i>Attractylodes japonica</i>	<i>Wokera</i>	白朮	Con. 1 (5) Con. 2 (2)	tax, medicinal	tax, medicinal
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^a Also appears 1 time in Context 3. ^b Also appears 3 times in Context 3.

Terrestrial Plants Mentioned Only in Context 3

<u>Common Name</u>	<u>Jp. Name</u>	<u>Kanji</u>	<u>Occurrences in Context 3</u>	<u>Use A</u>	<u>Use B</u>
Millet	<i>Aba</i>	粟	3	tax, alimentation	phonological
Rice (plant)	<i>Ina</i>	稻	9	tax, alimentation	phonological
River-grass	<i>Kahashiba</i>	河志婆	1	—	descriptive
Kudzuvine	<i>Katsura</i>	葛	3	tax, medicinal, alimentation, clothing	phonological
Trifoliolate orange	<i>Ki</i>	枳	17	tax, medicinal	phonological
Aphantene aspera	<i>Kura</i>	棕	3	—	phonological
—	<i>Kurokadsura</i>	黒葛	1	tax	unclear
Rice	<i>Me</i>	米	2	alimentation, starch	phonological
—	<i>Mikusa</i>	水草	1	—	phonological
Pear	<i>Nashi</i>	梨	2	alimentation	phonological
Vaccinium bracteatum	<i>Sase</i>	佐世	4	—	unclear
Silver grass	<i>Susuki</i>	須々支	1	—	symbolic
Bamboo	<i>Take</i>	竹	1	alimentation, building material	unclear
Bean	<i>Tsu</i>	豆	15	—	phonological
Varnish tree	<i>Urushi</i>	漆	2	tax	phonological
Varnish tree	<i>Urushi</i>	漆	1	tax	phonological
Japanese pagoda tree	<i>Wenisu</i>	槐	1	—	phonological
Perilla	<i>Yomi</i>	蘇	2	tax, medicinal	phonological

Terrestrial Animals Mentioned in Context 1 but not in Context 2

<u>Common Name</u>	<u>Jp. Name</u>	<u>Kanji</u>	<u>Occurrences in Context 1</u>	<u>Use A</u>	<u>Use B</u>
Owl	<i>Fukurō</i>	鴞	1	—	unclear
Dove	<i>Hato</i>	鳩	9	—	(tax?)
White-naped crane	<i>Hibari</i>	鶴	1	—	(tax?)
Goose	<i>Kari</i>	鴻雁	3	—	(tax?)
Japanese pheasant	<i>Kiji</i>	雉	5	tax, alimentation	tax
Fox	<i>Kitsune</i>	狐	6	—	(tax?)
Swan	<i>Kugui</i>	白鵞	4	—	(tax?)
Bear	<i>Kuma</i>	熊	5 ^a	tax, skin, fat	tax
White-cheeked giant flying squirrel	<i>Musasabi</i>	飛鼯	9	—	(tax?)
Wolf	<i>Ohokami</i>	狼	6	—	(tax?)
Monkey	<i>Saru</i>	獼猴	9	—	unclear
Hawk	<i>Taka</i>	鷹	4	hunting	(tax?)
Dusky thrush	<i>Tsugumi</i>	鶉	1	—	unclear

Hare	<i>Usagi</i>	兎	8 ^b	tax, fur	tax
Japanese quail	<i>Uzura</i>	鶉	2	alimentation	(tax?)
Wild boar	<i>Wi</i>	猪	9	tax, alimentat- ion, fur	tax

^a Also appears 4 times in Context 3. ^b Also appears 2 times in Context 3.

Terrestrial Animals Mentioned in Context 2 but not in Context 1

<u>Common Name</u>	<u>Jp. Name</u>	<u>Kanji</u>	Placement (Occurrences in Context 2)	<u>Use A</u>	<u>Use B</u>
Mosquito	<i>Ka</i>	蚊	1 ^a	—	descriptive, unclear
Bird	<i>Tori</i>	鳥	2 ^b	tax, feathers	feathers
Mandarin duck	<i>Woshi</i>	鴛鴦	Con. 2 (9)	—	(alimentation?)

^a Also appears 1 time in Context 3. ^b Also appears 5 times in Context 3.

Terrestrial Animals Mentioned in Both Context 1 and Context 2

<u>Common Name</u>	<u>Jp. Name</u>	<u>Kanji</u>	Placement (Occurrences)	<u>Use A</u>	<u>Use B</u>
Peregrine falcon	<i>Hayabusa</i>	晨風	Con. 1 (9) Con. 2 (1)	—	(tax?), (hunting?)
Duck	<i>Kamo</i>	鴨	Con. 1 (3) ^a Con. 2 (7)	alimentation	alimentation, (tax?)
Deer	<i>Shika</i>	鹿	Con. 1 (9) ^b Con. 2 (3)	tax, alimentation, fur, skin, salt, meat	tax, alimenta- tion, fur, skin, salt, meat
Grey-headed lapwing	<i>Takabe</i>	鳧	Con. 1 (3) Con. 2 (7)	—	(feathers?), (tax?)
Eagle	<i>Washi</i>	鷲	Con. 1 (5) Con. 2 (1)	fan material	(tax?), fan material
Copper pheasant	<i>Yamadori</i>	山鷄	Con. 1 (9) Con. 2 (1)	—	(tax?), (alimentation?)

^a Also appears 1 time in Context 3. ^b Also appears 2 times in Context 3.

Terrestrial Animals Mentioned Only in Context 3

<u>Common Name</u>	<u>Jp. Name</u>	<u>Kanji</u>	<u>Occurrences</u>	<u>Use A</u>	<u>Use B</u>
—	<i>Hofukidori</i>	法吉鳥	3	—	etymological
Dog	<i>Inu</i>	犬	1	hunting	hunting
Centipede	<i>Mukade</i>	蜈蚣	2	—	etymological

Aquatic Plants and Animals

Aquatic Plants and Animals Mentioned in Context 1 but not in Context 2

<u>Common Name</u>	<u>Jp. Name</u>	<u>Kanji</u>	<u>Occurrences</u>	<u>Use A</u>	<u>Use B</u>
Shrimp	<i>Ebi</i>	鯳鰓	4	alimention	alimention
Blowfish	<i>Fugu</i>	鮎	5	tax	tax
Cuttlefish	<i>Ika</i>	烏賊	5	tax, alimention	tax, alimention
Dolphin	<i>Iruka</i>	入鹿	1	—	unclear
Agar weed	<i>Korumoha</i>	凝海藻	5	tax, alimention	tax, alimention
Surf clam	<i>Ofu</i>	白貝	1	tax, alimention	tax, alimention
Whitebait	<i>Shirawo</i>	白魚	1	alimention	alimention
—	<i>Tako</i>	蛞蝓	1	—	unclear
			Con. 3 (2)	—	unclear
<i>Mugiliade</i>	<i>Umugi</i>	蚌	5	alimention	alimention
—	<i>Wani</i>	和爾	1	—	unclear
			Con. 3 (2)	—	unclear

Aquatic Plants and Animals Mentioned in Context 2 but not in Context 1

<u>Common Name</u>	<u>Jp. Name</u>	<u>Kanji</u>	<u>Occurrences in Context 2</u>	<u>Use A</u>	<u>Use B</u>
Sweetfish	<i>Ayu</i>	年魚	22	tax, alimention	alimention, tax
Crucian carp	<i>Funa</i>	鮒	8	tax, alimention, pet fish (?)	alimention, tax, (pet fish)
Dace	<i>Igubi</i>	伊久比	5	alimention	alimention
Gizzard shad	<i>Konoshiro</i>	近志呂	1	alimention (?)	(alimention)
Trout	<i>Masu</i>	麻須	6	alimention	alimention
Acheiloganthus melanogaster	<i>Oshikiuo</i>	魴	2	—	unclear
Salmon	<i>Sake</i>	鮭	2	tax, alimention	alimention, tax
Phyllospadix iwatensis	<i>Sugamo</i>	須我毛	1	—	unclear
Porphyra	<i>Sumunori</i>	柴苔菜	1	—	unclear
Steller's sea lion	<i>Todo</i>	禺々	1 ^a	—	unclear
—	<i>Yatsume unagi</i>	鱧	2	—	unclear

^a Also appears 2 times in Context 3.

Aquatic Plants and Animals Mentioned in Both Context 1 and Context 2

<u>Common Name</u>	<u>Jp. Name</u>	<u>Kanji</u>	<u>Placement (Occurrences)</u>	<u>Use A</u>	<u>Use B</u>
Abalone	<i>Ababi</i>	鮑魚	Con. 1 (5) Con. 2 (1)	tax, alimention	tax, alimention
Black porgy	<i>Chini</i>	鎮仁	Con. 1 (4) Con. 2 (1)	—	unclear

<i>Mytilus coruscus</i>	<i>Igahi</i>	貽貝	Con. 1 (4) Con. 2 (1)	tax, alimentation	tax, alimentation
Oyster	<i>Kaki</i>	蠣	Con. 1 (5) Con. 2 (1)	tax, alimentation	tax, alimentation
Trepang	<i>Ko</i>	海鼠	Con. 1 (1) Con. 2 (1)	tax, alimentation	tax, alimentation
<i>Undaria pinnatifida</i>	<i>Me</i>	海藻	Con. 1 (5) Con. 2 (26)	tax, alimentation	tax, alimentation
<i>Codium fragile</i>	<i>Miru</i>	海松	Con. 1 (6) Con. 2 (3)	tax, alimentation	tax, alimentation
Mullet	<i>Nayoshi</i>	鰯	Con. 1 (4) Con. 2 (1)	alimention	alimention
Spiral shellfish	<i>Nishi</i>	螺子	Con. 1 (4) Con. 2 (1)	—	unclear
<i>Poryphera tenera</i>	<i>Nori</i>	紫菜	Con. 1 (4) Con. 2 (15) Con. 3 (1)	tax, alimentation	tax, alimentation
Turban shell	<i>Sazae</i>	螺	Con. 1 (4) Con. 2 (1)	tax, alimentation	tax, alimentation
<i>Pollicipes mitella</i>	<i>Se</i>	石華	Con. 1 (5) Con. 2 (1)	alimention	alimention
Tuna	<i>Shibi</i>	志毘魚	Con. 1 (1) Con. 2 (5)	alimention	alimention
Japanese sea perch	<i>Suzuki</i>	須々支	Con. 1 (4) Con. 2 (1)	tax, alimentation	tax, alimentation
—	<i>Tadenishi</i>	蓼螺子	Con. 1 (1) Con. 2 (1)	alimention	alimention
Sea urchin	<i>Uni</i>	棘甲羸	Con. 1 (1) Con. 2 (1)	tax, alimentation	tax, alimentation

Aquatic Animal Mentioned Only in Context 3

<u>Common Name</u>	<u>Ip. Name</u>	<u>Kanji</u>	<u>Occurrences</u>	<u>Use A</u>	<u>Use B</u>
Big fish	<i>Ōuo</i>	大魚	1	—	unclear

NOTES TO THE APPENDIX

- i When known, the common English name is given here. The Latin name is given when the English name is unknown, except in a few cases (e.g., *akagiri*) in which neither the Latin nor the English name has been found.
- ii Characters used to represent the plant or animal in *Izumo fudoki*. In some cases, *Izumo fudoki* employs more than one way to write the name of a plant or animal. Here the most frequently used writings have been listed.
- iii Reading in classical Japanese. Most readings here follow Katō 1997.
- iv Use in Nara period.
- v Presumable use by Izumo provincial office.

More details about each plant and animal are provided in Carlqvist 2005b, pp. 157-316.

要旨

『出雲國風土記』における動植物

アンデス・カールキビスト

8世紀の前半に書かれたもので、地方を描写する書物は五つしかない。その中で完全に残っているのは『出雲國風土記』のみである。『出雲國風土記』は出雲国について語っている。主に、出雲国の地形の話をするが、地方の神話や他の伝説も紹介している。

合計して、『出雲國風土記』は陸上と水中に棲息する200の植物と動物について述べている。本稿は『出雲國風土記』の編集者がなぜあれ程植物と動物を大切にされたかという理由を求めようとした。

その目的を遂げるために、本稿は『出雲國風土記』に載っている植物・動物を「種類」と「コンテクスト」というグループに分類した。次のステップでは上述の動植物を他の同時代の書物（たとえば、『延喜式』・木簡・『万葉集』など）に探した。この手順で多少のパターンが現れる。

終わりに、本稿がこのパターンの解釈をしようとして、読者がおそらく感じるであろう異議もについて論じられる。

