MAN'YÔGANA NAMES IN SUIKO PERIOD TEXTS

–A SYSTEM OF PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION IN SEVENTH CENTURY JAPAN–

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Japanese personal and place names recorded in seventh century texts comprise the earliest substantial collection of *man'yôgana*(Chinese characters used as phonetic symbols for Japanese syllables). These name transcriptions are important to the study of the development of the Japanese kana writing system, as well as to the study of the transmission of written language from the Asian continent to Japan. In order to facilitate current and future research on these topics, the present study identifies all of the Japanese names written phonetically in five texts of the Suiko period(early seventh century). Next, the characters used to write the names are compiled, demonstrating that a definite system of phonetic writing was in use in Japan as early as the seventh century. Finally, the paper suggests that this seventh century system is likely to be the direct ancestor of eighth century *man'yôgana* as well as the ultimate source of the modern kana writing system.

Key words: *man'yôgana*, kana, Old Japanese, Japanese language, writing

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systems, Chinese characters, phonetic transcription

1. HISTORICAL AND LINGUISTIC CONTEXTS

Although Chinese characters were probably known in Japan as early as the first or second century, it was during the reign of Empress Suiko 推古(592-628) and her regent, Shôtoku Taishi 聖德太子, that the written word became an integral part of Japanese culture. The texts of this period were written in a pure form of classical Chinese(*jun kanbun* 純漢文), or in a "hybrid" Chinese style(*hentai kanbun* 変体漢文), which involved arranging some of the characters according to the word order of Japanese. These very early Japanese texts also contain personal and place names transcribed phonetically with Chinese characters. These transcriptions are the oldest extensive collection of names of important historical locations and government leaders in Japan. In addition to their cultural significance, these name transcriptions are important for an understanding of the development of the Japanese writing system, in particular the kana(仮名) system, which has a history over fourteen centuries long.

The texts of the Suiko period relevant to the study of kana were first identified and studied systematically by Ôya Tôru 大矢透, a scholar of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (A brief biography of Ôya Tôru, including his contributions to Japanese linguistics, may be found in Kokugo gakkai, ed. (1980: 86)). His two volume work, *Kana genryûkô oyobi shôhon shashin* 假名源流考及證本寫(*Treatise on the origins of kana, with photo-*

graphs of original texts), first published in 1911 and reprinted in 1970, has provided the basis for subsequent research on Suiko period writing. However, no systematic study of the names and the characters used to write them has been published since Ôya's treatise. The lack of such a study makes it difficult for those unfamiliar with Japanese scholarship to access these data. There is growing general interest in writing systems among linguists throughout the world, as well as a specific interest in how Chinese characters have been adopted to write non-Sinitic languages. Therefore, the primary purpose of this paper is to clearly identify the phonetically transcribed Japanese names in some of the texts in Ôya's treatise, using the photographs in *Shôhon shashin*. A few of the photographs reproduce rubbings of inscriptions which survive from the seventh century, while the others show hand-written copies made in later times.

The second purpose of this paper is to demonstrate that the characters used to phonetically transcribe names in these seventh century texts are used very systematically. Although the set of data is fairly limited, it seems clear that a phonetic writing system was known in Japan as early as the seventh century. These are the first *man'yôgana* 万葉仮名, or Chinese characters which have been adopted specifically to transcribe the sounds of the Japanese language.

The third purpose of this paper is to suggest that seventh century *man'yôgana* are the direct ancestor of the *man'yôgana* which were commonly used in eighth century texts such as the *Man'yôshû* 万葉集 poetry anthology, as well as being the ultimate

source of the modern kana writing system.

2. THE SUIKO PERIOD TEXTS

Ôya presents ten texts in his treatise, and nine of these contain names transcribed phonetically(The text which does not have *man'yôgana* in it is *Hôryûji kondô yakushi kôhaimei* 法隆寺金堂藥師光背銘, dating from 607 or 667). Some of the names are obviously Japanese, while others are names of immigrants from Korea and China. It is not yet clear whether these people adopted Japanese names or were called by names from their native countries. Therefore, only the names which are clearly Japanese will be identified here and considered to be written in *man'yôgana*.

Five of the nine texts which contain phonetically transcribed names will be the focus of the present study. They are listed in Table 1, in the order in which they will be discussed in the following section.

The titles are those that were originally given in Ôya(1911), but later scholars sometimes use slightly different ones. The texts are traditionally dated according to the year of Empress Suiko's reign. The dates in Table 1, according to the Western calendar, are from Kasuga(1946:32) and Tsukishima(1981:21). Some of these dates have been questioned in more recent scholarship(for example, see Ishida, ed.(1975)), but it is generally agreed that none of these texts was produced later than sometime during the seventh

century. This would still make them the earliest known Japanese texts containing *man'yôgana*(other than a few fifth century metal inscriptions). I will continue to refer to them as Suiko period texts, for ease of reference to previous scholarship, even though they may not all date from the Suiko period.

Table 1. Suiko period texts containing names written in *man'yôgana*

Text	Date
1. *Tenjukoku mandara shûchômei* 天壽國曼荼羅繡帳銘	622
2. *Gangôji robanmei* 元興寺露盤銘	596
3. *Gangôji jôroku kôhaimei* 元興寺丈六光背銘	605
4. *Hôryûji sanzonbutsu kôhaimei* 法隆寺三尊仏光背銘	628
5. *Iyo dôgo ontô hibun* 伊豫道後溫湯碑文	596

Two of the remaining four texts in Ôya's treatise are *Jôgûki itsubun* 上宮記逸文 and *Jôgûtaishi keifu* 上宮太子系譜. Neither of these has been clearly dated, but it is generally believed that they both date from the seventh century. They contain about sixty names written in *man'yôgana*, and for the most part the same *man'yôgana* are used in them as in the five texts which will be studied here. A list of these names may be found in Case (2000: 221-226). For reasons of space, a careful study of them will have to be deferred to future research. Another text, *Hôryûji kondô*

shakabutsu kôhaimei 法隆寺金堂釋迦佛光背銘 (623), has one name transcribed in part phonetically(止利仏師 Tori Busshi). Because this name is one of an immigrant, I group it with other immigrant names for separate study.

Finally, *Fune-uji boshi* 船氏墓誌(668) obviously dates from later in the seventh century, and it is also more appropriate to group it with other epitaphs of the same period.

3. NAMES WRITTEN IN *MAN'YÔGANA*

3.1. A woven mandala

In the year 622, upon the death of Shôtoku Taishi, one of his wives commissioned a woven mandala to be made. The mandala depicted a Buddhist heavenly realm to which her beloved husband was believed to have departed, and recorded the names of his immediate ancestors. Fragments of this mandala, known as *Tenjukoku mandara shûchômei*, still exist and are in the possession of the temple Chûgûji 中宮寺, in Nara prefecture. Photographs of these fragments are reproduced in Ôya(1911). Modern color photographs can be found in more recent books, such as Ishida, ed.(1997). A complete copy of the mandala is recorded in *Jôgû Shôtokuhô-ô teisetsu* 上宮聖德法王帝說, the oldest surviving biography of Shôtoku Taishi. This biography is now in the possession of Chion-in 知恩院 in Kyoto, and the present study is based on the photograph in Ôya(1911) of the Chion-in copy. According

to Egami, et al., ed.(1993:185-186), *Jôgû Shôtokuhô-ô teisetsu* dates from some time between the early Nara and early Heian periods, with the mandala text having been added during the mid-Heian period. Ôya(1911) provides a printed transcription of the mandala, and more recently, transcriptions have been published in Takeuchi, ed.(1962:872), Ienaga, et al., ed.(1975:368), and Ishida, ed.(1997:489-490). In addition to the obvious significance of this mandala to the growth of Japanese art and religion, as well as to the historical record, it is a valuable document for the study of the development of Japanese writing. Although the main text is written in Chinese, most of the names recorded on the mandala are written in *man'yôgana*, and they happen to provide a convenient outline of important issues in the study of early *man'yôgana* use.

The mandala text begins with Shôtoku Taishi's genealogy, first citing the name of a palace and the ruler there, Emperor Kinmei 欽明(539-571), who was Shôtoku Taishi's grandfather. The palace is identified as

(1) 斯歸斯麻 [宮]
si.ki$_2$.si.ma

The palace name, *si.ki$_2$.si.ma*, is written in *man'yôgana*, while the word "palace" itself(宮), is written with a Chinese character. In this name, and in the names that follow, any Chinese characters that appear to go along with the name will be enclosed in brackets, as in (1). Emperor Kinmei is identified as

(2) 阿米久爾意斯波留支比里爾波乃弥已等
a.me$_2$.ku.ni.o.si.pa.ru.ki$_1$.pi$_1$.ro$_2$.ni.pa.no$_2$.mi$_1$.ko$_2$.to$_2$

In this genealogy, Kinmei and others are referred to by Japanese-style posthumous names which differ from their Chinese-style posthumous names by which they are commonly known today.

The transcriptions in (1) and (2) show that each syllable of a name is represented by a single *man'yôgana* character. In Old Japanese, all syllables consisted of either a consonant plus a vowel (such as *ku* or *ni*), or just a plain vowel(such as *a* or *o*). So, it was a simple matter to use a single character to represent an individual syllable.

The roman letters used here to transcribe the Old Japanese sounds are not intended to be precise phonetic transcriptions. Rather, they stand for phonemic distinctions. For example, in Kinmei's name the syllables *ku, ki$_1$* and

ko$_2$ are distinct from each other -- all begin with an initial velar sound and end with different vowels, but no claim is made regarding the precise phonetic values of these sounds. The subscripts following certain syllables indicate syllabic distinctions which were known to have existed in Old Japanese prior to the ninth century, but have since merged. Thus, for example, both syllables *me$_1$* and *me$_2$*, *ki$_1$* and *ki$_2$*, and *ro$_1$* and *ro$_2$* existed in Old Japanese. However, in modern Japanese they have each merged into just one syllable, *me*, *ki* and *ro*, respectively.

In this study, the transcriptions of the *man'yôgana* in roman letters are according to their generally accepted phonemic values

as used in Omodaka, et al., ed.(1967). Syllables followed by a subscript numeral 1 are said to be *kô-rui* 甲類(type 1) syllables, those with a subscript 2 are called *otsu-rui* 乙類(type 2) syllables, and those with no subscript are called *ichi-rui* 一類,(one type) syllables, meaning that they have no *kô-rui* or *otsu-rui* counterpart. However, it is likely that each *ichi-rui* syllable is identical to either the corresponding *kô-rui* or *otsu-rui* syllable. It is generally agreed that the Ci_1 and Ce_1 syllables were in some way more front than their counterparts Ci_2 and Ce_2, and that Co_1 was more round or more centralized than Co_2. As Ôya(1911) preceded the discovery of the syllabic distinctions by modern scholars, they are not recognized in his work.

After Kinmei's name in the genealogy is that of Soga Iname 蘇我稻目, the powerful government minister who is known for urging Kinmei to officially adopt Buddhism as a national religion. Although Iname's name is written in *man'yôgana*, his title(大臣 *opoomi*$_1$) followed by the character 名(indicating that his given name follows), is recorded in Chinese characters. The title and the following character 名 are enclosed in brackets in (3) below, to indicate that they are not written in *man'yôgana*.

(3) 巷奇 [大臣名] 伊奈米足尼
so$_1$*.ga i.na.me*$_2$*.suku.ne*

Here can be seen a rare example of one character standing for two syllables in succession. This is the character 足, which represents the sequence suku in the title *sukune*. Such examples are

rare in later centuries also.

Following Iname's name is that of one of his daughters, who was a consort of Emperor Kinmei:

(4) 吉多斯比弥乃弥已等
ki$_1$.ta.si.pi$_1$.miv.no$_2$.mi$_1$.ko$_2$.tov

Here the syllable *mi*$_1$ occurs twice, in two common Old Japanese words which make up part of this name. The first is *pi*$_1$.*mi*$_1$(a feminine title of respect), and the second is *mi*$_1$.*ko*$_2$.to$_2$(a title of respect added to the names of gods or people). The first word is normally read *pi*$_1$.*mi*$_1$, and the fact that its second syllable is written throughout the Suiko period texts with the character 弥 is a generally recognized but unsolved puzzle in the study of *man'yôgana* writing.

Copyists of the text apparently felt a need to explain this unusual use of 弥. This is clear in the transcriptions of the mandala in Takeuchi, ed.(1962) and Ienaga, et al., ed.(1975). The following note, which appears to be that of a copyist, appears after the mandala text: 彌字或當賣音也(This note and others were not reproduced in Ôya(1911)). It tells the reader that sometimes the character 彌 is to be pronounced like the character 賣(In the photographs in Ôya(1911) this character appears in its simplest form, 弥, but printed texts often reproduce it in its more complex form, 彌). Although it is not specified, this note was probably intended to indicate that 彌 should be read as *me*$_1$ in the word *pi*$_1$*mi*$_1$, as 賣 is a *man'yôgana* character often used to write the syllable

me$_1$. However, it is likely that the copyist made this note in reference to contemporary character readings, rather than to those of the seventh century.

It is actually extremely rare in *man'yôgana* writing in general for one character to be used to transcribe two syllables with distinct vowels. For example, Case(2000:87) shows that in poems written entirely in *man'yôgana* in the eighth century *Man'yôshû* anthology, there are just five characters which are used for either of two syllables with distinct vowels. Of these ten possible spellings, at least two are archaic, and eight occur no more than seven times out of a corpus of over 15,000 syllables. In addition to the unlikelihood of the same character being used to write both *mi*$_1$ and *me*$_1$, it is even more unlikely for the two spellings to occur in the same name, as in (4). Omodaka, et al., ed.(1967: 901) does not acknowledge 弥 as a spelling for *me*$_1$ at all. For these reasons, I will assume that here 弥 always stands for *mi*$_1$.

The genealogy then tells us that Emperor Kinmei fathered two children by this daughter of Soga Iname, first a boy, and then a girl. The son later became Emperor Yômei 用明(585-587), who was also Shôtoku Taishi's father, and the daughter became Empress Suiko. Yômei is identified as.

(5) 多至波奈等已比乃弥已等
ta.ti.pa.na.to$_2$.yo$_2$.pi$_1$.no$_2$.mi$_1$.ko$_2$.tov

There is some question about the use of the character 波 in the word *ta.ti.pa.na*(a type of citrus tree). Omodaka, et al., ed.

(1967:425) lists this word as *tatibana*, rather than *tatipana*. This is probably because during the eighth century the third syllable of *tatibana* is sometimes clearly written *ba*, using the *man'yôgana* character 婆. However, at other times it is written with 波. In *man'yôgana* writing in general, it is possible for a character to be used for the voiced counterpart of the syllable it usually stands for. Thus, 波 most often is used to write unvoiced(*sei-on* 淸音) *pa*, but occasionally it is also used for *ba*, the voiced(*daku-on* 濁音) counterpart of *pa*. And vice-versa, a character used to write a voiced syllable might also be used to write its unvoiced counterpart. Even so, probably because such usage is rare, Omodaka, et al., ed.(1967:899) does not list the character 波 as a *man'yôgana* for the syllable ba during any period. Here it seems reasonable to simply assume that 波 stands for pa(Similar questions about voicing arise in examples (12) and (26)).

The name of Yômei's younger sister, whom we know as Empress Suiko, is listed next in the genealogy.

(6) 等已弥居加斯支移比弥乃弥已等
to$_2$.yo$_2$.mi$_1$.ke$_2$.ka.si.ki$_1$.ya.piv.mi$_1$.no$_2$.mi$_1$.kov.to$_2$

Here, as in (4), the character 弥 occurs in both *pi$_1$.mi$_1$* and *mi$_1$.ko$_2$.to$_2$*.

Now we have seen the names of the son and daughter of Kinmei, by his consort, a daughter of Soga Iname. A younger daughter of Iname also became a consort of Kinmei. Her name is recorded as

(7) 乎阿尼乃弥己等
wo.a.ne.no$_2$.mi$_1$.ko$_2$.to$_2$

She and Kinmei had a daughter, who was Shôtoku Taish's mother. This daughter's name is the only personal name in the mandala genealogy which is clearly not written in *man'yôgana*. To indicate that it is written in Chinese characters, it is enclosed in brackets here.

(8) [孔部間人公主]

In Ienaga, et al., ed.(1975: 369) this name is transcribed as *a.na.po.be$_2$.no$_2$.pa.si.pi$_1$.to$_2$.no$_2$.pi$_1$.me$_1$.mi$_1$.ko$_1$.*(In the transcription, hira gana is used for *kô-rui* and *ichi-rui* syllables, and katakana for *otsu-rui* syllables. The fact that the *h* of modern Japanese was *p* in Old Japanese is not acknowledged). So, this woman and Emperor Yômei became the parents of Shôtoku Taishi, although this fact will not be stated until later in the genealogy.

Next, Kinmei's name appears, again, but this time he is simply identified as the emperor at the palace in (1), above. The *man'yôgana* parts of both (1) and (9) are written in exactly the same way.

(9) 斯歸斯麻 [天皇]
si.ki$_2$.si.ma

Then, the name of yet another of Kinmei's children is recorded.

The mother of this child is not specified, but he is clearly the half-brother of Shôtoku Taishi's mother, and Yômei, and Suiko. Just as Yômei married his half-sister, this child, whom we know as Emperor Bidatsu 敏達 (572-585) married his half-sister, Suiko. Bidatsu's name is recorded as

(10) 葵奈久羅乃布等多麻斯支乃弥已等
nu.na.ku.ra.no$_2$.pu.to$_2$.ta.ma.si.ki$_1$.no$_2$.mi$_1$.ko$_2$.to$_2$

Almost all of the *man'yôgana* in Bidatsu's name we have already encountered earlier in the genealogy, and the others also commonly occur in *man'yôgana* writing in general. However, the first character of this name is a rare *man'yôgana*; this is its only occurrence in the Suiko period. According to Omodaka, et al., ed.(1967: 898), it otherwise occurs only in the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀(*Chronicles of Japan*) and the *Shoku Nihongi* 續日本紀 (*Chronicles of Japan, Continued*).

Next in the genealogy, Suiko's name occurs again, as the consort of Bidatsu. Her name is written exactly as before, in (6).

(11) 等已弥居加斯支移比弥乃弥已等
to$_2$.yo$_2$.mi$_1$.ke$_2$.ka.si.ki$_1$.ya.pi$_1$.mi$_1$.no$_2$.mi$_1$.ko$_2$.to$_2$

Again, as in (4) and (6), the character 弥 occurs in both *pi$_1$.mi$_1$* and *mi$_1$ko$_2$to$_2$*. Then, the name of another palace is recorded in *man'yôgana*:

(12) 乎沙多 [宮]
wo.sa.ta

This is the palace from which Bidatsu reigned. Modern scholars call it Osada, but here I will consider the last syllable to begin with the unvoiced *t*, rather than the voiced *d*, as the *man'yôgana* 多 is almost never used for the syllable *da*(See also examples (5) and (26)).

Bidatsu and Suiko had a son. His name, along with the reading commonly assigned to it, is given in (13).

(13) 尾治 [王]
wo.pari

Here arises perhaps the most fundamental question in the study of *man'yôgana*: How do we determine whether the writer of the text intended a character to be read as a Chinese character or as *man'yôgana*? Visually, Chinese characters and *man'yôgana* are identical, and in seventh century texts the *man'yôgana* are not set off from the Chinese text in any way. The first two characters in (13) are read with kun 訓(native Japanese), rather than *on* 音(Sino-Japanese) readings. The meaning of the first character (尾) is "tail," and the second(治) is used to represent words with meanings such as "peace," "government," and "healing." Taken together, these do not appear to make much sense as a name. Therefore, it seems plausible that they were intended to be transcription characters. This seems even more likely when it is noted

that readings like *pari* for 治 only occur in Japanese names. So, this may be an example of what is known as kungana 訓仮名 -- *man'yôgana* derived from kun readings of kanji. Some scholars consider this name to be written in *man'yôgana* while others do not. This is because *kungana*, particularly in names, can be difficult to distinguish from *sei-kun* 正訓, or "true kun," characters, that is, kanji with kun readings. Because it is uncertain whether such characters in the Suiko period texts are in fact *kungana*, the neutral term *kunshaku* 訓借("kun borrowings") is sometimes used. The term *kunshaku* seems to have first been used by Kasuga (1933:15)).

In contrast to this, the other names in the mandala are written in *ongana* 音仮名, *man'yôgana* used to represent sounds similar to the readings the characters would have in a Chinese text. The present study of Suiko period *man'yôgana* will be restricted to the study of *ongana*, leaving the question of *kungana* for future study.

Finally, we arrive at the parentage of Shôtoku Taishi in the mandala genealogy. Yômei's name is listed again, as his father, followed by the name of his mother. It is also noted that Shôtoku Taishi's mother was the younger sister of his father, as both were children of Emperor Kinmei(although they had different mothers). The names of both of Shôtoku Taishi's parents occurred earlier in the genealogy, and they are repeated exactly as before, in (5) and (8):

(14) 多至波奈等已比乃弥已等

ta.ti.pa.na.to$_2$.yo$_2$.pi$_1$.no$_2$.mi$_1$.ko$_2$.to$_2$

(15) [孔部間人公主]

The name of the palace from which Yômei ruled is recorded next, but it is not written in *man'yôgana*, as shown in (16).

(16) [濱邊宮]

In the *Nihon shoki* and other texts, this name is written 池辺 and read with a *kun* reading, *ike$_2$no$_2$pe$_1$*. In (16) the first character differs(the second is a more complicated form of 辺). Ienaga et al., ed.(1975:421) suggests that the two characters may have had the same *kun* readings in the seventh century, although originally they had distinct meanings.

Then, at last, Shôtoku Taishi's name occurs. It is one of the many names he has been known by, and the first part of it(*to$_2$.yo$_2$.to$_1$.mi$_1$.mi$_1$*) refers to his acute listening skills and discernment.

(17) 等已刀弥弥乃弥已等
to$_2$.yo$_2$.to$_1$.mi$_1$.mi$_1$.no$_2$.mi$_1$.ko$_2$.to$_2$

Next, the name of Bidatsu and Suiko's son is repeated, as the father of the wife of Shôtoku Taishi, who ordered the mandala made.

(18) 尾治 [大王]
wo.pari

This time he is referred to as 大王, rather than just 王. Ienaga, et al., ed.(1975:372) says that it is not clear why he has two different titles in the genealogy. The name of his daughter, Shôtoku Taishi's wife, is recorded as

(19) 多至波奈 [大女郎]
ta.ti.pa.na

This is the end of the genealogy. In the following text, which laments the death of Shôtoku Taishi and his mother, as well as praising Buddhism and listing the names of some of those responsible for the production of the mandala, the name of Shôtoku Taishi's wife occurs once more, written in *man'yôgana* exactly as before. This name I will include with those in the genealogy itself, for the purpose of identifying the *man'yôgana* in the mandala:

(20) 多至波奈 [大女郎]
ta.ti.pa.na

So far, we have seen that *man'yôgana* are visually identical to Chinese characters but that they function as phonetic symbols to transcribe Japanese sounds. One *man'yôgana* character usually stands for one Japanese syllable, a syllable comprised of either a simple vowel or a consonant followed by a vowel. The *man'yôgana* used in the names in the *Tenjukoku mandara shûchômei* are highly systematic. In general, each syllable is written with the same character each time it occurs, and each character is used

for just one syllable. Only one syllable(*ki*$_1$) is written more than one way, and even then, four times it is written with the same character(支) but just once with another(吉). Only one character, *suku*, is used for a sequence of two syllables. In section 4, Table 2 provides a summary of the *man'yôgana* used in this and other texts.

Next, let us turn to two other inscriptions, in which are recorded some of the same names included in *Tenjukoku mandara shûchômei*.

3.2. Inscriptions from the first Japanese Buddhist temple

The temple Gangôji 元興寺 is no longer standing in Nara, but a record of it is preserved in the *Gangôji engi* 元興寺縁起. Although it was originally written in the year 747, the oldest extant copy of the *Gangôji engi* dates from the twelfth century and is currently preserved at Daigoji 醍醐寺 in Kyoto. A printed copy of it may be found in Takeuchi, ed.(1962:383-390). (Sometimes the *Gangôji engi* is referred to as the *Gangôji garan engi shizaichô* 元興寺伽藍縁起資財帳 or the *Gangôji garan engi narabini ruki shizaichô* 元興寺伽藍縁起並流記資財帳)

Gangôji is another name for Asukadera 飛鳥寺, the first true Buddhist temple built in Japan. Two inscriptions from *Gangôji, Gangôji robanmei* and *Gangôji jôroku kôhaimei*, are recorded at the end of the *Gangôji engi*. As the *roban* is part of a stupa, the *roban* inscription must have been on the stupa of the temple.

Jôroku refers to the height of a Buddha statue, and the *kôhai* is the carving representing light behind the buddha's head. So the *jôroku kôhai* inscription must have been on the buddha statue itself. These two inscriptions tell that Buddhism came to Japan through Paekche, offer praise of its teachings, and record the names of some of those associated with the establishment of Buddhism in Japan. Although these two texts are written in Chinese(*Gangôji jôroku kôhaimei* is written in *jun kanbun*, while *Gangôji robanmei* is written in *hentai kanbun*), they also contain names transcribed in *man'yôgana*. *Gangôji robanmei* has seven *man'yôgana* names, and *Gangôji jôroku kôhaimei* has ten. Most of these also occur in *Tenjukoku mandara shûchômei*, and the set of *man'yôgana* used in all three texts is largely the same. The present study of these names is based on the photographs in Ôya(1911) of the inscriptions recorded in the Daigoji copy of the *Gangôji engi*.

The first name in *Gangôji robanmei* is that of Kinmei's palace, written as in the mandala, as shown in (1) and (9) above:

(21) 斯歸斯麻 [宮]
si.ki$_2$.si.ma

Of the following six names, four also occur in the mandala. Kinmei's name, shown in (22), follows that of the palace. A comparison of Kinmei's name in (2), as it is written in the mandala, with Kinmei's name in (22), shows that two of the syllables themselves differ. In (22), we see *ma* 末 instead of *me*$_2$ 米 and

ra 羅 instead of *ru* 留. Also, in (22) the syllable no_2 preceding $mi_1.ko_2.to_2$ is missing. The absence of 乃 no_2 is likely to be an error made by a copyist. The substitution of *ma* 末 for me_2 米 is probably also an error, as these two characters are similar in form. It is not clear why one version of the name has *ra* and the other, *ru*.

(22) 阿末久爾意斯波羅岐比里爾波弥己等
a.ma.ku.ni.o.si.pa.ra.ki_1.pi_1.ro_2.ni.pa.mi_1.ko_2.to_2

There is also a slight discrepancy between the characters used to write ki_1. In (2), it is written 支 , but in (22) it is written 岐.

Soga Iname's name appears next, but its form is different than it is in (3). Here his title 大臣 $opoomi_1$ appears at the very end of his name rather than immediately after Soga, and the 足尼 *sukune* title is omitted. However, $so_1.ga$ and $i.na.me_2$ are written in *man'yôgana* in both (3) and (23).

(23) 巷宜 [名] 伊那米 [大臣]
so_1.ga i.na.me_2

Three of the five *man'yôgana* in (23) are identical to those in (3), but two of them are distinct. The syllable *ga* is written 宜 instead of 奇 , and *na* is written 那 instead of 奈.

The first three names in *Gangôji robanmei*, then, are the same as the first three names in *Tenjukoku mandara shûchômei*, and they are written essentially in the same manner. The next *man'*

yôgana name does not appear in the mandala. It is the name of Suiko's palace:

(24) 佐久羅韋等由良 [宮]
sa.ku.ra.wi.to$_2$.yu.ra

Then comes Suiko's name, which has only one discrepancy in *man'yôgana* use, compared with its writing in the mandala, as shown in (6) and (11). In (25), the character 夜, instead of 移, is used to write the syllable *ya*.

(25) 等已弥居加斯夜比弥乃弥已等
to$_2$.yo$_2$.mi$_1$.ke$_2$.ka.si.ya.pi$_1$.mi$_1$.no$_2$.mi$_1$.ko$_2$.to$_2$

There also appears to be a missing character in (25), just as there was in Kinmei's name in (22). Right before 夜 *ya*, the syllable *ki$_1$* is omitted.

The next name is that of Shôtoku Taishi, who is identified as the nephew of Suiko.

(26) 有麻移刀等刀弥弥乃弥已等
u.ma.ya.to$_1$.to$_2$.to$_1$.mi$_1$.mi$_1$.no$_2$.mi$_1$.ko$_2$.to$_2$

This name looks somewhat different from the name for Shôtoku Taishi in (17). This is because here two of his names, *u.ma.ya.to$_1$*(indicating that he was born at the entrance to a stable), and *to$_2$.yo$_2$.to$_1$.mi$_1$.mi$_1$*(describing his keen discernment) are juxtaposed.

The first name is commonly considered to be *umayado*$_1$, with a voiced initial sound on the last syllable. However, Tôno(1997) says that the correct reading is *umayato*$_1$(This is essentially the same question concerning voicing that came up in (5) for the syllable *pa* in the word *tatipana* and in (12) for the syllable *ta* in the palace name *wosata*). This first name does not appear in the mandala, but the second does. However, here the syllable *yo*$_2$ is missing from that name, probably due to a copyist's error.

The last name is that of Soga Umako, the son of Soga Iname. Umako has the same title(大臣) as his father.

(27) 巷宜 [名] 有相明 [子大臣]
so$_1$.ga uma

The name Soga is written as it was in Soga Iname's name in (23), and the character 有 also appeared in (26), showing some consistency in the writing within this text. The last syllable of Umako appears to be written with a Chinese character, rather than *man'yôgana*, although it could be an early example of *kungana*. Omodaka, et al., ed.(1967:893) lists the character 子 as *man'yôgana* during the Suiko period. Ôno(1977b:23) also does, although he admits that it was probably chosen primarily for its meaning. Other scholars do not consider it to be *man'yôgana*. The syllable *ma* is written 明 instead of 麻, as in other names. Omodaka, et al., ed.(1967) does not list the character 明 as *man'yôgana*, but Ôno(1977b:25) does. It is not among the *man'yôgana* used in later periods. In Umako's name there appears to be an extra character

(相), perhaps added by a copyist.

Although there are some differences in the writing of Japanese names which occur in both *Gangôji robanmei* and *Tenjukoku mandara shûchômei*, essentially the same *man'yôgana* are used in both. There are syllables which occur in one of the texts but not the other, but of those that do occur in both, most are written in the same way. Those that differ, in *Tenjukoku mandara shûchômei* and *Gangôji robanmei*, respectively, are 支, 吉/岐 ki_1, 奇/宜 *ga*, 沙/佐 *sa*, 奈/那 *na*, 麻/明 *ma*, 移/夜 *ya*, and 羅/良 *ra*. However, *ma*, *ya*, and *ra* are also at times written the same way (麻, 移 and 羅) in both texts. These differences do not necessarily suggest randomness of unreasonable inconsistency in the writing of the names. It is possible that when two different characters are used to write the same syllable, two different traditions of transcription are reflected. This would be like the difference in spelling the first sound in pairs of English words such as *photo* and *finish*, *chaperon* and *show*, *city* and *settle*, or *gentle* and *join*.

We might question the reliability of this copy of *Gangôji roban mei*, since there appear to be several *man'yôgana* omitted from the text, a character added and at least one miscopied. However, the *man'yôgana* used in it are for the most part the same as those in *Tenjukoku mandara shûchômei*. This suggests that there must be reasonable faithfulness to the originals in the copies of both texts, for they were copied by different people living at different times.

The *Gangôji jôroku kôhaimei* inscription also records, in *man'yôgana*, some of the same names that are found in *Tenjukoku mandara shûchômei* and *Gangôji robanmei*. The characters used

to write the names are also generally consistent with those that appear in the other two texts.

The first Japanese name recorded in *Gangôji jôroku kôhaimei* is that of Emperor Kinmei, but it is not written in *man'yôgana*. It is shown in (28). The last two characters stand for a portion of his name as recorded in (2) and (22), *pi$_1$.ro$_2$.ni.pa*.

(28) [天皇名廣庭]

Immediately following this is the name of the palace *si.ki$_2$.si.ma*, written just as in the other two texts:

(29) 斯歸斯麻 [宮]
si.ki$_2$.si.ma

The next *man'yôgana* name is that of Soga Iname. His title 大臣 follows his name as it does in *Gangôji robanmei*, in (23), but the *man'yôgana* look more like those in the mandala, in (3). The only difference is the use of the character 哥 instead of 奇 for the *ga* of Soga.

(30) 巷哥 [名] 伊奈米 [大臣]
so$_1$.ga i.na.me$_2$

It is possible that 哥 is not the character that was present in the original text. Mei(1997) explains that this character did not come into use in China until the seventh century. Ôno(1977a:46)

considers it to be a copyist's error for 奇. Ôya(1911) also considers this character to be 奇. Omodaka, et al., ed.(1967:892) lists 奇 as a Suiko *man'yôgana*, and 哥 is not listed as a *man'yôgana* in any text. Ôno(1977a:52) considers 奇(and not 哥) to be a Suiko period *man'yôgana*, since this character is used in the writing of Korean names, and there is likely to have been a Korean influence on the development of *man'yôgana*.

The next name is that of Emperor Yômei. It is written similar to the way it is written in the mandala, in (5).

(31) 多知波奈土与比 [天皇]
ta.ti.pa.na.to$_2$.yo$_2$.pi$_1$

Here ti is written 知 instead of 至, and *yo$_2$* is written 与 instead of 已. In *man'yôgana* writing in general, the characters 知 and 与 in (31) are actually more common ways to write the syllables *ti* and *yo$_2$* than those in (5). But the character 土 is problematic. When this character does occur in later periods, it stands for the syllable *to$_1$*, not *to$_2$*. Therefore, it is probably a copyist's error here. It is likely to have originally been 止, which occurs below in (33) and in a number of other *man'yôgana* texts (Omodaka, et al., ed.(1967:897)), while the *man'yôgana* 土 does not otherwise occur in Suiko period texts at all.

The next name is that of Emperor Yômei's palace. It was also recorded in the mandala, in (16), although without the first three *man'yôgana* characters.

(32) 夷波礼 [濃邊宮]
i.pa.re

So far, we have only seen the character 伊 for the syllable *i*. Here the character 夷 is used instead.

Then, Empress Suiko's name is written, for the fourth time in these three texts. It is written somewhat differently this time. However, overall, there is a reasonable degree of consistency in the writing of Suiko's name. Although the name occurs four times in all, none of the individual syllables is ever written more than two different ways.

(33) 止与弥擧哥斯岐移比弥
$to_2.yo_2.mi_1.ke_2.ka.si.ki_1.ya.pi_1.mi_1$

Here 哥(which is likely to have been 奇 in the original text) is used to write the syllable *ka*. This character is also used for the phonetically related syllable *ga* in Soga, in (30). As in (31), 与 is used to write yo_2, instead of 已. The syllable ke_2 is written with the character 擧 instead of 居. For *ya*, 移 is used, just as in (6) and (11), although 夜 occurs in (25).

The name of Suiko's palace is the next *man'yôgana* name in this text. It occurred in *Gangôji robanmei*, written entirely in *man'yôgana*, but here the first part of the name is written in Chinese characters, and only the second part is transcribed phonetically. The *man'yôgana* for the syllables to_2 and *yu* are the same both times this name is written, but *ra* is written differ-

ently. In (24) the character 良 was used for *ra*, while here it is transcribed with 羅.

(34) [楷井] 等由羅 [宮]
to$_2$.yu.ra

The name of the palace in (16) and (32) occurs again here, twice in a row. It is followed by the characters 天皇, rather than 宮, and the *man'yôgana* portion of the name is omitted, as it is in (16).

(35) [瀆邊天皇]

Following this is the name of Shôtoku Taishi. The *man'yôgana* used here are the same as those used for this name in the mandala and in *Gangôji robanmei*, as shown in (17) and (26), except that in (17), the character 已 is used for *yo$_2$*. The second occurrence of *mi$_1$* in (36) is recorded with a symbol indicating repetition of the previous character.

(36) 等与刀弥ゝ [大王]
to$_2$.yo$_2$.to$_1$.mi$_1$.mi$_1$

Then Soga Iname's name is recorded for the second time in this text. Here the character 名 is omitted, but the *man'yôgana* are just as in (30).

(37) 巷哥伊奈米 [大臣]

so$_1$.ga.i.na.me$_2$

Here again we see the character 哥, which is likely to have been 奇 in the original text.

After this is the name of Iname's son Umako, which also appears in *Gangôji robanmei*. It occurs twice. The first time, the name Soga is omitted. The second time, Soga is included, but the last two characters of Umako(明子) are missing.

(38) 有明 [子大臣]
u.ma

(39) 巷哥有 [大臣]
so$_1$.ga.u

In both the *Gangôji robanmei* and *jôroku kôhaimei* texts, there appear to be a number of copyists' errors. However, this does not detract from the general picture of consistency in the *man'yôgana* writing, particularly in light of similarities to the writing on the mandala. If both Gangôji texts were completely consistent in their writing of the names, we might suspect that the copyists had regularized the spelling. The two inscriptions were made at different times, so we would expect that slight differences in writing reflect the lack of standard spellings for the names. At the same time, the overall consistency suggests that there was a restricted set of *man'yôgana* that the composers of the texts drew upon.

3.3. An extant inscription

So far, we have considered only the *man'yôgana* in the first three texts listed in Table 1. The fourth text, *Hôryûji sanzonbutsu kôhaimei*, has just one name written in *man'yôgana*. However, it is of particular interest because it is extant, an inscription on a statue which belongs to the temple *Hôryûji* in Nara. The statue was originally made for a member of the powerful Soga clan. The name is shown in (40).

(40) 嗽加 [大臣]
so$_1$.ga

Here the name Soga is written differently than it is in the three texts already considered. For the syllable *so$_1$*, the character 嗽 is used, rather than 巷, as in the other texts. The syllable *ga* is written with the character 加, rather than 奇 or 宜. However, 加 is used in the other texts to write the phonetically related syllable *ka*.

3.4. A village name

Iyo dôgo ontô hibun was a stone inscription commemorating the visit of Shôtoku Taishi and two others to a hot spring in the year 596. A copy of it is preserved in the *Iyo no kuni fudoki* 伊

予國風土記 (*Records of the country of Iyo*), which is cited in the *Shaku Nihongi* 釋日本紀, a thirteenth century commentary on the *Nihon shoki*. However, the original date of the *fudoki* text is 639. A printed transcription of the text may be found in Ishida, ed. (1997: 19). Just one name, that of the village Iyo, is written in *man'yôgana*. It is shown in (41) below.

(41) 夷与 [村]
i.yo$_2$

These *man'yôgana* are used in *Gangôji jôroku kôhaimei*, but not in *Gangôji robanmei* or *Tenjukoku mandara shûchômei*.

4. *MAN'YÔGANA* OF THE SUIKO PERIOD TEXTS

The above outline of names in *Tenjukoku mandara shûchômei*, *Gangôji robanmei*, *Gangôji jôroku kôhaimei*, *Hôryûji sanzonbutsu kôhaimei*, and *Iyo dôgo ontô hibun* illustrates the way in which *man'yôgana* were used in Japan during the seventh century. In texts written in Chinese, most of the Japanese personal and place names are recorded in *man'yôgana*. Titles are usually written in Chinese characters, and a few names are also written entirely in Chinese characters. With only one exception, each *man'yôgana* character stands for a single syllable, comprised of a consonant followed by a vowel, or just a simple vowel.

Not every syllable of Old Japanese occurs in the names recorded in these three texts, but there are enough names to give a general picture of how early *man'yôgana* writing worked. It appears that for the most part each syllable of the language was always or usually written with the same *man'yôgana* character. About a third of the syllables are written in two different ways, and two syllables are written three different ways. However, when a given syllable has more than one spelling, usually one of the spellings is used with greater frequency that the other or others. A summary of the *man'yôgana* used in the three texts is provided in Table 2. Three characters have been omitted entirely because of the strong possibility that they are errors made by copyists. These are: 末 in *Gangôji robanmei* (22), 土 in *Gangôji jôroku kôhaimei* (31), and the four occurrences of 哥, also in Gangôji jôroku kôhaimei, (30), (33), (37) and (39). They probably were intended to be 米, 止, and 奇, respectively, which otherwise do occur in these texts, but I will not presume to make "corrections" here.

Under the name of each text in Table 2, the number of times that each character occurs is indicated. If a syllable does not occur at all in a particular text, a dash, rather than the numeral 0, is used.

Table 2. *man'yôgana* used in Suiko period texts

Syllable	*man'yôgana*	*Shûchômei*	*Robanmei*	*Kôhaimei*	*Sanzon.*	*Iyo*
a	阿	2	1	–	–	–
i	伊	1	1	2	–	–
	夷	0	0	1	–	1
u	有	–	2	2	–	–
o	意	1	1	–	–	–
ka	加	2	1	–	–	–
ga	奇	1	0	–	–	–
	宜	0	2	–	–	–
	加	0	0	–	1	–
ki_1	支	4	0	0	–	–
	吉	1	0	0	–	–

Syllable	*man'yôgana*	*Shûchômei*	*Robanmei*	*Kôhaimei*	*Sanzon.*	*Iyo*
	岐	0	1	1	–	–
ki$_2$	歸	2	1	1	–	–
ku	久	2	2	–	–	–
ke$_2$	居	2	1	0	–	–
	擧	0	0	1	–	–
ko$_2$	己	9	3	–	–	–
sa	沙	1	0	–	–	–
	佐	0	1	–	–	–
si	斯	9	4	3	–	–
suku	足	1	–	–	–	–
so$_1$	巷	1	2	3	–	–
	嗽	0	0	0	1	–
ta	多	7	–	1	–	–
ti	至	4	–	0	–	–
	知	0	–	1	–	–
to$_1$	刀	1	2	1	–	–
to$_2$	等	15	6	2	–	–
	止	0	0	1	–	–
na	奈	6	0	3	–	–
	那	0	1	0	–	–
ni	爾	2	2	–	–	–
nu	蔡	1	–	–	–	–
ne	尼	2	–	–	–	–
no$_2$	乃	10	2	–	–	–
pa	波	6	2	2	–	–
pi$_1$	比	6	2	2	–	–
pu	布	1	–	–	–	–
ma	麻	3	2	1	–	–
	明	0	1	1	–	–
mi$_1$	弥	16	7	4	–	–
me$_2$	米	2	1	2	–	–
ya	移	2	1	1	–	–
	夜	0	1	0	–	–
yu	由	–	1	1	–	–
yo$_2$	已	5	1	0	–	–
	与	0	0	3	–	1
ra	羅	1	2	1	–	–
	良	0	1	0	–	–
ru	留	1	–	–	–	–
re	礼	–	–	1	–	–
ro$_2$	里	1	1	–	–	–
wi	韋	–	1	–	–	–
wo	乎	2	–	–	–	–

Table 2 illustrates both the internal consistency of the writing within each of the three texts, and the overall consistency among the texts. If each text is considered separately, the writing of each syllable is almost entirely consistent. In *Tenjukoku mandara shûchômei*, only one syllable(*ki*$_1$) is written in two different ways. All of the other syllables are written with complete consistency. In *Gangôji robanmei*, the syllables *ma*, *ya* and *ra* are written with two different *man'yôgana*. In *Gangôji jôroku kôhaimei*, the syllable *ma* is also written in two different ways, as well as *i* and *to*$_2$. Otherwise, all of the other syllables are always written with the same character within each of the texts. However, in the case of syllables which occur only one time, it is not possible to know whether there would have been variations in the writing, had the syllables occurred with greater frequency.

There is also a high degree of consistency in the writing of the three texts taken as a whole. Not including the one occurrence of 足 *suku*, there are thirty-eight different syllables listed in Table 2. Seventeen of these occur in all of the first three texts(those which have more than one name written in *man'yôgana*): *i, ki*$_1$, *ki*$_2$, *ke*$_2$, *si, so*$_1$, *to*$_1$, *to*$_2$, *na, pa, pi*$_1$, *ma, mi*$_1$, *me*$_2$, *ya, yo*$_2$, and *ra*. Of these, eight (*ki*$_2$, *si, so*$_1$, *to*$_1$, *pa, pi*$_1$, *mi*$_1$, *me*$_2$) are written with complete consistency among these three texts. When two or three different characters are used for a single syllable, they are not used with equal frequency; one is always favored over the other or others. Of the eight syllables written with two different *man'yôgana*(*i, ke*$_2$, *to*$_2$, *na, ma, ya, yo*$_2$, and *ra*), six of them are written with the same character all but one time. Of the remaining

two, yo_2 is written six times with one character and three with the other, and ma is written with one character six times and with the other, two. In the case of ki_1 , where three characters are used, one of the three is used only once, another is used twice, and the third is used four times. All in all, the use of *man'yôgana* is very consistent among these three texts.

The writing of the name Soga in *Hôryûji sanzonbutsu kôhaimei* is unique, and it is significant because this text is extant. It would be interesting to know the reasons for the difference, as well as to consider the writing of the name Soga as 蘇我 in texts later than the Suiko period.

The one name in *Iyo dôgo ontô hibun*, however, is written with *man'yôgana* which are also found in *Gangôji jôroku kôhaimei*.

5. THE BEGINNINGS OF MODERN KANA

The *man'yôgana* writing of the Suiko period is significant to the study of the development of the Japanese kana writing system. As shown in section 4, it is systematic, both within and across individual texts. In addition, the characters used in seventh century *man'yôgana* writing to a great extent remained in use throughout the centuries up until modern times. Due to limited space, a comprehensive study is not possible here, but three illustrations can be given to indicate that the Suiko *man'yôgana* in general were not abandoned but formed the basis of kana use in later centuries. These three illustrations are not intended to serve as a final

analysis of the development of kana, but merely to suggest directions for more in-depth research in the future.

The first of these illustrations is a comparison with the set of *man'yôgana* most commonly used to write poetry during the eighth century. The second is a comparison with kana characters commonly used in the calligraphy of the Heian period(ninth through twelfth centuries). The third is the correlation between Suiko period *man'yôgana* and the source characters for modern kana.

5.1. *man'yôgana* commonly used in the writing of eighth century poetry

The oldest literary texts written in *man'yôgana* are poems and songs recorded during the eighth century. According to Case(2000), there are 481 poems written exclusively in *man'yôgana* in the *Man'yôshû* poetry anthology. Others are found in the Kojiki 古事記(*Record of Ancient Matters*), the *Nihon shoki*, the extant stone inscription known as *Bussokuseki-ka-hi* 仏足石歌碑, various *fudoki* 風土記("local gazetteers"), *Kakyô hyôshiki* 歌経標式(the oldest extant Japanese document dealing with the critical study of poetry), and the *Shoku Nihongi*. In all, there are over 700 poems and songs written in *man'yôgana* which survive from the eighth century. With the exception of the 128 songs in the *Nihon shoki*, these poems are primarily written with a set of fewer than 150 *man'yôgana*. This means that, on average, fewer than two different characters were commonly used to write 86 syllables of mid-eighth century Japanese(One of the 87 syllables identified for this

period(*zo*$_1$) happens not to occur in these poems). *Man'yôgana* seems to have functioned as a systematic kana writing system during the eighth century, and the system shows significant similarities to the *man'yôgana* used in Suiko period texts.

The present study omits the *man'yôgana* of the *Jôgûki itsubun* and *Jôgûtaishi keifu*, so there are a few *man'yôgana* which will not be included in a comparison of Suiko period *man'yôgana* with those of the eighth century. A list of the *man'yôgana* names in these two texts as well as a list of Suiko period man'yôgana which takes them into account may be found in Case(2000:221-226, 229-232). However, here the general picture of continuity will still be clear.

There are fifty-two *man'yôgana* used in the Suiko period texts listed in Table 1 that stand for a single syllable. These characters have been shown in Table 2(足 *suku* stands for two syllables and 加 is listed twice in Table 2, for both *ka* and *ga*). Of these fifty-two *man'yôgana*, thirty-two, or 62%, are commonly used in the writing of eighth century poetry, according to Case(2000:147-150). Considering that there were no standards or restrictions imposed on the poets or the recorders of poems of the eighth century, and that over a century had passed since the Suiko period, this seems to be a relatively high percentage. These thirty-two *man'yôgana* are listed in Table 3.

Table 3. Suiko period *man'yôgana* commonly used in eighth century poetry

Syllable	*Man'y.*	Syllable	*Man'y.*	Syllable	*Man'y.*	Syllable	*Man'y.*
a	阿	sa	佐	na	那	ya	夜
i	伊	si	斯	ni	爾	yu	由
o	意	ta	多	no$_2$	乃	yo$_2$	与
ka	加	ti	知	pa	波	ra	良
ki$_1$	岐	to$_1$	刀	pi$_1$	比	ru	留
ki$_1$	吉	to$_2$	等	pu	布	re	礼
ku	久	to$_2$	止	ma	麻	wi	韋
ko$_2$	己	na	奈	me$_2$	米	wo	乎

Of course, the thirty-two *man'yôgana* in Table 3 represent only about one-fifth of the approximately 150 *man'yôgana* commonly used in the eighth century *man'yôgana* poems. But only 38 out of 88 possible syllables for the Old Japanese of the seventh century are represented in the Suiko period texts we are studying here. This means that there are fifty syllables which do not even occur in these seventh century texts, so that we have no way of knowing whether more of the eighth century *man'yôgana* would also have been used had more of the syllables of Old Japanese been recorded.

The *man'yôgana* shown in Table 3 are only those which were most commonly used in the writing of eighth century poetry. Almost all of the remaining Suiko *man'yôgana* were also used in the eighth century poems, although not as frequently.

5.2. Heian period hiragana

During the Heian period, many poems and works of prose were

written in hiragana. In some cases, the hiragana characters look very much like cursive forms of *man'yôgana*; the shapes of the Chinese characters are clearly recognizable. In other cases, the hiragana forms are closer to the simplified hiragana symbols in use today.

In modern times, hiragana calligraphy exists as a specialized art form practiced by both amateurs and professionals. Various textbooks and reference books are used by the artists as guides to learning correct character forms as well as to developing individual artistic expression. One such handbook for modern calligraphers, compiled by six editors, collects kana characters used in twenty-eight texts. These characters are representative of the hiragana writing of the Heian period. This handbook(Kuwata, et al., ed.(1975)) is here used as a reference in identifying characters commonly used in Heian calligraphy. The ones which are also among the *man'yôgana* used during the Suiko period are listed in Table 4.

Table 4. Suiko period *man'yôgana* commonly used in Heian calligraphy

Syllable	*man'yôgana*	Syllable	*man'yôgana*	Syllable	*man'yôgana*
a	阿	ti	知	ya	夜
i	伊	to_2	止	yu	由
u	有	na	奈	yo_2	与
ka	加	na	那	ra	羅
ki_1	支	ni	爾	ra	良
ku	久	no_2	乃	ru	留
ko_2	己	pa	波	re	礼
sa	沙	pi_1	比	wo	乎
sa	佐	pu	布		
ta	多	me_2	米		

In addition to the *man'yôgana* in Table 4, three *man'yôgana* continued to be used in the Heian period, although for different syllables than the syllables they stood for during the seventh century. These are 意 *o* for *i*, 移 *ya* for *i*, and 里 ro_2 for *ri*. There are twenty-eight syllables in Table 4, or almost half of the Suiko *man'yôgana* identified in Table 2. It is important to remember that Heian calligraphy is an art form as well as a means of recording the spoken language. As long as a poem, for example, could be read, no special attempt was made to achieve perfect consistency in the writing. In fact, various characters might be used for the same syllable within a particular poem in order to achieve an artistic effect. This makes it all the more remarkable that almost half of the Suiko *man'yôgana* were also commonly used in Heian calligraphy.

5.3. Modern hiragana and katakana

In 1900, the Japanese Ministry of Education published the *Shô gakkôrei shikô kisoku* 小學校施行規則(*Regulations for the enforcement of the primary education laws*). Among other things, this document established a standard for the character forms used in kana writing. From the many kana forms in use at the time, just one hiragana and one katakana symbol were selected for use in writing each syllable. It is likely that the forms that were chosen were those that were already the most frequently used. These standard kana forms are still used today. In Table 5 are listed the Suiko period *man'yôgana* which ultimately became the sources

for modern kana. The transcriptions of the modern syllables are given according to the Hepburn romanization system. The transcriptions of the Old Japanese syllables indicate phonemic categories, rather than precise phonetic values.

Table 5. Correlations between seventh century *man'yôgana* and modern kana

Suiko period syllable	Hiragana	Katakana	Modern/(OJ)
阿		ア	a
伊		イ	i
加	か	カ	ka
久	く	ク	ku
己	こ	コ	ko(ko_2)
多		タ	ta
知	ち		chi(ti)
止	と	ト	to(to_2)
奈	な	ナ	na
乃	の	ノ	no(no_2)
波	は		ha(pa)
比	ひ	ヒ	hi(pi_1)
由	ゆ	ユ	yu
与	よ	ヨ	yo(yo_2)
良	ら	ラ	ra
留	る		ru
礼	れ	レ	re
乎		ヲ	wo

There are eighteen *man'yôgana* listed in Table 5. Of these, twelve are the only ones ever used to write their respective syllables in the Suiko period texts. There are 阿 *a*, 加 *ka*, 久 *ku*, 己 ko_2, 多 *ta*, 乃 no_2, 波 *pa*, 比 pi_1, 由 *yu*, 留 *ru*, 礼 *re*, and 乎 *wo*. Another two(伊 *i* and 奈 *na*) are used more frequently than the

other *man'yôgana* to write the same syllable. Just four are used less frequently than the other character used to write the same syllable(知 *ti*, 止 to_2, 与 yo_2, and 良 *ra*). However, these are all commonly used in the writing of poems in man'yôgana during the eighth century.

Out of fifty-two Suiko period *man'yôgana*, eighteen, or just over a third, are source characters for the modern hiragana and katakana syllabaries. This is probably a fairly large proportion, given the span of thirteen centuries and the fact that kana was not officially standardized until the twentieth century. However, the *kô/otsu* distinctions and the existence of distinct *ongana* for *sei-on* (unvoiced) and *daku-on* (voiced) syllables mean that some of the Suiko *man'yôgana* had no chance at all to survive to the present day. Although just one *man'yôgana* is used for each of the syllables to_1 and to_2, for example, only one of these could be retained in the present kana system, in which to_1 and to_2 have merged to *to*. And even if just one *man'yôgana* were used for each member of a *sei/daku* pair such as *ka/ga*, only one of these could be retained in the present kana system, where *daku-on* syllables are represented with a diacritic on a *sei-on* kana. This means that only some of the Suiko are potential sources for modern kana, and therefore the proportion of potential sources which survive is necessarily greater than one-third.

From the perspective of the 48 symbols which make up each of the modern kana syllabaries, fourteen of the characters in Table 5 are source characters for modern hiragana and fifteen are source characters for modern katakana. This means than almost a third

of modern kana is derived from *man'yôgana* which were at least thirteen hundred years old when kana was standardized. Despite changes in the phonology of Japanese and the immense potential for variation in writing between different writers at different times, this is a remarkable correlation. It indicates that *man'yôgana* was indeed a writing system from its earliest stages, a system that essentially remained the same for over a millennium.

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The present study has focused on identifying *man'yôgana* used to transcribe place names and personal names in five texts from the early seventh century, the period during which *man'yôgana* seems to have first been used systematically in Japan.

These *man'yôgana* are significant to furthering our understanding of the development of the Japanese kana system. It appears that from its earliest stages, *man'yôgana* was a real writing system, with features that were retained through the centuries until the present day. A better understanding of how *man'yôgana* and its derivatives hiragana and katakana were used, and how they developed over time, would further our knowledge of the development of the Japanese kana system. This in turn could provide a valuable contribution to studies of Chinese character writing systems, as well as to the development of theories relating to the structure of written language in general.

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推古時代の万葉仮名表記の地名と人名

－七世紀の体系的な表記法－

テレサ・ケイス

七世紀の文章に、日本の地名と人名がよく万葉仮名で表記されている。万葉仮名の資料としては、これが最も早い時期のもので、且つ、纏まった分量で存在するため、仮名の發展の研究に重要である。更に、アジア大陸から日本への文字伝來の研究にも重要であろう。現在や將來の研究を促進するために本研究は、推古時代(七世紀前半) の五つの文章に出て來る万葉仮名の地名と人名全てを抜き出し考察する。次に、その万葉仮名の一覽を作り、体系的な表記法であることを明らかに示す。最後に、八世紀の万葉仮名や現代の仮名が、この七世紀の万葉仮名体系の直系であることを提案する

キーワード: 万葉仮名、仮名、上代語、日本語、表記法、漢字、音聲表記