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**Court protocol in Nara Japan: an Annotated translation of the *Giseiryō* and the *Ebukuryō***

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**Abstract:** This article furnishes the analysis and the philological translation for the first time into English of two laws contained in Book 7 of the *Yōrōryō* (*Yōrō Administrative Code*, 718), i.e. the *Giseiryō* 儀制令 (Law on Ceremonies and Regulations) and the *Ebukuryō* 衣服令 (Law on Robes and Garments). These two laws are pivotal in regulating the court etiquette, not only regarding the behavior but also the appearance of the political elites, as etiquette and attires define the hierarchy and the interpersonal relations between aristocracy, officialdom, and personnel down to the servants. On the one hand, the two laws highlight some basic differences between the Japanese rulers and their Chinese counterparts; on the other hand, the emphasis on ceremonies, regulations, and attires molded the subsequent Heian court society, as can be easily inferred from the significant production of texts emphasizing rituals and etiquette, such as manuals on protocol and precedents and journals written by court officials.

**Keywords:** ceremonies, Nara period, robes and garments, *Yōrōryō*, Tang *ling*

## 1 Introduction

The *Yōrō ritsuryō* 養老律令 (*Yōrō Code*) is the corpus of administrative and penal laws completed in 718 as a revision of some previous codes, especially the *Taihō ritsuryō*

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大宝律令 (Taihō Code) of 701–702. It was compiled under the direction of minister Fujiwara no Fuhito (659–720), but entered into force only in 757, under the reign of Kōken (718–770; r. 749–758, 764–770) and at the behest of her minister Fujiwara no Nakamaro (706–764).<sup>1</sup> It marks the apex of concerted efforts to emulate Chinese cultural and political models, above all its administrative and legal system, which permitted to create the bureaucratic state of the Nara period (710–784), described as a “code-based state” (*ritsuryō kokka* 律令国家), with reference to its penal (律; Chinese *lǜ*, Japanese *ritsu*) and administrative codes (令; Chinese *lǐng*, Japanese *ryō*).<sup>2</sup>

Today, the penal code has largely been lost, but the administrative code has been reconstructed thanks to two commentaries to the laws, namely, 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). Through these two sources, it is also possible to follow (albeit partially) the process of gradual modification of the system of administrative laws in general, in a conscious attempt by Japanese legislators to adapt the Chinese system to Japan’s real needs. During this process of adapting Chinese civilization to the needs of ancient Japan, some elements were of course discarded or given less importance, or even radically changed. The codes and the juridical activity must not be considered from a static point of view: the entire Nara period should be seen as a continuous, dynamic process of adjusting the laws applied to the Japanese sociopolitical context. In fact, not only were several modifications carried out during the eighth century, but the *Yōrōryō* itself was subjected to revisions and amendments soon after its establishment: an intensive legislative effort that was completed only in the eleventh century, and yielded a corpus of miscellaneous decrees containing further procedures and supplements (*shiki* 式 and *kyaku* 格), collected in works such as the *Engi shiki* 延喜式 (Procedures of the Engi Era, 927) and the *Ruijū sandai kyaku* 類聚三代格 (Decrees of the Three Eras Grouped by Topic, 11th c.).<sup>3</sup> This process of adaptation and transformation of the legal system also informed later periods, when the code-based bureaucratic administrative state lost both its identity and unity, shifting toward semiprivate management of the country.

1 On the origin and development of the Japanese *ritsuryō*, see Enomoto 2010. It is well-known that the *Yōrō* Code was put into effect by Nakamaro in order to promote the Chinese-style system of jointly enacting laws and rites. On the acceptance of the codes and the Chinese system of rites in Japan see Ōsumi 2010.

2 We have chosen to use “code-based state” following the expression which has become used in English, as for example in Batten 1993: 103. Hérial uses the phrase “Etat régi par le codes” (Hérial 1986: 55). See also Souyri 2010: 121–123.

3 *Shiki* 式 are “implementing procedures,” while *kyaku* 格 are “supplementary decrees,” but in fact, *shiki* could also become supplementary laws. Of the *Ruijū sandai kyaku*, there is a complete French translation by Hérial 2008, 2011. As for the *Engi shiki* see Bock 1970, 1972, 1985.

The administrative code (*ryō*), consisting of 30 laws divided among 10 books, provides norms and regulations for the administrative system at all levels: the majority of laws determines not only the bureaucratic shape of the state—through the complete list of offices and the description of the duties of the civil and military officials working at the palace, the capital, and in the provinces—but also official's education, appointments, promotion, evaluation, stipends, the regulation of the family system, the taxation system, and the use of the land, public storehouses, stables, and pastures disseminated throughout the Japanese territory but administered by state officials. A significant part of these administrative laws also deals with the life of the aristocracy and officials, such as holidays and leave, funerals and mourning.

There are still questions as to how closely these sets of laws were actually followed. We certainly lean toward a positive answer, given that we have some clues for regarding them not only as an administrative plan, but also as factual guidelines that were followed in daily life not only at court but also in the provinces.

The first clue is the considerable debate over the interpretation of the laws, as illustrated in coeval commentaries cited in the *Ryō no shūge*: first of all, the *Koki* 古記 (Ancient Records), an anonymous commentary dating from the early eighth century, ca. 738; the *Ryōshaku* 令釈 (Administrative Code Interpretation, late 8th C.), a commentary on the administrative part of the *Yōrō* Code attributed to Iyobe no Yakamori (a.k.a. Iemori, ?–800); the *Sekki* 跡記 (or *Atoki*; Records by Ato), probably compiled by the unidentified scholar Ato around the Enryaku era; the *Kekki* 穴記 (or *Anaki*; Records by Anō), composed by the unidentified scholar Anō in the early ninth century; and the *Shuki* 朱記 (Records in Red Characters), which dates from the early ninth century and was penned by an anonymous author who added his exegesis to the main texts in red script.<sup>4</sup>

Secondly, the enormous quantity of subsequent juridical activity, in particular for those regulations later collected in the *Engi shiki* and the *Ruijū sandai kyaku*, shows that, in any case, the codes were topics of intellectual debate.

Finally, based on the requirements of the laws, a huge quantity of documents was produced by the state administration, not only in the central offices but also in the provinces. For example, an effort to calculate the number of documents produced by the central administrative offices has revealed that at the beginning of the eighth century, as many as 11,552,000 characters were written in one month alone, and the quantity could sometimes surpass this figure.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, the great

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<sup>4</sup> Inoue 1976: 743–810; Saikawa 1988.

<sup>5</sup> The quantity of written characters was higher for offices of the sovereign and the royal family than for offices outside the capital, suggesting that the center was losing interest in what was happening in the provinces. During the subsequent Heian period (794–1192), this caused the provinces' gradual detachment from state authority. See Mesheryakov 2003.

production of practical documents on *mokkan* (wooden tablets), such as communications, tax tags, notices, etc. suggests that the administrative system regulated by the *ritsuryō* was actually implemented and functioned accordingly.<sup>6</sup>

The purpose of this article is to furnish the analysis and the philological translation for the first time into English of two laws contained in Book 7 of the *Yōrōryō*, i.e. the *Giseiryō* 儀制令 (Law on Ceremonies and Regulations) and the *Ebukuryō* 衣服令 (Law on Robes and Garments), in order to add new material to the discussion of the ancient Japanese state system. It goes without saying that the most remarkable feature of the ancient Japan was the robust development of its administrative body that constituted and sustained a state system supporting a markedly hierarchical bureaucratic class: a model of centralized state in which almost all regulations focused on officials taking part in state administration after obtaining a mandate from the sovereign. These two laws, in particular, are pivotal in regulating the court etiquette, not only regarding the behavior but also the appearance of the political elites, as etiquette and attires define the hierarchy and the interpersonal relations between aristocracy, officialdom, and personnel down to the servants.

Moreover, on the one hand, the two laws highlight some basic differences between the Japanese rulers and their Chinese counterparts; on the other hand, the emphasis on ceremonies, regulations, and attires molded the subsequent Heian court society, as can be easily inferred from the significant production of texts emphasizing rituals and etiquette, such as manuals on protocol and precedents and journals written by court officials.

## 2 The laws

The *Giseiryō* contains 26 articles, compared to the 30 articles in the *Yizhiling* 儀制令, the *Law on Ceremonies and Regulations* of the Tang Code,<sup>7</sup> even though their respective contents exhibit only few differences. As explained in the relevant note in the *Ryō no gige*:

*Yi* 儀 means “court ceremonies” (*zhaoyi* 朝儀), i.e. down the article: “The parasol of the Hereditary Prince: purple outer [canopy]”; *zhi* 制 means “legal rules” (*fazhi* 法制), i.e. from the article: “Serious illness of grandparents.”<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> As for the updated database of unearthed *mokkan*, see *Mokkanko: Wooden Tablet Database of the Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties* (<https://mokkanko.nabunken.go.jp>).

<sup>7</sup> Niida 1964: 469–513; Niida/Ikeda 1997: 653–664.

<sup>8</sup> RGG: 205.

This means that the law is divided in two parts, with the break at article 15. The first part concerns court ceremonies (*zhaoyi* 朝儀), which are treated from the first to the fifteenth article: in particular, we find articles regarding the names of the sovereign and the royal family (articles 1 to 4); protocols at particular ceremonies and other occasions (such as solar eclipses, for example, in article 7), or when meeting with senior officials in or outside the court; and articles dealing with the use of ceremonial objects (ritual halberds, parasols, etc.) and tablets indicating the ranks of princes and officials during court assemblies.

The second part of the section (from article 16) contains rules (*zhi* 制) that are not clearly defined, but deal mostly with etiquette to be followed outside the court, namely when meeting with senior officials on the roads in the capital or provinces. Article 25 regulates the five degrees of relationship; the last article deals with dating official documents.

In the first article, we find a list of names regarding the sovereign and the royal family; as for the sovereign, emphasis is placed on the various appellatives, which are distinguished according to their use: on the occasion of annual sacrifices to the gods of heaven and earth, in official documents such as the sovereign edicts, or in diplomatic exchanges with foreigners. The article differs from the corresponding Chinese one in several ways,<sup>9</sup> but even more noteworthy than the omitted designations are the innovations, i.e. the terms not appearing in the Tang Code: *tennō*, of course, but also *daijō tennō* 太上天皇, the appellative for the abdicated sovereign, who became a notable figure in later periods.

In more general terms, as for the development of the court protocol, the process of adoption of the *Giseiryō* is of particular relevance, since, as already discussed by Ōsumi, while in China the compilation of a legal code and, at the same time, a ritual treatise was common through to the Tang, in Japan, this procedure was established only from Kanmu (737–806, r. 781–806) and Saga (786–842, r. 809–823) reigns on, which were characterized by a strong process of sinicization.<sup>10</sup>

As suggested by the title, the *Ebukuryō* consists of 14 articles regulating robes and garments. The *Koki* note on 衣服 states that the compound means 礼服, “ceremonial garments”; however, as the *Wamyōruijushō* 倭名類聚抄 (Categorized Notes on Japanese Names, ca. 934), Book 12, sec. 163 “Ifukurui” 衣服類 (Types of Robes and Garments), explains, quoting the Liang-period Chinese dictionary *Yupian* 玉篇 (Jade Chapters, ca. 543) compiled by Gu Yewang 顧野王 (519–581), “if worn [hanging] from the upper [part of the body], it is called *yi* 衣; if worn [pulled up from] below, it is called *chang* 裳. The ensemble is called *fu* 服.”<sup>11</sup> Thus, the *Ebukuryō*

<sup>9</sup> Niida 1964: 469–470; Niida/Ikeda 1997: 626–628.

<sup>10</sup> Ōsumi 2010: in particular 76–78. See also Ōsumi 2011.

<sup>11</sup> WMS: 142.

concerns the attire of the dynastic family, high and low civil officials, and military officials in different contexts related to ceremonies, court life, and regular work.

The law describes the ceremonial and court attire of the hereditary prince, princes and princesses of the blood, noblewomen, and the civil and military officials; it also prescribes regular attire for noblewomen and officials without rank down to those who were not part of the nobility, but nonetheless had to show decorum even when performing humble services. Following this rigid hierarchical system, a variety of colors and accessories was used to distinguish among the ranks, which represented the core of the entire State protocol.

The three kinds of attire, namely “ceremonial garments” (*raifuku* 礼服), “court garments” (*chōfuku* 朝服), and “regular garments” (*seifuku* 制服), are described with details of their type, material, shape, and the accessories to be worn, from cap to footwear. Great attention is paid to the color of each garment.

Such a systematic organization by color is first found in the “Twelve-Level Cap and Rank System” (冠位十二階 *Kan'i jūnikai*) established in 603, during the reign of Suiko (554–628, r. 592–628). In fact, this system had been adopted and adapted from similar systems already in place in Sui China, Baekje, and Goguryeo. The description in the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (Annals of Japan, 720) gives the names of 12 ranks (which follow the names of the six Confucian virtues), but not the color of the cap corresponding to each rank. The Twelve-Level Cap and Rank System was replaced in 647, under the reign of Kōtoku (597–654, r. 645–654), and a new system of seven ranks (and 13 degrees) was elaborated, also in terms of different colors. Finally, following various changes, this system developed into the *ritsuryō* court rank system of 701, which further developed into the Yōrō era system of 718.<sup>12</sup> In other words, distinctions of rank were evident from one’s general attire, but it was especially the color that would make any rank immediately recognizable at a glance. Article 7 of the law, which lists colors according to rank, is the key to this articulated symbolic and semiotic system.

While the Japanese law contains 14 articles, the reconstructed Tang *Law on Robes and Garments* consists of no less than 66 articles, in which the different attires to be used on various court occasions are meticulously described.<sup>13</sup> For example, the ceremonial garment for court nobles under the Tang Code is regulated by articles 26 to 32 and 35,<sup>14</sup> while in the Nara law it is explained solely in article 4. The discrepancy between the two laws essentially concerns the attire of

<sup>12</sup> See Mayuzumi 1982: 287–335. On colors and dyes, see also Sekine 1986: 27–44. The latter is an extremely detailed monograph on clothing in eighth-century Japan, based mainly on the *Ebukuryō* at the textual level, and on a voluminous repertoire of artifacts from the Shōsōin and different typologies of pictorial resources at the visual level.

<sup>13</sup> Niida 1964: 391–468; Niida/Ikeda 1997: 626–652.

<sup>14</sup> Niida 1964: 424–434, 435–436; the same in Niida/Ikeda 1997: 635–638, 639.

the sovereign: while this is specified under the Tang law, the Japanese jurists decided not to mention it, and the first article concerns the garb of the hereditary prince.<sup>15</sup> The absence of regulations concerning the sovereign's—and also his spouse's—attire under Nara law is one of the most remarkable ideological difference between the Chinese and Japanese state system: the Japanese sovereigns cannot be subjected to any law, because, as stated in the same Code, they are manifest gods (*arami kami* 明神).<sup>16</sup> This rejection of the Chinese-style legitimation of the sovereign represents one of the aspects of the adaption of the legal system from Chinese to Japanese needs. Even if some notes on the sovereign's garment are found in the passage on Kōnin 11.2.1 in the Book 14 of the *Nihon kiriyaku* 日本紀略 (Abridged Annals of Japan, late 11th c.) based on the *Nihon kōki* 日本後紀 (Later Annals of Japan, 840),<sup>17</sup> a more detailed description is attested only in late ninth century in the *Gishiki* 儀式 (Ceremonial Procedures; post 872),<sup>18</sup> whose Book 6 contains a section titled “Reifukusei” 礼服制 (The System of Ceremonial Garments), dealing with the ceremonial garments of the sovereign, queen consort, and hereditary prince, as well as the princes of the blood, princes, court nobles, princesses of the blood, and noblewomen.<sup>19</sup> As far as the sovereign's attire is concerned, the *Gishiki* refers to an embroidered garment with 12 symbols, headwear with pendent ornaments, and ivory mace (天子袞冕十二章牙笏). The 12 symbols are the insignia the legendary Emperor Shun specifies when he tells Yu the desired design for his ceremonial garment, as recorded in Book 5 of the *Shujing* 書經 (Classic of the Documents): namely, the sun; moon; constellation; mountain; dragon; pheasant; ancestral goblets engraved with tigers and monkeys; seaweed; fire; rice grains; ax-head; and *fu* symbol, which looks like back-to-back bows.<sup>20</sup> The headwear with pendent tassels (冕) is worn by the sovereign on special occasions:

<sup>15</sup> Here too the garb of the hereditary prince is regulated by articles 18, 19, and 20 of the Tang law, whereas in the Nara law, there is only the first article. Niida 1964: 415–420; the same in Niida/Ikeda: 632–634.

<sup>16</sup> Law on Official Documents (*Kūjikiriyō* 公式令), art. 1 (RR: 365).

<sup>17</sup> NK: 310.

<sup>18</sup> Also known as *Jōgan gishiki* 貞觀儀式 (Ceremonial Procedures of the Jōgan Era), as it is named in the catalogue *Honchō hōka monjo mokuroku* 本朝法家文書目錄 (Catalogue of Books of the Legal School of Our Country). The extant text of this fundamental work on ceremonies and protocol consists of 10 books: the first deals with various rituals at shrines; the following three, with celebrations concerning the *Senso daijōsai* (the sovereign enthronement ritual); the fifth, with the Buddhist ceremony at New Year, the abdication of a sovereign, and with queen consort and hereditary prince, etc.; books 6 to 8, with annual events like rites for the New Year, celebrations in honor of Confucius (*sekiten*), and celebrations for the fifth, seventh, and ninth months; and books 9 and 10, with ceremonies accompanying government affairs and other ad hoc rites.

<sup>19</sup> GS: 165–166.

<sup>20</sup> *Shujing*: 141. On the meaning of the 12 symbols, see Ooms 2009: 176–178.

a ceremonial garment to be worn with this sort of headwear (*benfuku* 冕服) is mentioned for the first time on the occasion of the New Year's Audience held by the sovereign Shōmu (701–756, r. 724–749) in 732 (Tenpyō 4.1.1).<sup>21</sup> This headwear resembles the *mianguan* (冕冠, Jp. *benkan*) of the Chinese emperors, but unfortunately, no Japanese exemplar has survived intact. However, the Shōsōin has preserved several pieces of ornaments from the *benkan* used by Shōmu at the Eye-Opening Ceremony of the Great Buddha, such as pearls, glass beads, and fragments of copper, silver, amber, etc., as well as the two red lacquered headwear racks belonging to North Section 157.<sup>22</sup> Later, we find mentions of the sovereign ceremonial garment in the *Saikyūki* 西宮記 (Notes of the Western Palace, ca. 969) by Minamoto no Takaakira 源高明 (914–982): a red [robe] with long sleeves embroidered with the shapes of the sun, moon, mountains, dragons, tigers, monkeys, etc., short sleeves of the same color, a pleated skirt embroidered with the shape of an ax, white ornamental cords, two strips of jade pendants, headwear, a mace, and thick-soled black leather shoes.<sup>23</sup>

As concerns the attire, besides the textual data, we can also rely on numerous artifacts, most of which have been preserved in the Shōsōin, the repository of Tōdai Monastery in Nara, which consists of three sections: the North Section contains artifacts connected with the sovereign Shōmu, donated by his consort Kōmyō in 756, 49 days after his demise; the Middle Section, documents and objects related to the Zōtōdaijishi 造東大寺司 (Tōdai Monastery Construction Office); and the South Section, Buddhist and ritual implements used at the Tōdai Monastery.<sup>24</sup>

### 3 Terminology and specialized knowledge

The two laws here translated are a worthy reference for the cultural and historical reconstruction of ancient Japan, especially for investigating the various aspects of Japanese culture centered on state officialdom: it can certainly shed light on several material aspects of Nara-period society.

<sup>21</sup> SNG, vol. 2: 254.

<sup>22</sup> For the surviving fragments, see <https://tinyurl.com/u4c8et7p>; for the two racks, see <https://tinyurl.com/98fs4ky9>. For a discussion, see Yoneda 1995.

<sup>23</sup> SKK: 390.

<sup>24</sup> 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 1884, as of March 31, 2010, the cataloged 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). See Hayashi 1975: 34–35. On old textiles in the Shōsōin, see Ogata 2005, 2013; and on leather products, see Deguchi 2006.

As seen above, they are closely related to practical know-how, and they are of great interest in the reconstruction of technical knowledge in ancient Japan. On the one hand, the laws offer several hints about the development of technical terminology in ancient Japan, since each features nomenclature that is standardized at the institutional level. On the other hand, the laws and their commentaries furnish actual technical content, and often refer to further books and documents, such that we can think of them as the hub of an early textual network.

Numerous offices and officials of the *ritsuryō* state were engaged in the matters regulated by the *Giseiryō* and the *Ebukuryō*, and thus a large cadre of officials, from high to low ranks, was expected to know their contents.

The *Ebukuryō*, dealing with robes, garments, ornaments, etc., must have been the main reference for all those offices responsible for any activity related to clothing, from the cutting and sewing of garments to weaving and dyeing, and from the tanning of leather to the lacquering of accessories: offices such as the Nuidonoryō 縫殿寮 (Bureau of the Wardrobe), subordinated to the Nakatsukasashō 中務省 (Ministry of Central Affairs); and the Nuribe no tsukasa 漆部司 (Lacquer Office), Nuibe no tsukasa 縫部司 (Sewing Office), and Oribe no tsukasa 織部司 (Weaving Office). The latter were under the Ōkurashō 大藏省 (Ministry of the Treasury), which included also some guilds skilled in leather tanning.<sup>25</sup>

As for terminology, the laws fixed terms both explicitly and implicitly. In the former case, an article would have its *raison d'être* in setting the terms to be used; in the latter, a single article and/or group of articles would make use of terms to clarify behaviors, dress, and habits.

There are at least two examples of rules regarding terminology in the *Giseiryō*: article 1 and article 25. Article 1 is a clear example of a rule governing the appropriate usage of terms for addressing the sovereign; each term is disambiguated, provided with notes specifying their context of use or the actual reference of the term to be used. This form of standardization is obviously of Chinese origin and exists also in the Tang Code, even if some titles, such as Emeritus Heavenly Sovereign (太上天皇), do not appear in the *Yizhiling*.<sup>26</sup> Another list of terms pertaining to the sovereign's and his family's titles occur in articles 23 to 37 of the *Kūjikiryō* 公式令 (Law on Official Documents)—where they are named because, when drawing up an official document, it is required to start a new line after each such term<sup>27</sup>—but in this

<sup>25</sup> These bureaus and offices were established, respectively, by articles 8, 36, 37, and 38 of the *Shiki'inryō* 職員令 (Law on Officials) (RR: 163–164, 177); the Ōkurashō, by article 33 (RR: 175–176).

<sup>26</sup> Moreover, it is not so different from the current, similar provisions of the *Kōshitsu tenpan* 皇室典範 The Imperial House Law of 1947.

<sup>27</sup> RR: 389–391.

case, no further note disambiguating the usage of terms is furnished.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, the *Ryō no gige* explains that all the terms in article 1 are used in records, but as for verbal communication, regardless of the characters, ‘*Sumemima no mikoto*’ (皇御孫命) or ‘*Sumera mikoto*’ (湏明樂美御德) are to be used.<sup>29</sup> Article 25, meanwhile, deals with the five degrees of kinship, which are added to the Japanese Codes since they concern ritual etiquette, on which Japan had no ritual treatise in the eighth century<sup>30</sup>—at least, not as far as we know. Thus, this article furnishes a detailed nomenclature of kinship terms and, covering consanguineal and affinal categories, it reveals a complex family and social system certainly worthy of further analysis in the field of ethnology and anthropological linguistics. Indeed, each of the articles illustrates two basic functions of ancient lexicography, the definitions of words and the systematic organization of terminology, respectively, as we may infer from the various extant Chinese ancient encyclopedias and dictionaries.

The attestation of precise technical terms in the laws is an invaluable resource, as it means the established terms have been preserved in reliable reference works. Being chosen nonarbitrarily, these terms are a door to the history of a material culture for which the archeological data is insufficient, and even a simple description of a field’s terminology allows for the reconstruction of practical and technical knowledge. For example, in the *Ebukuryō* we find a large repertoire of vocabulary related to craftsmanship, and we can individuate at least five main lexical domains:

- types of garments (e.g. 衣 “robe”, 袴 “trousers”, 褶 “pleated skirt”, 襪 “socks”, 衫 “undershirt”, 袍 “gown”, 裙 “skirt”, 襖 “jacket”, 位襖 “lined jacket”, 裯襦 “coat”);
- types of accessories, with several sub-domains such as headgear (e.g. 冠 “cap”, 頭巾 “kerchief”, 宝髻 “hair ornament”, 義髻 “hairpiece”, 末額 “band”), footgear (e.g. 烏 “thick-soled shoes”, 履 “thin-soled shoes”, 靴 “footwear”, 鞋 “straw shoes”), weapons and military accessories (e.g. 横刀 “sword”, 弓箭 “bow and arrows”, 挂甲 “short armor”, 槍 “spear”, 脛巾 “greaves”, 綉 “chinstrap”, 行膝 “leggings”), and other accessories (e.g. 笏 “mace”, 帶 “sash”, 腰帶 “girdle”, 玉珮 “jade strings”, 袋 “pouch”);
- materials (e.g. 牙 “ivory”, 皮 “leather”, 木 “wood”, 草 “straw”, 油 “lacquer”);
- types of textiles (e.g. 錦 “brocade”, 紗 “tulle”, 羅 “gauze”, 縵 “plain silk”, 布 “cloth”, 條 “braid”, 繡 “embroidery”);
- colors (e.g. 白 “white”, 黃丹 “orange”, 紫 “purple”, 蘇方 “amaranth”, 赤 “red”, 緋 “scarlet”, 紅 “crimson”, 朱 “vermillion”, 黃椽 “yellowish brown”, 纁 “pale red”, 蒲萄 “pale purple”, 綠 “green”, 紺 “dark blue”, 縹 “blue”, 桑

<sup>28</sup> Almost the same can be said about the first article of the *Kūjikiryō* (RR: 365–367), which individuates the different names used to refer to the sovereign in writing the five forms of sovereign edict.

<sup>29</sup> RGG: 205.

<sup>30</sup> Ōsumi 2010: 73.

“beige”, 黃 “yellow”, 揩衣 “yellowish green”, 秦 “brown”, 柴 “grayish brown”, 橡墨 “brownish black”, 桃染 “pink”).<sup>31</sup>

While the laws are certainly the main textual resources for the abovementioned technical officials, the same laws and their commentaries often refer to other texts where procedures, details, and any further information may be provided. In the *Giseiryō* and the *Ebukuryō*, for example, articles of laws often refer to a “separate procedure” (別式) or “separate regulation” (別制), phrases which, as explained by the *Ryō no shūge*, have the same meaning (有別制謂別式).<sup>32</sup> In these cases, we do not have clear reference to any specific texts, nor these texts are extant, but in some cases, we can infer that they should not be much different from works such as the *Gishiki*. For example, in the *Ryō no gige*, a note on the cap to be worn with the ceremonial garment in article 1 specifies that as for the manufacture of the cap, there is a “separate procedure,”<sup>33</sup> as we can find in the *Gishiki* where a detailed record is related to the cap fabrication for princes and officials.<sup>34</sup>

In another case, in article 8 of the *Giseiryō*, there is a reference to the illustrated documents (圖書) that must be consulted in the event of auspicious omens. These documents are most probably the Chinese treatises on auspicious signs; the first to have been included in a dynastic history is the *Furui zhi* 符瑞志 (Treatise on Omens) of the *Song shu* 宋書 (Annals of the Liu Song Dynasty, early 6th c.).<sup>35</sup> In eighth-century Japan, all these texts were well known, and they were likely to be the main references for the Jibushō 治部省 (Ministry of Civil Administration), the ministry in charge of evaluating omens.

En passant, it goes without saying that the transmission of the knowledge contained in the laws and ancillary texts was certainly aided by a corpus of reference works, such as glossaries and dictionaries, where the Sinitic terms are assigned vernacular equivalents. In fact, Japanese laborers belonging to the guilds and professional groups used vernacular terms in their own fields in order to manage practical knowledge, while low-ranking officials such as clerks (*reishi*) were responsible for compiling records of their activities and dealing with documents recasting the Japanese contexts in the established Sinitic format. Most of these bilingual reference works are no longer extant and survive only through

<sup>31</sup> In general, on the types of garments and accessories, see Sekine 1986; for the typology of textiles and materials see also Verschuer 2014; Gao 1987; a recent study on colors and pigments is Dusenbury 2015.

<sup>32</sup> RSG: 738.

<sup>33</sup> RGG: 213.

<sup>34</sup> GS: 165–166.

<sup>35</sup> In fact, among the books on “miscellaneous divination” (*za zhan* 雜占) in the *Yiwen zhi* 藝文志 (Bibliographic Treatise) of the *Hanshu* 漢書, we also find the *Shanhaijing* 山海經 (Classic of Mountains and Seas, 1st c.) (HS: 1773), which, usually regarded as a geographical treatise, should be reconsidered in light of this classification. On the *Furui zhi*, see Lippiello (2001).

indirect tradition, thanks to quotations in the later *Wamyōruijushō*, the Sino-Japanese dictionary compiled by Minamoto no Shitagō (ca. 911–983). The lost dictionaries are the *Yōshi kangoshō* 楊氏漢語抄 (Notes on Chinese Words by Master Yako, ca. 720), compiled by Yako no Muzane (early 8th c.), who was also involved in the compilation of the *Yōrō Code*;<sup>36</sup> the anonymous *Kangoshō* 漢語抄 (Notes on Chinese Words, early 8th c.); and the *Benshiki rissei* 弁色立成 (Compendium of Classifications, first half of 8th c.). The lexical domains covered by the *Yōshi kangoshō* fragments are all related to technical and practical knowledge in fields such as medicine, hippology, agriculture, textile craft, cuisine, etc.<sup>37</sup>

Each law contains references to other laws of the *Yōrōryō*, allowing us a clear overview of the compilation of the Nara-period legal corpus, which not only excerpted rules from the Chinese codes, but also illustrates the process of accepting the Chinese laws, rejecting them, or changing those elements that did not meet the standards of the Japanese bureaucratic state elite. The fact that some elements belonging to Chinese tradition were rejected is not surprising, as it confirms that cultural assimilation did not take place wholesale or uncritically, but rather through intense and vital intellectual activity that reached such a degree of maturity that it was possible to choose some elements and omit others; the very unevenness of this process contributed to the richness of Japanese legal heritage.

## 4 About this translation

The translation is based on the text of the critical edition of the *ritsuryō* by Inoue Mitsusada's research team, published in the *Nihon shisō taikei* in 1976; however, our exegesis is also based on various textual, visual, and material sources.

On a textual level, we have consulted historical commentaries such as the *Ryō no gige* and the *Ryō no shūge*. We have also taken into account later supplementary legislation, such as the *Engi shiki*, *Ruijū sandai kyaku*, and the book of protocols known as the *Gishiki*, besides often-quoted Chinese sources such as the *Liji* 禮記 (Record of Rites; ca. 3rd c. BCE) and the *Zhouli* 周禮 (Rites of Zhou; mid-2nd c. BCE). Niida Noboru's reconstruction of Tang administrative law, *Tōrei shūi*, as well as the later *Tōrei shūi ho* have been a constant point of reference for comparison with the Chinese codes.

Much use is also made of the *Wamyōruijushō*, which by means of its thematic classification scheme lets us check the technical terminology that appears so frequently in Book 7 of the *Yōrōryō*. Moreover, it quotes several Nara-period technical dictionaries for low-ranking officials, such as the *Yōshi kangoshō*.

On a visual and material level, we have made use of the database of the treasury of the Shōsōin official website (<https://shosoin.kunaicho.go.jp/>).

<sup>36</sup> SNG, vol. 2: 110–111.

<sup>37</sup> See for example Kuranaka 2001, 2002, 2003, and Manieri 2012, 2019b, 2022.

For each reference to the Shōsōin, we furnish a link to the web page which includes the picture of the item, its details, and further references. We also consider some other visual sources of the eighth century, such as wall decorations from tumuli, sketches drawn by carpenters on ceiling boards, wooden statues, etc.

Japanese, Korean, and Chinese words appear in modernized transcriptions (the modified Hepburn system for Japanese, the Revised Romanization of Korean for Korean, and *pinyin* for Chinese) and do not take into account the historical changes of words or Chinese tones. When necessary, as for example for lemmas from the *Wamyōruijushō*, we have adopted the transcription of Old Japanese proposed by Alexander Vovin in *A Descriptive and Comparative Grammar of Western Old Japanese* (Vovin 2020). We have used the Chinese transcription also for words and expressions from Japanese texts written in Sinitic.

Following Inoue's critical edition, Sino-Japanese terms are given in *go'on*, with some exceptions in cases where old commentaries or the text itself furnishes *kan'on* variants. When not useful for the argumentation, we have avoided Chinese and Japanese words inasmuch as possible, providing any specific term or explanation in footnotes. As for the translation of the terminology regarding administrative offices and duties, ranks and honorific titles, we have followed mainly Sansom 1932 and 1934; we have consulted also Hérail 2006 and Dettmer 2009 and 2010, and the Online Glossary of Japanese Historical Terms of the Historiographical Institute of the University of Tokyo (last consulted 23 June 2021). Finally we have also taken into consideration all the other available translations of the *ryō* into various language.<sup>38</sup>

For the sake of clarity we furnish here the translation of some recurrent terms:

位: rank; 品: order; 階: grade; 正從: senior and junior; 上下: upper and lower;

皇太子: hereditary prince; 親王: prince of the blood; 内親王: princess of the blood; 王: prince; 女王: princess; 臣: noble; 内命婦: noble woman;

the various characters for the four classes of officials (四等官) have been rendered by: director, vice director, official of third class, official of fourth class.

We have numbered the articles following Inoue's edition.

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**38** The only complete translation into a European language is the German translation of Dettmer 2009, 2010. Laws that have already been translated into English are the *Koryō* (Sansom 1934; Yoshie/Ijūin/Piggott 2013), *Sōniryō* and *Jingiryō* (Sansom 1934), *Gakuryō* (Crump 1952), *Gokū shiki'inryō* (Ijūin/Yoshie/Piggott 2013, 2014), *Gunbōryō* (Friday 2014), *Kyūmokuryō* (Manieri 2019a). An outline in English of the *Shiki'inryō* can also be found in Sansom 1932; Miller 1979. Other translations into European languages include: in Italian, the *Koryō* (Mazzei 1977), the first 22 articles of the *Kūjikiryō* (Migliore 2011) and the *Gokū shiki'inryō* (Migliore 1998); in French, the *Sōsōryō* (Macé 1986); in German, the *Gakuryō* (Schmidt 1956) and the *Kūjikiryō* (Rüttermann 2007). Finally, a translation into Russian of the *Taihōryō* is in Popov 1985.

## 5 Translation

### 5.1 [Section] Eighteen. *Law on Ceremonies and Regulations 26* articles in all

[Article 1]

Heavenly Child<sup>39</sup> (on the occasion of sacrifices);<sup>40</sup>

Heavenly Sovereign<sup>41</sup> (on the occasion of a solemn edict);<sup>42</sup>

Supreme Ruler (for civilized and barbarians);<sup>43</sup>

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**39** RGG explains, “From Heavenly Child to Mounted-on-the-Chariot, all shall be used in records. Generally, in pronunciation, it is different: regardless of the characters, [say] instead ‘*Sumemima no mikoto*’ (皇御孫命) or ‘*Sumera mikoto*’ (湏明樂美御德)” (RGG: 205). *Sumera* is a vernacular term widely used to indicate the Japanese sovereign. *Sumemima* is the reading of the semantographic compound 皇御孫, which means “sovereign grandchild” and is essentially the epithet of Ninigi no Mikoto: in this sense, for example, it occurs in phonogram 珠壳美万 in the *Hitachi no kuni fudoki* (“Kuji District”; see Uegaki 1997: 410). Here the compound 皇御孫 refers to the “sovereign” in general, and in this usage, it also occurs in the first *norito* of the ES, Book 8, pertaining to the Grain-Petitioning Festival (*kinensai* or *toshigo no matsuri* 祈年祭) (ES: 159). The connection of *sume* with the low bi-grade verb *subu* (Mod. Jp. *suberu*) “to rule,” proposed by Philipp 1990: 92, must be considered more of a folk etymology, because of the A-type “e” in *sume* versus the B-type “e” in *sube(-ru)*.

**40** According to RGG: 205, “*Jisi* 祭祀 means to make an offering to the gods of heaven and of earth (*shenzhi* 神祇).” In the NS, the term is used to refer to offerings performed by Chinese emperors or by Yamato rulers. In the latter case, it is actually used in ritual contexts involving regalia or in contexts related to previous sovereigns, such as in the NS, Book 12, Richū 5.10.11 (NS, Vol. 1: 429) or Book 17, Keitai 1.2.4 (NS, Vol. 2: 21).

**41** Tōno Haruyuki argues that Tenmu (?–686, r. 673–686) was the first to introduce the term, in the Kiyomihara Code, which was then used to refer to any sovereign (past or present) toward the end of the reign of Jitō (645–702, r. 686–697) (Tōno 1969). The origin of the term is related to Daoist texts and Tenmu’s general attention to Daoist practices (see Ooms 2009: 154ff.). Actually, the oldest extant occurrence is in *mokkan* 244 (ca. 118 x ca. 19 x 3), from the SD1130 site (Asuka Ike Site), unearthed in 1998 beside other *mokkan* dated to the period of Tenmu’s reign. It is incomplete and features only seven characters on the *recto*: 天皇聚〔露?〕弘寅□ “The Heavenly Sovereign collects the dew and disseminates the [...]” The last character is unreadable, and the fourth has been reconstructed as 露 (but it could also be a different character with the radical for “rain” 雨). The *mokkan* is available at Mokkanko: Wooden Tablet Database of the Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties (<https://tinyurl.com/yswc4ddr>). See also Terasaki 1999: 22.

**42** The form of the edict (*shōsho* 詔書) is described in *Kūjikiryō* 公式令 (Law on Official Documents), article 1 (RR: 365–367; see Migliore 2018: 183–186. See also Migliore 2011: 18–21, 43–44, *passim*).

**43** As explained in RGG: 205, the title must be used in solemn edicts and documents from the Japanese sovereign to the civilized people and barbarians, and vice versa.

Beneath the Steps (in written report to the Sovereign).<sup>44</sup> Emeritus Heavenly Sovereign (in case of abdication).<sup>45</sup> Above the Palanquin (with reference to sovereign possessions).<sup>46</sup> Mounted-on-the-Chariot (with reference to his journeys).<sup>47</sup>

[Article 2]

Heading to the Mounted-on-the-Chariot's location shall be termed "visiting the temporary lodge."<sup>48</sup>

[Article 3]

From the main consort and the Hereditary Prince to the lower [ranks], and to all the people within the boundaries of the land,<sup>49</sup> when addressing the Heavenly Sovereign and the Emeritus Heavenly Sovereign, each shall call oneself "your servant" or "your handmaiden" [followed by one's] name<sup>50</sup> (in the case of verbal communication, the personal name shall be used). The sovereign's main consort and the Hereditary Prince shall address the sovereign's grand-mother and mother [who have been queens] as "Beneath the Pavilion," [and the same shall be done by] all the people within the boundaries of the land in their reports to the Three Queens<sup>51</sup> and the

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**44** This form is used to address the sovereign as if a subject is waiting below the throne steps.

**45** This title does not appear in Tang Code: see the corresponding *Yizhiling* 儀制令, article 1 (Niida 1964: 469). The title "Emeritus Heavenly Sovereign" is also listed in *Kūjikiryō*, article 33, among other titles pertaining to the sovereign and his family, after which it is required, when drawing up an official document, to start a new line (RR: 391).

**46** Generally, this title is followed by the sovereign's possessions, such as horses (乘輿御馬), food (乘輿御食), or writing implements (乘輿御書) (RGG: 205).

**47** Of the various terms recorded in the article, only 車駕 is reported by the WMS: 125, in the section on "Types of Carriages" thus in the proper sense of "chariot." A gloss of 車駕, found in the NGS *heibon*, is *miyuki* 美由岐 (NGS: 152). The terms 乘輿 and 車駕 are used in the NS, for example in Book 7, with reference to Keikō tennō.

**48** *Xingzaisuo* 行在所 is the location where the sovereign stops during a journey or period of stay outside the capital palace. The term occurs in the SNG, but not in the NS or in *fudoki*, where 行宮 is used.

**49** The expression 率土之内 (Ch. *shuai tu zhi na*; Jp. *sochido no uchi*), here translated as "all the people within the boundaries of the land," refers to a verse in the "minor ode" *Bei Shan* (The Northern Hills) from the *Shijing* (Classic of Poetry, ca. 1000–ca. 600 BCE), which reads: 率土之濱莫非王臣 "Within the sea-boundaries of the land,/ All are the king's servants." (the translation of Legge 1871: 360, is the most faithful to the original).

**50** "Your handmaiden" is the translation of 妾 (Ch. *qie*), a character used in two different senses, both occurring in the *Giseiryō*: a humble form used by women to indicate themselves, as in this article; or the term for "secondary wife," as in the occurrence in article 25 *infra*.

**51** The Three Queens 三后 are the grandmother and the mother of the sovereign who have been queens consort themselves, and the queen consort (RGG: 251). The term also occurs in the *Kūjikiryō*, article 6 (RR: 373). The "report" here is the translation of 啓 (Ch. *qi*; Jp. *kei*), which is the official document used in addressing the hereditary prince and the Three Queens (*Kūjikiryō*, article 7; RR: 374–5). See also Migliore 2011: 26, 54–55; 2018: 183.

Hereditary Prince. When referring to himself, each shall use “your servant” or “your handmaiden” (in the case of verbal communication, the personal name shall be used).

[Article 4]

When the Mounted-on-the-Chariot sets out and returns, all officials of the fifth rank and higher shall bid him farewell and welcome. For those who protect [the reign] in [his] absence,<sup>52</sup> there shall be no obligation of farewell or welcome. This rule does not apply in the case of a daily journey.

[Article 5]

Every first day of the month, civil and military officials of the first rank and higher shall participate in the [government] Assembly.<sup>53</sup> Each of them shall explain the previous month’s public documents pertaining to their office. The fifth rank and higher shall bring [the documents] and place them on the desk in the precinct of [the hall of the] Assembly.<sup>54</sup> The Great Counselors shall forward the reports [to the Sovereign].<sup>55</sup> In the case of rain, [which could] ruin the form [of the Assembly], or mud or puddles, this [procedure] shall be suspended. (The Board of Controllers shall keep the public documents. All shall be stored at the Ministry of Central Affairs.)

[Article 6]

Civil and military officials of the third rank and higher, when they [are granted] leave or [appointed as] messengers,<sup>56</sup> shall each bid farewell in person when going away. On coming back, they shall each pay their respects in person. Those of the fifth rank and higher, if sent on a mission by an edict,<sup>57</sup> shall bid farewell and pay their respects in person as above. Hence, provincial officials of the third rank and

<sup>52</sup> The hereditary prince or the holders of the first three court ranks who are in charge of an administrative post (執契之公卿) (RGG: 206).

<sup>53</sup> A ceremony held each first day of the month, where the sovereign in the Daigokuden examines documents concerning the jobs and duty periods of officials from different offices and bureaus. In the ES, Book 18, these ceremonies are restricted to the first, fourth, seventh, and tenth months (ES: 469–471).

<sup>54</sup> I.e., the precinct of the Daigokuden 大極殿 (RR: 344).

<sup>55</sup> The “report” here is the translation of 奏 (Ch. *zou*; Jp. *sō*), the form for official documents addressed to the sovereign in the *Kūjikiriyō*, articles 3–5 (RR: 369–373; Migliore 2011: 23–25, 48–53). The tasks and duties of the Great Counselors (*dainagon*) are described in *Shiki’inryō* 職員令, article 2 (RR: 158–159).

<sup>56</sup> RGG: 206 specifies that the leave shall be granted upon request. According to the *Ken'yōryō* 假寧令 (Law on Leaves and Holidays), article 11, the period of leave (假) for civil officials of the third rank and above is five days, and for military officials of the fifth rank and above, three days (RR: 432).

<sup>57</sup> The *choku* (勅) or *chokushi* (勅旨) is the form of sovereign edict for minor matters, as seen in the *Kūjikiriyō*, article 2 (RR: 367–8). See also Migliore 2011: 20–23, 47; 2018: 183.

higher<sup>58</sup> who, having stated a reason, leave their position<sup>59</sup> shall also pay their respects upon reaching the capital.

[Article 7]

In the case of a solar eclipse, the bureau<sup>60</sup> shall present a report in advance. The Supreme Ruler shall not perform state affairs. All the officials shall stay at their own office, they shall not attend to their duty, and after the event has passed they shall go home. During the mourning of the Supreme Ruler's second-degree relatives and higher, maternal grandparents, the minister of the right and higher [officials], or first ranks without an office, the Supreme Ruler shall not perform state affairs for three days. On Sovereign death anniversaries (i.e., on the death anniversaries of previous Sovereign, official duties shall be stopped according to the separate procedure),<sup>61</sup> during the mourning of third-degree relatives and of officials of the third rank and higher, the Supreme Ruler shall not perform state affairs for one day.

[Article 8]

When an auspicious omen appears in reply [to the sage behavior of the Sovereign], in the case of those which in illustrated documents are grouped as great omens,<sup>62</sup> such as a unicorn, phoenix, turtle, or dragon, a report shall immediately be submitted (the report, moreover, shall indicate the type of the omen and the place where it occurred, and cannot sloppily describe forged attributes nor indulge in unreliable words). Omens from the upper level down shall all be reported to

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**58** The rank corresponds to the sole administrative function of the Governor-General (*sochi*) of Dazai.

**59** According to RGG's comments on the *Senjoryō* 選叙令 (Law on Appointments and Promotions), article 9, there are seven reasons for leave: resignation due to old age (*chishi* 致仕); alternation due to expiration of the mandate (*kōman* 交滿); abolition of the office (*haikan* 廢官); a personnel cut at the office (*shōin* 省員); assistance and care of elderly or ill parents (*jūtai* 充侍); parental mourning (*sōsō* 遭喪); or more than 120 days of illness in the person in question (*kange* 患解) (RGG: 137; RR: 271).

**60** The Bureau of Yin and Yang (Onmyōryō) (RGG: 206).

**61** The mourning period for the anniversary of a sovereign death (Ch. *guo ji*, Jp. *kokki* 国忌) was held in Japan for the first time in 687, in honor of Tenmu tennō. Later, the practice underwent some changes, as reported in the ES, Book 21 "Jibushō" (ES: 528–529). As for the "separate procedure" (別式), RGG: 207 reads: 太陽虧及国忌日別立廢務之法, "As for the days of solar eclipse and sovereign death anniversaries, a law [establishing the rules of how] official duties shall be stopped is delineated."

**62** In the *Tang liu dian* 唐六典 (Tang Sixfold Compendium, 738), the omens are listed and divided into four categories: great, upper, middle, and lower (*Tang liu dian*: 114–115). ES, Book 21 "Jibushō" includes the same list of omens in four categories (ES: 527–528). The first Chinese treatise on auspicious signs to be included in a dynastic history is the *Furui zhi* 符瑞志 (Treatise on Omens) of the *Song shu* 宋書 (Annals of the Liu Song Dynasty, early 6th c.) (Lippiello 2001). In Japan, the NS and SNG record several examples of auspicious signs (Bender 2013).

the relevant office<sup>63</sup> and submitted to the Sovereign on the first day of the year. In the case of birds or beasts, if caught alive, they shall later be set free in the mountains or on land, as suits their nature. The others shall all be sent to the Ministry of Civil Administration. If they cannot be caught, or in the case of trees with intertwined branches that cannot be sent off, the relevant local office<sup>64</sup> shall investigate that it is not a forgery, produce a detailed drawing, and send [this drawing]. If it can be verified [as auspicious], a specific edict shall be issued.

[Article 9]

On the first day of the year, obeisance<sup>65</sup> shall not be made to princes of the blood or lower [ranks]. However, [paternal and maternal] relatives and household stewards<sup>66</sup> shall not have this constraint. If it is not the first day of the year and there is a necessity to pay one's respects, the fourth rank shall make obeisance to the first rank; the fifth rank to the third; the sixth rank to the fourth; and the seventh rank to the fifth. In all the other cases, each shall follow their own etiquette as they please.

[Article 10]

In the case of a meeting on the road, [officials] of the third rank and lower on encountering a prince of the blood shall all dismount from horses. (In all the other cases, obeisance shall be made as usual.<sup>67</sup> When not dismounting, all shall line up their horses along the side of the road.)<sup>68</sup> Even if it is necessary to dismount, the retinue shall not.<sup>69</sup>

[Article 11]

When district officials meet their own provincial officials, all shall dismount from their horses. However, if [they occupy] the fifth rank, and there is no other [official]

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**63** The Ministry of Civil Administration (Jibushō) (RGG: 207). Evaluating omens was one of the tasks of the minister, according to the *Shiki'inryō*, article 16 (RR: 167). Only during Shōtoku's reign does it seem that the office in charge of interpreting omens was the Bureau of Yin and Yang (Onmyōryō), belonging to the Ministry of Central Affairs (Nakatsukasashō) (Bender 2013: 48), but in any case, in the ES, "omens" officially still pertain to the Jibushō (ES: 527–528).

**64** Usually, those of the province, the district, and the right and left capital offices.

**65** About the protocol of the obeisance 拜 and the difference between China and Japan see Ōsumi 2010: 70.

**66** Household stewards (家令) are officials in charge of the households of the hereditary prince, princes of the blood, and nobility from the first to third ranks, as regulated by the *Keryō shiki'inryō* 家令職員令 (Law on Officials of the Households of Nobility) (RR: 207–209).

**67** RSG: 714 gives some examples taken from the lost *Hachijūichi rei* 八十一例 (Eighty-one Models, 720 ca.).

**68** For example, when holders of the first or second rank meet a prince of the blood, or when a third rank meets with a first rank and so on. RGG: 208.

**69** I.e., the sovereign retinues as well as those of the Three Queens and of the hereditary prince (RGG: 208).

of the fifth rank or above [among the provincial officials], they shall not dismount. If officials [from the capital] come to visit the province, those owning the same rank shall dismount accordingly. (If there is a necessity to pay one's respects, all shall conform to the etiquette for dismounting from horses).

[Article 12]

When sitting at court, meeting with a prince of the blood or with the Great Minister of State, one shall get down from his seat;<sup>70</sup> [meeting with] the Great Ministers of the Left and of the Right or superiors of one's own office, one shall move his seat accordingly.<sup>71</sup> In all other cases, one shall not move.

[Article 13]

As for the ceremonial halberds, there shall be four for the Great Minister of State, two each for the Great Ministers of the Left and of the Right, and one for the Great Counselor.

[Article 14]

The rank tag of the Hereditary Prince and lower [ranks] shall be of seven *sun* on each side and five *sun* thick; the text shall indicate order and rank, all in lacquer characters.<sup>72</sup>

[Article 15]

The parasol of the Hereditary Prince: purple outer [canopy] and amaranth inner, with ferrule and four ribs, covered with brocade fabric, and with hanging tassels.<sup>73</sup> Princes of the blood: purple [outer canopy] with a large tie-dyed pattern. First rank: deep green; third rank and above: dark blue; fourth rank: blue (fourth order and above and first rank: ferrule, square, covered with brocade fabric, and with hanging tassels; second rank and below: covered with brocade fabric; moreover, for the Great Counselor and above: hanging tassels); a red inner [canopy] for all. As for tassels, the same color shall be used.<sup>74</sup>

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**70** RSG: 718 specifies that they shall stay standing.

**71** Great ministers of the left and of the right shall move their seats in the presence of princes of the blood and the great minister of state, whereas princes of the blood and the great minister of state shall not move in each other presence (RGG: 209).

**72** According to the *Koki*, they are “marked with fire” 以火烧作字也 (RSG: 719). One *sun* is one tenth of a *shaku*. See also note 98 *infra*.

**73** In the Shōsōin Repository, we find some examples of canopies used as Buddhist implements (for example, <https://tinyurl.com/3nj4vhn9>), but we do not have any evidence of their possible similarities.

**74** On the eastern wall of the Takamatsuzuka burial mound a green parasol is depicted, which resembles the one for the first rank described in this article.

## [Article 16]

In the case of serious illness or the imprisonment of grandparents or parents, marriages are not allowed. If grandparents and parents approve and let the rite take place, banquets are not allowed.

## [Article 17]

All provinces and districts shall produce their own implements.<sup>75</sup> They shall be used when necessary. All shall be used as official supplies.

## [Article 18]

On the first day of the year, the Provincial Governors shall lead their officials and the Heads of Districts to the court and make their obeisance [to the Sovereign]. At the end, the senior officials shall receive congratulatory [gifts]. Holding the banquet, they shall be allowed [to participate]. (As for meals, [district] official supplies and revenues shall be assigned. The necessary quantity shall conform to the separate procedure.)

## [Article 19]

On the day of springtime celebration of paddy fields, the elders of the village shall gather together one time to perform the village ceremony of drinking wine. [This shall] let people know the Way of honoring the elders and nourishing the aged.<sup>76</sup> (Wine, dainties, etc. shall be offered from public revenue.)

## [Article 20]

While in deep mourning,<sup>77</sup> if [the official] does violence to his feelings and serves in his own duty, until the mourning period ends [he] shall be totally exempted from [giving] condolences, [expressing] congratulations, and holding banquets.

## [Article 21]

[An official] shall not enter a public gate<sup>78</sup> in mourning attire. While in mourning and struck by emotion, in rendering himself at court, he shall conform to the

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**75** Lit., the “five-agent implements” (五行器): i.e., as explained in RSG: 721, all those implements produced of or by fire, wood, water, metal, and earth.

**76** A *Koki* note explains that this celebration (春時祭田日) is intended to honor the tutelary deities of each village and furnishes details of the procedures (RSS: 723). The festivity of drinking in the districts is also a rite described in the *Xiangyin jiuuyi* 鄉飲酒義 (The Meaning of Drinking Wine in the Districts) chapter of the *Liji* 禮記 (Record of Rites, ca. 3rd c. BCE), from which several expressions in this article are excerpted (Legge 1885: 435–445).

**77** I.e., in case of one’s father’s or mother’s death, as explained by RGG’s note on article 23 of the *Gunbōryō* (Law on Military Defense) (RGG: 188).

**78** *Kūmon* 公門: i.e., any kind of official building, at the capital or in the provinces and districts, except for post stations (*ekike* 駅家) and provincial and district kitchens (*kuriya* 廚院) (RGG: 210; Satō 1997: 51).

colors of his rank.<sup>79</sup> While at home, he shall conform to the system of [mourning] attire.<sup>80</sup>

[Article 22]

On roads and lanes, the humble shall give way to the honorable,<sup>81</sup> the young shall give way to the aged, and the base shall give way to the worthy.

[Article 23]

As for internal and external officials<sup>82</sup> who, relying on their own ranks and shadow ranks,<sup>83</sup> purposely disobey regulations and laws, [the holder of] the sixth rank or below or the seventh merit rank or below<sup>84</sup> shall—the circumstances having been evaluated—accept the decided [punishment by] whipping.<sup>85</sup> In the absence of the director, [the transgressor] shall accept the decision of the person to whom the assistant has to show respect. Officials of third class of any of the above offices, judges, inspectors of the board of censors, palace attendants, professors of the Bureau of Higher Education, or other professors have no authority to decide for whipping.

[Article 24]

If attendants and assistants,<sup>86</sup> even those with a shadow rank, do not fulfill [the wishes] of their masters, for offenses [requiring punishment with] flogging or lesser, the master shall decide as he pleases (however, [officials of] the fourth rank and below can decide for whipping).

<sup>79</sup> Cf. *Ebukuryō*, articles 2ff. *infra*.

<sup>80</sup> As described in *Sōsōryō* 喪葬令 (Law on Mourning and Burial), article 17 (RR: 437).

<sup>81</sup> RGG: 210 explains that “humble” and “honorable” refer to ranks.

<sup>82</sup> RGG: 211 specifies that these are all the officials, including those of low rank working in shifts. The latter are called *banjō* 番上 (also *bunban* or *buban* 分番), and work for at least 140 days a year. *Kōkaryō* 考課令 (Law on Service Evaluation), article 59 (RR: 295).

<sup>83</sup> “Shadow ranks” (*kan'on* 位蔭) refer to the system of hereditary privileges, adopted in the Taihō Code from the Tang Code, consisting in accelerated promotion accorded to the sons and grandsons of princes and officials of the third-rank and above and sons of fourth- and fifth-rank officials. At the age of 21, they were allowed to enter the bureaucracy at a higher rank than the initial one. See Ōtsu 2010: 89–90.

<sup>84</sup> Originating in the Taihō Code (701), “merit rank” (*kun'i* 勲位) is a “system of authorized promotion in rank as a reward for meritorious performance in battle” (Friday 1992: 66).

<sup>85</sup> Whipping 笞 (Ch. *chi*; Jp. *chi*) with a thin bamboo stick is one of the five punishments, the other four being flogging 杖 (Ch. *zhang*; Jp. *jō*), penal servitude 徒 (Ch. *tu*; Jp. *zu*), exile 流 (Ch. *liu*; Jp. *ru*), and the death penalty 死 (Ch. *shi*; Jp. *shi*) (RR: 15–16).

<sup>86</sup> Attendants (*chōnai* 帳内) are those assigned to princes and nobles, while assistants (*shijin* 資人) are those assigned to officials of the fifth rank and above.

[Article 25]

As for the five degrees of relationship, those of the first [degree] are: father, mother, foster father, foster mother, husband, child;<sup>87</sup> the second: paternal grandfather and grandmother, father's primary wife,<sup>88</sup> father's secondary wife, elder and younger paternal uncle, paternal aunt, elder and younger brother, elder and younger sister, husband's father and mother, wife, and secondary wife,<sup>89</sup> brother's child, grandchild, son's wife; the third: paternal great-grandfather and great-grandmother, elder and younger paternal uncle's wife, husband's brother's child,<sup>90</sup> blood cousins,<sup>91</sup> elder and younger uterine brother and sister, husband's paternal grandfather and grandmother,<sup>92</sup> husband's elder and younger paternal uncle and paternal aunt, brotherly nephew's wife, stepfather, children of husband's previous primary and secondary wives living in the same house;<sup>93</sup> the fourth: paternal great-great-grandfather and great-great-grandmother, paternal great-uncle and great-aunt, father's blood cousin, husband's elder and younger brother and sister, elder and younger brother's wife and secondary wife, male and female children of father's blood male cousin, maternal grandfather and grandmother, maternal uncle and aunt, elder and younger brother's grandchild, blood male cousin's child, sister's son, great-grandchild, grandchild's wife, wife and secondary wife of previous husband's child; the fifth: wife's and secondary wife's father and mother, paternal aunt's child, maternal uncle's child, maternal aunt's child, great-great-grandchild, daughterly grandchild,<sup>94</sup> daughter's husband.

[Article 26]

When dating an official document, the era name shall be always used.<sup>95</sup>

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**87** Also an adopted son (RGG: 211).

**88** The term 嫡母 (Ch. *timou*) is used by the children of a secondary wife to address their father's primary wife; thus the relationship is intended from the point of view of the children.

**89** "Secondary wife" is the translation of the character 妾 (Ch. *qie*), here to be read as the vernacular *mekake*, who is not a concubine, as usually rendered in European languages, since "concubine" refers to a Western notion of legal marriage, which is by no means implied in the Chinese system.

**90** From the point of view of a woman toward her husband's brotherly nephew and niece.

**91** Blood cousins are the children of paternal uncles.

**92** From the point of view of a woman toward her husband's paternal grandfather and grandmother.

**93** We consider the characters 同居 (lit., "living in the same house") to refer to the following 夫前妻妾子 ("children of husband's previous primary and secondary wives") rather than the previous 繼父 ("stepfather").

**94** Referring to the grandchild of a daughter who has married into another family.

**95** This apparently unrelated article highlights the importance of state protocol for official written records and documents, beginning with the Taihō Code. While the Japanese *nengō* was used only occasionally in the seventh century, it was in the Taihō era (701) that the system began to be implemented consistently. Not only is the rule made explicit here, but the *Kūjikiriyō* (articles 1–22)

## 5.2 [Section] Nineteen. *Law on Robes and Garments* 14 articles in all

[Article 1] Ceremonial attire for the Hereditary Prince

The cap<sup>96</sup> [that must be worn with] the ceremonial attire. Orange robe.<sup>97</sup> Ivory mace.<sup>98</sup> White trousers; white sash. Deep purple tulle pleated skirt.<sup>99</sup> Brocade socks.<sup>100</sup> Thick-soled black leather shoes.<sup>101</sup>

[Article 2] Ceremonial attire for princes of the blood

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also clearly states that the *nengō* must be indicated on official documents (it seems that pre-Taihō official documents have no indication of the *nengō*). Moreover, this law also deals with omens, which were one of the causes of the era's name change, thus justifying the presence of the article in this law. **96** RGG: 213 specifies that as for the manufacture of the cap, there is a “separate procedure” (作有別式也). In fact, in the *Gishiki* (Ceremonial Procedures, post 872), Book 6 (*Reifukusei* 礼服制 “The System of Ceremonial Garments”), there is a record on it (GS: 165–166). In *Engishiki*, Book 19, too, there is a classification according to rank (ES: 500).

**97** 黄丹. Lit., “yellow” and “cinnabar.” This color is still used today for the garment of the hereditary prince.

**98** In the WMS, Book 14, sect. 178 *Fukugengu* 服玩具 (“Details of Accessories”), 笏 is defined as a “hand tablet” (手板) one *shaku* and six *sun* long, three *sun* wide, and five *bu* thick, and its pronunciation is *kotsu*, even if it is usually called *shaku* (thus, with reference to the length) (WMS: 156). According to Sekine 1986, Vol 1: 302, the vernacular pronunciation *shaku* is justified by the notion that *kotsu* recalls “bone” and can be an inauspicious term. In Japan, the *shaku*, already common in China by the Qin 秦 dynasty (221–207 BCE), was put into use by the Yōrō Code. Seven *shaku* dated to the Nara period are still extant: six are preserved in the Shōsōin (three of which are also recorded in the *Kokka chinpōchō*), one in the Hōryūji. Four of them are made of ivory or whale bone, and their length is from 32.2 to 38.3 cm; the other three are made of wood. As for the ivory, Tang China produced ivory in the province of Lingnan, and imported it from neighboring countries such as Annam, Yunnan, Champa, and India, as well as from Ceylon (Schafer 1963: 239–241; Verschuer 2014: 36–39). In the Shōsōin, there are several objects of animal horn, such as ivory, rhinoceros horn, and deer antler. For specimens of *shaku* preserved at the Shōsōin Repository, see, for example, <https://tinyurl.com/2uantzc5>.

**99** To be worn over the trousers (RGG: 213).

**100** For specimens preserved at the Shōsōin Repository, see, for example, <https://tinyurl.com/3y4uv6fz>.

**101** 舄. WMS, Book 12, sect. 167 *Ribatsunui* 履襪類 (“Types of Footwear”) explains the difference between 舄 and 履 (which is also to be found in this law, from article 5 on): 舄 has a “multiple leather sole” 重皮底, here translated as “thick-soled shoes”; 履 has a “single leather sole” 单皮底, here translated as “thin-soled shoes” (WMS: 145). As for 舄, RGG: 213 also specifies that they must be shoes with an upturned toe box (高鼻履, commonly attested also as 鼻高履). Some examples (though with a thin sole) have been preserved at the Shōsōin Repository, most notably the pair of shoes under no. 10: <https://tinyurl.com/fkfpnwm8>. The leather is of bovine origin; cow leather produced in the provinces of Tajima and Suō was delivered to the capital in form of an annual tax (Sekine 1986, Vol. 1: 279).

[Princes of the] first order: the cap [that must be worn with] the ceremonial attire. (From the fourth order above: there is a separate regulation for each of them.)<sup>102</sup> Deep purple robe. Ivory mace. White trousers. Braided sash.<sup>103</sup> Deep green tulle pleated skirt. Brocade socks. Thick-soled black leather shoes. (Cords and jade strings must be girded).<sup>104</sup>

[Article 3] Ceremonial attire for princes

[Princes of the] first rank: the cap [that must be worn with] the ceremonial attire. (From the fifth rank above: there is a separate regulation for each rank and grade; this also applies to court nobles.) Deep purple robe. Ivory mace. White trousers. Braided sash. Deep green tulle pleated skirt. Brocade socks. Thick-soled black leather shoes. [Princes] from the second to the fifth rank: each shall wear a light purple robe. As for the other items, they shall conform to the garment of the first rank. ([Princes of] the fifth rank and above shall gird with the cords; [princes of] the third rank and above shall also add the jade strings. This also applies to court nobles.)

[Article 4] Ceremonial attire for court nobles

[Court nobles of] the first rank: the cap [that must be worn with] the ceremonial attire. Deep purple robe. Ivory mace. White trousers. Braided sash. Deep blue tulle

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**102** RSG: 738 explains that the meaning of 別制 is the same as 別式 (有別制謂別式). See also note 61 *supra*.

**103** 14 examples and fragments of braided sashes have been preserved at the Shōsōin. They usually have a purple, brown, white, or indigo background, and different color patterns, such as diagonal checks or zigzags. See, for example, the “Surviving portions of braided silk sash, No. 12” (Middle Sect. 202) at <https://tinyurl.com/czp4kua6>, or “Surviving portions of braided sashes of various colors” (Middle Sect. 93) at <https://tinyurl.com/ye288ezf>. Further examples are in Sekine 1986, Vol. 2: 78.

**104** 玉珮 (“jade strings”). The lemma is also recorded in the WMS, Book 14, sect. 178 *Fukugengu* (WMS: 156). The vernacular equivalent is *omumono*. Incidentally, Kariya Ekisai (1775–1835) states this is a corruption of *ohimono*, lit. “thing to be hung,” because of the way in which they were worn (*Senchū Wamyōruijushō*: 291). We cannot judge the accuracy of this interpretation. Moreover, WMS notes, “Noblemen of the past indeed girded themselves with jades, regarding them as jades of virtue” (古之君子必佩玉以比德佩帶也) (WMS: 156). This sentence is excerpted from the *Tangyun* 唐韻 (*Tang rhymes*, 732), but in fact, its original source is the “Yu Zao” 玉藻 (Jade Embellishments) chapter of the *Liji*. The same passage also regulates the jade color and string color according to rank: “The Heavenly Child girds himself with white jades and black braided cords. Dukes and marquises gird themselves with deep black jades and vermilion braided cords. Senior officials gird themselves with aquamarine jades and simple braided cords. Hereditary sons gird themselves with polished jades and gray braided cords. Officials gird themselves with dull gems and orange braided cords. Confucius girds himself with five-inch ivory rings and gray braided cords” (LJ: 1482c; see also Legge 1885: 19). Part of this passage (天子佩白玉、公侯佩玄玉是也) is quoted by RGG: 213 to specify the difference in color between the monarch (white) and other nobles (black). The character 綬 is also recorded in the same section of the WMS, where the vernacular is specified as *kumi*, and the explanation is based on the commentary of Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200) on the same passage of the *Liji* (WMS: 156). One example of cords is the item under Middle Section 101s in the Shōsōin Repository: <https://tinyurl.com/4y3x5d6f>.

pleaded skirt. Brocade socks. Thick-soled black leather shoes. From the third rank above: light purple robe. Fourth rank: deep scarlet robe. Fifth rank: light scarlet robe. As for the other items, they shall conform to the garment of the first rank. They shall be worn on the occasion of the great sacrifices, the Great Offering,<sup>105</sup> and the First Day of the Year.

[Article 5] Court attire

[Princes] from the first order to the fifth rank: each [shall wear] a kerchief<sup>106</sup> of black gauze. The color of the robe shall be the same as the ceremonial attire. Ivory mace. White trousers. Girdle adorned with gold and silver.<sup>107</sup> White socks. Thin-soled black leather shoes. Sixth rank:<sup>108</sup> deep green robe. Seventh rank: light green robe. Eighth rank: deep blue robe. Initial rank: light blue robe. Each [shall wear] a kerchief of plain black silk. Wooden mace (if they hold an office). Black lacquer<sup>109</sup>

**105** RGG: 214 specifies that the great sacrifices (大祀) are those held on special occasions, and are like those performed to celebrate the divinities of heaven and earth (大祀者臨時之大祀。假如。祀天地之類也). The *Jingiryō* 神祇令 (Law on Divinities), article 12 distinguishes a one-month sacrifice (*daishi* 大祀), three-day sacrifice (*chūshi* 中祀), and one-day sacrifice (*shōshi* 小祀) (RR: 214). The Great Offering (大嘗) refers to the harvest offering ceremony performed by each new sovereign after his accession. *Jingiryō*, article 8 (RR: 212).

**106** 頭巾, a square piece of cloth tied around the head and supported by a *koji* 巾子, a cylindrically shaped tool to put on top of the head, as explained in the WMS, Book 12, sect. 162 *Kanbōgu* 冠帽具 (“Details of Headgear”) s.v. *koji* 巾子 (WMS: 141). One representation of the kerchief is in the well-known caricature, dated to 745, of a bearded man with bulging eyes, nicknamed Daidairon 大大論, in *Shōsōin monjo* (*Zokushū besshū* 48–4) (see <https://tinyurl.com/33x4wtmf>, folio 4). Other representations are found among the caricatures drawn by carpenters on the ceiling boards of the main building (Kondō) of the Hōryūji, those found on the plinth of the statue of Brahma in the Toshōdaiji, and the figures of horse-mounted officials in the hunting scenes of the two silver jars preserved at the Shōsōin Repository. Moreover, both the *Gishiki* and the *Engishiki*, Book 33, record the quantity of cloth for the kerchiefs to be delivered as tribute, and their relative measurement, three *shaku* (GS: 166; ES: 771).

**107** The girdle (腰帶) is of leather. According to the lemma 革帶 in the WMS, Book 12, sect. 166 *Yōtairui* 腰帶類 (“Types of Sashes and Girdles”), it also has ornaments of metal, jade, stone, and horn (WMS: 144). In the *Shōsōin*, there are several examples of leather girdles with ornaments, one well-known example of which is the girdle with dark blue gemstone ornaments (Middle Sect. 88) in black lacquered cow leather, with a buckle made of gilded silver, and plaques made of lapis lazuli and fastened to silver mounting plates with silver rivets (<https://tinyurl.com/mskwv2t9>). Also surviving is a portion of another girdle (North Sect. 4) with a silver buckle, mottled rhinoceros horn plaques lined with silver plates, and moleskin fragments (<https://tinyurl.com/yvvftvn4>).

**108** Here we find the first appearance of the sixth rank and below: they have only a court garment, since they do not take part in court ceremonies.

**109** 烏油, lit. “crow[-colored] oil.” 烏 refers to the color black, as usual. As for 油 (*apura* in OJ), it seems to be a synonym of 釉 (*yū*, *tsuya*) “luster,” i.e. “brilliance,” and it refers to lacquer in general. In fact, the reading *apura* is also used to gloss the character 漆 (“lacquer”): in the *Buyakuryō* 賦役令 (Law on Taxation of Goods and Labor), article 1, 金漆 is glossed as *kosiapura* コシアフラ (RR: 725),

girdle. White trousers. White socks. Thin-soled black leather shoes. The pouch shall accord with the color of the attire.<sup>110</sup> Princes of the blood: green and scarlet cord. First order: four knots. Second order: three knots. Third order: two knots. Fourth order: one knot. Princes of the third rank and above: the same as court nobles. Senior fourth rank: deep scarlet. Junior fourth rank: deep green. Senior fifth rank: light scarlet. Junior fifth rank: deep blue. Knots: the same as court nobles. Court nobles of senior ranks: purple cord; of junior ranks: green cord. Upper grades: two knots. Lower grades: one knot. However, first rank: three knots. Second rank: two knots. Third rank: one knot. Senior and junior shall be distinguished by the cord; upper and lower shall be recognized by the knots. This is the attire for the official events at court.

[Article 6] Regular attire

[For those] without rank: each [shall wear] a kerchief of plain black silk. Yellow gown. Black lacquer girdle. White socks. Thin-soled leather shoes. This is the attire for official events at court. On all ordinary days, straw shoes shall be worn.<sup>111</sup> (servants and male and females slaves: brownish black robe.)<sup>112</sup>

[Article 7]

The attire colors are: white, orange, purple, amaranth, scarlet, crimson, yellowish brown, pale red, pale purple, green, dark blue, blue, beige, yellow, yellowish

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and in the WMS, Book 20, sect. 248 *Mokurui* 木類 (“Types of Trees”), a *Yōshi kangoshō* note uses the vernacular phrase *kosiapura no ki* (許師阿夫良能紀) to gloss the compound 金漆樹 (WMS: 242), i. e. a type of tree producing a gold-colored lacquer. In the *Shōsōin*, there are some examples of girdles of leather with their metallic parts in copper, both lacquered. See, for example, the pictures in Sekine 1986, Vol. 2: 74.

**110** We do not know about the shape or material of the pouch: Inoue (RR: 353 note) suggests that it could be the “fish pouch” (*yudai* 魚袋) used in Tang period, a fish-shaped tally carried in a pouch; this hypothesis is also followed by Sekine 1986, Vol. 1: 265. RGG: 214 contains only the gloss *tsutsumi fukuro* (“wrapping pouch”). *Kūjikiryō*, article 45 has: “Princes, Great Counselors, Vice Minister of the Ministry of Central Affairs, and the Vice Commanders of the Five Guards above are granted a tally to carry with them (隨身符) [...] The tally shall be held in a pouch” (RR: 393). In fact, in 701 (Taihō 1.12.10), “Princes and Ministers were given samples of pouches” (SNG, Vol. 1: 50); however, in 716 (SNG, Vol. 2: 20), another order forbade military officials from carrying a pouch with the court garment, and finally, in 722 (SNG, Vol. 2: 108–110), the pouch was completely abolished. See also RSG: 740.

**111** RSG: 742 specifies “both in the morning and at night” (謂朝夕也). Moreover, the same passage explains that it is not forbidden to wear leather shoes altogether.

**112** The *Zōryō* 雜令 (Miscellaneous Law), article 34, specifies, “Official servants and male and female slaves three years old and above shall be furnished with robes and garments each year. In spring: cloth undershirt, trousers, undershirt, skirt, one for each. In winter: tunic, trousers, jacket, and skirt, one for each. Each shall be distributed based on height” (RR: 483).

green, brown, grayish brown, brownish black. Following this classification, [each rank] may wear its own color and below.

[Article 8] Ceremonial attire for princesses of the blood

First order: the precious hair ornament [that must be worn with] the ceremonial attire.<sup>113</sup> (Fourth order and above: there is a separate regulation for each order.) Deep purple robe. Deep purple sash with amaranth embellishments.<sup>114</sup> Light green pleated skirt. Skirt tie-dyed in amaranth, deep and light purple, and deep and light green.<sup>115</sup> Brocade socks. Thick-soled green shoes<sup>116</sup> (adorned with gold and silver).

[Article 9] Ceremonial attire for princesses

First rank: the precious hair ornament [that must be worn with] the ceremonial attire. (Fifth rank and above: there is a separate regulation for each rank and grade; this also applies to noblewomen holding their own rank.)<sup>117</sup> Deep purple robe. Fifth rank and above: each [shall wear] a light purple robe. All other items shall follow the rules for the attire of noblewomen holding their own rank. However, the pleated skirt shall be like that of the princesses of the blood.

[Article 10] Ceremonial attire for noblewomen holding their own rank

First rank: the precious hair ornament [that must be worn with] the ceremonial attire. Deep purple robe. Deep purple sash with amaranth embellishments. Light blue pleated skirt. Skirt tie-dyed in amaranth, deep and light purple, and deep and light green. Brocade socks. Thick-soled green shoes (adorned with gold and silver). Third rank and above: light purple robe. Skirt tie-dyed in amaranth, light purple, and deep and light green. All other items shall follow those of the first rank. Fourth rank: deep scarlet robe. Deep green sash with light purple embellishment. Thick-soled black shoes (adorned with silver). Fifth rank: light scarlet robe. Light

**113** RSG: 743 explains that this consists of “adorning topknot holder with gold and jade” (以金玉飭髻緒).

**114** RSG: 743, quoting the *Erya*, explains 紕 (“embellishment”) as 飾 (“ornament”) and states that “embellishments, dyed in other colors, are sewn on purple [fabric]” (以他色紕紫縫耳).

**115** The character 纈, translated here as “tie-dyed in,” according to the WMS, Book 12 *Kinkirui* 錦綺類 (“Types of brocades and fabrics”), indicates a motif created by tying a thread (on the fabric), i.e. what is today known as *shiborizome*; its pronunciation is *kauketi* 加字介知 (WMS: 140). The earliest surviving examples of *shibori*-dyed cloths date back to the mid-eighth century; donated to the Tōdaiji in 756, upon the death of the sovereign Shōmu, these are preserved in the Shōsōin Repository. The techniques of these earliest fragments include *kōkechi* 纈纈, bound resist-dyeing (or tie-dyeing); *rōkechi* 臙纈, wax resist-dyeing; and *kyōkechi* 夾纈, folded and clamped resist-dyeing (stencil-dyeing). See Hayashi 1975: 173–174.

**116** A note from the *Koki* specifies that they are made of dark leather and green cloth (綠烏謂以青皮綠衣縫作也) (RSG: 744).

**117** 内命婦 in opposition to 外命婦, i.e. those noblewomen using their husband’s rank.

green sash with light purple embellishment. The other items [shall be] as above. They shall be worn on the occasion of the great sacrifices, the Great Offering, and the First Day of the Year. (Noblewomen holding their husband's rank shall wear the attire color befitting the husband's rank and below as they please.)

[Article 11] [Noblewomen's] court attire

From the first order to the fifth rank the precious hair ornament, pleated skirt, and thick-soled shoes shall be omitted. All other items shall be the same as in the ceremonial attire. From the Sixth rank to the initial rank: each shall wear a hair-piece.<sup>118</sup> The robe color shall match that of the husband. Deep and light green embellished sash. Green and blue tie-dyed embellished skirt. (Initial ranks shall omit the tie-dye.) White socks. Thin-soled black leather shoes. This attire shall be worn during the first month of each season.<sup>119</sup>

[Article 12] Regular attire

Female officials:<sup>120</sup> deep green and below, all can be worn. (Purple and below are partially allowed to be used.) A green, blue, dark blue tie-dyed, or crimson skirt shall be worn during the first month of each season and on ordinary days. In the case of daughters [of holders] of the fifth rank and above, they may wear a color [of a] lower [rank] than that of their father's court garment. The garments of female commoners shall be the same as those of female officials without rank.

[Article 13] Ceremonial attire for military officials

Commanders and vice commanders of the guard (vice bodyguards shall not have similar restrictions, but they shall conform to the following [article 14]): each [shall wear] a cap of black gauze; black chinstrap;<sup>121</sup> ivory mace; lined jacket;<sup>122</sup> embroidered coat<sup>123</sup> (commanders of the bodyguards: colored brocade); girdle adorned with gold

**118** RGG: 214: “I.e., a wig. Without patterns or colors” (謂。縵。無文繪也). RSG: 745: “adorning one's own hair with the hairpieces of others” (以他髻飾自髮).

**119** Commentaries in RSG: 746 specify that they shall be worn only on the first day of the month.

**120** The female officials 宮人 are those in service at the Back Palace (後宮) and at the House of the Hereditary Prince (東宮), but according to a *Ryōshaku* note here the article deals with those without rank (RSG: 764), as the article 6 deals with the regular attire of men without rank.

**121** WMS, Book 12, sect. 162 *Kanbōgu*, under the lemma 綰, explains that “all the military officials use it” (武官皆用之), and it bears the vernacular gloss *kaupuri no wo* 冠乃乎 (lit., “headwear cord”), *poposuke* 保々須介, *oikake* 於以加計 (WMS: 142). The last vernacular term is also found in RSG: 748 with the phonograms 意以可氣.

**122** In the *Zōryō*, article 34 布襖 is indicated as the winter counterpart of the cloth undershirt (布衫) used in spring (RR: 483).

**123** In the WMS, Book 12, sect. 163 *Ifukurui* 衣服類 (“Types of Robes and Garments”), the lemma 襦襦 is glossed as *utikake* 宇知加介 and explained as a “double robe, one side covering the chest, the other side covering the back” (其一当胸其一当背) (WMS: 142). A similar explanation is provided in the RGG: 217: 謂れ。一片当背。一片当胸。故曰襦襦也。

and silver; sword adorned with gold and silver;<sup>124</sup> white trousers; black leather footwear<sup>125</sup> (commanders of the bodyguards: red leather footwear); brocade leggings.<sup>126</sup>

[Article 14] Court attire [for military officials]

Commanders and vice commanders of the guard: each [shall wear] a kerchief of black gauze; lined jacket; girdle adorned with gold and silver; sword adorned with gold and silver; white socks; thin-soled black leather shoes. Fourth class and above: each [shall wear] a kerchief of black plain silk; black chinstrap; lined jacket; black lacquer girdle; black [lacquer] adorned sword;<sup>127</sup> white socks; thin-soled black leather shoes. (On days of gatherings,<sup>128</sup> a brocade coat and red greaves<sup>129</sup> shall be added; bow and arrows shall be worn; thin-soled shoes shall be replaced with straw shoes.) Bodyguards: kerchief of black plain silk; black chinstrap; lined jacket; black lacquer girdle; black [lacquer] adorned sword; bow and arrows shall be worn; white greaves; white socks; thin-soled black leather shoes. (On days of gatherings, short armor<sup>130</sup> shall be added; a spear shall be worn; the dark blue jacket shall be replaced with a lined jacket; thin-soled shoes shall be replaced with straw shoes.) Doorkeepers and petty officials:<sup>131</sup> head-kerchief of black plain silk; black chinstrap; lined jacket; black lacquer girdle; black [lacquer] adorned sword; white greaves; white socks; thin-soled black leather shoes. (On days of gatherings, short armor shall be added; bow and arrows shall be worn; the lined jacket shall be

**124** This should be similar to the “*kara-tachi* sword with gilded silver fittings and inlay” (North Sect. 38) preserved at the Shōsōin: <https://tinyurl.com/5n84sfdx>.

**125** In the WMS, Book 12, sect. 167 *Ribatsurui*, the character 靴 is glossed as *kuwa no kutu* 化乃久都 (WMS: 145). This footwear should be a type of boot, like the item of black leather footwear preserved at the Tōkyō National Museum. See Sekine 1986, Vol. 2: 96.

**126** In the WMS, Book 14, sect. 189 *Ryokōgu* 行旅具 (“Details on Traveling”), the lemma 行膝 is glossed as *mukapaki* 無加波岐 (WMS: 165). RSG: 748 explains they are used in order to prevent the robes from slipping out (令衣不飛揚者). The *Gishiki*, Book 1, records that, for the Kamo Ceremony, infantrymen (步兵) shall wear bulrush greaves 蒲脛巾, whereas cavalrymen shall wear bear-leather leggings 熊皮行膝 (GS: 73). The leggings 行膝 occur only in this article of the *Ebukuryō*: being leather, probably they are reserved for superior military officials.

**127** Inoue (RR: 357) suggests that this should be similar to the “Tachi sword with black-lacquered mounting, No. 13” (Middle Sect. 8) preserved at the Shōsōin: <https://tinyurl.com/5yux8s38>.

**128** RGG: 218 explains: “The first day of the year, gatherings, and banquets for foreign guests, etc.” (謂。元日及聚集並蕃客宴会等).

**129** In WMS, Book 14, sect. 189 *Ryokōgu*, the characters 脛巾 are glossed as *papaki* 波々岐 (WMS: 165). As indicated in note 131 *supra*, these are lower-rank greaves of bulrush, not of leather.

**130** This should be a form of lamellar armor resembling a coat, not very different from those unearthed by the *kofun* tumuli (RR: 358).

**131** 主師. RGG: 218 explains: 謂。門部使部。The former group, two hundred in number, oversaw control of the palace gates (*Shiki'inryō*, article 59; RR: 186); the latter were low-ranking officials employed at all the offices, without a well-determined function.

replaced with a blue jacket; thin-soled shoes shall be replaced with straw shoes.) All these are the garments for official events at court. Palace guards: kerchief of black plain silk; pink undershirt;<sup>132</sup> white cloth sash;<sup>133</sup> white greaves; straw shoes; a sword, bow and arrows, or spear shall be worn. (On days of gatherings, a vermillion band<sup>134</sup> and short armor shall be added; the pink undershirt shall be replaced with a black undershirt). These are the garments for the first day of the month and celebration days.<sup>135</sup> On ordinary days, the pink undershirt and spear shall be omitted. From commanders to petty officials, the pouch shall conform to the [article on] civil officials.

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HS = *Hanshu*.

**132** In the WMS, Book 12, sect. 112 *Ifukurui*, the character 衫 occurs s.v. 汗衫, which indicates the undershirt for summer, but no vernacular pronunciation is supplied (WMS: 142). Examples of this undershirt are preserved at the Shōsōin, as the “*San* (undergarment) of poncho style, No. 3 (Chest, No. 123)” (Middle Sect. 202): <https://tinyurl.com/4zanhp74>.

**133** “Cloth” translates 布, a generic term for vegetable fibers such as hemp, ramie, kudzu, etc. as opposed to silk. An example of this sash is the one tied to the sword with black-lacquered mounting, No. 13 (Middle Sect. 8): <https://tinyurl.com/5yux8s38>.

**134** 朱末額. In the WMS, Book 12, sect. 161 *Kanbōrui* 冠帽類 (“Types of Headgear”), the lemma 帟額 (“headband”) is recorded as a synonym of 紅朱額 (WMS: 141).

**135** RGG: 218: “The first day of the month is the first day of the first month of each season” (謂。朔日者。四孟朔日也). The celebration days (節日) are listed in the *Zōryō*, article 40 (RR: 484): “The first day, seventh day, and sixteenth day of the first month; the third day of the third month; the fifth day of the fifth month; the seventh day of the seventh month; the Great Offering day of the eleventh month: these are all celebration days. To have one [celebration] on ordinary days, a special edict shall be required (勅).”

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