

The Tozai-ichi Described in the Shosoin Documents during the Nara Period

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【要旨】

正倉院文書に見る奈良時代の東西市

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日本古代社会において物資供給の第一は市であったが、国家の基本法典である律令によって統制されたのは京に設置された東西市のみであった。この東西市は奈良時代（710-784）の史料群である正倉院文書中にたびたび登場しており、本稿ではこれらの史料を使って、当時の国家的な消費を支えた東西市の実態について考察した。

まず、物資購入の様子から見ると、写経所およびその所属先である造東大寺司は、日々の食料や日用品を調達する場合だけではなく、事業に直接に関わる物品を入手する際にも東西市を利用していった。またある文書からは物資購入の約88%を東西市で行っていることが判明する。これらから、官司が事業を遂行する上で、東西市は必要不可欠な存在であったと言える。さらに、換金（物資販売）の様子からは、官人たちがそれら換金作業に慣れている様が見て取れる。これは官人たちに支払われる給与としての繊維製品が必ずしも効率的に物資購入に利用され得ないことを示しており、官人たちの日々の生活にとっても東西市は欠かせない存在であったことが言えるであろう。

日本の古代国家は全国から税として現物を徴収し、それを官司や官人に分配することで国家を運営していたが、必要な物資の全てを税でまかなうことはできず、その不足分を調達する場として京の東西市が機能していたとされている。正倉院文書の記載はそれを如実に表わしているのであり、またその際の官司・官人の側の創意工夫の実態も伺い知ることができるのである。

In ancient Japan, *ichi* (市 market) were primary commodity distribution centers. Depending on their location and establishment processes, *ichi* could be divided into many different categories. Among the various categories, only the Tozai-ichi (East Market and West Market), which was established in the capital at that time, was put under the control of the *ritsuryo* codes (律令) as the fundamental code of a centralized government system. In contrast, the Chinese code, after which the Japanese *ritsuryo* codes were modeled, controlled local markets as well as those in the capital city. Therefore, it is conceivable that Japan put the utmost importance on the Tozai-ichi in the capital as the major center for supporting national consumption. The Shosoin documents, historical materials in the 8th century, has many descriptions of the Tozai-ichi and provides much information about how trade was actually conducted. This study

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focuses on the Shakyōjo (写経所) documents constituting the core of the Shosoin documents to closely examine the actual condition of the Tozai-ichi that supported consumption.

The first description of the Tozai-ichi in the Shakyōjo documents was made in 739. The documents dated August 24 and 29¹ included descriptions of vegetable transportation from the *ichi*. The same description was also included in the work report dated September 2². These documents show that shoppers used transportation services when they purchased a large amount of food at the *ichi* because it was distant from the Shakyōjo (Sutra Copying Bureau). The Shakyōjo was governed by Empress Komyō's Household Agency (Kogogushiki 皇后宮職), and we can consider that the Shakyōjo was located near the Imperial Palace. The Tozai-ichi was situated at the southern end of the capital (Hachijo 八条) and the straight-line distance between the Shakyōjo and the Tozai-ichi was more than 3 kilometers. That is why the transportation of a large amount of purchased goods required manpower. These documents also show that Shakyōjo officials directly purchased goods at the Tozai-ichi and arranged for transporters. Extant city map³ implies that Tozai-ichi was utilized directly by the Shakyōjo. This map was drawn on the back of the accounting books of the Shakyōjo like memoranda. The map is not carefully written, but it generates a vivid image of Shakyōjo officials writing down the *ichi's* location on paper when they asked transporters to go shopping.

The second description of the Tozai-ichi in the Shakyōjo documents was dated 749⁴. The description in the accounting books in 749 shows that people bought a stick-shaped item used for making a scroll (*kansubon* 卷子本), which was the common form of book at that time. The stick-shaped item (*jiku* 軸) was often made of wood, and people placed the stick-shaped item in the center of scrolled books when they were making the books. The Shakyōjo was the government office in charge of copying Buddhist sutras. Sutras were compiled in the form of scrolled books, which therefore required *jiku*. The previous year, the governing agency of Shakyōjo had been changed from the Empress Household Agency to the Todaiji Temple Construction Office (Zo-Todaiji-shi 造東大寺司). At that time, a national project for the construction of Todaiji Temple was underway. As part of the project, it was necessary to establish a special government office in charge of copying Buddhist sutras that would be housed in the temple. Zo-Todaiji-shi was established for the special project, and the Shakyōjo was put under the control of this office.

Let's go back to the accounting books now. The description in the accounting books included the descriptions of many different kinds of *jiku*. All *jiku* could not always be obtained at the *ichi*, and many of them were made at the design studio of Zo-Todaiji-shi. However, the design studio primarily worked on providing materials for the Todaiji Temple construction project and was not an exclusive studio for the Shakyōjo. These suggest that it was probably sometimes more convenient to buy items at the *ichi* depending on the limitations, item volume and type. That is, the Tozai-ichi had such a rich stock of various goods which even a government office with its special design studio for making items on its own needed the *ichi* as an indispensable center for commodity procurement. For the variety of goods dealt with at the Tozai-ichi, a book called *Engishiki* (延喜式), which was compiled in the early 10th century, includes descriptions of many examples of goods used at the ancient capital of Heian-Kyo (平安京) during the Heian period (794-1185). The book, however, has no descriptions of stationery sold at the *ichi*, such as *jiku*. However, as

1 *Dainihon Komonjo (Hennen Monjo)*, vol.2 pp.183-184 and pp.185-184.

2 *Dainihon Komonjo (Hennen Monjo)*, vol.7 pp.231-236.

3 *Nihon Shoen-ezu Shuei*, vol.3 No.18.

4 *Dainihon Komonjo (Hennen Monjo)*, vol.3 pp.216-220.

noted above, the *ichi* had a great variety of items in response to customer demand.

This dependence on the *ichi* appeared in the form of branch stations established by Zo-Todaiji-shi in many areas adjacent to the Tozai-ichi so that those stations could purchase necessary goods in response to requests from departments managed by Zo-Todaiji-shi. The branch station was called *sho* (庄). It has been confirmed that branch stations were established at the West Market and the East Market in the Tozai-ichi area as of 755. The establishment of those dedicated branch stations for purchasing necessary goods shows that the Tozai-ichi was an indispensable center. The Shakyōjo documents include many descriptions of frequent use of the *sho* during the period between 757 and 765. In the following sections, this study focuses on the cases of 758 and 762.

For the case of 758, many historical documents about operations remain for the year of 758. Many of the materials include records of purchases of goods at the Tozai-ichi. The receipts sent along with purchased goods from the *sho* and the accounting books listing the items received by Shakyōjo⁵ show the specific goods purchased at the Tozai-ichi. More specifically, the purchased food items include vegetables, grains, seaweeds, seasonings, tea leaves and processed foods. Just like the case of 739, the case of large-volume vegetable purchases in this context describes arranged transporters, but this case is different from the 739 case in that it has carrying carts as well. Zo-Todaiji-shi was a significant government office for the Todaiji Temple construction project and was located close to the temple. Therefore Zo-Todaiji-shi became more distant from the *Ichi* than that in 739 (more than 5 kilometers in straight-line distance) and was located at a slightly hilly place, which is probably why people used carrying carts for convenience. Other than food, people bought a greater variety of *jiku* items to use for Buddhist sutra. They also purchased stationery, such as ink brushes and paper, for general office work and daily commodities, such as dishes, small knives and footwear. Furthermore, the Shakyōjo drew up a monthly operational report for Zo-Todaiji-shi according to statements of delivery slips and the accounting books. Those reports include curious descriptions. Such descriptions do not mention the purchasing place even regarding the goods and items that had apparently been bought at the *Ichi*. The records indicate that those goods had been purchased in cash. That is, the fact that people had bought goods was recorded, but the place of purchase was given little attention. In association with these operational reports, the historical documents compiled by Zo-Todaiji-shi present something significant to note. The documents, dated as June 15, 760⁶, involved records of Zo-Todaiji-shi purchasing goods in cash. According to the records, the office spent 10,545 *mon* (文) of coin and about 88% of it, 9,271 *mon*, was used for shopping at the Tozai-ichi. Reexamination of the operational reports compiled by the Shakyōjo with a focus on this fact will make it possible to understand why the place of purchase was given little attention. As goods bought in cash were almost always those obtained at the Tozai-ichi, there was no need to specify where the goods were purchased. However, some kinds of goods and items were sometimes unavailable even at the Tozai-ichi; an occasional shortage of goods occurred⁷. A *sho* might be established and utilized to address such shortages.

Next, this study focuses on the case of 762. Much attention has been paid to the copying project for two sets of the Great Perfection of Wisdom Sutra (大般若経), which was launched in December of the year, because of its special

5 *Dainihon Komonjo (Hennen Monjo)*, vol.4 pp.276, pp.277 and vol.13 pp.340-346.

6 *Dainihon Komonjo (Hennen Monjo)*, vol.14 pp.348-349.

7 *Dainihon Komonjo (Hennen Monjo)*, vol.4 pp.277.

financial sources. As mentioned above, in the usual sutra copying projects, workers received in kind resource papers for Buddhist sutras and were given fiber products as their salary (silk cloth in particular), as well as the cash to obtain necessary items. However, in the case of this sutra copying project, workers were given *wata* (綿 floss silk) as payment for their work and necessary goods, with no payment in kind. At that time, *wata* was collected nationwide as the tax and was considered fairly valuable because it was already opened silkworm cocoons. The value of *wata* is clear from the fact that often cloth and *wata* were given to workers as payment for their work. However, for this sutra copying project, people exchanged *wata* for cash to purchase necessary tools and items prior to the start of work⁸. This shows that *wata* could not be directly used for commercial transactions. In addition, this money exchange was not conducted by way of the *sho*. Instead, the Shakyōjo and Zo-Todaiji-shi officials transacted the exchanges in small portions. It is yet to be discovered why people did not use the *sho* for money exchanges, but money exchanging transactions conducted by many officials suggest that they were used to conducting those transactions. That is, just as sutra copying workers were given fiber products as payment for their work, the salary for government officials in those days was paid mostly in the form of fiber goods collected as taxes from the whole country. However, those fiber products could not always be directly used for payment in shopping. The belief is that people needed to exchange the fiber items for money to buy goods. The place for money exchanges is also believed to have been the Tozai-ichi.

As noted above, an observation of the Tozai-ichi described in the Shosoin documents suggests that the *Ichi* was indispensable for the Shakyōjo and its governing body, Zo-Todaiji-shi, to carry out their projects and operations. This is obvious from the fact that the Shakyōjo and Zo-Todaiji-shi used the *Ichi* not only to purchase daily food and commodities but also to obtain tools and items that were directly necessary for their projects. In addition, the fact that the officials and project workers were accustomed to exchanging fiber products for money shows that the *Ichi* was also indispensable for their daily life. In ancient Japan, the belief is that the government ran its operations by collecting goods in kind as taxes from the whole country and distributing the taxes collected to government offices and officials. However, the government could not collect all necessary resources only by taxes and fully utilized the Tozai-ichi to procure the short items. The descriptions in the Shosoin documents provide clear and vivid evidence of the governmental use of the Tozai-ichi.

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⁸ *Dainihon Komonjo (Hennen Monjo)*, vol.16 pp.78-87.

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