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**Journal of Asian
Humanities at
Kyushu University**

The logo consists of the letters 'JA' stacked above 'HQ' in a bold, blocky, sans-serif font. The 'JA' is in a lighter gray, and the 'HQ' is in a darker gray.

Journal of Asian Humanities at Kyushu University

VOLUME 6, SPRING 2021

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We consider for publication research articles, state-of-the-field essays, research notes, and short reports on conferences and other events related to Asian humanities subjects (broadly defined). We also seek articles or reports for the themed section, “Kyushu and Asia,” and reviews (books, exhibitions, films) for the “Reviews” section.

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Making “Modern” Korean Subjects: The Chosŏn Industrial Exhibition of 1915

YOUNG-SIN PARK

INDEPENDENT SCHOLAR

This article explores the local development of international expositions in modern Korea as a cultural machinery for constructing “a new modern nation,” through its focus on the Chosŏn Industrial Exhibition of 1915. It examines the exhibition not only as a means of Japanese colonial subjugation, but also as a cultural spectacle whose meaning and effects are not reducible to its manifest political purpose. Drawing on the premise that the 1915 exhibition was an economic, political, and cultural battlefield across which different visions of industrialization, modernization, and civilization fought for ascendancy in the shaping of a new national identity, this study seeks to show how the exhibition captured and positioned visitors as new modern Korean subjects. It examines in detail the actual structure and workings of the exhibition and analyzes visitors’ experiences and responses to the exhibition, in particular focusing on contradictions and conflicts in the interpellation of the subject of the exhibition.

The Sacred and Heritagization in the Safeguarding of Traditional Village Festivals in Viet Nam: A Case Study

HIEN THI NGUYEN

VIET NAM NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF CULTURE
AND ARTS STUDIES
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF FOLKLORE

In the past few decades the cultural practices of local communities have been dominated by a heritagization that involves the participation of government and management structures, and affects the transformation of life and the dynamics of a custodian community. Despite being under a government system when undergoing heritagization, different heritage elements are influenced in different ways depending on their nature and the custodian community. To demonstrate the dynamics of heritagization, this article focuses on how the notion of sacredness in a traditional village

festival is maintained. The sacred is at the center of the practice of folk beliefs that support the worship of tutelary gods in Vietnamese villages. Through a case study of the Gióng Festival, which was inscribed by UNESCO on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2010, this article focuses on the relationship between the sacred and heritagization. The article suggests that the sacred endures and is maintained and adhered to as one of the measures safeguarding the viability of the heritage element through heritagization. It argues that heritagization is a dynamic process, highly dependent on the governance of the state, the autonomy of local communities, and, in particular, the substance of the heritage element.

The Ideological Underpinnings of Private Trade in East Asia, ca. 800–1127

GREGORY SATTLER

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES
PHD STUDENT, DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

This article seeks to add greater depth to our understanding of merchants in East Asia by examining their associations with state officials throughout much of the region. In particular, this study demonstrates a strong link between diplomacy and private trade in Sino-Japanese relations from the late ninth to early twelfth century, which challenges the narrative that Japan's diplomatic initiatives had ceased by this time. By offering an assessment of merchants and scholar-officials in East Asia through the lens of intellectual, social, and trade history, new perspectives are revealed that call for a reassessment of the relationship between Confucian ideology and commercial exchange, as well as our understanding of inter-regional interaction in premodern East Asia.

Michizane's Other Exile? Biographies of Sugawara no Michizane and the Praxis of Heian Sinitic Poetry

NIELS VAN DER SALM

LEIDEN UNIVERSITY
SKILL LECTURER IN JAPANESE

Long before his exile to Dazaifu, Heian scholar, poet, and statesman Sugawara no Michizane (845–903) spent a four-year sojourn as a provincial governor in Sanuki. Although scholars and biographers have long debated the significance of this period in Michizane's life, virtually all narratives of his governorship share the assumption that for Michizane himself it was a great personal setback. The article argues that this assumption relies on a skewed reading of the poetry Michizane wrote during this period, in which seemingly autobiographical outbursts are culled from his oeuvre to construct the poet's supposed authentic voice. Relying on recent scholarship on the rhetoric and social praxis of Sinitic poetry at the Heian court and applying these insights to a close reading of five poems Michizane wrote just before his departure, I show that their apparently deeply personal language is clearly motivated by poetics, genre expectations, and compositional setting. Rather than pressing the poems into service to reconstruct a poet's inner world, therefore, a proposition is made to instead approach occasional Sinitic verse in the role it played in the negotiation of social ties, and to examine its use of emotionally charged language not as the representation of an abstract inner self, but as a poetic means to very concrete ends.

REVIEWS

Sujung Kim. *Shinra Myōjin and Buddhist Networks of the East Asian "Mediterranean."* University of Hawai'i Press, 2020.

BOOK REVIEW BY EMILY B. SIMPSON

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE
LECTURER IN RELIGION

Nanxiu Qian, Richard J. Smith, and Bowei Zhang, eds. *Rethinking the Sinosphere: Poetics, Aesthetics, and Identity Formation.* Amherst, NY: Cambria Press, 2020.

BOOK REVIEW BY SIXIANG WANG

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR, DEPARTMENT OF ASIAN
LANGUAGES AND CULTURES

RESEARCH NOTE

Research Note on the Amitābha Cult and Its Imagery in Early Japan

YOKO HSUEH SHIRAI

INDEPENDENT RESEARCHER

RYUKYU AND ASIA

Research Report on the Current Status and Prospects for Nineteenth-Century Ryukyuan Paintings on Wooden Doors in the Historic Miyara dunchi House

CHIE KYAN

OKINAWA PREFECTURAL UNIVERSITY OF ARTS
PART-TIME LECTURER, FACULTY OF ARTS AND CRAFTS,
DEPARTMENT OF FINE ARTS AND JOINT RESEARCHER,
RESEARCH INSTITUTE

YŪKI TAIRA

OKINAWA PREFECTURAL UNIVERSITY OF ARTS
PART-TIME LECTURER, FACULTY OF ARTS AND CRAFTS,
DEPARTMENT OF FINE ARTS

Making “Modern” Korean Subjects: The Chosŏn Industrial Exhibition of 1915

YOUNG-SIN PARK

Introduction

THE Chosŏn Industrial Exhibition (*Chosŏn mul-san kongjinhoe* 朝鮮物産共進會) took place in Seoul (then Kyŏngsŏng 京城, Jp. Keijō) over fifty days, from 11 September 1915 to 31 October 1915, at a moment of rapid modernization and industrialization in Korea that accelerated with the Japanese annexation of the peninsula in 1910 (figure 1).¹ As a specific example of the local articulation of modernity and as an unprecedented public event, the 1915 exhibition was staged on a nationwide scale that introduced the Korean general populace to modern forms of mass culture and spectacle.²

Just as international expositions have raised provocative questions about the cultural constructions of modernity, much of the cultural landscape of modern Korea has been shaped and influenced by the 1915 exhibition, from mass consumption and entertainment, to science and technology, urban planning, architecture, and visual art. While it was planned according to the principles of surveillance and disciplines as a modern institutional apparatus constructed by Jeremy Bentham’s idea of the Panopticon, the exhibition can be also understood as an educational event and cultural propaganda justifying Japanese colonial rule.³

1 The term “Korea” in this article refers to the sovereign territory of the Chosŏn dynasty—dating back to 1392, but here referring mainly to the period of the opening of ports (1876–1910)—and to the territory of Korea that was colonized and ruled by the Japanese from 1910 to 1945. In this article, the transliteration of Korean terms and names follows the McCune Reischauer Romanization system. Exceptions are made in the case of terms that are already commonly recognized by a different spelling, such as Seoul, rather than Sōul. Following East Asian practice, Korean, Chinese, and Japanese surnames precede given names, except in cases of authors whose English-language works are cited or whose names have been Anglicized.

2 The official title of the 1915 exhibition is “Shijōng onyŏn kinyŏm Chosŏn mulsan kongjinhoe” 始政五年記念朝鮮物産共進會 (Jp.

Shisei gonen kinen Chōsen bussan kyōshinkai), meaning “the Chosŏn Industrial Product Exhibition in Commemoration of the Fifth Anniversary of Japanese Colonial Rule.”

3 According to Michel Foucault, modern factories, schools, hospitals, and prisons were constructed by following the principles of utility, regularity, surveillance, and discipline, adopting Jeremy Bentham’s idea of the Panopticon, a type of institutional building consisting of a central observation tower and a circle of prison cells. The orchestration of the act of viewing in the Panopticon generates a field of power that excludes any reciprocity: the occupant of the cell cannot see if they are being viewed, while the occupant of the tower at the center can view each cell unseen. As a result, the occupant of the cell must act as if they are being observed at all times, disciplining their own actions in anticipation of being under surveillance. The disciplinary machinery of the Panopticon, which works to produce self-regulating subjects, pervades

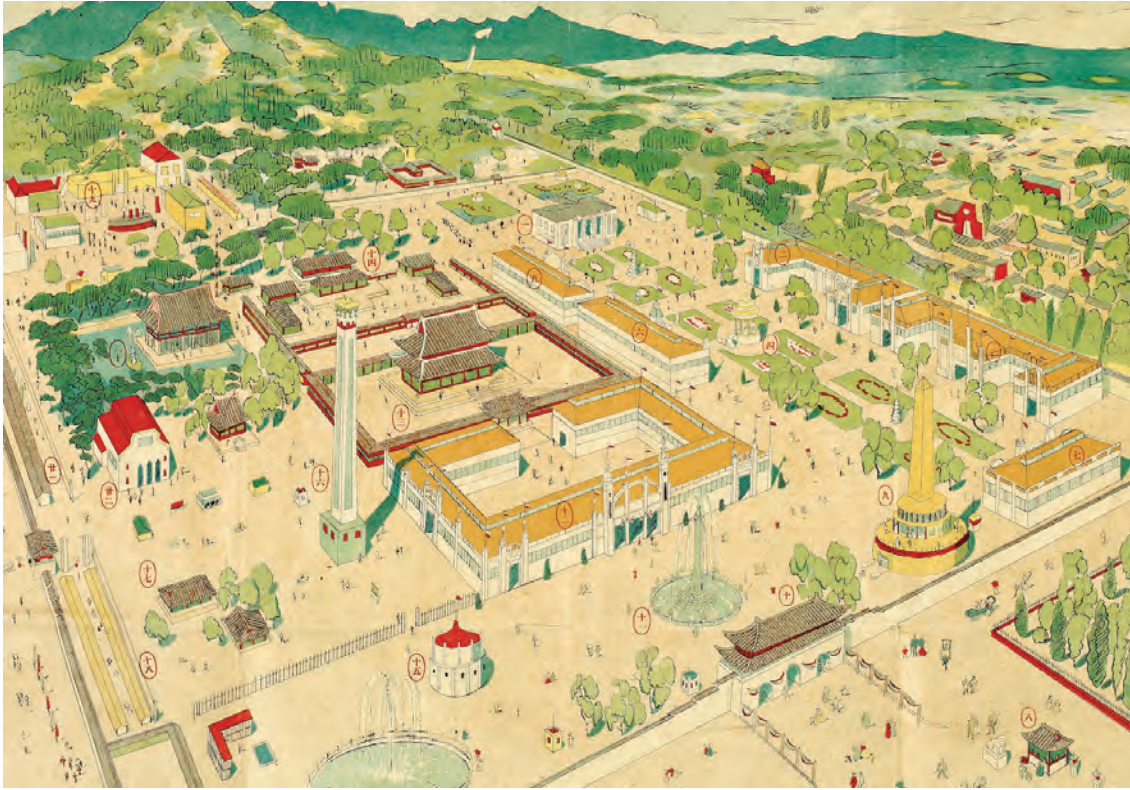


Figure 1. The 1915 exhibition site, panoramic view. From the exhibition guide map, 1915. Printed on paper, W 53.8, H 38.5 cm. From Seoul Museum of History Collection. Permission of Seoul Museum of History.

Contrary to the literature on Korean expositions that has focused almost exclusively on the colonial political context of the 1915 exhibition and its function as political propaganda, however, this article explores the exhibition as a cultural machinery whose meaning and effects are not reducible to its manifest political purpose, especially focusing on the question of “modern Korean subjects” represented in and constructed by the exhibition. Drawing on the premise that the 1915 exhibition was an economic, political, and cultural battlefield across which different visions of industrialization, modernization, and civilization fought for ascendancy in the shaping of a new “mod-

ern” Korean subject, this article examines how the 1915 exhibition captured and positioned visitors as the subjects of its new modern spectacle, addressing them as the modern subjects of a new national identity. To this end, this article closely analyzes the structure of the exhibition, such as specific architectural coding and presentational strategies to represent “modern” Korea, and seeks to show how visitors experienced and responded to the particular colonial narrative to shape “modern Korean subjects.”⁴

modern institutional relationships. For details on the Panopticon and its disciplinary technologies, see Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, pp. 195–228. Like the Panopticon in Foucault’s analysis, the exhibition involves a hierarchical distribution of space and visibility that creates power relations. Like the Panopticon, too, the exhibition aims at the disciplining, training, and normalization of its inmates—the visitors.

4 My understanding of the 1915 exhibition as a network of apparatuses that produced a new modern Korean subject owes a large debt to Foucault’s conceptions of disciplinary apparatuses. According to Foucault, an apparatus is “a thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral, and philanthropic propositions.” See Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, p. 194. This conception is also related to Foucault’s understanding of the production of subjects: apparatuses are instruments of governance and subjectification that produce their own subject.



Figure 2. Crowd of people on the official opening day of the exhibition, 1915. Picture postcard, W 14.1, H. 9.1 cm. Pusan Pangmulgwan (Busan Museum) Collection. From Pusan Pangmulgwan, *Sajin yōpsō ro ponūn kūndae p'unggyōng*, p. 328, fig. 08–3556.

In terms of the number of visitors, the 1915 exhibition may have been considered a phenomenal success. The number of visitors is particularly significant in examining the subject formation of the colonized at the 1915 exhibition. While the Kyōngsōng Exposition (*Kyōngsōng pangnamhoe* 京城博覽會) of 1907 drew in approximately two hundred thousand visitors, more than one million people flocked to the 1915 exhibition, which was a huge number considering that the population of Korea at the time was only sixteen million (figure 2). Clearly made with a strongly propagandistic purpose in mind, the photographic images of the crowd at the exhibition are still surprising and interesting because the event was held in the early Japanese colonial period, a period known as “the dark period,” a time usually seen as characterized by a ruthless political repression that stifled the cultural as well as the political lives of the Korean people.

The crowd in the photograph cannot be explained, however, simply in terms of some forced mobilization by the colonial government. How, then, was it possible that such a massive number of Korean as well as international visitors were able to gather in the 1915 exhibition? What did the visitors, especially the ordinary Korean populace, experience in the exhibition, and how did they respond to its modern form of cultural spectacles? To answer these questions, it is important

For details of these apparatuses and the production of subjects, see Agamben, *What Is an Apparatus?*, pp. 11–14.

to first trace the processes by which the concept of “exposition” (*pangnamhoe* 博覽會) was introduced and came to gain acceptance by the Korean people as a central symbol of modernization and civilization. The article will also provide a discursive and institutional frame for shaping the conception of the 1915 exhibition as a means to modernize the Korean nation. Thus I will review the introduction and dissemination of the term “exposition” in the specific discourses of *munmyōng kaehwa* 文明開化 (civilization and enlightenment), *puguk kangbyōng* 富国强兵 (national prosperity and military strength), *chagang* 自强 (self-strengthening), and *tongdo sōgi* 東道西器 (Eastern ways and Western technologies), and then discuss the representation of modern Korea and the complex formation of the Korean modern subject at the 1915 exhibition.

The Introduction of an International Exposition into Korea as a Symbol of Modernity

The introduction of international expositions into East Asia was entwined with the process of modernization through the adoption and importation of new Western ideas and technology, which necessitated coining neologisms to capture and transmit this new knowledge. The Japanese word *hakurankai* 博覽會 appeared for the first time in 1864. It has the literal meaning of “an event to observe things generally and widely” — with its three Chinese ideographs, *haku* 博 meaning “widely/generally,” *ran* 覽 meaning “view/observe,” and *kai* 會 meaning “event/gathering,” and the term eventually became the prevailing common terminology in the East Asian cultural sphere with its use of Chinese characters, and was translated into Chinese as *bolanhui* 博覽會 and Korean as *pangnamhoe*.⁵ Accordingly, the concept of international expositions was introduced into Korea as part of Korea’s modernization project in the early 1880s. King Kojong 高宗 (1852–1919, r. 1863–1907) and his reformist officials began to focus on international expositions as a spectacular showcase of

⁵ The Japanese term *hakurankai* first appeared in a public document in 1864, in a commentary by Kurimoto Joun 栗本鋤雲 (1822–1897), a journalist and vassal of the shogun, on Japan’s planned participation in the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1867, the first international exposition to which Japan contributed. See Sato, *Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State*, p. 103.

the superiority of Western industrial civilization and as one of the greatest embodiments of modernization. Korean officials' first direct encounter with an exposition can be traced back to the Chosa sich'altan 朝士視察團 Mission to Japan whose main task was to report on methods of adapting the successful Japanese modernization program to Korea. The Korean term *pangnamhoe* appeared for the first time in reports written by mission member Pak Chŏng-yang 朴定陽 (1841–1905) in 1881. After visiting the Second National Exposition for the Promotion of Industry (*Naikoku kangyo hakurankai* 內國勸業博覽會), held in Tokyo's Ueno Park in 1881, Pak wrote:

[Pangmulguk 博物館] manages *pangnamhoe* (expositions) and *kyŏngjinhoe* 競進會 (competitive industrial exhibitions) and it attempts to improve industrial and commercial techniques by preserving *pangmul* 博物 (extensive things or wide knowledge). It also develops and encourages industrial and commercial businesses by testing new products and inspecting their quality.⁶

The quote clearly shows that the officials understood the economic and educational importance of expositions. However, this knowledge was not yet accessible to ordinary Korean people. It was through more popular books, such as *Sŏyu kyŏnmun* 西遊見聞, published in 1895 and written by a Korean reformist politician, Yu Kil-chun 兪吉濬 (1856–1914), that the term *pangnamhoe* became more widely disseminated in Korea. *Sŏyu kyŏnmun* shows that Yu's understanding of expositions was heavily influenced by the teachings of his Japanese mentor Fukuzawa Yukichi 福澤諭吉 (1835–1901).⁷ Just as Fukuzawa understood

the purpose of expositions in the context of the project of modernization and Westernization, so, for Yu, the concept of *pangnamhoe* was bound up with the reformist discourse of *munmyŏng kaehwa* (civilization and enlightenment), the advancement of *shiksan hŭngŏp* 殖産興業 (the promotion of industry), and nation formation through *puguk kangbyŏng* (national prosperity and military strength).⁸ There is no denying that the introduction of an exposition into Korea was, from the beginning, impacted primarily by Japanese conceptions and mediated by contact with Japanese modernization projects. Yet, the Korean understanding of an exposition did not come solely through Japan. The concept of *pangnamhoe* was transmitted to Korean intellectuals and the public by means of different and varied factors. Three other channels played an important role: a mission to the Western world, participation in international expositions, and experiences of national expositions and local industrial exhibitions in Korea.

The first, a diplomatic mission of reformist officials to the United States, provided the occasion for the first direct encounter of Korean officials with the Western form of the exposition. A year after the United States–Korea Treaty of 1882, King Kojong dispatched to the United States the Pobingsa 報聘使, a mission group of ten reformist officials. To date, Korea had acquired its experience of Western knowledge and institutions largely through China and Japan, and thus its understanding was shaped by the Chinese theories of *haifang* 海防 (overcoming Western powers [by knowing them]) and *yangwu* 洋務 (learning from the West) and by the Japanese program of *bunmei kaika* 文明開化 (cultural enlightenment). This meditated encounter with Western knowledge and institutions was often prone to misunderstanding and mistranslation. By contrast, the Pobingsa Mission provided an opportunity to observe the West directly, free from Japanese or Chinese overlay. By visiting factories, banks, hospitals, department stores, post offices, schools, newspaper offices, and firehouses in the United States, the mission members sought to acquire knowledge that would advance the development of modern institutions in Korean society. In Boston, they were particularly intent on attending the American Exhibition of the

6 Pak, "Pangmulguk kakkyuch'ik" 博物館各規則 (n.p.); Huh, *Chosa shich'altan kwan'gye charyojip*, vol. 2, p. 30. Similarly, in his delegation report, *Isa chimnyak* 日樞集略, Yi Hŏn-yŏng 李鐔永 (1837–1907) recorded that "*pangnamhoe* (expositions) serves a dual purpose: one is to help sell products, and the other is to show off the nation's prosperity and riches." See Yi, "Mun'gyŏllok" 聞見錄.

7 Fukuzawa had remarked: "In the major cities of the West, therefore, a convention of products has been held every few years, which is a place to announce their accomplishments to the world and to exhibit specialty products, useful machines, antiques, and rare items from each country to people from around the world. This is called a *hakurankai* (exposition) ... to teach and learn from each other and to take advantage of each other's strengths." See Fukuzawa, *Seiyō jijō*, fols. 41b–43a.

8 Yu, *Sŏyu kyŏnmun*, p. 451.

Products, Arts, and Manufactures of Foreign Nations.⁹ As they were impressed by the modern spectacle and the technological innovations at the exhibition, the reformist officials planned to mount an international industrial exposition in Seoul the following year.¹⁰ However, this ambitious plan failed to materialize due to a lack of capital and the political turmoil following the failed coup d'état of 4 December 1884, the *Kapsin chôngbyôn* 甲申政變.¹¹ While unsuccessful, the efforts that followed the Pobingsa Mission were notable for seeking to present Korea as an autonomous member of the international community and for attempting to speed up the introduction of Western institutions, such as international expositions and modern public schools.¹² This also led to broadening discussions and press coverage of international expositions in the late 1880s and 1890s. The first serious discussion of expositions in the print media, “Pangnamhoesöl” 博覽會說 (Exposition Theory) in fact appeared in March 1884, the year following the Pobingsa Mission,

and introduced the Korean public to the notion of *pangnamhoe*.¹³ In 1900, the year of the Exposition Universelle in Paris, in which Korea participated, more extensive discussions of the concept of the exposition were published by numerous newspapers, especially *Tongnip shinmun* 獨立新聞, *Cheguk shinmun* 帝國新聞, and *Hwangšong shinmun* 皇城新聞, spreading the idea of the exposition more widely in Korea.¹⁴

The second wave of international expositions came through Korean participation in the Chicago World Columbian Exposition of 1893 and in the Exposition Universelle of 1900 in Paris. From the 1890s through the early 1900s, the policy of the Chosŏn administration was driven by the theory of *tongdo sŏgi* (Eastern ways and Western technologies) in an effort to preserve Korea's traditional culture and values while modernizing through the acquisition of Western technologies. Korea's participation in international expositions was part of this drive to understand and absorb Western technologies and social institutions, following the model of Japan. However, the Korean Pavilion in the 1893 Chicago Exposition did not attract much positive or popular attention, and it was hardly known to the Korean public.¹⁵ Despite the expanded scale of the Korean Pavilion or “Pavilion de la Corée” in the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1900, once again, Korean aspirations were to be thwarted. The impressions of the Korean Pavilion were shaped by established ideas of an exotic “Hermit Kingdom.”¹⁶ Still, Korea's self-presentation in Paris was a declaration of the country's independence as a newly established, modernizing empire—Taehan cheguk 大韓帝國, the Great Korean Empire (1897–1910) proclaimed by King Kojong in 1897. The declaration of the empire also launched the *Kwangmu kaehyök* 光武改革 (Kwangmu Reform),

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- 9 On their second visit, the mission members entered Korean material into the exhibition. The Korean items were displayed in the exhibition and recorded as “COREA. FROM THE GOVERNMENT: 1. Porcelain and china vases, jugs, etc.” in the official catalogue of the exhibition. See Norton, *Official Catalogue, Foreign Exhibition*, p. 315.
- 10 According to a contemporary *New York Times* article, “Minister Min Yong Ik [閔泳翊, 1860–1914] further expressed his great appreciation of the agricultural implements which he saw at the Boston exhibition.” See “The Exhibition in Corea [Korea]: Manufacturers of the Country Invited to Take Part,” *New York Times*, 16 December 1883.
- 11 The *Kapsin chôngbyôn* was initiated by the radical *Kaehwadang* 開化黨 (Enlightenment Party), whose members included Pobingsa mission members, Hong Yŏng-sik 洪英植 (1856–1884), Sŏ Gwang-bŏm 徐光範 (1859–1897), and Pyŏn Su 邊燧 (1861–1891), under the leadership of Kim Ok-kyun 金玉均 (1851–1894). The *Kaehwadang* sought to curtail Chinese interference, as well as advocating for more rapid and radical reforms. It was launched with Japanese support as Japan and China struggled for dominance in East Asia. Despite successfully seizing the royal palace, the coup was soon suppressed by the Chinese military. Chinese influence was reasserted and the reformists of the *Kaehwadang* were either killed or exiled to Japan. As a result, on returning from the Pobingsa Mission, Minister Min Yŏng-ik was compelled to sever all political and personal relations with the reformists and to suspend plans for an industrial exhibition so closely associated with the Japanese model and the program of radical reform.
- 12 See “Coreans [Koreans] Preparing to Go Home,” *New York Times*, 8 November 1883: “The Coreans [Koreans] have been close observers during their stay in this country [the United States], and as one of the results of their visit will recommend on their return home the establishing of a postal system modeled after the one in this country. A Customs system has just been established, the nation favoring a protective policy.”

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- 13 This discussion was published in *Hansŏng sunbo* 漢城旬報, Korea's first Korean-language newspaper, issued three times a month. See “Pangnamhoesöl,” *Hansŏng sunbo*, 18–19 March 1884. *Hansŏng sunbo* also published further accounts of Western expositions, including the Crystal Palace in London and French industrial expositions. See *Hansŏng sunbo*, 16 April 1884; *Hansŏng sunbo*, 25 May 1884; and *Hansŏng sunbo*, 4 June 1884.
- 14 For example, see “P'ari pangnamhoe” 巴里博覽會, *Hwangšong shinmun*, 12 April 1900; “Pŏpkuk pangnamhoe sŏnghwang” 法國博覽會盛況, *Hwangšong shinmun*, 18 August 1900; “Pŏpkuk p'arig'yŏng man'guk pangnamhoe” 法國巴里京萬國博覽會, *Cheguk shinmun*, 8 June 1901.
- 15 Bancroft, pp. 178, 221–22.
- 16 For a detailed description of exhibits in the Korean Pavilion, see Gers, *En 1900*, pp. 205–208.

a modernizing project aimed at Westernizing the political, military, industrial, and educational structures of Korea. The presentation of the Korean Pavilion at the 1900 Exposition Universelle thus reflected Korea's aspiration to modernization and its short-lived assertion of independence both from Chinese influence and from the impositions of Japanese power. King Kojong was also convinced that staging such expositions in Korea would provide unique opportunities to advance Korean modernization. In 1902, therefore, he established the Provisional Exposition Department (*Imshi pangnamhoe samuso* 臨時博覽會事務所).¹⁷ In the following year, the Provisional Exposition Display Hall (*Imshi pangnamhoe chinyölgwan* 臨時博覽會陳列館), a permanent exhibition hall for commercial and industrial products and Korea's first public exhibition site, was built "in order to collect and display all natural and artificial products for national and international visitors."¹⁸ Beyond its contents, it can be said that the Display Hall marks in itself the introduction of a new economy of display—a modern visual experience through which the populace was to be educated and enlightened. Such initiatives show that the Korean government clearly recognized the significant role of expositions in encouraging industries and promoting national identity.

The engagement of the Korean government with both Western and Japanese forms of exposition took two forms: externally, it involved Korean participation in foreign expositions, and internally, it was manifest in the organization of national expositions. Here, the third impetus to the conceptualization of *pangnamhoe* as a symbol of modernization came through Korea's internal experience of smaller national expositions and local industrial exhibitions in the 1900s. The first such event officially titled "exposition" (*pangnamhoe*) was the Japanese-Korean Merchandise Exposition (*Irhan sangp'um pangnamhoe* 日韓商品博覽會, Jp. *Nikkan shōhin hakurankai*) held in 1906 in Pusan, the largest city in South Kyōngsang Province. After that, despite the social and political turmoil that marked 1907, the first major exposition put on in the capital, the Kyōngsōng Exposition (*Kyōngsōng pangnamhoe* 京城博覽會, Jp. *Keijō hakurankai*), was held in



Figure 3. The front of the 1907 Kyōngsōng Exposition (Seoul Exhibition), 1907. Picture postcard, W 14.1, H 9.1 cm. From East Asia Image Collection, Imperial Postcard Collection, Lafayette College. <https://digital.lafayette.edu/collections/eastasia/imperial-postcards/ip0980>.

Kyōngsōng (figure 3). The Kyōngsōng Exposition not only provided the first opportunity for large numbers of Koreans to experience an exposition, but also served to establish the main features that would come to characterize later colonial expositions, including local industrial exhibitions in the early 1910s and the Chosōn Industrial Exhibition of 1915. The most important such feature was the staging of a contrast between the "modern" space and the "premodern" or "old" space. While displays of industrial products in a newly constructed or renovated Western-style pavilion represented aspirations to modernity, Korean folk arts and customs were exhibited as a way to contrast Korea's backwardness with Japan's modernizing progress. This strategy of contrast would be adopted by local industrial expositions as key components of success, and reappeared in the 1915 Chosōn Industrial Exhibition, albeit in a more advanced and complicated form.

By the early 1910s, the idea of *pangnamhoe* had seeped down to the local level, spawning a series of local industrial exhibitions, or *kongjinhoe* 共進會 (Jp. *kyōshinkai*). These industrial exhibitions were important precursors of the 1915 exhibition and continued to extend and popularize the idea of expositions among the wider Korean public.¹⁹ The word *kongjinhoe*, instead of the more popularized term

17 *Kojong shillok* 高宗實錄 42, 12 July 1902; *Kojong shillok* 42, 29 August 1902.

18 "Mulp'um chinyōl" 物品陳列, *Hwangsōng shinmun*, 2 June 1903.

19 The actual name might vary, with terms such as *kyōngjinhoe* (competitive industrial exhibition, Jp. *kyōshinkai*), *kyōnbonsi* 見本市 (sample fair, Jp. *mihon'ichi*), and *p'ump'yōnghoe* 品評會 (product show, Jp. *hinpyōkai*) being used. The terms

pangnamhoe, became the official title of the Chosŏn Industrial Exhibition in 1915.²⁰ The term, literally meaning “gathering for mutual progress,” originated in the Japanese agricultural product exhibition held in Yokohama in 1879.²¹ The Japanese *kyōshinkai* 共進會 (industrial exhibition) was initially a small competitive exhibition for a single kind of agricultural product, but it came to refer to a large-scale exposition that not only displayed products but also staged spectacular, entertaining events in Japan. After the industrial exhibitions were introduced into Korea, local governments also began to plan to mount industrial exhibitions, *kongjinhoe*, in Korea.²² In the first stage of Japanese colonial rule of Korea, while maintaining a coercive political repression and a harsh administration that stifled the cultural and political lives of Koreans, the colonial government held a number of cultural events, such as a field day, lantern parades, a bicycle race, and a writing contest.²³ It was in this context that the local industrial exhibitions were held with the purpose of developing local industries and mobilizing local people to the government-driven events. Since Korea’s first *kongjinhoe*, the West Chosŏn Industrial Exhibition (*Sŏchosŏn mulsan kongjinhoe* 西朝鮮物産共進會), was held in 1913, a series of local industrial exhibitions had taken place. Not only did the local industrial exhibitions disseminate the idea of expositions to local

Korean people who had hardly been exposed to Western culture and modern technology, they also heralded the beginning, in earnest, of a series of colonial expositions that had played a crucial role in Japan’s colonial project in Korea since the official annexation of 1910. The national expositions and industrial exhibitions held in this period thus reflected both Korea’s failed struggle against the increasing Japanese political and economic domination and Japan’s intention to justify Japanese colonial annexation.

Representations of “Modern Korea” in the 1915 Exhibition

The Chosŏn Industrial Exhibition took place in 1915, a significant year for Japan, as it marked not only twenty-five years of the constitutional government in modern Japan and the coronation of the new Taisho emperor, but also the passage of five years since the Japanese annexation of Korea. The annexation of Korea in 1910 established Japanese economic and political hegemony over East Asia, and more importantly, insinuated the legitimacy of Japan’s imperialism as the agency of the modernization of a backward region in East Asia. In this context, the 1915 exhibition offered an opportunity for Japan to impose itself as the hegemonic regional power and to gain international approval and internal legitimation for colonial rule. The 1915 exhibition was thus planned as political and economic propaganda to justify colonial rule, displaying “progress” and “modernization” established during the new regime. The exhibition was especially planned to educate and edify the local Koreans who had an antipathy not only against the Japanese colonial regime but also towards Western modernization itself. It can be said that, for the 1915 exhibition organizers, architecture was one of the most effective means of representing and visualizing modernization, because the first thing to catch a visitors’ eye upon entering the exhibition was a series of huge pavilions.

The 1915 exhibition took place at Kyōngbok Palace (Kyōngbok kung 景福宮), a prime symbol of the Chosŏn dynasty and the largest of the five grand palaces of the dynasty. For the Japanese colonial government, on the one hand, the Kyōngbok Palace itself was a symbol of Korean royal authority to be destroyed, but on the other hand, this symbol of power

pangnamhoe and *kongjinhoe* were reserved for large-scale events.

- 20 In 1913, the first Japanese Governor General, Terauchi Masatake 寺内正毅 (1852-1919), approved the plan for holding a “great commemorative exposition” in Seoul. However, he changed the official title of the event, from *pangnamhoe* to *kongjinhoe*, insisting that “it should not be called an exposition to collect and display this limited, small number of exhibits.” See “Taegyōngsōng pangnamhoe kyehoeok” 大京城博覽會計劃, *Maeil shinbo* 毎日申報, 29 July 1913; “Kongjinhoe wiwōne taehan ch’ongdok hunshi” 共進會委員에 對한 總督訓示, *Maeil shinbo*, 19 August 1914.
- 21 Impressed by the French agricultural fairs aiming to promote the improvement of agricultural products through competition and awards, Matsukata Masayoshi 松方正義 (1835-1924), then head of the Agricultural Promotion Bureau in the Ministry of the Interior, organized the first *kyōshinkai*. See Reischauer, *Samurai and Silk*, pp. 221-22.
- 22 The contemporary Korean newspapers covered the Japanese industrial exhibitions, such as the Fukuoka *Kyōshinkai* of 1909 and the Nagoya *Kyōshinkai* of 1910. See *Hwang-sōng shinmun*, 23 November 1909; *Hwang-sōng shinmun*, 9 February 1910.
- 23 See, for example, “Chōn’go mijūngyūi taeundonghoe” 前古未曾有의 大運動會, *Maeil shinbo*, 29 April 1912, and “Ssangnyun kyōngjaengūi sōnghwang” 雙輪競爭의 盛況, *Maeil shinbo*, 15 April 1913.



Figure 4. The 1915 exhibition plan (old palace space and new exhibition space), 1916. Site map marked by author. From Chōsen sōtokufu, *Shisei gonen kinen chōsen bussan kyōshinkai hōkokusho*.

could be appropriated for their own ends, to represent the colonial government's legitimacy as making "new modern" Korea. The Government General attempted to justify colonial rule in Korea by clearly contrasting the corrupt, incompetent old Chosŏn dynasty with the remarkable achievements of the new colonial regime. Accordingly, the architecture of the 1915 exhibition represented a visible dichotomy: the traditional Korean palace buildings on the northwest, and newly constructed Western-style pavilions on the east (figure 4).

A large part of the palace structure, a floor space of 791.8 *p'yōng* 坪, or approximately 28,172 square feet, including fifteen palace buildings and nine gates, was destroyed for the construction of new



Figure 5. First Main Exhibition Hall, the 1915 exhibition, 1916. Photograph. From Chōsen sōtokufu, *Shisei gonen kinen chōsen bussan kyōshinkai hōkokusho*.



Figure 6. Machinery Hall, the 1915 exhibition, 1916. Photograph. From Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Shisei gonen kinen chōsen bussan kyōshinkai hōkokusho*.

exhibition pavilions.²⁴ As a symbol of modern and Western architecture, the First Main Exhibition Hall (figure 5) was constructed on the former site of the Hŭngnye Gate (Hŭngnye mun 興禮門) sphere, a plaza with a secondary gate, between the Kwanghwa Gate (Kwanghwa mun 光化門) and the Throne Hall, Kŭnjōng Hall (Kŭnjōng jōn 勤政殿). East of the building, the former site of the Tong kung 東宮 (eastern palace complex) was used as the main site for newly constructed exhibition pavilions, such as the Machinery Hall (figure 6) and the Forestry Special Exhibition Hall.

24. Munhwajaech'ōng, *Kyōngbokkung Pyōnch'ōnsa*, pp. 71-72.

While the Government General destroyed a considerable number of palace buildings and built new Western-style pavilions at the site, the remaining palace buildings, such as the Künjōng Hall, Sajōng Hall (Sajōng jōn 思政殿), Kangnyōng Hall (Kangnyōng jōn 康寧殿), and Kyot'ae Hall (Kyot'ae jōn 交泰殿) were utilized as small exhibition halls and supplementary facilities such as a reception hall and exhibition offices. The organizers carefully arranged pavilions and facilities on the ground, positioning the new Western-style pavilions on the east and the old palace buildings on the west. Furthermore, according to the exhibition guidelines published in two major newspapers, the *Maeil shinbo* and *Keijō nippō* 京城日報, visitors were supposed to follow the specific route the exhibition organizers offered:

The exhibition office announced a tour guide for general visitors' convenience, providing a proper visiting route in the exhibition, numbered from one to twenty, as follows:

- (1) First Main Exhibition Hall 第一號館; (2) Oriental Development Company Special Exhibition Hall 東洋拓殖會社特別館; (3) Livestock Hall 畜産館; (4) Fishpond; (5) Railway Special Exhibition Hall 鐵道局特別館; (6) Development Display Hall 審勢館; (7) Second Main Exhibition Hall 第二號館; (8) Product Display Hall 參考館; (9) Forestry Special Exhibition Hall 營林廠特設館; (10) Machinery Hall 機械館; (11) Education and Training Hall 教育實習館; (12) Outside Displays (Divisions 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6); (13) Art Museum 美術館; (14) Fishery Annex; (15) Agriculture Annex; (16) Benevolence Hall 博愛館; (17) Art Museum Annex 美術館分館 1 and 2 (one outside the Annex); (18) Print and Photography Hall 印刷寫真館; (19) Special Observatory Hall 觀測特別館; (20) Shops and Entertainment Facilities.²⁵

The route was intended to guide visitors to the exhibition space that was divided into two contrasting parts,

25 "Tae kongjinhoe: Kak kwanüi kwallamsun" 大共進會: 各館의 觀覽順, *Maeil shinbo*, 17 September 1915; "Kanran junjo" 觀覽順序, *Keijō nippō*, 18 September 1915. In his book, *Kongjinhoe shillok*, the journalist Sōnu Il 鮮于日 (1881–1936) described a more detailed but very similar route with a map. See Sōnu, *Kongjinhoe shillok* and the map on the first page of the book.

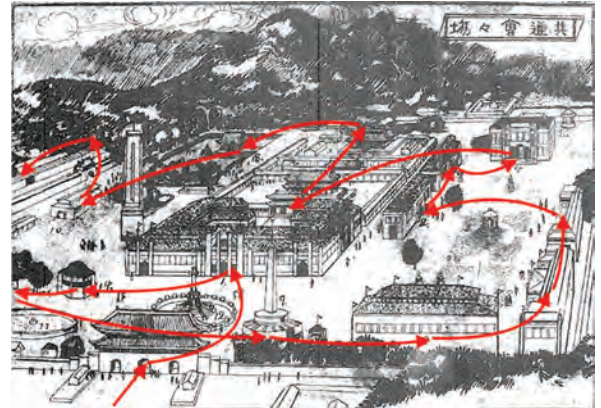


Figure 7. Flow of visitors in the exhibition, 1915. Map marked by author. From *Maeil shinbo*, 3 September 1915.

the “modern” space and the “premodern” or “old” space (figure 7).

After entering the gate, visitors' tours began at the First Main Exhibition Hall, which was designed as a massive, monumental building to arouse visitors' admiration for size and visual modernity. The deliberate experience of “modernity” at the exhibition continued in the following exhibition pavilions that were built and decorated in a modern, Western style, such as the Railway Special Exhibition Hall, the Development Display Hall, the Second Main Exhibition Hall, the Product Display Hall, the Forestry Special Exhibition Hall, the Machinery Hall, and the Art Museum. After witnessing “progress and development” inscribed in the spectacular modern buildings, visitors encountered the old buildings used as an ancillary exhibition hall or supplementary facility of the exhibition, such as the Künjōng Hall, the Sajōng Hall, and the Kyot'ae Hall, which were once symbols of a splendid and powerful dynasty. This architectural representation followed a precedent of that of the Tokyo Taisho Exhibition (*Tōkyō Taishō hakurankai* 東京大正博覽會) of 1914, where the Western-style pavilions denoted “modernizing Japan” and the Chosen (Korean) Pavilion was built in the traditional “native” Korean style.²⁶ This visual contrast was echoed in the official poster of the 1915 exhibition, with the juxtaposition of two locations of the exhibition site in the background: the desolate and empty Kyōngbok Palace surrounded by autumn leaves, and the crowded bright space of new exhibition

26 Tanaka, *Guide to the Tokyo Taisho Exhibition*, p. 40.



Figure 8. The official poster of the 1915 exhibition, 1916. Photograph. From Keijō Kyōsankai, *Shisei gonen kinen chōsen bussan kyōshinkai keijō kyōsankai hōkoku*.

pavilions decorated with flowers (figure 8).

According to the official report of the 1915 exhibition, the pavilions of the exhibition, except the Railway Special Exhibition Hall and the Grand Event Hall, were designed in the Renaissance style with decorative elements of the Secession style such as linear and geometric patterns or floral-shaped ornamentation.²⁷ Though the architects had originally aspired to create outstanding grand pavilions, they ended up constructing temporary wooden structures made of inexpensive pine and cedar wood due to a limited budget and a short timeline, with the exception of the Art Museum, the

27 Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Shisei gonen kinen chōsen bussan kyōshinkai hōkokusho*, vol. 1, pp. 54–56. However, the architectural style of the pavilions was, technically, more of an American Beaux-Arts style than Renaissance style.

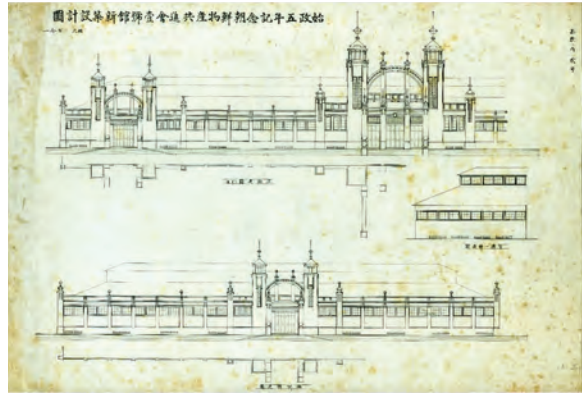


Figure 9. Architectural drawing for the construction of the First Main Exhibition Hall, 1915. From Kukka kirogwōn, *Ilche sigi kōnch'uk tomyōn haeje*, p. 180, fig. 114.

only permanent stone building in the 1915 exhibition.²⁸ In order to better optimize the efficiency of these simple and functional structures similar to warehouses or factories, the architects constructed them using monitor roofs with clerestories for day lighting and indoor illumination (figure 9). In sharp contrast to the simple wooden buildings, the façade of each building was decorated magnificently in the Renaissance and Secession styles. In a strict sense, the façade itself was not designed in the authentic Renaissance style as it used high towers and much higher arches over the roof, which is rarely found in typical Renaissance architecture.²⁹ The high towers and arches were also found in the 1914 Tokyo Taisho Exhibition architecture that adopted the Renaissance and Secession styles. In contemporary Japan, the Renaissance style signified Western civilization and its authority, while the Secession styles denoted the most recent, up to date Western model.³⁰ The architects of the 1915 exhibition made a very similar decision. In addition to Western architectural styles, the architects intended to make the main exhibition halls look much higher and grander, by mounting high towers and arches on the façade.

28 In contrast to the temporary pavilions, the Art Museum was constructed as a permanent, two-story building in the authentic Renaissance style. The exhibition in the Art Museum was the first major public art exhibition open to ordinary Koreans on a large scale and introduced “Korean art” framed by colonial and institutional discourses.

29 Kang, “Kūndaeü hwansang,” pp. 290–92.

30 Fujimori, *Nihon no kindai kenchiku, jō*, pp. 34–35.

The adoption of the novel Western architectural style served as a tangible expression of eager aspiration toward Westernization both in modern Japan and Korea. The Rokumeikan 鹿鳴館 is one example of the Japanese government's preference for Western architecture in the late nineteenth century. This large two-storied building, designed by British architect Josiah Conder (1852–1920) and completed in 1883, was a diplomatic space to entertain Western visitors and a symbol of Japan's rapid Westernization in the Meiji period.³¹ By the same token, since he proclaimed the Taehan Empire in 1897, King Kojong constructed Western-style buildings in the Kyōngun Palace (Kyōngun kung 慶運宮) that presented an image of modernity. Examples are the Chungmyōng Hall (Chungmyōng jōn 重明殿), the Tondōk Hall (Tondōk jōn 惇德殿), and the Sōkcho Hall (Sōkcho jōn 石造殿).³² Just as Japan had sought to identify itself with Western powers by adopting a Western lifestyle and Western architecture, the construction of Western-style buildings in the Kyōngun Palace was intended both to affirm the sovereignty of the Korean Empire on equal terms with the West and to demonstrate that Korea had joined the “civilized” Western world. In the protectorate period and the early colonial period in Korea, the Japanese colonial authorities continued to construct modern institutions in Renaissance architectural style, such as the T'akchibu 度支部 (Ministry of Finance) building in 1907, the P'yōngniwōn 平理院 (High Court of Justice) in 1908, the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce building in 1910, and the Oriental Development Company building in 1911. The buildings show that the Japanese colonial rulers adopted the Western architectural style to visualize “modernity” and “civilization.” In the same context, although it was not the authentic Renaissance style, the organizers of the 1915 exhibition attempted to present a “modernizing Korea” by constructing the unfamiliar, large Western-style edifices that contrasted with the traditional palace buildings.

While the exterior of the new pavilions was decorated with a splendid and magnificent façade, the safety and durability of the buildings took second place to the symbolic significance of the architecture in displaying

the achievements of the colonial government. The exhibition buildings were temporary structures hastily built under time pressure, and thus some structural problems were discovered even before the opening of the exhibition.³³ Despite the architectural shortcomings, however, it is easy to imagine that Korean visitors would have recognized the striking contrast presented in the new modern pavilions and the old palace. The new buildings' style and the huge scale were unfamiliar and overwhelming to the local Korean populace, and a Korean visitor described it as “surprisingly marvelous architecture.”³⁴ Contrary to the embodiment of the Western virtues of progress and modernity in the new pavilions, the old palace, as an antithesis of these virtues, was an effective site to symbolize the colonial discourses proposed by the colonial government. But at the same time, the symbolic meaning of the palace was not simply deconstructed nor removed from the collective memory of Korean people. Rather, it brought mixed and often ambivalent responses of visitors to tradition and modernity, which played an important part in generating the discursive field that complicated the Korean nation, nationalism, and the modern subject in the early colonial period, as will be discussed later in this article.

The contrast presented in the 1915 exhibition architecture was echoed in the particular hierarchical display strategies based on the temporal order and teleological framework of development in which Korean industry and society were presented as evolving from the backward past to the more advanced and modernized present stage. Since the Great Exhibition at Crystal Palace in 1851, international expositions in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had turned the abstract idea of “progress” into a visual and corporeal experience through dazzling spectacles of abundant industrial products. The idea of progress was enhanced in particular at the colonial expositions in order to make the benevolent contribution of colonial rule to the colony's development more convincing. In the same context, the rhetoric of “progress” in the 1915

31 Kirishiki, *Meiji no kenchiku*, pp. 89–90.

32 For more on the Western-style buildings constructed in the Kyōngun Palace during the Taehan Empire, see Woo, “Kyōngun'gungūi yanggwandūl.”

33 After heavy rain on 21, 22, and 25 August 1915, for example, water leaked through cracks in the walls of the exhibition pavilions, just a few weeks before the opening day in September of 1915. “Kanguwa kongjinhoejang” 強雨와 共進會場, *Maeil shinbo*, 27 August 1915.

34 “Kongjinhoe kwallam chessiege” 共進會 觀覽 諸氏에게, *Maeil shinbo*, 6 October 1915.

exhibition was directly connected to the Japanese colonial government. As emphasized repeatedly in the 1915 exhibition documents and contemporary print media, the displays in the exhibition were principally designed to review and showcase the “moral and material progress” made since the annexation “in a more tangible and effective form.”³⁵ As introduced in a considerable number of American newspapers, “side by side with the new are frequently placed products of the old Korean regime with the idea of bringing to public notice the results of the new Japanese administration.”³⁶ The rhetoric of “progress” in the 1915 exhibition also rested on the principle of classification by nations, focusing on the striking difference and gap in national strength between Korea and Japan.³⁷ The effective strategy of comparison and contrast between objects was most evident in the exhibitions of the First and Second Main Exhibition Halls and the Development Display Hall. Although innumerable industrial products displayed in the First and Second Main Exhibition Halls were arranged in a hierarchical order of development, the Development Display Hall presented products and materials submitted by the thirteen provinces in Korea.³⁸ According to the exhibition organizers, this allowed a comparison of developments between provinces, highlighting the current progress under the colonial government. In the Product Display Hall, too, a sharp contrast between Korean and superior Japanese products was intended to manifest the status of the Japanese empire as a powerful political and economic leader in East Asia and to jus-

tify Japan’s “benevolent intervention” to lead progress in Korea.

The displays in the 1915 exhibition were framed and espoused by the specific discourse of “civilization” in which the Korean local discourse of *munmyōng kaehwa* and the discourse of Japan’s civilizing mission were intertwined and contested. Just as the Western international expositions represented the binary opposition between the civilization and modernization of the colonizers and the barbarity and savagery of colonized peoples, Japan also needed to emphasize differences between “backward Korea” and “modern Japan” to justify its duty to lead the barbarous Korean people to the civilized modern world. In this context, the exhibition organizers attempted to contrast Korea’s uncivilized past with the civilizing and modernizing Korea accomplished by Japanese colonial rule. Nowhere was this more evident than in the Second Main Exhibition Hall, for example, in the displays of penitentiary systems and hygiene exhibits.³⁹ Comparing the old and new penal systems, visitors were led to witness the apparently dramatic shift from the brutal and savage punishment and interrogation methods to the more rational and civilized penitentiary system. The new penal system was one of the important civilization and modernization projects led by the colonial government, even though the brutal corporal punishment was not abolished until 1920, but rather was strengthened by the colonial authorities and disguised under the “modern” form of a new penitentiary.⁴⁰ Also, exhibitions on hygiene clearly showed the dichotomy between the “backward” traditional healthcare and modern scientific medicine. In Japan, the Sixth National Exposition for the Promotion of Industry in 1907 and the Tokyo Taisho Exhibition in 1914 presented the ideas and practices of modern hygiene and sanitation by displaying bacteria samples, anatomical specimens, and modern medical appliances and systems to create an international image of Japan as a civilized modern country, and domestically to show a set of schemes or programs by which the state applied

35 Government General of Chosen, *Annual Report on Reforms and Progress in Chosen 1915-16*, p. 1.

36 “Japanese Fair Opens in Korea: Comparison Made Between Industrial Stage, Now and Before Japanese Control,” *Wausau Daily Herald*, 8 November 1915; “What Japan has done for Korea: A Big Industrial Exposition Showing Results of Japanese Rule Opens in Seoul,” *The High Point Enterprise*, 8 November 1915.

37 The rhetoric of progress in the international expositions in the late nineteenth century, as Tony Bennett has argued, had been transferred “from the relations between stages of production to the relations between races and nations by superimposing the associations of the former on to the latter.” See Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, p. 82.

38 The Development Display Hall (Shimsegwan, literally meaning “hall to assess current conditions”) was originally named Tosegwan 道勢館, a hall to show the conditions of the thirteen provinces (*do* 道) in Korea, which later changed to Shimsegwan, a hall to assess conditions and development (of each province). For a detailed description of the early plans of the 1915 exhibition, see Kukka kirogwōn, *Ilche sigi kōnch’uk tomyōn haeje*, pp. 170-85.

39 For the displays of penitentiary systems in the Japanese colonial expositions, see Yamaji, *Kindai Nihon no shokuminchi hakurankai*, pp. 127-28.

40 Due to a limited budget, the Government General could not construct enough new prison buildings to hold the increasing number of criminals, and instead of corporal punishment considered a more effective and lower cost punishment method. See Yum, “1910 nyōndae ilcheūi t’aehyōngjedo shihaenggwa unyong.”

Table 1. Exhibition pavilions and facilities of the 1915 exhibition. Based on Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Shisei gonen kinen chōsen bussan kyōshinkai hōkokusho*, vol. 1, pp. 107-27.

	Pavilion / Facility	Purpose
Main Exhibition Pavilion	First Main Exhibition Hall (Cheirhogwan 第一號館)	Exhibition: Division 1 (Agriculture) through 6 (Manufacturing Industry)
	Second Main Exhibition Hall (Cheihogwan 第二號館)	Exhibition: Division 7 (Provisional Imperial Monetary Grants Project) through 12 (Police Affairs and Penitentiary)
	Art Museum (Misulgwan 美術館)	Exhibition: Division 13 (Fine Art and Archaeology)
Special Exhibition Pavilion	Development Display Hall (Shimsegwan 審勢館)	Exhibition: Colonial Achievement in the 13 Local Provinces
	Oriental Development Company Special Exhibition Hall (Tongyang ch'ōkshik hoesa t'ūksōlgwan 東洋拓殖會社特別館)	Exhibition: Performance of the Oriental Development Company
	Railway Special Exhibition Hall (Ch'ōltoguk t'ūksōlgwan 鐵道局特別館)	Exhibition: Trains and Railway Models
	Product Display Hall (Ch'amgogwan 參考館)	Exhibition: Foreign Products
	Forestry Special Exhibition Hall (Yōngnimch'ang t'ūksōlgwan 營林廠特設館)	Exhibition: Forest Resources
	Machinery Hall (Kigyegwan 機械館)	Exhibition: Foreign Machines
	Benevolence Hall (Pagaegwan 博愛館)	Exhibition: Red Cross Relief Supplies
Additional Exhibition Hall / Outside Display	First Main Exhibition Hall Annex (Cheirhogwan pun'gwan 第一號館分館)	Exhibition: Agricultural and Fishery Tools
	Art Museum Annex (Misulgwan pun'gwan 美術館分館)	Exhibition: Division 13 (Fine Art and Archaeology)
	Reference Art Museum (Ch'amgo misulgwan 參考美術館)	Exhibition: Division 13 (Antiques, Contemporary Artworks)
	Ancient Tomb Replica Hall (Kobun mohyōnggwan 古墳模型館)	Exhibition: Ancient Tomb Replica
	Print and Photography Hall (Inswae sajin'gwan 印刷寫真館)	Exhibition: Division 6 (Photographs and Stationery)
	Special Observatory Hall (Kwanch'ūk t'ūksōlgwan 觀測特別館)	Exhibition: Weather Research Craft and Astronomical Instruments
	Education and Training Hall (Kyoyuk shilsūpkwan 教育實習館)	Exhibition: Industrial Education
	Livestock Hall (Ch'uksan'gwan 畜產館) and Fishpond	Exhibition: Cowshed, Pigsty, Coop, Fishpond
	Outside Display Space	Exhibition: Ceramics, Irrigation Association Model, Flowers and Plants

Entertainment Area	Music Hall (Ŭmaktang 音樂堂)	Band Performance and Concert
	Grand Event Hall (Yönyegwan 演藝館)	Dance Performance, Play Performance, Traditional Korean Performance, Festival Event
	Entertainment Facilities (Hünghaengjang 興行場)	Diorama, Maze, Mystery Room, Circus, Swing Ride, Zoo, Motion Picture Theater
Supplementary Facility	Ceremonial Hall in Künjöng Hall (Künjöng jön 勤政殿; Thorne Hall)	Official Ceremonies
	Guesthouse in Kyot'ae Hall (Kyot'ae jön 交泰殿; Queen's residing quarters)	Receptions
	Reception Hall in Kyönghoe Pavilion (Kyönghoe ru 慶會樓; Royal Banquet Hall)	Receptions
	United Mission Hall (Yönhapchöndogwan 聯合傳道館)	Mission Works by the Council of the Presbyterian Church in Korea
	Exposition Office, Province Offices, Provisional Branch of the Customhouse	Administrative Office
	Exhibit Review Department	Review of Exhibits for Reward
	Security Office	Security Management
	First-aid Station, Rest Area, Fire Station, Pressroom, Restroom	Visitor Support Facility
Post Office, Police Office	Visitor Support Facility	
Shops	Sale of Local Products	

its control on the social body.⁴¹ In a similar vein, the 1915 exhibition was an important opportunity for the colonial government to educate, discipline, and control the Korean populace in terms of modern public health and sanitation. The exhibitions on hygiene in the Second Main Exhibition Hall consisted of two parts: propagandistic displays to show the improved results brought about by the colonial administration, such as statistics of disease incidence rates and diagrams of modern medical institutions, and educational and informative exhibits including bacteria specimens, photographs and drawings of germs, blood samples, anatomical models, and modern and traditional medical appliances and remedies (figure 10).⁴² It clearly shows the exhibition organizers' intention to emphasize the

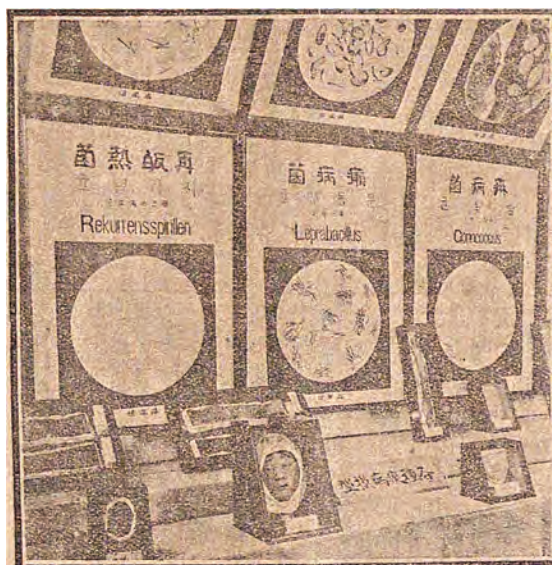


Figure 10. Second Main Exhibition Hall, displays of Division 11 (Hygiene and Charity), diagrams of bacteria and viruses, 1915. Photograph. From *Maeil shinbo*, 14 October 1915.

41 For the exhibitions on hygiene, see Ono, "Seiketsu" no kindai, pp. 138-39.

42 Sönu, *Kongjinhoe shillok*, pp. 530-53.

“enlightened and civilized” present brought about by the colonial government’s modernization projects.

By the time of the 1915 exhibition, Japan had been consolidating its political and economic domination over East Asia, offering an opportunity for Japan to impose itself as the hegemonic regional power and to gain international approval and internal legitimation for colonial rule. The 1915 exhibition not only reflected the Japanese government’s interest in showing its colonial accomplishments, but also represented delicately designed blueprints for the future of a modernized and civilized Korea that could only be achieved by the Japanese colonial project, as the Government General explicitly manifested that “the exhibition was planned not only to commemorate the successful administration of the new regime for the past five years and to show its results, but also to stimulate the further improvement of industries, agriculture and other measures” in Korea.⁴³

Experiencing Modernity and “New Modern Subjects”

The 1915 exhibition performed one of the traditional functions of international exhibitions: a presentation of industrial progress and modernization of the country. However, the exhibition was not just a machine for constructing political messages and cultural meanings; it was also a training machine, positioning visitors as the new national subjects of its modern spectacle. In order to understand it, it is important to identify the subject of address of the exhibition, focusing on the ways in which visitors, especially ordinary Koreans, experienced, understood, and responded to the exhibition. It is difficult to explore audience reactions because material relevant to visitors’ experiences or responses is limited and scattered, and the contemporary print media did not show the various responses of spectators but rather propagandistic appraisal managed or censored by the Government General. Perhaps the most detailed and comprehensive description of Korean visitors to the exhibition appears in a report by an American missionary, Edwin Wade Koons (1880–1947):

43 Government General of Chosen, “Plan of Industrial Exhibition,” *Annual Report*, pp. 134–35.

They are all here to see, and most of them are getting more new impressions in an hour than they usually do in a month, spent in the placid routine of the home farm or little village. They are storing up memories that will be the basis of conversation for a decade. When the Spring vaccination time comes around, they can tell all about how the vaccine is prepared, for they have seen the whole thing in the Medical Exhibit. They have seen the light-houses, and the mechanically moved steamships on the big map. They have smelled the fish section (no one will ever forget that experience) and admired the little models that show the latest in irrigating projects. They have seen the power pump that makes a waterfall in the machinery building, and have marveled over the new farming machinery and tools, so different from all they have ever tried, and yet, strange to say, so handy that one can do twice as much work in a day as with the old Korean hand-hoe. Some of them have bought trinkets and gifts for the ones at home, and all of them have new ideas seething in their brains, ideas that will be working out their fulfillment in the coming years. The crowd is the thing, here as everywhere. One longs to know what they are really thinking of it all, and wishes he could follow them home, and really understand them.⁴⁴

The article shows the visitors’ varied experiences in the 1915 exhibition: to visit the exhibition site and the capital city from their rural local provinces; to see the novel exhibits and spectacular performances; to learn to behave properly by following instructions; to purchase industrial products; and to return home with memories of the exhibition. Also, a *Maeil shinbo* newspaper article provides valuable clues on visitors’ experiences and responses.

Before the industrial exhibition opened, there was much concern among the government officials that the exhibition site might be extremely crowded, chaotic, and disordered. Contrary to expectation, however, there has been no disorderly conduct, even though streets and shops in the city have been very busy and overflowing with a huge number of visitors and spectators. Almost ten days

44 Koons, “Impressions of the Industrial Exhibition,” p. 345.

have passed since the opening of the exhibition, but no one got drunk; no one argued; no one behaved recklessly in the exhibition site. Visitors have maintained their dignity as people of a civilized nation, by behaving modestly and seeing the exhibitions in an orderly manner, which means that the exhibition is playing its role properly. This calls for a celebration.⁴⁵

The exhibition organizers attempted to control and normalize the behavior of visitors and to subject them to new kinds of disciplines, inducing them to dress properly, to behave properly, and to follow the specific codes of viewers at the exhibition. Given the descriptions of visitors and their responses discussed above, we can see the 1915 exhibition as an efficient and successful training machine in constructing a “civilized modern subject” and, to use sociologist Tony Bennett’s term, “a voluntarily self-regulating citizenry.”⁴⁶ However, the 1915 exhibition was not just a rigidly organized and seamlessly managed place where the body of visitors was physically controlled and regulated; it was a site of contestations and conflicts between the organizers’ original intentions and visitors’ actual responses, as well as a space of discrepant and conflicting experiences of the Korean masses. Above all, there was another danger that was never entirely eliminated or controlled: public hygiene.

The 1915 exhibition held safety and health implications for over one million people who came to Kyōngsōng. It was noted that epidemics often broke out in the hot and humid summer months in Korea, and thus the Government General had to try to prevent an

outbreak of any epidemic disease such as cholera and dysentery. As a result, in June 1915, the government established the Special Department of Hygiene for the 1915 exhibition and proclaimed the Ordinance for the Prevention of Communicable Diseases (Chōnyōm-byōng yebangnyōng 傳染病豫防令) with specific sanitary regulations. It was followed by regular hygiene inspections by sanitary police to check household sanitary conditions, including toilets and wells.⁴⁷ Similarly, in August 1915, the Kyōngsōng police embarked on a series of general cleanups and sanitary projects, modifying and installing toilets and wells, and exterminating vermin.⁴⁸ For Korean reformist elites, too, the promotion of public health by the colonial government may have been considered one of the essential means of civilizing and modernizing the Korean nation. As we have seen above, the striking exhibition of bacteria specimens or modern medical appliances drew viewers and connected them to the issues of modern hygiene and public health. According to the Government General, the host city of Kyōngsōng itself was an exhibition space to display modern hygiene and sanitariness and to effectively educate its visitors.⁴⁹ Consequently, around the time of the 1915 exhibition, Koreans in Kyōngsōng often had to experience or endure the coercive, even humiliating random inspections of households and physical examinations by sanitary police that usually entailed the harsh corporeal punishment of people who violated the regulations. It is therefore not surprising that the regulations generated severe conflict between the colonial government and the Korean populace who had persistently resisted the sanitary policies incompatible with their traditional principles and values.⁵⁰ In the 1915 exhibition site, too, the sanitary regulations related to public toilets, disinfection procedures, and personal hygiene rules entailed conflicts and disagreements with visitors, which were partially due to the low number of sanitary police officers in the exhibition compared to the huge crowds of visitors.⁵¹

45 “Kongjinhoe kugyōng (12) 共進會 구경 (12), *Maeil shinbo*, 20 September 1915. On 12 September 1915, the *Maeil shinbo* carried two photographs of visitors standing at the exhibition entrance, the Kwanghwa Gate, with a caption stating “thousands of officials and people who are properly dressed are waiting for the opening ceremony in a highly orderly manner.” See “Kaejangsōnōn tae Kongjinhoe” 開場宣言 大共進會, *Maeil shinbo*, 12 September 1915.

46 Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, p. 63. Bennett argues that, following the Chartists’ mass protests, the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London was a counter-revolutionary measure, pacifying crowds and disciplining visitors as they took part in its display: “One of the architectural innovations of the Crystal Palace consisted in the arrangement of relations between the public and exhibits so that, while everyone could see, there were vantage points from which everyone could be seen, thus combining the functions of spectacle and surveillance.” See Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, p. 65.

47 “Kongjinhoewa kyōngch’al” 共進會와 警察, *Maeil shinbo*, 17 June 1915.

48 “Kongjinhoewa taesoje” 共進會와 大掃除, *Maeil shinbo*, 1 August 1915; “Kongjinhoe chōn kyōngsōng wisaeng ch’ōnggyōl saōp” 共進會前京城衛生清潔事業, *Maeil shinbo*, 6 August 1915.

49 Chōsen Sōtokufu, “Keijō ni okeru eisei setsubi no kinkyō,” p. 126.

50 “Hanyak p’ibyōngwōn munje” 韓藥 避病院 問題, *Maeil shinbo*, 11 July 1915.

51 According to the *Maeil shinbo*, only three police officers took on the duties of cleaning and food hygiene inspection in the 1915

Yet, perhaps a more significant concern of the organizers was the visitors who were distracted from the original messages of the exhibition. The 1915 exhibition offered a forum not only for the display of progress or industrialization, but also for the transmission of concepts about “modern” life, especially represented in the spectacles of technology, entertainment, and consumerism. This was, in fact, the main reason that attracted the Korean populace to the exhibition. While the Government General, exhibition organizers, and local government officials sought to create various strategies to mobilize Korean visitors, the number of visitors was not merely a result of the colonial government’s forceful mobilization policy: it would not have been possible without the collaboration of the local elites and the voluntary reaction of the Korean populace. For many local Korean people, it was the first opportunity to see the capital city and to experience not only a national event, but also “modern” technologies, such as trains, trams, and electric lights. The American missionary William Arthur Noble (1866–1945) described the local Korean people he encountered at the 1915 exhibition site: “The people came from all over the country, men and women who had never seen the capital before. They came from the most distant mountain villages, delightful, simple folks [...]”⁵² Indeed, an enormous number of Korean people from every corner of the country crowded around the exhibition site and encountered various new “modern” landscapes. The spectacle of various modern technologies and rides in the entertainment area thus gathered a huge number of visitors, but it inevitably drew visitors’ attention away from the “serious” main exhibitions carefully designed by the organizers to emphasize “civilized and enlightened” Korea under Japanese colonial rule. Furthermore, thousands of visitors jostled each other to see the displays in the extremely overcrowded exhibition halls, which hampered their close observation of the exhibits.

Despite the concern about distraction, the visitors’ impressions of spectacular scenes of electric illumination (figure 11) were one of the most common responses published in the official reports and government bulletin on the exhibition, because, in part, it was in

exhibition site. See “Chudohan changnae kyōngbi” 周到한 場內 警備, *Maeil shinbo*, 1 October 1915.

52 “Evangelistic Effort in Korea,” *The Wilkes-Barre Record*, 10 December 1915, p. 23.

accord with the colonial government’s intention to stress “modernizing” Korea. After coming back from the 1915 exhibition tour, for example, the local Korean people in Yōngyang of North Kyōngsang Province described how amazed, even frightened, they were when they encountered the spectacles of modern technology.⁵³ The electric illumination in the exhibition site was described as the “most striking” scene and something that “led people to be lost in a reverie and a fantastic world.”⁵⁴ The technology of electricity was a symbol of enlightenment and modernity both for the Korean reformist officials and for the Japanese colonial government. The electric lighting that had been limited to the Royal Palace buildings and foreign residential areas of Kyōngsōng in the late 1880s had been expanded throughout the city in the early 1900s by extending networks of electric lines as the public lighting project of the Taehan Empire. It had an important symbolic role in visualizing the modernization projects as a way of enlightening the Korean public. The 1915 exhibition organizers, too, employed the electric light in order to attract visitors and propagandize the colonial government’s duty to enlighten and civilize the “dark” and “barbarous” Korean masses. For Korean spectators, especially for local residents who had hardly had an opportunity to see electric light, the illumination at the 1915 exhibition site was, not surprisingly, an unprecedented spectacle, and they called the exhibition “the exhibition of fire” and “the exhibition of light.”⁵⁵

The festive atmosphere with illuminations was further heightened by the entertainment area, the most popular and crowded attraction in the 1915 exhibition. However, both the exhibition organizers and Korean reformist elites criticized the festive atmosphere and the ignorance of the Korean populace, who were so preoccupied with the entertainment that they never understood the exhibition’s significance and original meaning:

Most visitors have given no thought to the exhibits, just saying, “All is great” or “Everything is surprising and marvelous.” [...] However, they

53 “Karyū kanransha no danpen” 下流觀覽者の談片, *Tōyō jihō* 東洋時報, 2 January 1916, quoted in Keijōfu, *Keijō fushi*, vol. 3, pp. 264–65.

54 “Kongjinhoe ilgi,” p. 56.

55 “Kodaedoenün pam kwanggyōng” 苦待되는 밤 光景, *Maeil shinbo*, 12 September 1915.

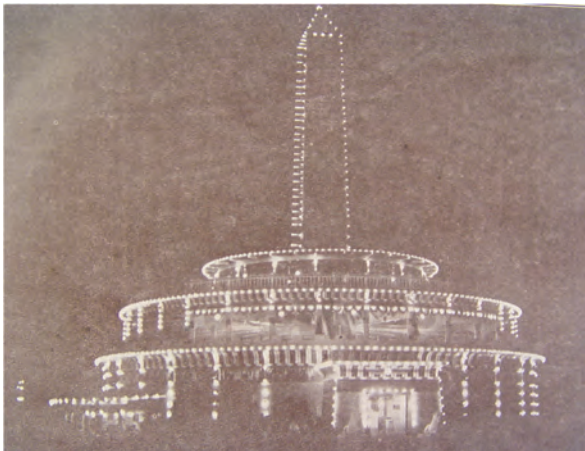


Figure 11. Illumination of the Railway Special Hall, 1916. Photograph. From Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Shisei gonen kinen chōsen bussan kyōshinkai hōkokusho*.

totally misunderstood the exhibition. They just considered the exhibition as an attraction that should be full of marvelous and extraordinary things to watch and listen to.⁵⁶

As this quote from the *Maeil shinbo* suggests, it is evident that the majority of the Korean visitors did not really understand the political and educational meanings and intentions of the 1915 exhibition, and so the colonial government and exhibition organizers published and disseminated a considerable number of articles about the “proper” way of seeing and the “desirable” perspective of visitors.⁵⁷ However, while the Korean reformist officials and elites noted and stressed the significant role of the 1915 exhibition in developing Korean industries, most of the Korean populace were excited to see the spectacular performances and events in the exhibition, being surprised and amazed by the spectacles of technology and amusement. A considerable number of local visitors did not even try to see the carefully staged exhibits or understand what they saw at the exhibition pavilions.⁵⁸ Accordingly, while the visitors’ behavior

was continually regulated and disciplined by police and exhibition officers, their viewing experiences and interpretations were hardly manageable as intended by the organizers. This reveals the contradictions between disciplinary regulation and recruitment by spectacle, which involve different modes of seeing that are hardly compatible: the architecturally and spatially orchestrated look of the disciplined viewer, as opposed to the distracted viewing of the pleasure-seeking consumer of spectacle. It was on this point that the government’s attempt to produce a docile civic subject conflicted with Korean people’s desire to position themselves as the “modern spectators” being seduced by new, technological, and entertaining spectacles.

There was another, just as important attraction that greatly distracted visitors’ attention. A number of visitors flocked into the local shop area to look around thousands of products ranging from everyday commodities to luxury goods (figure 12). In the 1910s, the colonial government attempted to attract Japanese capital into Korea and to expand new markets for Japanese products into Korea and China. It was during this period that capitalism’s global promotion and competitive expansion generated new forms of commodified spectacle for the consumption of the Korean public, and this was nowhere better displayed than in national expositions and industrial exhibitions. The 1915 exhibition was thus bound up with the orchestration of a new form of spectacle and new relations of modern consumption, as “a phantasmagoria into which people entered in order to be distracted” or “the universe of commodities,” in the words of Walter Benjamin.⁵⁹ The shop area lined with booths and the displays of industrial products resembled the space of a modern department store in many ways, especially in their architectural character, techniques of display, and sales method of products.

56 “Kongjinhoe kugyōng (8) 共進會 구경 (8), *Maeil shinbo*, 16 September 1915.

57 For example, see “Kongjinhoe kwallam kamsang” 共進會 觀覽感想, *Maeil shinbo*, 8 October 1915; “Ch’ongdogūi chaaee sangshimyōlbok” 總督의 慈愛에 喪心悅服, *Maeil shinbo*, 12 October 1915.

58 See “Karyū kanransha no danpen,” *Tōyō jihō*, 2 January 1916, quoted in Keijōfu, *Keijō fushi*, vol. 3, pp. 264–65. According to the 1915 exhibition review survey conducted in Hyesan City

(Hyesanjin 惠山鎮), South Hamgyōng Province (Hamgyōngnam-do 咸鏡南道), the most impressive and popular sites were, in descending order, “first, the parade of Prince Kan’in; second, the fountain near the Kwanghwa Gate; third, the stuffed specimen of a whale; fourth, the charcoal from P’yōngyang City; fifth, the gemstone from the Tanch’ōn region; sixth, the miniature map of Korea; seventh, trick cycling and circus riding; and lastly, the performance of humans and tigers in the entertainment area.” This survey shows that the visitors were mostly interested in seeing spectacular scenes, rare exhibits, or entertaining performances. See Chōsen Sōtokufu, “Kyōshinkai kanran senjin no kansō,” p. 148.

59 Benjamin, “Grandville or the World Expositions,” pp. 165–66.



Figure 12. Local shops of the 1915 exhibition, 1916. Photograph. From Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Shisei gonen kinen chōsen bussan kyōshinkai hōkokusho*.

Since the 1915 exhibition officers commenced the sale of exhibit items on 27 September 1915, each exhibition hall “looked like a battlefield where overcrowded people were jostling to purchase the displayed products.”⁶⁰ The section of the Mitsukoshi Kimono Shop (later the Mitsukoshi Department Store) was also one of the most crowded places in the exhibition, selling fabric for Western-style suits, the most popular and best-selling item. They not only displayed and sold their clothes and fabrics in the exhibition, but also established their branch office in Kyōngsōng to expand their market further.⁶¹ In addition, a number of local visitors flocked to the shop area to make purchases of varied industrial products as souvenirs, such as scissors, cosmetics, and rubber shoes, commemorating the monumental event and its “universe of commodities.”⁶² The Exhibition Sponsor Association, merchants, retailers, and photographers produced a variety of commemorative souvenir items: picture postcards of Korean customs, exhibition commemoration postcards, exhibition paintings and photographs, souvenir cups with images of the exhibition, and traditional Korean crafts and home goods, such as dolls, fans, pottery, matchboxes, and ashtrays. While a visit to the exhibition was an ephemeral experience, the tangible and concrete souvenirs served as a reminder of

these collective, once-shared simultaneous experiences at the exhibition site.⁶³ The spectacle of commodities served as concrete evidence that promised the experience of consumer culture and modernity, providing a common ground for everyone and figuring the visitors as consuming subjects regarded as socially equal. In this context, the “modern” subject produced by the exhibition was the subject seduced by the spectacle of commodities that represented a newly modernizing and industrializing Korea. This burgeoning commercial economy also heralded the coming flourishing consumer culture of Kyōngsōng that emerged in the 1920s and 1930s.

Yet, the machinery of the 1915 exhibition represented more than just a combination of modern spectacle and disciplinary training operating through identification and consent. It was also a colonial exposition conceived by the Japanese colonial government as a more coercive and oppressive machine. It is important to understand, therefore, that the Korean national subject shaped by the 1915 exhibition differed significantly from the civic and national subject called into place by international expositions in Britain, France, or the United States. The attractive modern spectacle presented by the 1915 exhibition, designed to celebrate the birth of the “modern Korean nation,” played an important role in constructing the legitimacy of Japanese annexation, but also served to conceal its brutal colonial control. In this context, the conflicted Korean subject was shaped and reshaped not only through education and discipline, or seduction and spectacle, but also through coercive bureaucratic control and colonial domination. As Timothy Mitchell points out, examples of the Panopticon and similar disciplinary modern institutions were, in many cases, developed in colonial places such as India and Egypt. For the Japanese government, Korea similarly provided “the opportunity to help establish a modern state based on the new methods of disciplinary power.”⁶⁴ This reveals the controlling and disciplinary aspects of the 1915 exhibition to transform the formerly “ignorant populace” into civilized members of the new modern nation and, more importantly, loyal subjects of the Japanese empire, which inevitably involved physical compulsion, violence or constraint, corresponding

60 “Shiryongp’umūn t’aehi maeyangnyo” 實用品은 殆히 賣約了, *Maeil shinbo*, 29 September 1915.

61 Mitsukoshi, “Chōsen bussan kyōshinkai to Mitsukoshi gofukuten.”

62 “Kongjinhoewa changsap’an” 共進會와 장사관, *Maeil shinbo*, 4 October 1915.

63 Jachman, “The Legacy and Meanings of World’s Fair Souvenirs,” p. 199.

64 Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, p. x.

to the coercive military rule of the 1910s.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, this control through a certain cultural form could be also understood in a positive context as a convincing measure of civilization, enlightenment, and modernization, especially for the Korean reformists and local elites. The positive image of the 1915 exhibition toward modernization might play a leading role in the mobilization of such a massive audience. By the time of the 1915 exhibition, furthermore, the discourse of *shiksan hūngōp* (the promotion of industry) was heavily published in the print media, including the *Maeil shinbo* and the journal *Shinmun'gye* 新文界. It was not only used as a pretext for the Government General's colonial policy, but also corresponded to the *chagang* (self-strengthening) movement by Korean reformist elites who aspired to national strength through industrial development.⁶⁶ It was no coincidence, therefore, that a number of Korean elites had demonstrated support for the 1915 exhibition, as seen in a newspaper article written by reformist journalist Chang Chi-yŏn 張志淵 (1864–1921):⁶⁷

When visiting the industrial exhibition, the most important thing is to appreciate the exhibition properly, from which we are able to invent and develop our own industries under the current circumstances. [...] In general, a nation's wealth, prosperity, and power depend on its people who diligently prompt and develop industries.⁶⁸

This quote shows that, for most Korean reformists, the 1915 exhibition was a great opportunity to develop industries, but also, more importantly, to enlighten all strata of Korean society by making them recognize the current situation of Korea. The Korean reformist elites, who advocated the discourse of *munmyōng kaehwa* as a means of strengthening the nation, had pursued the same capitalist modernity as Japanese colonialists had done, albeit for different and even opposite goals. While the Japanese colonial government introduced modern institutions into Korea for more efficient colonial management, the Korean reformists considered the modern institutions as a means of strengthening the nation's potential for independence and constituting an autonomous nation-state. A local nobleman and government official, Yun Pong-kyun 尹鳳均 (1899–1983), shows a similar perspective in his diary. After visiting the 1915 exhibition, Yun recorded “the significance of seeing expositions” in constructing a modern nation.⁶⁹ Here, the strong anti-Japanese sentiment against the cruel colonization of the Japanese became obscured, at least partially, by the assertion of *chagang* in the 1915 exhibition. It was in this context that the 1915 exhibition revealed the Korean nation's processes of negotiation and conflict surrounding the drive to modernization. Here, Tom Nairn's argument on the connection between uneven development and nationalism provides a theoretical foundation for understanding Korean nationalism around the time of the 1915 exhibition.⁷⁰ As an inevitable response to the uneven development of capitalism, nationalism was “the effort by one ‘backward’ culture and people after another to appropriate the powers and benefits of modernity for their own use,”⁷¹ which explains the Korean nation's complex response to global capitalism and modernization and its nationalist awakening. Therefore, the emergence and development of nationalism in Korea in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries can be understood in the context of the global expansion of capitalism, the conflict between the center and the periphery, and the resultant

65 Though the 1915 exhibition was a great success in terms of attracting visitors, the aggressive and almost coercive visitor-mobilization strategies inevitably brought about severe criticism from some Korean intellectuals and officials who denounced it for imposing a heavy burden on impoverished local peasants and for causing severe labor shortages in rural areas during the harvest time. A Korean reformist official, one of the editors of the *Tongnip shinmun*, Kim Yun-sik 金允植 (1835–1922), for example, wrote about the problem in his diary, *Sok ūmch'ōngsa* 續陰晴史: “The exhibition has caused serious problems: the price of goods has soared, and in particular, the price of vegetables has increased several fold; people deeply resent this, complaining of their burden, since local county governments collected group tour expenses from county people.” See Kim, “1915. 9. 11,” p. 426.

66 For the 1915 exhibition and promotion of industry, see the articles published in the journal *Shinmun'gye*: “Siksan jangnyōwa kongjinhoe”; “Kongjinhoe wa sangōp”; and “Kyōngsōngūi hyōnhwang.”

67 Chang Chi-yŏn also wrote a famous editorial against the signing of the Protectorate Treaty in 1905; see Chang, “Siirya pangsong taegok” 是日也放聲大哭, *Hwangsong shinmun*, 20 November 1905.

68 Chang, “Sanōpkaebalchi kŭmmu” 産業開發之急務, *Maeil shinbo*, 4 November 1915.

69 Yun Pong-kyun, *Taeryak Ilgi*, 5–6 September 1915; quoted in Kim, “Ilcheshidae ch'eje chōhanggwa hyōmnyōng saiūi chungganjidae,” p. 9.

70 Tom Nairn argues that “most typically it [nationalism] has arisen in societies confronting a dilemma of uneven development—‘backwardness’ or colonisation.” Nairn, *The Break-Up of Britain*, p. 30.

71 Nairn, *Faces of Nationalism: Janus Revisited*, p. 71.

rise of nationalism and the emergence of nation-states. As elsewhere in the undeveloped world, the reactive development of Korean nationalism marked a profound ambivalence, representing both an attempt to resist the outside forces of modernization and an attempt to take them over. This ambivalent embrace of modernization and capitalization was greatly accelerated following the Japanese annexation of Korea, and clearly represented in the 1915 exhibition.

Given the colonial relationship between Korea and Japan—a neighboring nation, not a distant Western power—the question of Korean national identity at the time of the 1915 exhibition is very complex. Japan was capable of colonizing its closest neighbor under the banner of a “civilizing mission.” Even while the Japanese colonial government was seeking to remake civic identity in Korea, however, a resistant Korean nationalism was also being born as a response both to Western penetration and to the Japanese invasion, both of which posed threats to the traditional political, social, and economic order of Korea. The discourse of national identity is thus not unified or monolithic: there was not just one nationalism—rather, internally conflicted nationalisms crossed a political landscape of struggle and dispute. The early colonial period was a time of material progress as carefully displayed in the 1915 exhibition, but at the same time, it was a harsh, dislocating period with the experiences of strict censorship, denial of civil liberties, and a barrage of coercive new regulations and brutal punishments that caused massive resistance against the colonial government in the late 1910s. As the responses of Korean spectators revealed a confused and conflicting perspective between resistance to Japanese colonialism and a desire for modernization, the “new modern Korean subject” was complex and never unified. It may be characterized by continual conflicts and oscillation between a collective of the new modern subjects and the traditional subjects of the old monarchy, between the disciplined civic subjects and subjects distracted and seduced by consumption and commodified spectacles, and between the new national modern subjects and oppressed colonial subjects of the Japanese empire.

Conclusion

With the Chosŏn Industrial Exhibition of 1915, the new era of expositions had begun in modern Korea.

Between 1915 and 1940, a total of thirty large and small expositions (*pangnamhoe*), industrial exhibitions (*kongjinhoe*), competitive industrial exhibitions (*kyŏngjinhoe*), and product shows (*p'ump'yŏnghoe*) were held in Kyŏngsŏng and local cities in Korea.⁷² As the first government-sponsored national event in the colonial period, the 1915 exhibition not only displayed many features also seen in later colonial expositions, such as the Chosŏn Exposition in 1929 and the Great Chosŏn Exposition in 1940, but also introduced the Korean public to modern forms of mass culture and commodified spectacle. As such, the 1915 exhibition provides a valuable resource for understanding the Korean nation's complex and ambivalent response to modernization and the emergence of a new kind of national subject shaped by modern institutional apparatus and disciplinary machines.

The processes by which the concept of the international exposition was introduced and elaborated in Korea show the nation's struggle over modernization and Westernization in the context of the global and regional development struggle. The international expositions came to be conceptualized as a means to modernize the Korean nation—though, at the same time, this would also serve as a justification for Japanese colonial annexation. It was in this interplay of national and international economic and political forces that the Chosŏn Industrial Exhibition of 1915 took shape as a specific cultural machinery constructing particular social messages but also calling into place a new kind of modern Korean subject. Accordingly, the 1915 exhibition cannot be viewed as an impartial representation of the state of Korea after five years of Japanese rule. Rather, it was a staged event where specific messages and meanings were conveyed by the spatial layout, architectural coding, and display strategies. The semiotics and rhetoric of the 1915 exhibition, framed and invested by the intersection of political, cultural, and institutional discourses, were an attempt to propagandize colonial rule by redefining, controlling, and disciplining Korea's material culture and people, but at the same time, this would also serve as a device for future colonial rule. However, the exhibition was not simply a machine for constructing specific messages, but was also a cultural machinery that called into place a new kind of “modern Korean

72 Yoshimi, *Pangnamhoe: Kŭndae ūi sisŏn*, pp. 319–21, appendix 2.

subject” through its orchestration of the display of objects into a modern form of spectacle. The account of visitors’ experiences and responses shows the complex formation of the conflicted Korean subject, as shaped and reshaped by the exhibition through seduction and spectacle, education and discipline, but also through bureaucratic control and colonial domination. It thus betrays contradictions and conflicts in the interpellation of the subject of the exhibition, between disciplinary regulation and recruitment by spectacle, between the architecturally and spatially orchestrated look of the disciplined viewer and the distracted viewing of the pleasure-seeking consumer of spectacle. As a central symbol of modernization and a monumental cultural event, the 1915 exhibition provides a more comprehensive platform for better understanding an understudied era in Korean cultural history: the period of ten years following the 1910 Japanese annexation of Korea, usually called the “dark period.” It also brings questions of representation and subject formation in the early colonial period to bear on a field that conventionally had been devoted to the political and economic frameworks of colonial rule.

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The Sacred and Heritagization in the Safeguarding of Traditional Village Festivals in Viet Nam: A Case Study

HIEN THI NGUYEN

Introduction

INSCRIPTION of intangible cultural heritage (ICH) on the list established by UNESCO's 2003 Convention has the admirable purpose of safeguarding the vitality and viability of cultural expressions in general, while respecting cultural diversity and opening possibilities for dialogue among the individuals, groups, and communities involved.¹ The inscription process, one of many aspects of heritagization—a process that interprets, adapts, and presents heritage, typically to facilitate social or political management, but does not generally archive or sustain it—invariably disturbs cultural practices to some extent as it involves the participation of both national and international governmental and heritage regimes together with other institutions, laws, actors, and various stakeholders. The heritagization of traditional village festivals in Viet Nam has been influenced by a vertical management system that

extends from the central to local levels. While some examples of intangible culture are still practiced by custodian communities as they have been for centuries, other examples have been deeply influenced by close coordination between the community and the concerned cultural management departments. Likewise, the state has at times been directly and heavily involved in the management of other intangible elements of culture, with the community performing only a small role, rather than proactively practicing their own heritage.² There are about eight thousand traditional village festivals in Viet Nam, but heritagization differs according to the nature of the specific elements of culture involved. This study will focus on the traditional Gióng Village Festival dedicated to the tutelary god of the Phù Đổng Commune, Gia Lâm District, Hanoi City.³ The Gióng Festival is a so-called battle festival involving more than

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Please note that the article header and summary use the name "Hien Thi Nguyen." The author is one and the same as "Nguyễn Thị Hiền"—as is given elsewhere.

1 UNESCO, Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. <https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention>.

2 Nguyễn Thị Hiền, *Quản lý, bảo vệ và phát huy*.

3 The Gióng Festival of Phù Đổng Temple commemorates the Gióng deity, who was born as a result of his human mother stepping on an enormous footprint of Mr. Đổng, a giant character in the myth of the Việt people. At the age of three, the deity still could not talk or walk, but when he heard the king's appeal to find talented and brave people to protect the country and its people from invaders, he began to talk and miraculously grew up into a giant. He went to battle, defeated the foreign invaders, and flew into heaven. Gióng was sacralized as an immortal god

one thousand villagers in celebratory activities, including organizing a wide range of roles for the mock battles. The most notable roles in the festival are played by those who must train and practice in sacred rooms, and these, which bring villagers enhanced social status, are the commanders (Ông Hiệu) and generals (Cô tướng). The commanders are played by young boys who give the commands for the festival activities such as waving flags and playing drums and gongs, etc. They function as the god's servants. The generals are played by girls around the age of about thirteen who represent the invaders who will lose the battle. The festival is well organized by the Festival Management Board (Ban Khánh tiết), which is made up of elderly members of the local community, who act in a manner so as to preserve the spirit of the *Festival Notebook* (*Sổ Hội lễ*), which is a guidebook for organizing the Gióng Festival's activities.⁴ Thus, the traditional way of organizing the festival is the key factor in ensuring the vitality of the festival and constraining the influence of the government as well as heritagization.

This study is based on research data collected using qualitative methods during field trips undertaken to observe the Gióng Festival and interviews with relevant managers and village elders of the Festival Management Board, as well as members of the local community who performed different roles at the festival. This research was carried out during the development of the nomination file submitted to UNESCO during 2009–2010 (when I played an active role in developing the nomination), and also when carrying out my collaborative research project funded by the UNESCO Office in Viet Nam during 2011–2012, and while I attended the festival in 2015 and 2016. Through participant observation of the festival and ethnographic data collected from the field, I determined that sacredness plays an important role in maintaining and ensuring the vitality of the Gióng Festival. As a result, this article will analyze the sacredness of the site of worship, the relevant artifacts, and practices in relation to safeguarding the visibility of the festival.

During the land reforms of the 1950s, many temples and communal halls in Viet Nam were dismantled, and practices and rituals related to traditional village festivals were banned. The religious practices and worship spaces that were seen as superstitious, backward, and feudalistic were demolished. One of the earliest legal documents related to religious practices as superstition was Circular 785 VH/TT issued by the Ministry of Culture and Information (today's Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism) with the objectives of limiting superstitious practices and enhancing the festive activities of traditional festivals. As this circular stated: "Instruct the masses to change backward activities (such as offerings of sticky rice with meat, village customs, hierarchy, depraved customs, and superstitions) into sound activities such as livestock competitions, improving production by learning from mistakes, sharing a rice meal for solidarity, putting on folk performances (plays and dramas) and folk games such as wrestling, boat racing, and so on."⁵ In the 1970s, Decision No. 56-CP, concerning regulations for weddings, funerals, death anniversaries, and festivals stated that "divination, physiogramic practices, soul calling, spirit possession, amulets, exorcism, the burning of votive offerings, spiritual healing and so on are regarded as superstitions."⁶ The limitations and even prohibitions of religious practices lasted until the Renovation (the term used for economic reforms instituted by the national government) in 1986 when Viet Nam launched policies for economic development as well as for expanding the social and cultural lives of its citizens. Today, in contrast, numerous traditional festivals and religious practices have been revitalized and some have even been recognized as examples of intangible cultural heritage that reflect cultural identities and have been inscribed on UNESCO's and Vietnamese lists of cultural heritage.

Once an example of intangible cultural heritage has gone through the process of international and national inscription it is almost always influenced by outside actors. Specifically, following its inscription by UNESCO, an element of culture can be altered by programs

and has been worshipped as a god at communal halls in a number of villages as villagers pray for a good harvest, peace for the country, and prosperity for all people.

4 The *Festival Notebook* was composed by knowledgeable village elders. An older version was lost and it was rewritten in the 1990s after the Renovation and is now stored at the Prohibition Hall (Cung cấm), the most solemn and sacred room of the temple dedicated to the communal god.

5 Circular 785 VH/TT of 8 July 1957, cited in Bùi, "Quản lý lễ hội truyền thống," p. 27.

6 Decision No. 56-CP of March 18, 1975, on the Regulations on Weddings, Funerals, Death Anniversaries, and Festive Days; chapter 5 on the Abolishment of Superstitions. <https://thuvienhapluat.vn/van-ban/van-hoa-xa-hoi/Quyết-dinh-56-CP-The-le-to-chuc-viec-cuoi-tang-ngay-gio-hoi-44673.aspx>.

or projects meant to safeguard it, as well as by the intervention of the heritage management system and the expectations of the local community. These local expectations include external support at the national and international level in upgrading and repairing infrastructure and promoting tangible elements of ICH in order to attract tourists. This has had a significant impact on heritage practices in general. However, although it was inscribed on UNESCO's Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2010 and the National List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2012,⁷ the Gióng Festival in which the tutelary god Gióng is worshipped has not been influenced or changed to a significant degree. This is due to the characteristics of the festival itself, including the method of organizing festive practices in which the community plays a key role, as well as the activities and sacred spaces that are integral parts of the festival. The sacredness of the communal hall dedicated to the tutelary god, the god himself, and the social status of those who perform the roles of the commanders and generals in the festival have all played an important role in ensuring that the practice of this example of intangible cultural heritage has not been greatly influenced by the inscription process.

The sacred religious practices of the festival have also remained largely uninfluenced by UNESCO, the State Party of Viet Nam, and local authorities after undergoing the process of heritagization. The sacred elements of the festival have remained intact and UNESCO's inscription has not resulted in the loss of the festival's specific nature. Following inscription, the Gióng Festival still retains its role in maintaining historical, cultural, and social values. This outcome challenges some previously held notions that the concept of international standards proposed by the 2003 Convention results in elements of intangible cultural heritage losing their specificity and historical meaning.⁸ The sacredness of the festival has become part of the subconscious of the community and as a spiritual activity, the process of heritagization conducted under the government has consequently not had much effect. There is therefore an interactive relationship between the nature of an exam-

ple of intangible culture and its heritagization, as well as between the dynamics of local communities to their own heritage. These findings challenge previous statements about the sacralization of heritagization made by scholars who have argued that the reconstruction of religious forms as "heritage" entails a process of profanation through which their initial sacredness is gradually lost.⁹

Heritagization

Heritagization is a concept dating back to the 1990s, and it has been applied by scholars with many different semantic nuances. Initially, the concept of heritagization likened the transformation of an element of culture "to a negative and destructive process."¹⁰ However, according to Denis Byrne, the concept focuses more on heritage as a social action, which also allows for an appreciation of change.¹¹ This is a view shared by Anna Karlström, who noted that "heritage is a mode of cultural production and it produces something new."¹² Heritagization is a term for a process that bestows value on "something." It could be any practice or "heritage good" that a group of people consider to be their property. Building on the dynamic perspective entailed in heritagization, including its political and symbolic dimensions that were engendered in scholarship in the 1990s, Xerardo Pereiro defines "heritagization" as the activation of cultural heritage and its promotion.¹³ On the other hand, Kevin Walsh, one of the first authors to use the term in English, employs it in a pejorative manner in the context of the "heritagization" of space.¹⁴ Oscar Salemink similarly noted that the process of creating heritage is a process conducted by outsiders like government agencies, researchers, and NGOs, and in some cases, some of the elements of intangible cultural heritage have been "appropriated."¹⁵ He also makes it clear that "heritagization brings in not just the state, but also the market, as the label of heritage—especially, but not exclusively, World Heritage—functions as a certi-

7 See UNESCO's list at <https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/giong-festival-of-phu-ong-and-soc-temples-00443> and the National List of Intangible Cultural Heritage at <http://dsvh.gov.vn/danh-muc-di-san-van-hoa-phi-vat-the-quoc-gia-17>.

8 Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture*.

9 Meyer and de Witte, "Heritage and the Sacred," p. 277.

10 Walsh, *The Representation of the Past*, p. 135.

11 Byrne, "Heritage as Social Action," pp. 162–63.

12 Karlström, "Spirits and the Ever-Changing Heritage," p. 395.

13 Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture*; Pereiro, "Patrimonialización, museos e arquitectura," pp. 98, 104.

14 Walsh, *The Representation of the Past*, p. 4.

15 Salemink, "Appropriating Culture," p. 173.

fication label and, hence, as a brand name in domestic and international tourist markets.”¹⁶ Heritagization following the lines of UNESCO’s directives and supervision produces more government interference; that is, an expansion of the institutional dimension of the state apparatus and its potential to reach into previously unmapped cultural terrains.¹⁷

From a state management perspective, Viet Nam has a central and local cultural heritage management system, beginning with the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, and reaching down to provinces, districts, and communes/villages. The inscription process and the management of intangible cultural heritage is a process of centralizing the power of managers rather than stimulating the initiative of the custodian community, and as such it is the institutions, policies, agencies, departments, councils, and organizations that are involved, along with leaders, managers, and members of the Cultural Heritage Committee. Thus, the impact of the state, management agencies, administration from the grassroots (village, commune, district, province) to the central government level, as well as from the provinces to the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, have all made the Gióng Festival’s cultural practices that date over a thousand years into examples of intangible cultural heritage that are inscribed nationally and internationally.

Inscription of an element of culture is linked to heritagization through the participation of international and national organizations, a cultural management system from the central government to local levels, as well as a contingent of experts, researchers, and cultural managers. With the participation of multiple stakeholders, an aspect of intangible cultural heritage will naturally be transformed with new cultural nuances and meanings. The complexity of the nomination process, as well as ICH management after it is inscribed, is increasingly creating a scholarly arena for battles over proper management and also for much academic scholarship. At the same time, the community sees the inscription of their example of intangible cultural heritage as an honor that gives them pride, and hopes that it will become the catalyst for creating a new impetus for safeguarding, transmitting, and practicing their heritage. The journey of developing a nomination and achieving

ICH inscription may be exciting to the participants and concerned onlookers because of their different social and political motivations, and the needs and goals of related individuals, groups of people, and communities. The inscription is often interpreted as a championship title, and always accompanied by fame and motivation, which overall brings more benefits than disadvantages. This attitude also provides the impetus to better understand the importance of ICH, and it contributes to the safeguarding of its vitality in Viet Nam, as well as by other states party to the 2003 Convention.

The views of the abovementioned scholars on heritagization all imply the transformation of the community’s heritage into something new, such as a tourist destination or a cultural product, and thereby entangled in politics, economics, and sometimes used by community members to benefit themselves.¹⁸ This article demonstrates the dynamics of the heritagization process despite the fact that these dynamics are shaped by whoever governs the heritage. The process of heritagization does not follow a set course determined by the rules, nor is it completely governed by specific rules or outsider interests; rather, it follows the dynamics of the local community, as well as the nature of the heritage site confronting the process of heritagization. Given the diversity of ICH in local communities, this article argues that it is important to recognize the complexities of heritage and the dynamics of local communities. Throughout the uneven course of history and development, it is local communities who have safeguarded and ensured the continuity of their heritage.

The Tutelary God Gióng and Traditional Village Festivals

The custom of worshipping tutelary gods is a cultural mark of the Vietnamese in the villages and communes of the Northern Delta region of Viet Nam. Possibly an historical figure, the tutelary god is an ancestor or a patron god who is worshipped by people as a guardian of the villagers when they are facing difficulties, epidemics, or natural disasters. Every time a family member is sick, gives birth to a child, conducts business, studies, or completes a job, he or she will go to the communal hall to pray to the god. The biggest commemoration of the

16 Salemink, “Described, Inscribed, Written Off,” p. 319.

17 De Cesari, “Thinking Through Heritage Regimes,” p. 407.

18 Nguyễn Thị Hiền, *Quản lý, bảo vệ và phát huy*.

year takes place during the traditional three-day feast to petition the god and take the god in a procession around the village. This is when a ceremonial group of dignitaries prays for the village to receive favorable weather and a good harvest. This is also a sacred time, a moment for everyone in the village to come and make offerings, worship, and pray to the god for blessings.

The *Gióng* God is a legendary figure in Vietnamese mythology who was consecrated by the local people into one of the most powerful immortal gods in the Vietnamese belief system. To commemorate the god, the local people hold the annual *Gióng* Festival in which they act out the mock battle of the legendary hero *Gióng*, expressing the dreams and aspirations of the people in the fight against invading enemies to protect the independence of the nation. At the same time, the festival reflects the desire for peace, prosperity, and a happy life.

The *Gióng* God is worshipped in numerous villages in the north of Viet Nam, but most notably at a festival that takes place at *Phù Đổng* Temple on the seventh and ninth of the fourth lunar month, when the god's feats against foreign invaders are reenacted through symbolic performances. The performances include riding a white horse into battle, drumming, beating gongs, the waving of the flag by the Commander of the Flag (*Ông Hiệu cờ*) who symbolizes the victory (figure 1), and twenty-eight female enemy generals who symbolize the yin elements as the enemy force (figure 2). As interpreted by *Trần Quốc Vương*, the *Gióng* God was a giant, and together with his iron horse they were seen as the symbol of the sky; the twenty-eight female generals represent the twenty-eight constellations located in the sky according to the division of the heavens in ancient Chinese astronomy. They were female, yin elements in opposition to the male *Gióng* God, a yang element.¹⁹ The commanders and generals are trained in a sacred space for approximately two weeks²⁰ during which time they must strictly follow the rules to prepare for their roles in the festival.²¹

The *Gióng* Festival requires more than one thousand villagers to perform roles in a mock battle in which for-



Figure 1. The Commander of the Flag waves the flag to symbolize the victory of the local people over the foreign invaders. Photograph by Cao Trung Vinh, 2018, used with permission.

ign invaders are defeated (figure 3). My observations suggest that the local people regard the organization of the *Gióng* Festival as their duty to their tutelary god and that they feel obliged to contribute labor and money to organize the festival. Every citizen participating in the festival seems willing to fulfill their role with a deep belief that the god will witness their devotion and bless them, their families, and the villagers with a lucky and peaceful year. A member of the Festival Management Board said, “The thirteen thousand people of *Phù Đổng* Commune have great respect for the god, so everyone joins the festival and serves the god because it is a great honor.” This member stated, “My family tries to save time to serve the god with the expectation that the god will bless my children with good health and good results in school.”²²

19 *Trần Quốc Vương*, “*Căn bản triết lý*,” p. 243.

20 “Sacred space” here means a clean, private, and separate room in the house of the masters and generals. They stay in the room for approximately two weeks for training by experienced elders on how to perform their roles during the *Gióng* Festival.

21 *Nguyễn Thị Hiền*, “*Đi làm Ông Hiệu, Cô Tướng*,” p. 60.

22 Interview with Mr. *Đình Văn Thịnh*, a member of the Festival Management Board, March 2015.



Figure 2. A female general on her palanquin during the Gióng Festival. Photograph by Cao Trung Vinh, 2011, used with permission.



Figure 3. Panorama of the mock battle and the three mats where the commanders wave the flag. Photograph by Cao Trung Vinh, 2018, used with permission.



Figure 4. The separate room where the commanders live during their training period before the Gióng Festival. Photograph by Cao Trung Vinh, 2018, used with permission.



Figure 5. Commanders and their servants march to the mock battle against the foreign invaders. Photograph by Cao Trung Vinh, 2018, used with permission.

The most important roles in the festival are those of the commanders and generals. The commanders act as the god's people (*người của thánh*), symbols of justice, and the domestic army. The generals act as the unrighteous forces—that is, as the foreign enemy. The village members performing these roles must be selected carefully, and must only come from “decent” families, that is, members of the family must not have broken any laws, must have good manners, and must maintain good relationships with other community members. Those performing the leading roles must also perceive that it is holy and respected work that guarantees their social status in the village for life. Performing these roles in the festival gives them pride and honor. In terms of material and spiritual rewards, they expect to receive good health, luck, and prosperity. As Mr. Biền, a village member, said, “It is part of spiritual life and happiness. It is an honor for your whole life... If they perform such a role in the festival—in other words, they serve the god that will bring them luck, prosperity, and good business.”²³

However, participating in the festival, especially in the role of a commander or general, is a financial burden. Families must spend a great deal of money to buy clothes, new appliances, mattresses, pillows, blankets, and other personal belongings. Participants must stay in a clean room in their house during their apprenticeship for about two weeks. During this time, members of their family look after them like servants—cooking for them, washing their clothes, and carrying out other related errands (figure 4). During the celebratory days their families must host a feast to treat their relatives and friends. According to Mrs. Lê Mỹ, “Everyone is excited to participate, because it is a special time. Look how much effort people put into their roles during the festival.”²⁴ Many people volunteer and are determined to perform a role if they can afford to do so, and their relatives, friends, brothers, and neighbors help them by being assistants to them, serving them during the festive days by carrying their palanquin and parasol, and by carrying out other miscellaneous errands (figure 5).

Playing the role of commander or general is sometimes done for business reasons. For example, Mr. Đặng Duy Thành suffered financial hardship for several

consecutive years on his farm when many of his pigs died of disease. He wanted to send his son to participate as a commander in order to get a blessing from the god to reduce the risk of further disease on his farm. Or Ms. Bùi Thị Mến, who, since she was a child, wanted to act as a general at the festival; her parents, however, did not have the economic resources for her to participate. She confided that she never had the opportunity to become a general. Nowadays she and her husband have a milling service to earn extra income, and they wanted their daughter to be a general with the expectation that their family would be successful in business. This way of thinking—that acting as a commander or general is something honorable that influences one for life—permeates the commune, and that year, the family's business in fact prospered.²⁵ Symbolically, the commanders and generals become the people of the god immediately after asking for incense from the temple. This act marks the beginning of the practice period (lasting about two weeks), when they live in the sacred space, and then when they play the role of commander or general during the festival. Therefore, after the festival, they must strive to keep worthy of the “title” to ensure, as Mr. Bùi Khắc Thân said, “the holiness of the god, and at the same time, that they live with honor for their whole life in their commune ... without the role and position in the community, it is very difficult to mobilize people to take part in and assist in organizing the festival.”²⁶

The Gióng Festival is a large folk theater with hundreds of roles performed orally and accompanied by props and costumes. Each of these roles contains profound and symbolic meanings of serving the gods as commanders and generals who fought in the battle against the northern invaders (Han Chinese).²⁷ Besides the roles of commanders and generals, the local people are involved in carrying palanquins, parasols, and drums, cooking for feasts, and cleaning. There are also other roles—for example, army soldiers dressed in red costumes on reconnaissance duty and army soldiers dressed in black costumes as militia, as well as child scouts (figure 6).

23 Interview with Mr. Nguyễn Văn Biền, a villager from Phù Đổng Commune, May 2018.

24 Interview with Mrs. Lê Mỹ, a villager from Phù Đổng Commune, March 2015.

25 Interview with Mrs. Bùi Thị Mến, a villager from Phù Đổng Commune, May 2015.

26 Interview with Mr. Bùi Khắc Thân, a member of the Festival Management Board in Phù Đổng Commune, May 2015.

27 Trần Thế Pháp, *Linh Nam trích quái*.



Figure 6. A procession during the Giong Festival with members of the local community. Photograph by Cao Trung Vinh, 2018, used with permission.

Festival performances include processions and reenactments of the god's feats carried out during the battle against foreign invaders. The festival has numerous characters that participate in a water procession to a nearby river to get fresh water in a large jar as an offering to the god. They then carry the jar to the communal hall for worship for the entire year until the next cycle begins. The mock battle is set three kilometers away from the temple. At the battle site, three mats are laid on the ground, symbolizing the Northern Delta region of Viet Nam. In the middle of each mat is a bowl turned upside down, symbolizing a mountain, on a white sheet of paper that symbolizes clouds. The Flag Commander holds the flag of command and dances on each of the three mats, pushing the sheets out from underneath the bowls to the acclaim and joy of the participants. The battle is then over and weapons are again stored in the temple.

After the festival has finished, the local people pray for rain as a blessing from the god to be bestowed upon them for an abundant harvest. The participants claim a piece of a mat or a bowl, as they are considered sacred objects bringing good luck, curing spiritual afflictions, or for protection. The local people regard the Gióng Festival as extremely sacred, and organizing and participating in the festival is regarded as their duty to their god for which they receive blessings from the god in return. Through a symbolic battle, the local people have created both the imaginary and the real, as well as the sacred and the profane. The god embodies their aspirations for a peaceful country and for good weather that will bring an abundant harvest. Worship of the god has been spiritually linked to the cultural life of the custodian villagers, and it is a moral obligation for locals to commemorate their god. The fact that the sacred is

maintained so that the visibility of the festival is ensured will be scrutinized in the next section.

The Sacred

The rituals, religious festivals, and worship spaces related to the *Gióng Festival* that are regarded as sacred have been protected and kept intact. According to Durkheim, the sacred is a characteristic of religious beliefs and rituals, and is often placed higher and is seen as more powerful than the mundane; it is also forbidden on normal days, and it deserves to be complied with.²⁸ The sacred is seen from the perspective of local people, their experiences, and oral narratives that have been told to them.

The village communal hall is the most sacred place in Vietnamese villages. The space contains not only records of the story of the establishment of a village and the reclamation of the land, but it is where the villagers worship their gods, who always bless them. The message was passed down that people who walked by the hall had to remove their hats, or, if they were riding a horse, they had to dismount. As I recall from my own childhood, when I studied at the primary school located next to my home village's communal hall, I would not dare to point my forefinger toward the hall or to pluck any flowers or tree branches within the boundaries of the hall. It is said that during the Vietnamese-American War, bombs would not fall inside the temple, but outside. The ancient architecture of the temple remains intact to this day.

Before being placed inside the communal hall, sacred objects such as the statue of the *Gióng God*, the altars, incense bowls, the parasols, weapons (*chấp kích*), the eight treasures (*bát bửu*; see below), and so on, have to be sacralized as offering objects. The weapons (which are made of wood and include a knife, a scimitar, a halberd, a cudgel, a spear, a hammer, a bow, and so on) symbolize the power and military force of the god (figure 7). And the eight treasures (also made of wood and including a book, a horizontal lacquered board, wine, poetry, a fan, a flower basket, a zither, and a feather brush) symbolize the literary skills and knowledge of the god (figure 8). The weapons and treasures also function as a means of protection for the worship



Figure 7. The weapons (*chấp kích*) are made of wood and symbolize the power and military force of the god. Photograph by Cao Trung Vinh, 2018, used with permission.



Figure 8. The eight treasures are made of wood and symbolize the literary skills and knowledge of the god. Photograph by Cao Trung Vinh, 2018, used with permission.

space and make the temple more solemn and sacred.

In Vietnamese folklore, there are many stories of people stealing objects from the communal halls and temples. It is said that these people would become critically ill and lose their minds unless they returned the stolen objects, or that they might have accidents, or that their children and grandchildren might have limited opportunities for study and work.

In addition to the place of worship, the sacred objects of worship are regarded as untouchable, with the statue of the *Gióng God* and the area where the statue is placed being the most sacred. The statue is usually placed in the innermost room in a closed case. In many communal halls, the hall dedicated to the god is always kept closed to prevent impurity, and only those in

²⁸ Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms*.

charge of looking after the communal hall are allowed to open the case and then only on festive days or prior to the New Year, to perform the ritual cleaning of the statue and, in some cases, to put new clothes on the god. Acts related to the god's statues are sacred and must be performed as ritual acts by those responsible, who must be clean (in terms of body and soul, as well as being unblemished in social and family affairs) in order to touch the god's body. The water for bathing the god is fragrant water made from locally available fragrant flowers and herbs, and the water is sanctified after the bathing and then used for the treatment of those suffering physical pain. However, inside the temple, people usually stand as close as possible to the god when offering prayers. All sacred spaces and artifacts are inviolable, making the space more and more majestic and mysterious.

It is understood that acts of disrespect toward the sacred place of worship, as well as the tutelary god, are punished. Punishments, including curses, are inflicted on those who are blasphemous to the god and those who steal objects for worship such as statues, decorative vases, incense bowls, calligraphy, or other related items from the communal hall. It is the sacred nature of the communal hall that has enabled it to exist for hundreds of years, through the vicissitudes of history, including wars, without being destroyed by bombs, storms, or fire, or lost during the period of land reform in Viet Nam during the 1950s when many places of worship were taken over for storage or for use as army facilities.

The revival of the Gióng Festival took place after the period of Renovation in Viet Nam during the 1990s, when it was restored based on the memories of many people and the records that they made: in the first instance, from the *Festival Notebook* that the villagers had compiled; and second, from the worship dedicated to the tutelary god that remained in the consciousness and lives of the people. The latter was strong due to the cultural features of the village whose custom of worshipping the tutelary god was deeply ingrained, and also because of the social norms of those who participated in the festival's activities as the "god's children." This is related to the sacred and to the social roles people play when they participate in the organization of the festival and perform roles in festivities. The sacred has been a factor that not only has the power to frighten people, but also shapes how they worship the holy tutelary god. The sacred works as a catalyst to preserve the continuity of the festival, successfully safeguarding this element of intangible cultural heritage for generations. As Birgit

Meyer and Marleen de Witte have noted, "Sacralization is helpful to better grasp the success or failure of making heritage appeal, as well as the contestations invoked by it."²⁹

The sacredness of the Gióng Festival has also been preserved in the training space and objects used by the commanders and generals in their performances. Specifically, these participants are not merely involved in acting in the festival. They must symbolically take on a transitional state in performing ceremonial acts before the festival to prepare themselves for acting as the god's people. During training, those performing the roles of commanders and generals must stay in a separate and clean place, and they are regarded as sacred and, as such, are untouchable. Thus separated from daily life and placed in a sacred space that is pure and clean, they train to become the god's people as commanders and generals. In relation to the god, the sacred is to be maintained and protected, otherwise danger would arise, and taboos would be broken.

As a villager explained to me, performing the role of commanders or generals is also a blessing from the god. Families will try very hard to have at least one member perform this role, if someone in the family has not already done so. If more than one member has performed such a role, the family gains social status, luck, and prosperity. The role of sacred space in a festival whether for a general community member or for a general, or even a commander, has been interpreted by anthropologists as an important part of the transformation of social position.³⁰ At the liminality stage, those performing the roles of commanders and generals must abide by strict regulations governed by tradition and taboo, such as not eating food with a strong odor such as garlic or fish, not participating during a period of mourning, and not having sexual relations, otherwise they are thought likely to receive punishment in the form of bad luck and trouble for themselves and their families. It is felt that within the sphere of these festive practices, the sacred should be preserved and not violated. We see that this view corresponds with the idea of liminality—i.e., the "betwixt, between" status developed by Mary Douglas and Victor Turner during the 1960s and 1970s. According to Turner's schema, the

29 Meyer and de Witte, "Heritage and the Sacred," p. 280.

30 Van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*; Turner, "Betwixt and Between."

liminality stage marks the moment when one is not a person in everyday life, but not yet a god. It is also a moment of exalted and extremely sacred power and, at the same time, it can be a dangerous time if not completed in accordance with custom; any violations are likely to have severe consequences. Douglas applies Turner's concept of liminality and the sacred to the development of a theory of purification.³¹ According to Douglas, the sacred should continue to be barred with taboos and always be considered infectious because its relationship is limited by boundary rituals and the belief that crossing the forbidden border is dangerous.³² Douglas then discusses situations, people, and things that threaten the boundary. The next situation deals with an important moment in the state of change in the ritual.

The sacred and mundane must be prevented from colliding and the means of preventing this unwanted outcome mainly include prohibitions or taboos. A taboo is the protection that determines the location of the sacred. The training of the commanders and generals is practiced in a sacred space that has been safeguarded for generations, and entering and leaving this sacred space is always prohibited to avoid it being violated. It is believed that if the sacred is violated, there will be consequences. During fieldwork, numerous stories were recounted to me about the sanctity of the punishments that are carried out: for example, for being unclean, arbitrarily entering the sacred rooms reserved for the commanders and generals, blaspheming the god, and stealing sacred objects from the communal hall. According to Alfred Gell,³³ such punishments amount to the abduction of agency. Agency is the abduction of man, and it is the sacred object (god, power) that causes something to happen. The sacred is thereby preserved and heritage ensures its vitality.

The Impact of Heritagization on the Gióng Festival

In the more than ten years since its inscription, the Gióng Festival has not changed into something "monumental" or become the type of "world heritage" site that was expected. This is because the community's expecta-

tions that investments would be made in infrastructure, tourism development, and to support local people in organizing the festival on a large scale have not materialized.

In cases of the inscription of other examples of intangible cultural heritage, however, the community's wishes for the state to invest in building "monumental" infrastructure did not happen because the inscription was simply not a "gift of money." The practice of the Gióng Festival involves seeing the worship of the communal god as an indispensable cultural and spiritual activity that has been organized by the community for hundreds of years. However, other examples of intangible cultural heritage, such as Xoan Singing and the Worship of the Hùng Kings were subject to bureaucratic oversight after their inscription. All activities related to the Worship of the Hùng Kings, including the implementation of measures to safeguard it, such as the anniversary celebration held on even years, are under the management and leadership of the central and provincial government agencies and divisions, from the grassroots to the district, provincial, and central levels.

In other cases, the inscribed examples of ICH are privileged in that they are favored over others, such as through concentrated investment in the development of those that are the object of programs to safeguard them (for example, hundreds of billions of Vietnamese dong have been invested to revitalize rituals that have disappeared, build performance spaces, and transmit heritage, including Xoan Singing in Ph Thọ Province).³⁴ Inscription is almost like turning an example of intangible cultural heritage into a brand, so that it becomes more of a cultural expression or practice to be exploited as a tourist attraction, to promote a locality, and for personal gain rather than something that has existed in the community for hundreds of years. To a certain extent, the intervention of UNESCO, the state, and the team of experts involved in the inscription has resulted in the element of cultural heritage being "appropriated" by external stakeholders, governments, and international organizations.³⁵ Through this process, the example of cultural heritage has been transformed into something else.³⁶

31 Douglas, *Purity and Danger*.

32 Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, p. 41.

33 Gell, *Art and Agency*.

34 Nguyễn, Thị Phương Châm, "Dynamics of Power and Contestations," p. 35.; Nguyễn Đắc Thủy, "Bảo vệ và phát huy."

35 Salemink, "Appropriating Culture," p. 174.

36 Harrison, *Heritage*; Sjöholm, *Heritagisation, Re-Heritagisation*.

In the case of the Gióng Festival, as demonstrated above, the local community actively participates and still organizes the festival every year under the administration of the Festival Management Board, which is mainly comprised of elderly people operating with the support of the government, unions, local leaders, and concerned departments, as well as the relevant agencies in relation to security, social order, and the environment. Cultural practices in Viet Nam are operated under a management system involving laws, directives, resolutions, and circular letters from the central to the local levels of government; however, in the case of the Gióng Festival, government support also includes external aspects like security and order, as well as some organizational issues, such as public relations and advertising. As for festival activities, including related practices and performances, the rules for participation and the process by which the festival takes place are carried out by the Festival Management Board and experienced village elders. Thus, I have argued that, despite the passage of time, the effects of modern life, and cases of intervention in the Gióng Festival due to its inscription, the festival has retained its historical, cultural, and special spiritual meaning as well as its social functions for the custodian community.

It is important to reemphasize the nature of the sacred and the consequences of it being violated. While not new to the anthropological study of religion, it is currently of considerable interest in the field of heritage studies. Punishments for violating the sacred create fear, as well as compliance, with customs. Despite the organization and practice of this example of intangible cultural heritage being under the direction and administration of the government and heritage regime of Viet Nam, it has proven difficult to overcome the boundaries of the sacred. These are far more powerful than the national and international management regimes imposed on the sacred elements of this example of cultural heritage.

This sacrality helps the Gióng Festival remain safeguarded and more intact than other examples of cultural heritage in the same domain. Sacredness envelops the space and the festive activities. The custom of the commanders and generals in learning and practicing their roles in the sacred space remains deeply entrenched among the members of the Phù Đổng community. The safeguarding of the sacred is a cultural trait of the community; the people safeguard it to protect their tradition and to motivate others to participate in

the practice. Once the activities and the worship space related to the god are considered sacred, a person who violates them can be punished, and they risk misfortune and sickness. And, on the contrary, if people practice according to custom, obey the prescribed rules, and do not violate the sacred, they will be compensated and enjoy good fortune and continued luck.

Heritagization may help renew an example of intangible cultural heritage³⁷ and also allow for an appreciation of that change.³⁸ Yet, more than ten years after its inscription by UNESCO, the sacredness of the Gióng Festival and the core values of the heritage have been maintained, and its visibility ensured. Once something partakes of the sacred, violations of that sacrality can be punished, so even outsiders, to say nothing of those in the community, dare not touch or violate the sacred, which includes the place of worship, the god's statue, and the participants acting as the god's people during the festival. The heritagization of the Gióng Festival through the intervention of the heritage regime, as well as the actors and stakeholders, did not subsequently change its values, meaning, or substance. Even though ritual practice may be profane at times in modern life, under all circumstances, the sacred has become a component that ensures the vitality of the festival today.

Conclusion

Heritagization is a process impacting the cultural heritage of local communities. This process can involve a wide range of actors intervening through governmental and heritage regimes at national and international levels, such as the inscription and safeguarding of an example of intangible cultural heritage in compliance with the regulations of the management system. This article has shown that the dynamics of heritagization are not the same for all examples of intangible cultural heritage, even those in the same domain. There is no common pattern of heritagization; rather, this process depends on the nature of the example of cultural heritage, the dynamics of the local custodian community, and the practices associated with the example throughout its history.

³⁷ Karlström, "Spirits," p. 397.

³⁸ Byrne, "Heritage," p. 155.

The core nature of the Gióng Festival is closely linked to the village communities of Vietnamese farmers. Due to rapid urbanization, the festival is now practiced by semi-urban and semi-rural people on the outskirts of the capital Hanoi, but this has not meant that the festival has lost its spiritual meaning or social and cultural functions. This example of intangible cultural heritage has not been overshadowed by its past like “lived elements of culture” as stated by Kristin Kuutma.³⁹ Moreover, despite the ups and downs and the external influences generated by its inscription, the Gióng Festival does not adhere to a universal standard, nor has the meaning of the historically and culturally specific character of this example of cultural heritage been lost, as was seen in other cases noted by Kirshenblatt-Gimblett.⁴⁰ While the Gióng Festival has been inscribed on UNESCO’s Representative List, it has not transformed itself “into manageable symbols of representation and argumentation,” nor does it “risk losing” its own attributes, a possible outcome suggested by Kuutma.⁴¹

This study has highlighted that for any example of intangible cultural heritage inscribed on the UNESCO list, it is important to ascertain that the example reflects cultural identity, continuity, and transmission across generations. Although the 2013 Convention and heritage nominations neither mention nor require a lengthy analysis of the history of the example of cultural heritage, this does not mean that the example has lost these values. The values of the Gióng Festival as an example of intangible cultural heritage are important for its custodian community. The custodians have practiced and transmitted the Gióng Festival for generations in accord with its intrinsic spirit—i.e., the sacred, and worship of the tutelary god as the patron deity of the villagers. UNESCO’s inscription has given the villagers pride, honor, expectations, and a willingness to continue the practice.

As amply demonstrated above, the people of Phù Đổng Commune voluntarily participate in the Gióng Festival, especially in performing the roles of the commanders and generals, as they feel it is done to honor, respect, and show faith to their patron god. This article has shown that participation in the festival is not understood as ordinary, mundane work but is done to

serve the communal god. The study has also demonstrated the relationship between heritagization and the sacred. Once the sacredness of the festival is observed in the community, it is safeguarded, maintained, and promoted in the context of contemporary life. If there is a violation of this sacrality, such as by breaking the sacred hat that has been passed down for hundreds of years, then there is also a risk of breaking the inherent structure of the festival, which would have a negative impact on the ability to safeguard it for future generations. This article has revealed that heritagization is not a singular process, but rather a dynamic one depending on the nature of the example of cultural heritage in question and the local community.

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The Ideological Underpinnings of Private Trade in East Asia, ca. 800–1127

GREGORY SATTLER

Introduction

THE image of the merchant, both from our present-day conceptions and as depicted in some of the writings of premodern East Asian scholars, may require some reinterpretation. In particular, the idea of an irreconcilable divide between the social positions of the merchant and the official has dominated discourse on the economic, trade, social, and intellectual history of this region to the point that the separation of these two roles is often seen as a fundamental characteristic of traditional Chinese—and by extension East Asian—culture. In this dichotomy, the merchant is usually depicted in a negative light: as greedy, petty, or of less importance to the overall functionality of society. This view, as historian Denis Twitchett has pointed out, was promoted by the writers of China's official histories, who gave the misleading impression that the merchant “played no active role in politics or government, and appears in the histories only as the passive object of official policy, or as an offender against the authority of the State.”¹ Such a statement was made in regard to

merchants of the Tang 唐 dynasty (618–907), though in fact we may find similar points of view in the official histories of earlier and later Chinese dynasties as well. More recently, scholars have come to suspect that officials throughout East Asia were involved in commerce to a much greater extent than most court documents suggest, and a growing body of evidence is highlighting a closer interplay between merchants and officials than was previously believed. Nevertheless, in our attempts to reconstruct the conditions of the past, a common conception persists that the place of the merchant was one that gradually realized a favorable progression over time, or that merchants were by and large a disenfranchised group kept under the thumb of a dominant scholar-bureaucracy.

The disapproving depiction of the merchant is often regarded as originating in antiquity (generally considered as the earliest periods of Chinese history until the consolidation of the Qin 秦 empire in 221 BCE), though it has been reinforced by the prioritization

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¹ Twitchett, “Merchants, Trade and Government in Late T'ang,” p. 64. Joseph McDermott has pointed out that this view was reinforced and promoted by Max Weber in *The Religion of China: Confucianism and Taoism*, which in turn significantly influenced Western perceptions. See McDermott, “Merchants in Late Imperial China: Obstacles and Solutions.”

of the study of Chinese laws in the decades following the Second World War. Yet as research has advanced in recent years, we have come to learn that these laws were not always adhered to or enforced, and that they did not necessarily reflect the views of the majority of any given society, or even of the scholar-officials themselves.²

Social distinctions between merchant and official have also led scholars to regard diplomatic trade and private trade as entirely separate concepts, even though interstate exchange was not always so clearly defined in the extant sources. This view is evident in historian John K. Fairbank's assessment that "foreign trade" (private trade) was subordinate to tribute: "No doubt, this quixotic doctrine reflected the anti-commercial nature of the Confucian state, where the merchant was low in the social scale and nominally beneath both the farmer and the bureaucrat, who lived off the produce of the land."³ Indeed, it was the case that the merchant ranked the lowest of the four occupational groups (*si min* 四民, the other three being officials, farmers, and craftsmen), yet as this system belonged to the idealized perception of antiquity, it could also be seen as a legitimation of the merchant's position. Even in some of the most challenging times, merchants were generally accepted by officials as a necessary evil, if not as an integral institution of the Sage Kings.⁴ And as for the value of tributary exchange over private trade, this is clearly a matter that needs to be considered in the context of time and space—even more so as we contemplate the past views of the inhabitants of polities located near the borders of Chinese states.

As we shall see, the relationship between commerce and what we now regard as Confucian thought was not always one of diametrical opposition. Whether

through tribute, private and semi-private trade,⁵ or the bestowal of gifts on a personal basis, the philosophies on exchange were varied and depended primarily on the dynamics in place between each party involved. And of those who provide the greatest degree of insight on the merchant-official dynamic, we are perhaps best served by observing the maritime traders who sailed between the various states across East Asia. Due to the prestige goods and high-value commodities that they carried, these merchants frequently interacted with notable historical figures, and thus had information about themselves preserved in journals, records, and official histories. We may draw a considerable amount of information from the interactions and activities of these individuals during the span of the ninth to the early twelfth century, most notably in how commerce and its participants therein were regarded in the societies that they traveled to. In particular, a look at their activities may provide ample evidence for a reassessment of the "Confucian" philosophies on commerce, the distinct separation between private and tributary trade, and the place of the merchant in East Asian societies. Yet before we begin to examine these individuals, I will provide a general overview of the traditional conceptions of merchants in Chinese society, so as to establish a basis for understanding how they were perceived in their respective times and places.

The Place of the Merchant in Chinese Society: From Early Conceptions to the Fall of the Northern Song

In order to understand how merchants were regarded throughout East Asia from the ninth to the twelfth century, we must first consider how they were treated in the Chinese sources both prior to and during this time in question. This is necessary for two reasons. First, the traditional conceptions of merchants, at least among the scholar-officials who wrote about them,

2 Given the importance of such laws and their availability in various sources, the early emphasis on legal history as a means to conceptualize social circumstances is quite understandable. For laws directed at merchants and commercial activity, see Twitchett, "A Confucian's View of the Taxation of Commerce"; Twitchett, "Merchants, Trade and Government in Late T'ang"; and Twitchett, "The T'ang Market System." For the view that earlier historians overestimated the degree of suppression that the Tang state exerted on merchants, see Twitchett, "The T'ang Market System," p. 241.

3 Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast*, p. 33.

4 Twitchett, "A Confucian's View of the Taxation of Commerce," p. 438. The Sage Kings were mythical sovereigns who were said to rule over China prior to the advent of writing.

5 Semi-private trade should be considered as trade between private merchants and state representatives, which was common throughout East Asia from the ninth to the twelfth century. In this essay I will refer to both private trade and semi-private trade simply as "private trade" to emphasize the involvement of non-state actors, and to distinguish this form of commercial activity from the exchange of goods between state representatives. Unless otherwise noted, all references to private traders will indicate merchants who were not engaged in trade on behalf of a state.

were established mainly from the Warring States (Zhanguo 戰國) period (475–221 BCE) to the end of the Later Han (Hou Han 後漢) dynasty (25–220). Second, these perspectives spread to various East Asian polities along with literacy and Chinese texts, and endured over the span of many centuries.⁶ By the time an interstate system of private trade was established across East Asia in the early ninth century, the basis for how government officials were to conceptualize merchants was already rooted in their education.

The most common misconception regarding the merchant in early Chinese history is that from Chinese antiquity onward, agriculture was prized first and foremost among state planners and thus the place of the merchant was unnecessary or of secondary importance. In fact, however, Roel Sterckx has shown that there is only one extant Warring States text that contains a sustained ideological stance in favor of the suppression of merchants, which is the Legalist text *Shang jun shu* 商君書 (Book of Lord Shang, completed ca. third century BCE). In addition, Sterckx points out that some of the greatest intellectuals of the day, Mencius 孟子 (372–289 BCE) and Xunzi 荀子 (310–235 BCE) among them, actually held favorable views toward the creation of wealth by means other than agriculture.⁷ Song Xi (also Sung Shee) has likewise noted that the suppression of merchants was never a traditional Confucian position, but one which originated from scholars such as Shang Yang 商鞅 (390–338 BCE) who belonged to what is now called the Legalist school of thought.⁸

It was during the centuries that followed the unification of China in 221 BCE that we begin to see the sustained antagonistic rhetoric toward merchants that was later recycled throughout Chinese history. For example, this language is frequently employed in the “Food and Money” chapter of the *Han shu* 漢書 (Book of Han, compiled 111),⁹ usually in sections that discuss the government’s confiscation of the wealth of merchants and the landed elite. At the heart of the

issue was a concern that merchants were engaging in grain speculation and hoarding, a practice that had a devastating effect on towns and cities in desperate times. Yet it is abundantly clear in this chapter that civil bureaucrats felt their authority was also under threat by the wealth of merchants, who were much harder to tax than farmers and able to exert influence on both local society and state government.¹⁰ To offset their influence and ability to conceal assets, merchants were at various times restricted from holding office, charged higher rates of tax than farmers, and policies and statements were put forward that promoted agriculture over trade in a style that harkened back to the writings of Shang Yang. Underlying this rhetoric was the model from antiquity in which merchants were listed last among the four categories of professions. By the Former Han (Qian Han 前漢) dynasty (202 BCE–9 CE), this model was being used to emphasize that rather than having a legitimate place as one of the four accepted roles of society, merchants were inferior among the free population.

Yet the views of the compilers of the *Han shu* were in no way a reflection of a consensus among the scholar-officials of their time. An alternate perspective may be seen in the writings of the historian Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145–86 BCE), who gave a generally favorable depiction of merchants and commerce in the biographies section of the *Shi ji* 史記 (Records of the Grand Historian, compiled 94 BCE), and even situated the circulation of goods and the setting of prices into a Daoist worldview.¹¹ The place of the merchant was also subject to change based on the policies of each emperor and his administration. There were laws that put the names of merchants on special registers and banned them and their descendants from holding office, wearing silk, riding horses, or owning land, but just as during later dynasties, these laws often went unheeded.¹² Indeed, many of the wealthy

6 For the spread of literacy in East Asia, see Kornicki, *Languages, Scripts, and Chinese Texts in East Asia*.

7 Sterckx, “Ideologies of the Peasant and Merchant in Warring States China.” See also von Glahn, *The Economic History of China: From Antiquity to the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 75–81, for a detailed discussion on attitudes toward merchants at this time. We see here that Mencius was also critical of the profit motive of merchants.

8 Song, *Song shi yanjiu luncong*, p. 1.

9 Swann, *Food and Money in Ancient China*.

10 For several of many such examples found throughout the chapter, see *ibid.*, pp. 165, 282, 311, 418. For a discussion on the topic, see pp. 24–25.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 421. For an excellent analysis of Sima Qian’s philosophical discourse on moneymaking in the *Shiji*, see Nylan, “Assets Accumulating: Sima Qian’s Perspective on Moneymaking, Virtue, and History.” Of particular interest is Sima Qian’s description of successful moneymakers as “uncrowned nobles” (*sufeng* 素封), discussed on pp. 135–36, 147, 155–58.

12 Lewis, *The Early Chinese Empires*, p. 76. For remarkably similar circumstances during the Song 宋 dynasty (960–1279), see Shiba, “Sung Foreign Trade,” p. 96. At times, prohibitions against

merchants who engaged in the long-distance trade of luxuries were able to evade them outright.¹³ Even during periods when merchants were subject to some of the harshest limitations, such as during the reign of Emperor Wu of Han (Han Wudi 漢武帝, 151–87 BCE, r. 141–87 BCE), they were nevertheless directly employed in significant government positions, such as heading the state monopolies on salt and iron.¹⁴ One son of a merchant, Sang Hongyang 桑弘羊 (152–80 BCE), even became vice chancellor (*yushi dafu* 御史大夫, also known as “imperial secretary”).¹⁵ At other times, wealthy merchants could easily give up their tradesman’s status to become landlords and still deal in grain and silk, which were considered forms of money alongside coins.¹⁶ Yet perhaps most indicative of the cultural overlay that exceeded these social distinctions was a widespread attraction to the image of a cultivated intellectual. For at the peak of the popularity of Confucian learning during the Former Han dynasty, even magnates and merchants began to model themselves after Confucian scholars.¹⁷

In the centuries that followed the collapse of the Han empire in 220, various small, and often volatile, states emerged in its place. In the northern portion of the former empire, trade resumed and even flourished during relatively brief periods of stability. From surviving accounts, we know that ranking officials at this time were well aware of the opportunities inherent in commerce, and were not averse to using their positions as a means of enriching themselves—either through their own businesses or through the coercion of other traders.¹⁸ In the southern states, the dynamic of merchant

and official appears even more muddled, as certain civil officials and military officers were granted privileges that exempted them from paying commercial taxes. Involvement in commerce by officials was also common in these states, to the point that merchants would attach themselves to officials as “disciples” so as to evade taxes. Officials were even dispatched at the personal behest of imperial family members to trade with foreigners at domestic port cities. It was also not uncommon for officials of this period to be of a merchant background, which may be an indication that mercantile families enjoyed a more favorable social status compared to previous times.¹⁹

Denis Twitchett has contributed much to our knowledge of merchants during the Tang dynasty. Thanks to his efforts, we know that edicts were issued in this period which set into law the model of the four professions, forbade merchants and craftsmen from associating with officials, and denied merchants access to government offices.²⁰ But we can also see more clearly at this time that officials sympathetic to Confucian views tended to be less hostile toward merchants than some of their more heavy-handed utilitarian counterparts. Some scholar-officials such as Bo Juyi 白居易 (772–846) even argued that merchants or their progeny should be allowed to take the imperial examinations, a position that was based on long-held principles that officials should be employed on the grounds of ability rather than heredity.²¹ Other officials were able to block attempts to increase the taxation of commerce in part because such measures could lead to social unrest.²²

It would seem that toward the end of the Tang dynasty, decreased regulation brought about by the decentralization of authority led to an unprecedented improvement of the merchant’s lot in society. Indeed, their economic prospects were surely advanced in such

merchants holding office were also relaxed, such as during the reign of Emperor Jing of Han (Han Jingdi 漢景帝, 188–141 BCE, r. 157–141 BCE). See von Glahn, *The Economic History of China*, p. 108

13 Lewis, *The Early Chinese Empires*, p. 76.

14 Von Glahn, *The Economic History of China*, pp. 114–15. For a view that emphasized lower-level bureaucrats engaged in commerce, see Zhu, “Song dai shangren de shehui diwei ji qi lishi zuoyong,” p. 129. The periodic administration of salt monopolies by merchants is a recurring theme throughout Chinese history, and we can see that such a practice was alive and well even in the early seventeenth century. See McDermott, “Merchants and Trade Networks in Late Imperial China.”

15 Yang, “Government Control of Urban Merchant in Traditional China,” p. 188.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 188; Lewis, *The Early Chinese Empires*, pp. 69–70.

17 Ch’en, “Confucian, Legalist, and Taoist Thought in Later Han,” p. 769.

18 Xiong, “The Northern Economy,” pp. 321–22.

19 Liu, “The Southern Economy,” pp. 346–48.

20 Twitchett, “Merchants, Trade and Government,” pp. 64–68. Similar restrictions were also in place in Japan by the eighth century, as to a greater extent, its laws were copied directly from Tang legal codes. However, one interesting exception is that Japanese legislators chose not to adopt Tang laws that prohibited the involvement of officials in commerce. In addition, the Yōrō 養老 Code (implemented in 757) did not contain a provision delineating the four professions, which is thought to have existed in previous Japanese codes. See Farris, “Trade, Money, and Merchants in Nara Japan.”

21 Twitchett, “Merchants, Trade and Government,” pp. 90–92.

22 Twitchett, “A Confucian’s View,” p. 444.

an environment. As Twitchett states, “One of the most striking developments during the Tang period is the gradual improvement of the position of merchants and artisans, traditionally held in low esteem, and the parallel change in the attitude of government and the ruling elite towards them.”²³ Yet I am curious as to how profound these changes were, and whether or not a greater variety of extant textual sources from the Tang period onward more acutely highlights a disparity between rhetoric and practical circumstances that we know existed in earlier times as well. Merchants were able to operate with little impediment at certain times during the Han dynasty and prior to the Qin consolidation of imperial China. Societies throughout the Chinese ecumene also underwent a great deal of change following the collapse of the Han dynasty, which at times also resulted in a favorable environment to establish a livelihood in trade. It therefore may be best for us to conceive of an ebb and flow of the social position of merchants throughout Chinese history, rather than of turning points that suggest a permanent transition away from past social conventions.

With this in mind, we may note that contention between officials and merchants was not to end in the mid-eighth century, but actually became more pronounced during the Song 宋 (960–1279) dynasty, particularly in the decades leading up to the Jurchen conquest of the northern half of the state in the early twelfth century. Despite the unique challenges that administrators faced at this time, we see a reuse of rhetoric that intentionally drew parallels to the abusive practices of monopolistic hoarding and speculation during the Han dynasty. This became most evident when the statesman Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021–1086) put forward his New Policies (*xinfa* 新法) as an ambitious means to mandate changes across all levels of Song society.²⁴ In particular, Wang Anshi and his successors were intent on having the government supplant the place of money lenders, and take control of the trade of tea, salt, medicine, and other commodities. In addition, many of the richest households were highly taxed, and the government minted coins at a higher rate than at any time prior to the eighteenth century.

23 Ibid., p. 429.

24 See Smith, “Shen-tsung’s Reign and the New Policies of Wang An-shih”; Levine, “Che-tsung’s Reign (1085–1100) and the Age of Faction”; and Levine, “The Reigns of Hui-tsung (1100–1126) and Ch’in-tsung (1126–1127) and the Fall of the Northern Sung.”

Part of the means to win support for these changes was to highlight a crisis caused by merchants, who were termed “engrossers.”²⁵

But of course, in practice it was not so simple as to depict the merchant as a threat to society and suppress him or her accordingly. Just as “worthy merchants” had been chosen to head state monopolies during the reign of Emperor Wu of Han, Wang Anshi was criticized by his opponents for employing merchants on a grand scale to help implement his policies as well.²⁶ Indeed, the Song government had already established Maritime Trade Superintendency (*Shibosi* 市舶司) offices by the late tenth century, which subjected long-distance traders to both increased regulation *and* state support. This brought court-appointed officials and merchants into regular contact and highly formalized relationships, though it also facilitated associations of a more dubious nature.²⁷ In fact, many scholars have singled out the Song period as a golden age for merchants, despite the fact that they were more effectively taxed than in previous dynasties.²⁸ Such an attribution is based primarily on the economic opportunities that resulted from the Song state’s support of commerce throughout the period. But it may be necessary to keep in mind that as with any other period of history, the Song dynasty was a time in which great changes often reversed the fortunes of many in the general population. In other words, a merchant adversely affected by a government monopoly in the time of Wang Anshi would have likely had a different view of his or her economic prospects than one selling essential commodities near Hangzhou Bay (Hangzhou Wan 杭州灣) following the southward relocation of the Song capital in the twelfth century.

As for the question of social mobility in this period, the answers are less clear. At certain times during the

25 Smith, “Shen-tsung’s Reign,” pp. 390–91, 404–405. For positive views on Northern Song monetary policies, see McDermott and Shiba, “Economic Change in China, 960–1279,” pp. 377–79; and Liu, “Wrestling for Power,” pp. 27–80. See also von Glahn, *Foundation of Fortune*, pp. 48–50.

26 Smith, “Shen-tsung’s Reign,” pp. 391, 405.

27 For a discussion of these offices, see Nakamura, “The Maritime East Asian Network in the Song-Yuan Period”; So, *Prosperity, Region, and Institutions in Maritime China*, pp. 42–49; Schottenhammer, “China’s Emergence as a Maritime Power,” pp. 460–79; and von Glahn, “The Ningbo-Hakata Merchant Network.”

28 In addition to the special taxes and levies directed at merchants at this time, this statement may be applied to the general public as well, as scholars believe that Song societies witnessed some of the highest rates of taxation in Chinese history. See Hartman, “Song Government and Politics,” pp. 23–24.

Song dynasty, such as in the decades following its consolidation in 979, strict regulations were put forward that forbade officials from engaging in commerce and merchants from entering the bureaucracy. But although the children of merchants were not permitted to take imperial examinations, it appears that they were able to flout such rules at certain times.²⁹ Furthermore, loopholes dating back to the Han dynasty remained in place that allowed the most successful merchant families to change their status to that of landlords, and then to officials.³⁰ Thus we continue to find ample evidence of families with the means to turn wealth into power, though a stark contrast is recognizable between the merchant who amassed great sums of wealth through long-distance trade and the peddler on the street.

Much of the above information would have been known to scholar-officials across East Asia from the ninth to the twelfth century based on their knowledge of historical works and the political circumstances of their times. The same may perhaps also be said for the literate, well-connected, and economically formidable merchants who were among the maritime traders that sailed between states to trade in luxuries and resources. It is in this context that we may begin to consider the ideological basis for which trade—as well as those who engaged in or patronized it—would have been perceived throughout East Asia in the centuries that followed the decline of Tang state authority.

Private Trade and Diplomacy

The ideals of what we now call Confucianism, including those of the masters of ritual who were referred to as *ru* 儒, were never intended to be restricted to a single Chinese state, but to be used across the world that existed under heaven (*tianxia* 天下)—preferably under the rule of a Chinese emperor. For this reason, the spread of Chinese concepts of civilization was promoted by

successive generations of scholar-officials, and many of the intellectual traditions that were passed on from the Warring States and earlier times formed the basis of the structure in which the representatives of various states were to interact with each other.³¹ Chinese systems of thought were particularly prevalent across East Asia from the fourth to seventh centuries, as Chinese culture gained rapid acceptance within governments on or near the Korean Peninsula before spreading to the Japanese archipelago. In the courts of these states, Confucian values largely influenced the orthodox way in which government was to be conducted, especially in situations that necessitated interaction with representatives of neighboring polities. The scholar-officials of such states, although fully aware of the cultural differences that existed between them and their diplomatic counterparts, found common ground in the education that they received, which was based largely on the same classical texts.

This diplomatic protocol came from what some might term “Confucian” ritual, in that there was a hierarchy of those who participated in the tributary system, and relationships between the rulers of states were often characterized by familial bonds, either through actual intermarriage or as rhetorical devices. But despite the emphasis on ritual and moral conduct, even from the inception of the tributary system, the incentive for states or tribes to participate was most commonly to obtain rare goods and precious commodities through trade.³² Such was the means employed by the Chinese state to attract foreign dignitaries from far and wide, on the one hand allowing the emperor or monarch to benefit from the prestige of attracting peoples from distant lands, and on the other hand allowing Chinese governments to influence and be informed on matters outside of their borders. But that is not to say that the favorable trade terms that China bestowed on tributaries were intended only to avail its guests. In actuality, many Chinese rulers and their retinues were eager to receive rare and exotic goods from distant lands as well.³³ Though tributary trade was from an early time supplemented

29 Zhu, “Song dai shangren,” pp. 133–34. It seems that allowing merchant or artisan families to participate in the examinations had become such an enduring practice by the middle of the eleventh century that efforts by reformist officials to exclude such families largely ended in failure. Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072) himself made the argument that keeping the literati a discrete social group was not as important as promoting learning to determine the social worth of an individual. See Bol, “*This Culture of Ours*,” p. 175.

30 Song, *Song shi yanjiu luncong*, pp. 15–20.

31 For interstate diplomacy prior to China's first imperial dynasties, see Lewis, “Warring States,” and Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy*, p. 25.

32 Yü, “Han Foreign Relations,” p. 416.

33 Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand*, and Hansen, *The Silk Road*, p. 15. For Chinese and Japanese diplomacy from the Han to Tang dynasties, see Wang, *Ambassadors from the Islands of Immortals*.

or superseded by a vibrant system of private trade for many of the Central, West, and South Asian countries and tribes in contact with China, in East Asia the primary means of exchanging goods until the ninth century was through systems of tributary diplomacy. We can see this also remained the case when states in the region engaged in diplomacy that did not involve China, such as the tributary relationship between Japan and Parhae 渤海 (698–926, located in present-day North Korea and Manchuria), which was conducted in a tributary framework, though almost entirely for the purpose of trade.³⁴

Much scholarly work has been carried out on the tributary system that characterized diplomacy in East Asia from China's early and mid-imperial periods (approximately third century BCE to thirteenth century CE). However, relatively little research has been conducted on the transition from tributary exchange to private trade that occurred in East Asia during this time span.³⁵ For although tributary diplomacy—and the exchange of goods therein—can be said to have existed for over a millennium, by the ninth century, a trend was underway in which private trade became the most common means for goods to move across state borders. It was especially the case in states such as Unified Silla (T'ongil Silla 統一新羅, 668–935) and Japan that this new system proved to be a cost-effective means of engaging in commerce, one which did not necessitate the tremendous amount of resources required to send out large tributary ships packed with hundreds of envoys and sailors.

Yet there is much to show that the earliest system of private trade in East Asia was modeled on the system of tributary diplomacy. For instance, many of the characteristics exhibited by the Chinese and Korean merchants who came to Japan from the early ninth century onward drew close similarities with the diplomats who arrived on the archipelago during and prior to that

time. The earliest indicator of this would be that the first private traders to arrive in Japan were nevertheless recorded in Japanese sources as bearing tribute, a term and practice which frequently appears alongside the activities of merchants in Japanese records in the following centuries. In particular, these traders, who for the first half of the ninth century were largely (but not exclusively) ethnic Koreans, arrived in Japan with the tribute of exotic animals.³⁶ This is a practice worthy of our attention as it can be traced back to Han-dynasty diplomatic customs in which representatives from distant states would bring strange creatures as gifts to the Chinese court.³⁷ For the most part, in the several centuries that followed the beginning of private trade in Japan, gifts of exotic animals tended to be given to the Japanese court by merchants making their first journey to the archipelago. This is reflected not only in that the names of these merchants often first appear in entries detailing a gift of one or several such animals to the court, but also in that during times of great disruption, such as following the collapse of the Tang dynasty in 907, a wave of merchants bearing gifts of animals can be seen in Japanese sources.³⁸

Another function of private traders that closely resembled that of their diplomatic predecessors was the handling of correspondence to and from state courts. This was commonly arranged when court officials wished to contact Buddhist monks and institutions located outside of their borders, though it also occurred when states wished to open direct channels of communication with each other. A notable example of the former situation was in 893 when the Chinese merchant Wang Ne 王訥 (d.u.) carried a letter from a Japanese monk visiting China to the Japanese court, warning that the Tang government was teetering on the edge of annihilation. This information was used by

34 Von Verschuer, *Across the Perilous Sea*, pp. 20–21. It should nevertheless be pointed out that the initial diplomatic exchanges between Parhae and Japan in the early eighth century seem to have been prompted by the desire of Parhae leaders to form a military alliance. See Wang, *Tang China in Multi-Polar Asia: A History of Diplomacy and War*, p. 93.

35 For tributary diplomacy, see Wang, *Ambassadors from the Islands of Immortals*; Yü, "Han Foreign Relations"; Hansen, *The Silk Road*; and Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand*. For diplomacy conducted on an equal footing during the eleventh century, see Tackett, *The Origins of the Chinese Nation*; and Rossabi, *China Among Equals*.

36 *Nihon kiryaku*, entries dated Kōnin 弘仁 9 (818).1.13 and Kōnin 11.5.4.

37 Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand*, pp. 58–104. As can be seen in this book, this was a common practice during the Tang dynasty as well. For gift-giving in East Asia, see Hyun, "Gift Exchange among States in East Asia During the Eleventh Century."

38 We can see this in the early part of China's Five Dynasties period, for instance in *Fusō ryakki*, entry dated Engi 延喜 3 (903).11.20; *Nihon kiryaku*, entry dated Engi 9 (909).11.27; *Fusō ryakki*, entry dated Engi 19 (919).7.16; *Nihon kiryaku*, entry dated Shōhei 承平 5 (935).9; and *Honchō seiki*, entry dated Tengyō 天慶 1 (938).8.23. For an instance during the Song dynasty, see *Nihon kiryaku*, entry dated Chōwa 長和 4 (1015).2.12.

the renowned scholar-official Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 (845–903) to cancel what would have been Japan's last diplomatic mission to China for centuries to come.³⁹ As for the sea merchants' handling of state-to-state correspondence, this frequently occurred between the Five Dynasties (Wudai 五代, 907–979) kingdom of Wu-Yue 吳越 (907–978, located in the present-day Zhejiang area) and the Japanese court from 935 to 953, and also between the Song and Japanese courts toward the end of the eleventh century.⁴⁰

And finally, one of the signature elements of diplomacy between East Asian states was the composition of poetry. Aside, of course, from surviving the often-deadly voyage across the seas, this was one of the most skill-demanding processes that transpired on a tributary mission. In such a setting, leading officials representing their countries exchanged poems in a competitive but genial manner that was nevertheless arranged as a ceremonial event.⁴¹ Records of the ninth and tenth centuries demonstrate that this process also continued throughout the transition to private trade. Extant pieces of poetry, which include compositions both written by and for the benefit of continental merchants, provide details of their activities that are seldom found in state chronicles. For instance, throughout a waiting period that might last half a year or more, practically nothing was ever recorded regarding the activities of Chinese or Korean merchants during their stay in Japan. One exception, however, would be when a merchant composed poetry for a Japanese audience, an activity that was unequivocally prized by courtiers in the Heian 平安 period (794–1185). The earliest recorded example of this would be in 838, when the merchant Shen Daogu 沈道古 (d.u.) and his crew stayed at the Kōrokan 鴻臚館, a lodging facility in northern Kyushu originally provided for foreign diplomats and Buddhist

monks but later used for private merchants, too. Daogu's trade mission to Japan was not so much as mentioned in the official records, yet his impressive poetic performance was duly noted years later by his admiring hosts. Daogu also won the favor of Emperor Ninmyō 仁明天皇 (810–850, r. 833–850) after he donated to the sovereign a compilation of poems from the famous Chinese poet Bo Juyi. This exchange likewise earned a promotion for the Japanese official who arranged it.⁴²

Two decades later, in 858, a mixed group of merchants from China, Parhae, and Silla under the leadership of a Parhae merchant named Yi Yōkhyo 李延孝 (d. 877) arrived at the Kōrokan along with their passenger, the Japanese monk Enchin 円珍 (814–891). Enchin, who later gained fame as one of the most prominent—and also disputed—patriarchs of the Tendai 天台 school, had joined this crew on his return journey from China. As the merchants waited out their final days before heading back to the continent, Enchin, who was waiting for permission to depart for the capital city of Heian, exchanged poems with this group in a festive and emotionally tinged send-off. These poems were recorded in a text that is now preserved as a government-designated National Treasure, titled *Tōjin sōbetsushi narabini sekitoku* 唐人送別詩并尺牘 (Chinese Farewell Poems and Correspondence). In the following poem, drawn from this text, the merchant Cai Fu 蔡輔 (d.u.) reassures Enchin that despite the controversial issue of the eight-year-old Emperor Seiwa 清和天皇 (850–881, r. 858–876) ascending the throne (and the beginning of what would become a prolonged Fujiwara regency), the capital would soon enough return to a state of stability.⁴³

唐婦入朝月騰光
新天時亮曙色霜
縱然浮雲暫遮却
須臾還照莫苦(傷力)

Returning from China, the glistening moon rises
on arrival at court,
The new day [i.e., the new emperor] shines with
the dawn and frost's early light,

39 *Kanke bunsō*, vol. 9–10; Borgen, *Sugawara*, pp. 240–43. It should be noted that in many ways Buddhist monks also held the same responsibilities as sea merchants in assuming the roles of messengers and informants that were formerly held by diplomatic envoys.

40 For the state correspondence between Wu-Yue and Japan, see Worthy, "Diplomacy for Survival," pp. 35–36. For examples of such correspondence between Japan and the Song government, see von Verschuer, *Across the Perilous Sea*, p. 44.

41 For an exchange of poetry between Sugawara no Michizane and a Parhae ambassador, as well as their diplomatic proceedings, see Borgen, *Sugawara*, pp. 227–54. The significance of poetry composition in Song-Liao diplomacy is also discussed in Tackett, *The Origins of the Chinese Nation*, pp. 44–45, 64.

42 *Nihon Montoku tennō jitsuroku*, entries dated Ninju 仁壽 1 (851).9.26 and Ninju 2 (852).12.22. On the remarkably enthusiastic reception of Bo Juyi's poetry in Japan, see Smits, "Reading the New Ballads."

43 Saeki, *Enchin*, pp. 126–27.

Even if the floating clouds conceal for but a moment,
In an instant, pain and distress are again cleared away.⁴⁴

In addition to highlighting the literary ability of these merchants, such poems also reveal a surprising degree of insight into the political processes of their surrounding environments. As in later periods, sea merchants across East Asia at this time were clearly associating with important political figures or those who were connected to political centers, and the large variety of extant Japanese sources helps to shed light on this situation. This may be seen in the relationship between a Chinese man named Lu Zhiyuan 廬知遠 (d.u.), whom scholars generally presume was a merchant, and the Japanese scholar-official Miyoshi no Kiyotsura 三善清行 (847–919). On a trip to Japan in 901, Zhiyuan informed Kiyotsura about the eunuch Liu Jishu 劉季述's (?–901) attempted coup d'état in which thousands of people were allegedly killed in the vicinity of the Tang palace.⁴⁵

Even more successful in his efforts to form connections with Japan's leaders was the merchant Li Yanhuan 李彦環 (d.u.), whom Emperor Uda 宇多天皇 (866–931, r. 887–897) summoned to the capital for a meeting in 896.⁴⁶ Although Uda later admitted that meeting Yanhuan without the cover of a curtain was one of his greatest regrets, the merchant does not seem to have committed any overly drastic transgressions, as he was allowed to return to Japan in 903.⁴⁷ On this second occasion, Yanhuan was able to form a relationship with Sugawara no Michizane that allowed for the exchange of gifts. Michizane was by this time living out his final days in misery as an exiled governor of Dazaifu, the administrative center that oversaw traffic to and from

the continent. The following is a poem by Michizane, written as a “return gift” to Yanhuan, after the merchant gave the esteemed scholar-official a bamboo chair.

題竹床子。(通事李彦環所送。)

彦環贈與竹繩床
甚好施來在草堂
心是商人留別去
自今遷客著相將
空心旧為遙踰海
落淚新如昔植湘
不費一錢得唐物
寄身偏愛惜風霜

“Regarding the Bamboo Chair” (Given by the interpreter Li Yanhuan)
Yanhuan gave a bamboo chair,
It is of good use inside the thatched hut,
And so there should be a gift for this parting merchant,
Henceforth together with this exile,
Whose empty heart has long yearned to cross the distant sea,
New teardrops are shed like the mottled bamboo of old,⁴⁸
Having not spent a coin to receive this Chinese luxury,
It will be cherished through this moment of hardship.⁴⁹

This poem is significant in that it highlights the relationship formed between a Chinese merchant and a once-prominent Japanese scholar-official. Sugawara no Michizane, a staunch advocate of Confucian learning and Chinese institutions, is now known across Japan as the deity (*kami* 神) of learning, and is one of the most popular deities on the archipelago. That a man who consciously lived his life as a moral exemplar had no qualms with forming a close association with a merchant such as Li Yanhuan, demonstrates that merchants

44 *Tōjin sōbetsushi narabini sekitoku*; for a Japanese transliteration and interpretation, see Saeki, *Enchin*, pp. 126–27.

45 Tokyo Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo, *Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 1, entry dated Shōtai 昌泰 4 (901).3; *Xin tang shu*, vol. 19; and Somers, “The End of the T'ang,” pp. 779–80.

46 Uda Tennō, *Kanpyō goyuikai*, pp. 104–106, 293–94; *Nihon kiryaku*, entry dated Kanpyō 寬平 8 (896).3.4; and Borgen, *Sugawara*, p. 213.

47 Robert Borgen provides the following translation from Uda's entry in the *Kanpyō goyuikai*: “When foreign guests must be received, greet them from behind a curtain; do not face upon them directly. I have already made an error with Li Huan [sic].” *Ibid.*, p. 213. The type of curtain to be used in such circumstances is not indicated here.

48 This is a reference to the legend of Emperor Xun's 帝舜 consort Xiang Fei 湘妃 who drowned in the Xiang River 湘江. It is from this story that mottled bamboo (Ch. *xiangfeizhu* 湘竹 or 湘妃竹, Jp. *shōhichiku*) gets its name, as its spots are akin to teardrops that have sprayed onto the plants along the water of the Xiang River.

49 *Kanke kōshū*, poem 501. Part of my interpretation comes from the annotations of the editor of this work, Kawaguchi Hisao 川口久雄.

were not always judged primarily by their profession. Furthermore, we see here another merchant who, by Michizane's assessment, possessed an advanced degree of literary discernment. Needless to say, Michizane's "return gift" of a poem indicates that he owed no additional favors to Yanhuan, and one would think that had he deemed the matter inappropriate he would have denied the gift outright or simply left the matter undisclosed.

The Merchant and the Official

The above instances show that merchants from across East Asia frequently employed diplomatic protocol in the giving of gifts and the enactment of ceremony. As with diplomats, they also handled important correspondence to and from state leaders, and formed close relationships with officials from other states. However, despite the fact that examples of merchant families transitioning into officialdom and official families engaging in commerce can be found throughout a wide span of Chinese history, the perception of a barrier between both professions persists not only in the history of China, but also in the history of East Asia. This issue is perhaps best addressed by Joseph McDermott, who states that:

The category "merchant" was neither a fixed nor exclusive category. It remained a derogatory term or category in some circles. But so long as trade was not a person's sole or principal activity, then it had little catch in a society where the most prestigious social status, "official," was itself available to all through examinations ... a man could thus withdraw from an official position, retain that legal status, while at the same time do work other than government service.⁵⁰

Despite this assessment being made in the context of China's late imperial history, I believe it is also valid to a large extent for the time frame of this essay. This is evident in that some examples of merchant-official transitions are of retired officials engaging

in commerce in the late Tang dynasty.⁵¹ Indeed, it is curious that although Tang merchants and their kin were supposedly barred by law from taking office, we see a wide range of examples in the Japanese sources of continental traders who clearly had the education necessary to compose poetry in the same capacity as a distinguished ambassador.⁵² That the merchant Cai Fu, noted above for his poem to Enchin in the *Kōrokan*, held a prefectural official's title should encourage us to further consider this point.⁵³

This brings us to the question of whether or not it was possible for those traders who traveled across East Asia to take up simultaneous roles as both a merchant and an official. Individual sources typically only distinguish between one or the other, though we do see some interesting results in the rare instances when Japanese sources can be compared with Chinese sources. This is particularly apparent in the case of Jiang Xun 蔣勳 (d.u.). Xun, who was actively trading in Japan from 935 to 952, is noted in Japanese history as one of the merchants who most frequently journeyed to the archipelago in the tenth century.⁵⁴ He also carried correspondence between the King of Wu-Yue and leading members of the Fujiwara regency (Japan's de facto rulers) on some of these journeys.⁵⁵ However, an early-fourteenth-century funerary inscription of a Wuzhou 婺州 scholar named Jiang Jixiang 蔣吉相 (1274-1321) paints a different picture of Jiang Xun. Within this inscription is a genealogy that traces

51 Tackett, "Great Clansmen, Bureaucrats, and Local Magnates," pp. 112-13.

52 In fact, the evidence presented thus far of merchants composing poetry in the ninth century predates earlier estimations of them having attained such skills by several centuries, that is, at the end of the Song dynasty. See Konishi, *A History of Japanese Literature*, p. 27. More recent arguments demonstrate that literacy was spreading beyond the *shi* stratum from the Northern Song onward. See Hymes, "Sung Society and Social Change." The evidence presented in this article may push back these estimations to the last century of the Tang dynasty, though it remains unclear if the dissemination of literacy was limited only to a certain portion of long-distance traders. As for Japan, some aristocratic women in the Heian period were also able to read Chinese texts, though the composition of Chinese-style poetry was, nevertheless, regarded as a preoccupation for male aristocrats and scholar-officials. See Smits, "The Way of the Literati," pp. 110-12.

53 *Tōjin sōbetsushi narabini sekitoku*; Yamazaki, *Chūgoku godai kokka ron*, p. 247.

54 *Nihon kiryaku*, entries dated Shōhei 5 (935).9; and Shōhei 6 (936).7.13; *Honchō seiki*, entry dated Tengyō 1 (938).8.23; and Takeuchi, *Heian ibun*, entry 4623, p. 3564.

55 *Nihon kiryaku*, entry dated Shōhei 6.7.13

50 McDermott, "Merchants in Late Imperial China."

Jixiang's lineage back to a mid-ranking official in the Tang government's Ministry of Civil Appointment (*Libu* 吏部). As it turns out, this man was Jiang Xun's father. Of even greater interest is the preceding description of Jiang Xun himself, which states that Xun "concurrently served Wu-Yue as Acting Minister of Works and as Vice Chancellor, [he] established [his] family in Dongyang [county] of Wu [prefecture]" 仕吳越為其檢校司空兼御史大夫,始家于婺之東陽.⁵⁶

The case of Jiang Xun is intriguing because until now, scholars of this period have not considered such a close link between the "merchant" and "official" occupations in East Asian interstate exchange, especially not one that shows a ranking minister directly engaged in commerce.⁵⁷ The reasons for this are perhaps best attributed to the nature of the sources themselves. The inscription of Jiang Jixiang from which we find information of Jiang Xun has survived the passage of time not because of the importance of these two figures, but because the man who wrote the inscription, Huang Jin 黃潛 (1277–1357), was a prominent literatus in the Yuan 元 (1271–1368) government, as well as a leading figure in the Neo-Confucian movement of his time.⁵⁸ As such inscriptions were a valued part of his collected writings, they were deemed worthy for preservation and transmission by later generations. It is precisely

due to Huang Jin's fame as an intellectual that we know of Jiang Xun's past. Yet one notable characteristic of funerary inscriptions that authors such as Huang Jin composed, is an absence of discussion concerning commercial activity. This was in accordance with a cultural sensibility common among scholars in which ostentatious displays of wealth were generally associated with decadence or were deemed antithetical to the idealized image of an austere scholar.⁵⁹ That is not to say that the men and women discussed in these inscriptions, or the authors themselves for that matter, were not well-off. In fact, quite often the opposite was true, as the expense of arranging funerals and inscription services necessitated access to a considerable amount of resources. Rather, Beverly Bossler, who has worked extensively on the Song funerary inscriptions of Wuzhou inhabitants, demonstrates that although the attainment of wealth was a means of establishing status in a local community, the commercial activity from which much of this wealth derived, was, nonetheless, an ill-suited topic for eulogies. Bossler states that "since trade was always considered somewhat less than respectable, biographical sources rarely document the involvement of families or individuals in the commercial activity we know was expanding rapidly during precisely this period."⁶⁰ Since these inscriptions are the largest biographical source of information on Song individuals, the limitations of their subject matter pose a challenge in trying to understand the nature of the involvement of officials or of literati families in commerce at this time. Thus, details of Jiang Xun's background in the Chinese funerary inscription are limited only to a brief mention of his service in government, though we are fortunate to know from

56 *Quan Yuan wen*, vol. 30, pp. 348–50. Scholars have previously referred to this man as Jiang Chengxun 蔣承勳 (with the variants of 勳 and 勛 used for the third character in his name), which is how his name appears in Japanese records. Here I use Jiang Xun 蔣勳, as this was the name that was recorded in Jiang Jixiang's funerary inscription. It should be noted that in the genealogy provided within, the first character of his son Jiang Chengying's 蔣承郢 given name is the same character that was used in Jiang Xun's given name in the Japanese records. I use the corresponding dates and origins attributed to this man in the funerary inscription and Japanese sources, the connection to the Wu-Yue court of the individual mentioned in both Chinese and Japanese sources, as well as the appearance of the character 承 in his given name in Japanese sources and in his son's given name in the Chinese funerary inscription, as evidence that these sources are discussing the same individual.

57 The closest example for comparison would be the local officials from western Japan who conducted trade missions in Korea during the Koryō 高麗 (918–1392) dynasty in the eleventh century, apparently without the backing of the court in Heian. See Yamauchi, *Nara Heian ki no Nihon to Ajia*, pp. 82–86.

58 Huang Jin belonged to a local group in Wuzhou that were later called the "Jinhua Confucians," of whom Peter Bol characterizes as "scholars who accepted Neo-Confucianism's universalism and theory of human nature, but rejected its exclusion of literary learning and statecraft." For a full discussion on Jinhua Confucians, see Bol, "Neo-Confucianism and Local Society," pp. 265–66.

59 Bossler, *Powerful Relations*, p. 18, and citation no. 87 on p. 285.

For a discussion on funerary inscriptions, see pp. 9–24; and Ebrey, Yao, and Zhang, *Chinese Funerary Biographies*, pp. 3–18.

60 Bossler, *Powerful Relations*, citation no. 48 on p. 295; see also pp. 135–36, where Bossler notes the many wealthy families and the abundance of commodities in the Wuzhou area. She is certainly correct to suspect that many of these individuals were involved in commerce, as Japanese sources demonstrate that merchants of Wuzhou (not to be confused with Wu County [Wuxian 吳縣] in what is now the Suzhou area) were one of the most well-represented regional groups involved in the Japan trade during the Tang-Song transition, even despite the prefecture's landlocked mountainous topography. Three of these merchants and their Wuzhou origins are discussed in Yamazaki, *Chūgoku godai kokka ron*, pp. 189–94.

Japanese sources of his engagement in commerce and in state to state correspondence.

We may also note that Jiang Xun was not the only prominent individual at this time to have had dual roles in both politics and trade. Such a circumstance also became apparent when the Min 閩 (909–945) general Liu Congxiao 留從效 (906–962) took control of southern Fujian in the mid-tenth century. In the wake of his victories, he sent military officials to conduct trade in the state of Later Zhou (Hou Zhou 後周, 951–960).⁶¹ Although it is unclear whether these officials were of a learned background or were simply men who had fought their way to prominence alongside Liu Congxiao, we can still see an interplay of roles here that corresponds to Jiang Xun's time.

And roughly one century prior, we have an example of two Chinese brothers who were also involved in trade with Japan. The youngest brother, Xu Gongyou 徐公祐 (d.u.), made several trade voyages to Japan between 848 and 852.⁶² The older brother, Xu Gongzhi 徐公直 (d.u.), seems to have handled their affairs on the Chinese side, and addressed himself as an official from Wuzhou (that is, the “Honorary Commander of the Wuzhou Prefectural Office,” *Wuzhou yaqian sanjiang* 婺州衙前散將, essentially a low-tier office clerk). Although Xu Gongzhi's position was a sinecure post that may have held little to no actual responsibility, it nevertheless remains a marked connection between government officials and overseas trade. And as with merchants prior to and after their time, these brothers seem to have used the profits from their ventures to invest in land purchases.⁶³

Perhaps just as noteworthy is the remarkably close proximity of the “merchant” and “official” designations in the region of Wuzhou. Although it was a landlocked mountainous area in modern Zhejiang Province, Wuzhou stands out in the sources for its involvement in overseas trade between China and Japan over the span of the Tang-Song transition. Not only do the activities of the Xu brothers and Jiang Xun highlight how officials engaged in overseas trade came from this area at different times throughout the Tang-Song transition, but

two of the merchants from the group who composed poetry on Enchin's return to Japan were from Wuzhou as well.⁶⁴

On this note, we may turn to another example of a sea merchant whose name appears both in Japanese sources and in a Chinese funerary inscription. Adjacent to Wuzhou and located on the coast of modern Zhejiang Province was the neighboring prefecture of Taizhou 台州. In this area we see a rather interesting case in which wealth generated from overseas trade financed the education of members of the Song literati, and eventually contributed to their endeavor of lineage building.⁶⁵ The Zhou family of Ninghai County (Ninghai xian 寧海縣) was involved in the lucrative Japan trade for at least two generations, starting in the late tenth century. Part of the key to their success was the arrangement of strategic marriages that supported their business interests, such as the marriage of the second-generation trader Zhou Wenyi 周文裔 (962–?) to the daughter of a Japanese courtier, or the marriage of their son Zhou Liangshi 周良史 (986–?) to the daughter of a prominent literati family from Mingzhou. It was in this latter case that we begin to see the transition of this group from a merchant family to a literati family, and it is Zhou Liangshi's name that appears in both Japanese and Chinese sources. For in 1021, Liangshi left his pregnant fourteen-year-old wife to captain a trade ship to Japan, and never again returned to his hometown. According to the funerary inscription of his wife, Lady Shi (Furen Shishi 夫人施氏, 1007–1080), she was faced with the arduous task of raising a son on her own with minimal support from her in-laws. Through her own initiative, she was able to educate herself, and then to pass on her knowledge as a means of providing an early education for her son, Zhou Bian 周弁 (1021–1093). After he showed great potential, members of the Zhou family financed her son's formal education in Hangzhou, and decades of sacrifice on the part of Zhou Bian and Lady Shi resulted in Zhou Bian passing the imperial examination to obtain a highly coveted *jinshi*

64 These two were Li Da 李達 (d.u.) and Zhan Jingquan 詹景全 (d.u.). See *Tōjin sōbetsushi narabini sekitoku*; and Yamazaki, *Chūgoku godai kokka ron*, p. 191.

65 The following draws mainly from Yamazaki, “Kaishō to sono tsuma.” For discussion on lineage-building initiatives in the mid- and late imperial periods of Chinese history, see Ebrey, “The Early Stages in the Development of Descent Group Organization”; and Bol, *Neo-Confucianism in History*, pp. 29, 121, 144, 240–46, 258–60.

61 *Song shi*, volume 483; So, *Prosperity, Region, and Institutions in Maritime China*, pp. 33–34.

62 *Kōya zappitsushū*, entry dated Ninju 5 (852).5.22; Yamazaki, *Chūgoku godai kokka ron*, pp. 177–88; Saeki, *Enchin*, pp. 185–86; Watanabe, *Heian jidai*, p. 118.

63 Yamazaki, *Chūgoku godai kokka ron*, pp. 184, 187.

進士 degree—a considerable accomplishment which allowed him to take up a career as an official.⁶⁶ From this point on, we can see that the transition to a literati family was complete, as many of Lady Shi and Zhou Bian's descendants went on to even higher positions of prominence in the Song government. The crux of Lady Shi's accomplishments occurred in 1112, when she received the ultimate recognition for a merchant's wife. In this year, Emperor Huizong (Song Huizong 宋徽宗, 1082–1135) publicly honored her achievements and posthumously conferred upon her the title “Lady of the State of Wei” (Weiguo Furen 魏國夫人).

Despite the remarkable story of Lady Shi, Zhou Bian, and the rest of the Zhou family, they were not alone in their attempts to transition from commercial success to attaining representation in state government at this time. Peter Bol has identified this trend as occurring primarily as wealthy families sought a means to protect their interests and gain the acceptance of local literati. As a result of these initiatives, the profits from merchant and landholding families were often invested in private academies, which in turn spurred some of the greatest intellectual movements of the day.⁶⁷

Finally, if we turn toward Korean history, we may see that the close connection between merchant and official was not a phenomenon isolated to China and Japan. This is particularly evident from the early to mid-ninth century, when Korean merchants, sailors, and officials played a fundamental role in establishing the private trade networks that persisted across East Asia for many centuries. The man at the head of these efforts was the magnate Chang Pogo 張保臯 (790–841), though he relied on an infrastructure of thousands of Koreans that were spread throughout various states in East Asia.⁶⁸ Pogo himself rose to prominence as a military official in the Tang armies, and may have been the private

trader (or diplomat) called “Envoy Chang” (Jp. Chō Taishi 張大使), who arrived in Japan in 824.⁶⁹ On his return to Korea he was made a maritime commissioner in charge of his own naval garrison, which became the headquarters of his trade network. A read through the journal of the Japanese monk Ennin 円仁 (794–864), who gave a detailed account of his time spent in Korean diaspora communities in China, provides a clear depiction of the Korean officials who served in the Tang government but simultaneously lent support to Chang Pogo's activities. In an attempt to begin a trade relationship with the Japanese government, one such official constructed a boat to bring Ennin back to Japan, but his plan was discovered by a rival and he was forced to cease his illegal activities.⁷⁰ Pogo's commercial empire eventually came to a dramatic collapse in 841 when he was assassinated by a political adversary. Up to that point, he had amassed enough wealth and power that he was able to influence marriage politics in the Silla royal family, allowing for his daughter to become a wife of King Munsōng (Munsōng wang 文聖王, ?–857). It would seem then that in the eyes of his enemies, Chang Pogo had come to embody the image of the over-powerful merchant of whom Legalist scholars appeared to abhor.

A Different Attitude and Rhetoric

Significant research has shed light on the suppressive laws and negative attitudes that some officials held toward domestic merchants in China during the Tang dynasty.⁷¹ Yet when we take a look at how officials across East Asia dealt with foreign merchants and the traders who exchanged luxury goods from the ninth to twelfth centuries, such attitudes appear to be the exception rather than the norm. A look at the language that was used and the way in which maritime merchants were treated at this time reveals much about their general predicaments and allows us a keen sense of the dynamic that existed between them and government officials. Detailed accountings of such interactions in the Japanese records are particularly helpful in this regard.

66 It is possible that some extent of exaggeration framed the account of Lady Shi's moral qualities, as the story of a widow sacrificing much for the sake of her son's education was a common trope in the funerary inscriptions of this time. See Bossler, *Powerful Relations*, pp. 17–20. Also noteworthy here is that Zhou Bian spent part of his career as an official in Wuzhou, which when considered together with Lady Shi's literati family in Mingzhou, draws another connection between these locations and overseas trade between China and Japan.

67 Bol, *Neo-Confucianism in History*, pp. 36–37.

68 For more on Chang Pogo and his network, see Ennin, *Ennin's Diary*, pp. 100–104, 131; Reischauer, *Ennin's Travels in Tang China*, pp. 287–94; Batten, *Gateway to Japan*, pp. 84–86, 112–13; and Kim, “Frogs Looking Beyond a Pond,” pp. 83–84.

69 Ennin, *Nittō guhō junrei gyōki*, entry dated Kaishō 會昌 5 (845).9.22.

70 Ennin, *Ennin's Diary*, pp. 394–95.

71 Twitchett, “Merchants, Trade and Government”; Twitchett, “The Tang Market System.”

To highlight this point, let us go back to the merchants of the Zhou family of Taizhou. During the decades that they were actively trading in Japan, Zhou Wenyi was able to take as his wife the daughter of a Japanese courtier; the earliest example of what became a common practice of Chinese merchants taking Japanese wives. Not only did Zhou Wenyi and his son Zhou Liangshi foster favorable relations with the Japanese government, they were also able to immigrate to Japan, and were likely among the first residents of the Chinese diaspora in Hakata.⁷² Even when Zhou Wenyi broke regulations meant to restrict the frequency of merchant arrivals (henceforth referred to as *nenki* 年紀 regulations), Japanese courtiers bent the rules to let him do business.⁷³ The relationships that Wenyi and Liangshi fostered are noteworthy as they reached the highest levels of state—courtiers and royalty alike. This included leaders of the Fujiwara regent's house and Crown Prince Atsunaga (Atsunaga Shinnō 敦良親王), the future Emperor Gosuzaku 後朱雀天皇 (1009–1045, r. 1036–1045).⁷⁴

Under the leadership of Fujiwara no Michinaga 藤原道長 (966–1028), the Japanese court in the early eleventh century was especially friendly to foreign merchants. Considered to be one of the most powerful courtiers in Japanese history, Michinaga made extensive use of foreign goods as gifts in his patronage network, and thus was keen to encourage foreign traders to make frequent visits to Japan.⁷⁵ Also coinciding with Michinaga's time in power was a wave of immigration of Chinese merchants to Japan.⁷⁶ There are indications that this led directly to the establishment of Hakata, the most important trade port in Japan for many centuries to come. Although we do see precedents of people from China and the Korean Peninsula immigrating to Japan

since even before the beginning of its written history, Hakata is significant in that the settlement there became a permanent trading hub similar to other Chinese diasporas set up across Southeast Asia, and along the lines of the various foreign diasporas that were established throughout the Tang empire.⁷⁷

As for the rhetoric that was used in the communication between foreign merchants and Japanese officials, here we may see a rather marked departure from most of the scholarship conducted on the social roles of both professions thus far. Bruce Batten has provided one example of this rhetoric in the instance of a merchant named Pan Huaiqing 潘懷清 (d.u.), who, similar to Zhou Wenyi, came to Japan in breach of *nenki* regulations in 1070.⁷⁸ Huaiqing was nevertheless allowed to trade, in part due to the pretext he had given Japanese officials that he had come “yearning for the imperial virtue” (Ch. *huanghua* 皇化, Jp. *ōka*). Batten has pointed out that an ideological component was part of the approval process for allowing foreign merchants to trade in Japan, noting that their arrival, provided that it was morally sound, reflected well on the state and its sovereign.⁷⁹ This we can see is reflected in other sources of the period. For instance, two years prior to Huaiqing's arrival, the merchant Sun Zhong 孫忠 (d.u.) also arrived in breach of *nenki* regulations. He made his case by claiming to have come “yearning for the sovereign's virtue” (Ch. *wanghua* 王化, Jp. *ōka*), and appears to have won some support from the Heian court, that is, until Dazaifu officials found some major discrepancies in his paperwork and he was thereupon denied permission to trade.⁸⁰ Since Pan Huaiqing had traveled on this earlier voyage with Sun Zhong, it seems more than likely that he had noted the effectiveness of his partner's Confucian lexicon, and used it with greater success on his later trip.⁸¹

72 Yamazaki, “Kaishō to sono tsuma,” p. 94.

73 Fujiwara no Michinaga, *Midōkanpakuki*, annotations, entries dated Chōwa 1 (1012).9.2; Chōwa 1.9.21; Chōwa 1.9.22. There is as yet no consensus among scholars as to the frequency in which merchants were permitted to visit Japan under such regulations, though most estimations are between once every two to once every three years. Watanabe Makoto argues that the regulations were intended to restrict arrivals to roughly once every ten to twelve years. See Watanabe, *Heian jidai*, pp. 206–44.

74 Yamazaki, “Kaishō to sono tsuma,” p. 88.

75 For a description of these goods and how they were dispersed among the Japanese aristocracy, see Satō, “Kokufū to wa nani ka,” pp. 284–86.

76 *Honchō reisō*, p. 606; Sattler, “Japan's Early Private Traders,” pp. 42–50.

77 There is one example of a foreign merchant being given land and permission to reside in Japan long before the establishment of Hakata. See *Nihon sandai jitsuroku*, entries dated Gangyō 元慶 1 (877).6.9 and 1.8.22.

78 Batten, *Gateway to Japan*, pp. 113, 118–19. This case as well as the following cases in which similar rhetoric is used are also discussed in Yamauchi, *Nara Heian ki no Nihon to Ajia*, pp. 181–85.

79 Batten, *Gateway to Japan*, p. 113.

80 *Suisaki, Sochiki*, entry dated Jiryaku 治曆 4 (1068).10.23. The characters 皇化 and 王化 are both read as *ōka* in Japanese and *wohng\ fa-* in Cantonese, so it is possible that they are interchangeable. The difference in meaning of the two graphs appears to be minimal, with the former referring to the influence of an emperor, and the latter referring to that of a sovereign.

81 As Confucian scholars traditionally conceived of tribes and states along China's borders as lacking reverence and understanding

The precedents for the use of such rhetoric among merchants are apparent decades earlier during the time of Fujiwara no Michinaga, who in addition to the case of Zhou Wenyi, appears to have been involved in allowing three other merchants to trade in Japan in breach of the *nenki* regulations.⁸² The last of these instances provides some further insight on the ideological rationale that merchants and officials employed in their dealings. In 1027, the merchants Chen Wenyou 陳文祐 (d.u.) and Zhang Renchang 章仁昶 (d.u.) came to Japan knowing full well that they were in violation of the trade regulations, but nevertheless had prepared an excuse that they hoped would vindicate their actions. Renchang's parents resided in Japan, and he himself was of mixed Chinese and Japanese lineage, with his father being a Chinese merchant, and his mother Japanese. Wenyou therefore made the case that he had come to reunite Renchang with his family, which was an issue of great urgency as Renchang's parents had become senile and required someone to look after them. Michinaga, who was most likely aware of this ruse but nevertheless appreciative of a proper pretext to trade, pointed out favorably that Renchang's mother was Japanese and suggested that they be allowed to do business. As for Wenyou, the court noted the feeling of virtue (Ch. *dehua* 德化, Jp. *tokka*) that he imparted throughout the process. Unfortunately for the pair, they were officially denied the right to trade, perhaps because the ailing Michinaga lacked the power to influence such matters in his final months. Yet the court decided that

of a true sovereign's virtue, in recording this type of discourse, Japanese courtiers were implying that the Japanese emperor upheld the ancient Chinese ideals of a sovereign, while demonstrating that the visiting merchants were civilized in their own right for being able to recognize his virtue and submitting themselves accordingly. Understandably, such hierarchal positioning, long since a mainstay of diplomatic exchange, was conducive toward establishing a successful business relationship. Yamauchi limits his interpretation of this rhetoric to a purely Japan-centric context, though I think that Japanese courtiers would have understood the universal nature of these values despite their use in political grandiloquence, or at least that such values were prevalent in societies with a literary culture. See Yamauchi, *Nara Heian ki no Nihon to Ajia*, pp. 183-88. For a discussion of the sixth century Liang dynasty scholar Cui Ling'en's 崔靈恩 (d.u.) views on foreign peoples and imperial virtue, see Shinkawa, "Bunmei (moji, kotoba, shisō) no idō: Ten' gainen o tegakari to shite."

82 *Shōyūki*, entries dated Kankō 寛弘 2 (1005).8.21; and Kankō 2.8.24; *Shōyūki*, entry dated Kannin 寛仁 4 (1020).9.14; *Shōyūki*, entries dated Manju 万寿 4 (1027).8.25; Manju 4.8.30; and Manju 4.9.14.

the traders were to be given preferable treatment and permission to reside in Japan for a limited amount of time, which in accordance with the parlance of the day likely equated to a partial allowance to trade.⁸³

But just as trade could be legitimated on a moral basis, so too could it be rejected in such a manner. This was made clear in 842 when Yi Sojōng 李少貞 (d.u.), a representative of the assassin of the Silla trade magnate Chang Pogo, made an aggressive appeal to the Japanese court to allow him to seize the cargo of a rival Silla merchant. The court denied Sojōng on the premise that he had once served under Chang Pogo, and thus had proven himself disloyal and untrustworthy.⁸⁴

In contrast to their views on relatively small-time domestic merchants, influential figures across East Asia commonly held positive attitudes toward the foreign merchants who possessed great quantities of prestige goods as well as generous attitudes toward gift-giving. These traders were not always welcome, especially when they breached regulations at inopportune times, or when economic hardship caused an embarrassing strain on the ability to purchase such goods. But as we have seen, in many cases the violation of rules could be condoned, and this was often done with the reasoning that it would be improper not to shelter the traders and their crews in the cold winter weather, or that their moral qualities legitimized such transactions.

Conclusion

The place of the foreign merchant in East Asian history is quite different from the negative image of the merchant that has emerged from the readings of Chinese laws and court histories. By and large, this may be attributed to the influence that the most successful merchants were able to exercise due to their acquisition and dissemination of wealth. For even under hostile governments or rigidly structured economies, these merchants were still often able to form alliances with government officials and to adapt to the challenges of their day.

83 *Shōyūki*, entries dated Manju 4 (1027).8.25; Manju 4.8.30; and Manju 4.9.14.

84 *Shoku Nihon kōki*, entry dated Jōwa 承和 11 (842).1.10; Watanabe, *Heian jidai*, pp. 17-25. For the argument that the Japanese court had not subsequently denied trading rights to all Silla traders, but rather to those with factional ties to the Silla government, see Watanabe, *Heian jidai*, pp. 16-37.

Such an advent did not begin in the periods of de-regulation that have come to characterize the late Tang and Song dynasties. Just as successful merchant families could transition to the ranks of officialdom at certain times during the Song dynasty, the same may be said for the Han dynasty as well. In both early and mid-imperial China the place of the merchant was suppressed by laws that were sometimes followed and sometimes ignored, depending on the sociopolitical conditions of the time. All of this suggests that there was a greater degree of continuity in the social maneuverability of merchants in Chinese history than has been previously acknowledged. Rather than conceiving a teleological improvement of the merchant's position in society over a long span of history, it may be more accurate to consider that their position changed periodically for better or worse based on the government policies of their day. And despite the heated rhetoric at certain times, there was usually nothing personal in the policies that were being introduced at the expense of merchants. For when government monopolies were instituted in China, merchants were recruited to oversee them. Rather, we see at various points in East Asian history, just as in the history of any society, an underlying theme of contention for wealth and power as a root cause for division.

And just as we can see that the place of the merchant and the place of the official could coincide, so too can we say the same for the conception of private trade and diplomacy. Following the decline of official diplomacy in East Asia in the ninth century, merchants and monks could take on the roles formerly attributed to state diplomats, and were allowed the privilege of staying at the government-sponsored lodgings that were constructed for the purpose of tributary exchange. Rather than assume that private trade and diplomacy were always easily distinguishable, we should consider that at certain times both designations were close enough to overlap and yet remain a matter of interpretation between the parties involved. This is evident in the instances when Japanese traders sold weapons to the state of Liao 遼 in 1091 and 1092. In the *Liao shi* 遼史 (History of Liao, completed in 1344), these events were recorded as "tribute," though as the export of weapons was illegal in Japan, the authorities there considered it to be nothing more than illicit trade and punished those who were

involved.⁸⁵ In the case of Jiang Xun of Wu-Yue, this idea begs some pertinent questions. In particular, when a state official arrives at a foreign country to trade—with indications that he was acting at the behest of his government no less—one has to wonder why he should *not* be called a diplomat. As historians have maintained that Japan was not engaged in official diplomacy at this time or in the following centuries, such an assertion could potentially open up a new can of worms. Though one can only speculate on the particularities of Jiang Xun's voyages, I am inclined to think that he was sent to Japan as an official representing the Wu-Yue court, and that Japanese officials recorded him as a merchant so as to give sanction to his visits under a framework that permitted trade with private individuals. Whether or not this was the case, Jiang Xun's circumstances encourage a reconsideration of the precise nature of Japan's engagement with its neighbors at this time; one in which the notion of diplomatic isolation may prove inadequate in conceptualizing what increasingly appears to be a nuanced yet pragmatic system of interstate relationships.⁸⁶

Finally, quite often the negative perception of merchants in East Asian history is attributed to a traditional "Confucian" view. This article has hopefully demonstrated that this is not an altogether accurate assessment. For as we have seen, trade in East Asia, as with the tributary protocol of earlier centuries, shared a common set of what we may call Confucian traditions. Yet we should also hesitate to assume that Confucians by and large held favorable views of merchants, as there clearly exists a potential for conflict between the goal of amassing wealth and the Confucian disdain of greedy behavior.⁸⁷

85 *Liao shi*, entries dated Da'an 大安 7 (1091).9.14; and Da'an 8 (1092).9.27; von Verschuer, *Across the Perilous Sea*, p. 45. A similar instance of "Japanese tribute" is reported in the *Liao shi* for the year 925, but is not mentioned in Japanese sources. See *Liao shi*, entry dated Tianzan 天贊 4 (925).10.21.

86 For arguments against the notion of Japan as a country in isolation at this time, see Batten, *To the Ends of Japan*; and Yamauchi, *Nara Heian ki no Nihon to Ajia*, pp. 167–89. Batten nevertheless takes a position similar to that of a more recent generation of Japanese scholars: that Japan was in a state of diplomatic isolation (rather than general isolation), whereas Yamauchi highlights the rhetoric of tributary diplomacy in the exchange between sea merchants and Japanese officials, but emphasizes the role of these merchants as non-state actors who at times functioned as intermediaries in state-to-state relations.

87 It should also be noted that the members of the Ban family, whose *Han shu* was highly critical of merchants, were staunch Confucians themselves.

Despite the many scholar-officials who disliked those who profited from the labor of others, merchants appear to have been marginalized for the most part only at times when they were deemed to be a direct political threat (such as Chang Pogo) or an economic rival to their respective governments (such as those who amassed fortunes in China by circulating coins, iron, or salt). In the case of maritime traders, we have seen that it is important to separate rhetoric from convention, as their values were often aligned with those of different occupations, be they monk or official. Granted such links were for the mutual gain of each of these parties—usually defined in economic terms—though the efforts of merchants to associate and integrate with these groups would have been facilitated by an ability to conform to their respective social norms and demonstrate a similarly defined background, particularly in regard to education, literary ability, and moral conduct.

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 NKBT *Nihon koten bungaku taikai* 日本古典文学大系. 102 vols. Iwanami Shoten, 1957–1967.

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Michizane's Other Exile? Biographies of Sugawara no Michizane and the Praxis of Heian Sinitic Poetry

NIELS VAN DER SALM

更妬他人道左遷

What's even more upsetting is how others speak of my "demotion."

Sugawara no Michizane, *Kanke bunsō*, fasc. 3

Introduction

EARLY Heian court scholar, poet, and official, Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 (845–903), in a poem preserved in his personal literary collection *Kanke bunsō* 菅家文章 (The Sugawara Literary Drafts), thus described being upset about rumors concerning his demotion—a common euphemism for “exile” (*sasen* 左遷, K187).¹ As is well known, in 901 Michizane was accused of interference in the royal suc-

cession and sent into exile in Dazaifu 太宰府, where he died in ignominy two years later. This line, however, was written fifteen years earlier, in the first month of 886. In that year, Michizane was transferred from his post in the Bureau for Higher Learning (Daigakuryō 大学寮), the institution tasked with the education of the court's professional bureaucracy, to the island of Shikoku, where he was to serve a four-year term as Governor of Sanuki 讃岐 Province.² What made Michizane describe this appointment in such strong terms? This question has occupied numerous scholars for the better part of a century and has produced a sizeable literature with interpretations ranging from Michizane's righteous indignation at political elimination to exaggerated lament over the most important promotion in his career. Curiously, one assumption remains unquestioned:

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1 All source texts as well as their transcriptions are based on Kawaguchi Hisao's 川口久雄 NKBT edition. The numbering of Michizane's works follows this edition. Because his numbering deviates from the order of the manuscripts, I prefix his index numbers with a K. For the sake of consistency, below I also follow Kawaguchi's glosses, unless otherwise noted, except *kana* usage, which is adapted to modern spelling. Missing readings have been supplied as *go-on* 呉音 (the pronunciations of kanji that are considered to be the oldest stratum of Sinitic vocabulary in Japanese), in line with Kawaguchi. Subsequent scholars have frequently taken issue with Kawaguchi's idiosyncratic glosses (on which see NKBT 72, pp. 96–99); for a discussion, see Ōoka and Akiyama, “Taidan,” pp. 6–8. Translations are my own, unless

otherwise noted. I have also made use of Kawaguchi and Wakabayashi's concordance (*Shiku sō-sakuin*) throughout.

2 The Daigakuryō is alternatively known as the “State Academy” or the “University”; compare also Hérail's translation (*Miyoshi no Kiyoyuki*, p. 17) as “office des Études supérieures.” Any translation is problematic for the associations it conjures up with modern research institutes; the Daigakuryō's primary function was to train men for bureaucratic service, not to further scholarship for its own sake. The caveat also applies to related terms, such as “professor of literature” and “scholars,” which I retain for clarity's sake.

shared between all these views is the implicit notion that if Michizane wrote poetry saying he was upset about the appointment, then Michizane must have, indeed, been upset about the appointment.

In the bleakest view, represented by historians Iyanaga Teizō 彌永貞三 (1915–1983) and Sakamoto Tarō 坂本太郎 (1901–1987), Michizane became the victim of Fujiwara power politics and academic strife.³ Critics have argued that the academic factions these scholars have identified cannot be reconstructed from surviving sources, while they also point out the amicable relations between Michizane and the most powerful Fujiwara of the day, Chancellor Fujiwara no Mototsune 藤原基経 (836–891). Robert Borgen is an early representative of this viewpoint in Anglophone scholarship,⁴ which Japanese historians such as Takenaka Yasuhiko 竹中康彦, Haruna Hiroaki 春名宏昭, and Kon Masahide 今正秀 later adopted independently, also calling attention to the fact that governorships were a common occupation for courtiers of middling rank.⁵ Niboshi Jun 二星潤 has recently demonstrated, though, that this career path had been a recent development for bureau graduates like Michizane, and therefore presented enough reason for him to feel frustrated,⁶ especially since the system had not yet developed the lucrative “custodial” governorships (*zuryō* 受領) familiar to readers of Heian *kana* classics.⁷ Nevertheless, other scholars—besides Borgen, Haruna, and Kon, also Endō Mitsumasa 遠藤光正—are probably right to suggest that the administrative experience gained during this period was an essential factor in Michizane’s subsequent rise in the central bu-

reaucracy.⁸ Yet despite this re-evaluation of Michizane’s governorship, all these scholars—including even the economic historian Hirata Kōji 平田耿二, who sees in the assignment an actual promotion that was motivated by the court’s trust in what he calls their “ace” (*ēsu* エース) administrator⁹—maintain that for Michizane himself, the appointment was a matter of “misfortune” which he “hated” and found “extremely deplorable.”¹⁰

Comparisons with exile to Dazaifu, the search for inimical scholarly cliques, reconstructions of the career paths of graduates from the Bureau for Higher Learning—all these approaches seek to find an answer to the same underlying problem: What made Michizane’s appointment such an unhappy one? But this problem raises another, more fundamental question: How do we know how Michizane actually experienced his assignment in the first place? Can we even assume this is knowable? The implicit answer to this question is that yes, we can, because he tells us so in his poetry: at the core of the discussion lie five poems that Michizane wrote between the announcement of his appointment and his departure for duty. Lines from these five poems and passages from the accompanying headnotes are quoted time and again to illustrate one core notion about Michizane’s governorship: that it was an unwelcome appointment.

最歎孤行海上沙

What I lament most is that I will walk in solitude,
along the sands by the sea.

K183.8

須臾吟曰、明朝風景屬何人。一吟之後、命予高詠。蒙命欲詠、心神迷亂、纔發一聲、淚流嗚咽。宴罷歸家、通夜不睡。默然而止如病臂塞。

After a brief pause, he [Chancellor Fujiwara no Mototsune] spoke to me, reciting: “Tomorrow’s landscape—to whom shall it belong?” After reciting it once, he instructed me to chant it out loud. I took up the order and wanted to chant, but

3 Iyanaga, “Ninna ninen no Naien”; Sakamoto, *Michizane*, pp. 66–68.

4 Borgen, *Michizane*, pp. 153–57.

5 Takenaka, “Sanuki no kami Michizane”; Haruna, “Nin Sanuki no kami”; Kon, *Sekkan seiji*.

6 Niboshi, “Bunjin no kokushi ninkan.”

7 In particular, Sei Shōnagon, *Makura no sōshi*, section 22, ed. Watanabe, *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 25; or section 25, ed. Ikeda, NKBT 19; and see also Hérail, “De la place et du rôle.” During the period of Michizane’s term, governors were under considerable institutional stress, being held personally accountable for tax deficits while they had few tools to ameliorate often dire financial situations (Batten, “Provincial Administration,” pp. 119–22; Sasaki, *Zuryō to chihō shakai*, pp. 17–23). Over the two subsequent decades, this centralized administrative system would be largely abandoned in favor of a laissez-faire approach that “rewarded efficiency” and which would eventually lead to a situation where “nothing prevented [governors] from pocketing the balance” when revenue exceeded the tax burden (Batten, “Provincial Administration,” p. 131).

8 Endō, “Michizane no seiji.”

9 Hirata, *Kesareta seijika*, pp. 54–68.

10 Rabinovitch and Bradstock, *Moonlight*, p. 216; Sakamoto, *Michizane*, p. 65 (and see pp. 66, 70); and Fujiwara, *Shijin no unmei*, p. 111, respectively. See also Endō, “Sanshū jidai no Michizane,” pp. 103–107; and Shirane, *Traditional Japanese Literature*, p. 132.

my heart and mind were lost in confusion, and when I had barely uttered one sound, tears flowed and I broke into sobs.

After the banquet was over and I had returned home, all night I failed to get to sleep. Silent and unmoving, I felt like I was ill, and my chest felt tight.

K184, headnote

讃州刺史自然悲

As Governor of Sanuki Province, of course I am sad.

K185.1

爲吏爲儒報國家

Serving as a provincial official, serving as a learned man, we repay the sovereign [of this land].

K186.1

更妬他人道左遷
倩憶分憂非祖業

What's even more upsetting is how others speak of my "demotion."

I have carefully considered it, but "sharing the ruler's grief" was not the task of my forefathers.

K187.2-3

Extracted using the heuristic notion that expressions of personal experience provide us with autobiographical detail, these fragments convey a coherent and not unconvincing narrative that approximately runs as follows. The prospect of being on the road made Michizane sad, and the governorship that was waiting for him at the end of that journey was also a cause of grief—so much so that when the chancellor quoted a poem that alluded to Michizane's departure, the latter broke down, sobbing uncontrollably at the banquet they both attended, and afterwards was unable to get any sleep. Michizane also tells us why he was so upset: although he declared himself prepared to serve as a provincial administrator just as he had as a scholar, he felt that the job did not suit him personally, given the scholarly positions his ancestors had also occupied. In fact, the appointment is counter to all expectations for a man like Michizane, and to his irritation, people whispered behind his back that he was being demoted and banished to another province.

Yet can we really assume that everything poets say about how they feel is an unmediated expression of personal sentiment? Old warnings about biographical fallacy notwithstanding, modern commentators are often inclined to see poetry as a vehicle for unmediated personal expression, an assumption that justifies its use as autobiographical, even documentary evidence for the poet's state of mind.¹¹ But this interpretative strategy clashes with what scholarship over the past decades has taught us about the nature of Heian poetic practice. Instead of asking what Michizane felt as he wrote, I will argue that if we want to understand why Michizane wrote about himself, it is more fruitful to ask how, where, and with whom the poet engaged in poetic composition. Undercutting the autobiographical readings that privilege this type of emotional language, I claim that this approach enables us to understand poetic composition as more varied and complex than the heuristic notion that poets (ought to) write about their feelings, and that it does justice to not only the *disiecta membra* quoted above, but to the entire poems, left undisturbed in their original historical and textual context.

In the first section, I present an archaeology that deconstructs what I believe is a modern insistence on poetry's emotional language, which I trace back to the early years of the Japanese nation-state and the development of national literature's (*kokubungaku* 国文学) canon, in which Japanese poetry was redefined as a means of personal expression—a reading strategy that focuses on emotional language because it presumes that poetry immediately reflects the poet's inner world. In the second section, I review the recent literature on Heian poetic forms and practices—that is, external factors that influenced composition—to present an alternative interpretative framework for Heian poetry. The third section is devoted to an integral close reading of the five pre-Sanuki poems, to which the lines and passages presented above belong. My aim is to formulate an alternative reading of these poems, in which the personal, emotional charge of the poetry is initially ignored in favor of the external factors explored in section two. In the conclusion, I will bring these strands together to show how the reading strategy proposed in the second

¹¹ Literary histories associate the term "biographical fallacy," which might be defined as "misreading the literary subject's works as though they were straight autobiography" (Winslow, "Glossary," p. 65), with the school of New Criticism.

section and the analysis in the third provide a useful methodology and generate more insightful answers than the hackneyed view that Michizane's Sanuki poetry was only written to vent frustration. The ultimate aim of this study is therefore twofold. On the one hand, I hope to show how a more sophisticated argument can be made than "Michizane was dissatisfied with his appointment," one that is more attuned to the historical, rhetorical, and poetic contexts that motivated the use of emotional expression. On the other, this article is intended as a methodological contribution in which I question a positivist tendency to take source texts at face value, and suggest historicizing reading strategies that focus on the praxis of poetry, which help deepen our understanding of what literary texts attempted to say, and how they functioned at the time and place they were composed and performed.

Fragmentation, Modernity, and Autobiography

In the preface to their most recent *shi* 詩 anthology, *No Moonlight in My Cup*, Judith Rabinovitch and Timothy Bradstock explain that while they strove to compile a representative selection of poetry,

[i]n selecting verse for this work, particular attention has been paid to informal and private poetry, comparatively little of which has ever been translated. These poems tend to have more lyrical and human interest than the formal court kanshi, offering significant insights into the personal lives and aesthetic sensibilities of courtiers.¹²

Their claim to the contrary notwithstanding, Rabinovitch and Bradstock are in good company when it comes to their principles of selection. As Kristopher Reeves argues in his dissertation on ninth-century Heian poetry, for a previous generation of translators, the distinction between "conventionalized" and "highly personal poetry" played an important role in establishing what was worth anthologizing.¹³ Writing about Burton Watson's (1925–2017) anthology of Sino-Japanese verse, Reeves argues that his selection of Michizane's

shi is clearly skewed towards lyrical poems that could be construed as moments of personal self-expression and *cris de coeur*.

Watson endeavors to present to his English-speaking audience those scattered poetic pearls [...]. Only serious and highly personal poems are to be included. Michizane's biographical poems about historical figures [the subject Reeves is discussing] do not contain that same sort of *interiority*, and therefore, I suspect, have been left aside as unworthy of inclusion in our English selections. We as modern readers [...] must handle translations with care, for they are bound to present us with a very prejudiced, albeit appealing—*because of their alignment with modern attitudes about poetry*—picture of Heian Sinitic poetry. To be sure, a number of Michizane's poems, [...] do smack of something we might recognize as deeply emotional. Even so, as his biographical poems have shown this was certainly not always the case.¹⁴

In this section, I explore how these "modern attitudes about poetry" have helped to construct and maintain the reading strategies that engendered this fragmentation into anthologies, attitudes that also shape the selective operation through which Michizane's Sanuki poems have been read as autobiographical expressions of personal experience. That is not to say that I intend to deny the presence of something "deeply emotional." After all, premodern East Asian critical language does connect emotion to poetic expression, such as in commentaries on the ancient continental *Odes* (*Shijing* 詩經), in the preface to the *Kokin wakashū* 古今和歌集 (Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern, after 905), and most poignantly, in the letter Michizane wrote to accompany the presentation of his collection *Kanke bunsō* to the throne in 900, where he states about his time in Sanuki, "[t]he emotions that stem from experiencing the world around me: I cannot fathom their abundance; the pleasures of a poet: only by guessing can we measure them" (觸物之感、不覺滋多。詩人之興、推而可量).¹⁵ Nevertheless, I do wish to direct attention away from interiority and the language

12 Rabinovitch and Bradstock, *Moonlight*, p. ix.

13 Reeves, "Poetry, Patronage, and Politics," p. 12, referring to Watson, *Japanese Literature in Chinese*, pp. 12–13.

14 Reeves, "Poetry, Patronage, and Politics," pp. 697–98. Emphasis mine.

15 K674. On the *Odes* and *Kokin wakashū*, see Fujiwara, *Michizane to Heian-chō kanbungaku*, pp. 128–30.

of emotion, which has come to occupy an excessively prominent place in the interpretation of Michizane's supposedly "personal" poetry. An extreme example may be found in the Michizane biography authored by literary scholar Fujiwara Katsumi 藤原克己, who in his introduction describes Michizane's poethood in the following terms.

But he [Michizane] possesses a certain pure ethic, born out of a poetic disposition (*shishin* 詩心) that is all but useless in politics—a delicate sensibility that unfailingly picks up the shifting of the seasons, quicker than others, or a kind spirit that loves people, plants, flowers, birds, the stirring of the wind. One of the points I want to stress in this book is this point: that that is the ethic of the poet.¹⁶

Fujiwara's construction of Michizane's poetry out of the poet's subjective experience is clearly grounded in a romanticist conception of poetic expression.¹⁷ As a literary current that values the (supposedly) immediate expression of a poet's innermost feelings, this critical perspective justifies the focus on a poet's language of emotion. While Fujiwara consciously conceptualizes his approach, however, in some senses his work constitutes only the rationalization of the praxis of his predecessors. These scholars include not only biographers—Sakamoto Tarō in Japanese, and Robert Borgen in English, whose biographies (1962 and 1986, respectively) are littered with autobiographical detail gleaned from *Kanke bunsō*¹⁸—but also the great postwar scholar of Sino-Japanese literature and doyen of Michizane textual scholarship, Kawaguchi Hisao 川口久雄 (1910–1993), whose NKBT edition enshrined Michizane's poetry as an authentic representation of the poet's inner feelings when he argued the following.

Is it not true that in works of literature alone, when a text close to the autograph has been handed down to us, as long as we carry out proper interpretation, we should be able to hear the sighs,

groans, the very voice of the author himself just as they once had been?¹⁹

For Kawaguchi, who described Michizane's writings as "the collected works of an individual," the value of his compositions—the poetry in particular—lay in the direct access these works could grant to their author's inner world.²⁰ Kawaguchi's statement should be read, however, as more than a naïve understanding of Michizane's poetic language, for this rhetoric reflects the trend (shared with many other postwar scholars of Sino-Japanese literature) to "reincorporat[e] ... the literary Sinitic corpus into the discursive field of 'Japanese Literature'" from which it had been excluded.²¹ As Robert Tuck has explained in lucid detail, despite the central place Michizane occupied as paragon of loyalty in the imagination of modern Japanese national identity, the Michizane mythos failed to secure Michizane any significant readership.²² Although hailed as the quintessence of early Heian poetry, Michizane's works achieved their status not because of careful literary analysis but for their ideological potential:²³ in his poetry, Michizane was thought to have subjugated Chinese form to express authentically and sincerely Japanese content,²⁴ "defending the nation from foreign influence" in the process.²⁵ In postwar discourse, this markedly modern narrative, which sought to cope with an anxiety over national identity, was stripped of its most overtly jingoistic paraphernalia, but left in place a rhetoric of poetic authenticity available for Kawaguchi to suggest that Michizane's works ensured, if not access to an untainted national identity, then echoes of an authentic individual voice.

More than an *analysis* of Michizane's oeuvre, therefore, postwar narratives of Michizane's works (such as

16 Fujiwara, *Shijin no unmei*, p. 13.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 14, and see his article, "Michizane: Le poète."

18 This approach is also echoed in other biographies, such as those by Gerlini, *Poesie scelte*; Higashi, *Kujira*; and Tokoro, *Michizane no jitsuzō*.

19 Kawaguchi, NKBT 72, p. 24.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 24. Poetry's privileged position is evident from the casualness with which Kawaguchi split up the first half (poetry) and second half (prose) of *Kanke bunsō* so as to insert the later *Kanke kōshū* (Michizane's one-fascicle collection of Dazaifu poetry) between them (p. 95), and the fact that he paid hardly any editorial attention to the prose (pp. 527–634 of a 739-page edition).

21 Steininger, *Chinese Literary Forms*, p. 5, n. 10.

22 Tuck, "Poets, Paragons, and Literary Politics," pp. 46, 52–54, 70–75.

23 *Ibid.*, pp. 55–56, 59, 65, 87, 89; see p. 74 for a counter-example.

24 *Ibid.*, pp. 47, 85–90, 94.

25 *Ibid.*, pp. 46–47. Even today, Michizane's perceived anti-Chinese-ness is a keystone in conservative narratives about Michizane, such as the assumption-ridden "explanation" of Michizane's exile in an essay by history textbook reformist Ijiri Kazuo 井尻千男 (1938–2015), "Michizane higeki no shinsō."

those of Kawaguchi and Fujiwara) can be read as *rhetorical*, because they respond to, and seek to reorient, the language of authenticity and sincerity their modern forerunners had used to dismiss Michizane's compositions. This dismissal is tightly entwined with the fundamental reorientation of the literary canon as a part of the development of *kokubungaku*, which scholars over the past two decades have insistently probed for its connections to the emergence of the modern Japanese nation-state.²⁶ For example, the status of prose rose greatly in comparison with traditional genre hierarchies, so that Michizane, known primarily for his poetry, was left behind in the new canon;²⁷ and Heian literature came to be perceived as a site of femininity, which meant that Michizane could not be conceived of as a representative author, either in terms of his own gender or the forms of Sinitic that he employed, which were predominantly the domain of male writers and had long been gendered as a masculine enterprise.²⁸ Most crucial, however, was the redefinition of the canon in terms of a—modern, Japanese—national language and the accompanying exclusion of all texts perceived as “un-Japanese.”²⁹ This extended to the *shi* poem, which was written in the Sinitic literary language and was therefore reconceptualized as something inherently and irredeemably Chinese, despite its nearly two millennia of use as a shared medium of textual expression throughout East Asia.³⁰ Not coincidentally did the *shi* come to be increasingly referred to by the (still-current) ethnically marked term *kanshi* 漢詩, or “Han poem.”³¹ This was more than an issue of language: a failure to use one's native tongue was explained as a failure to convey thoughts, feelings, and sentiments that were truly Japanese—they would be “stylized and mediated,” its language “ceremonious, mannered,

inauthentic.”³² To claim that Michizane's literary writings are a window into his soul, as Kawaguchi claims, is therefore more than staking a claim about a framework for literary analysis: it is also, maybe even primarily, an attempt at repurposing the language of authenticity to bring Michizane back into the fold of Japanese literature—quite literally, as an edition in Iwanami's leading *kokubungaku* series of text editions.

Postwar scholarship on Michizane has thus managed to complicate the glotto-centric conception of the modern canon. An assumption that was left untouched, however, was that of the relationship between literature, poetry in particular, and the author's inner world. Literary critics and historical biographers alike avow an unwavering faith in the reliability of Michizane's poetry as a medium to convey unmediated thoughts and feelings. I would argue that this approach to poetry, too, relies on a historically specific conception of literature, one that in many ways is particular to the modern period. On the one hand, it echoes Euro-American romanticist notions of poetry as an expression of the lyric genius, which were current when *kokubungaku* began to formulate itself. More specifically, the problem of human emotion (and how to write about it) appears to have been a very specific concern of modern Japanese authors, as Daniel Poch has recently argued in the case of Natsume Sōseki 夏目漱石 (1867–1916).³³ It seems likely, therefore, that the preoccupation with sincerity in prewar Michizane narratives that Tuck explored, as well as the conflation of author and lyric “I” in the current interpretations of Michizane's literature, can trace their lineages to the modern predilection for lyric poetry that Reeves warns us about in the passage quoted at the beginning of this section.

This suggestion should alert us to the possibility that privileging expressions of interiority may not be a useful reading strategy when attempting to reconstruct how Michizane's *shi* were thought to work when they were first composed. Although *shi* frequently represent a first-person perspective, and the correlation between author and “I” is often strong, this does not mean that this first-person narrator can be unquestionably assumed to represent an “autobiographical self.” This term is used by sinologist and comparatist Eugene Eoyang in contradistinction to the “generic self,” when

26 For premodern forerunners to the modern canon, see Brownstein, “Kokugaku to Kokubungaku”; Kurozumi, “Kangaku,” pp. 214–16; Yoda, *Gender and National Literature*, pp. 45–50.

27 Shirane, “Canon Formation,” pp. 4–9.

28 See for this view especially Yoda, *Gender and National Literature*.

29 Discussed in, for example, Kurozumi, “Kangaku”; LaMarre, *Uncovering Heian Japan*; Sakaki, *Obsessions*; Shirane, “Curriculum”; and Yoda, *Gender and National Literature*.

30 For the Japanese archipelago, see for example Rabinovitch and Bradstock, *Moonlight*, p. 121; Sakaki, *Obsessions*, chapters 3 and 4 (pp. 103–76); and Tuck, *Idly Scribbling Rhymers*, chapters 1 and 2 (pp. 1–81).

31 Rabinovitch and Bradstock, *Moonlight*, p. 4. There is no consensus on the use of the term *kanshi* and its translations: Kornicki, “A note on Sino-Japanese,” and Wixted, “*Kanbun*.” Here I retain the name (*kan*)*shi* in its transcribed form.

32 Webb, “In Good Order,” p. 39.

33 Poch, “Measuring Feeling.”

he compares the rhetoric of classical Chinese poetry, where poets tended to write about their lives in alignment with literary conventions (in particular, expressions of the self that were bound by genre rather than the poet's own subjective experiences), to the modern tendency to interpret personal poetry as expressions of an autobiographical, self-reflexive subject.³⁴ Modern readers, in other words, are at risk of succumbing to an "excessive lyricism"³⁵ that privileges the individual subject as the primary locus of signification, and which opens up poetry as a medium for the representation of private experience and authentic expression.³⁶ So what other options do we have besides a lyrical reading of Heian *shi*? What happens if we decenter the fragments of emotional language that are highlighted by such a strategy? In the next section, I will discuss how recent scholarship has reconstructed Heian poetic production as a social, performative practice, which suggests how we should pay attention to the contexts in which emotional language functioned—both textual, in the sense of the poetics of entire poems, and social, in the sense of the setting and audience that witnessed its composition. This enables the formulation of an interpretative model for ninth-century Heian *shi* that, as I will show in a detailed analysis of Michizane's five pre-Sanuki poems in section three, I believe can help us achieve a richer understanding of the function and meaning of Heian poetry.

A Short Poetics of Early Heian *Shi*

The existence of complicated networks of courtly duties, family obligations, and personal relationships ... meant that individuals inevitably participated in, and were subject to the norms of, more than one collectivity. [...] Context is paramount. It galvanizes individuals, if in some cases just for

the moment. It changes how poetry is written, and texts interpreted. Our methodology must adequately capture those distinctions.

Jason Webb, "In Good Order," pp. 12–13.

Instead of relying on the experiencing subject, recent scholarship has sought to explain Heian poetic form—both *waka* 和歌 ("harmonizing poem," or "Japanese song") and *shi*—in terms of its social context and poetry's performativity. Gustav Heldt in *The Pursuit of Harmony: Poetry and Power in Early Heian Japan* has put forward the argument that poetry and its social (and political) effect rested on proper adherence to specific aesthetic norms.³⁷ Brian Steininger, in his recent *Chinese Literary Forms in Heian Japan: Poetics and Practice*, has explored in more detail what these norms were in the case of mid-Heian textual culture, and indicated how adopting established poetic practice (and not personal innovation *per se*) was key for producing passable occasional verse.³⁸ Kristopher Reeves has recently shown that skilful navigation of these expectations of genre and audience already played an important role in the choices made by early Heian *shi* poets.³⁹

In the analysis in section three, I will show that negotiating relationships with an audience is an important aspect of the banquet poems Michizane composed before his departure. This is not only true in the case of court banquets, but also applies to more informal gatherings in Michizane's own honor, such as one that was organized at Chancellor Mototsune's poetry salon, the "Eastern Sidegate" (*Tōkō* 東閣), where Michizane had been a frequent visitor to participate in sessions of joint poetry competition.⁴⁰ Such events illustrate a second important characteristic of poetry composition at the Nara and Heian courts, namely the importance of poetry as a "social act."⁴¹ Poetic composition typically meant poetry recitation or poetry exchange, and the setting and the audience determined the parameters within which these acts were performed, including factors such as genre, linguistic register, and topic. Banquet poetry represents only the most easily recognizable setting for such joint composition, for less

34 Eoyang, "Generic Self," pp. 245–46. A good case in point is the negotiation of patronage relationships and Michizane's leisurely poetry as studied by Reeves, "Poetry, Patronage, and Politics," pp. 157–269 and 661–98, respectively. Although seemingly lyrical, Reeves suggests that this poetry's meditative mood is in large part deliberately chosen, adopted by the poet only during times of *otium*, when poetry could be employed for the expression of solitude.

35 Takenaka, "Sanuki no kami Michizane," p. 268 à propos interpretations of Michizane's works.

36 See for example Yoda, *Gender and National Literature*, pp. 8–13; Smits, "Sorting out Songs," pp. 1–2.

37 Heldt, *Pursuit of Harmony*, introduction and chapter 1 (pp. 1–80).

38 Steininger, *Chinese Literary Forms*, chapter 3 (pp. 79–124).

39 Reeves, "Poetry, Patronage, and Politics," chapters 1 and 2 (pp. 45–269).

40 Kawaguchi, NKBT 72, p. 681; see for example K140, K146.

41 Smits, "Way of the Literati," pp. 115–16.

public poetry was equally used to affirm social relationships and to serve as a means of communication; as Rabinovitch and Bradstock have it, poetry “served an important interpersonal communicative function, becoming a vehicle for offering praise, sympathy, and words of gratitude, as well as for deflecting criticism and hinting at hoped-for favor.”⁴² While poetry with such obvious perlocutionary force as the banquet poem was evidently rhetorical in nature, in fact even the intimacy of two poets exchanging what one might cautiously term “personal” poetry is no guarantee for reliable autobiographical detail either, as familiarity enabled poets to employ wit and rhetorical devices such as irony and hyperbole without running the risk of becoming unintelligible or obscure.⁴³

In order for occasional poetry to work—as a medium of expressing, codifying, affirming, negotiating, and undermining hierarchies and social ties—it was necessary for poets to acknowledge, if not play with, certain guiding principles. Composing *shi* is often described as a challenge or a chore because of the large number of rules that had to be followed, including meter, tonal patterning, and rhyme, while a poem’s structure followed a set pattern and its contents were often expected to be highly allusive as well. While writing *shi* was probably no sinecure, however, these rules also served as guideposts for participating poets and (in contexts where poetry was subject to evaluation) for comparison as well. Steininger writes, *à propos* the *kudaishi* 句題詩 (“topic line poetry”), that “[t]he standardization of poetry both lowered potential barriers to participation in group composition and made direct comparison (and therefore competition) among participants unavoidable,”⁴⁴ but I would argue that is true for the composition of occasional poetry in general. A knowledge of which rhymes to use, what language and topics are appropriate, and where in a poem to place each element both unburdens poets by reducing the number of choices they have to make as they extemporize, and coordinates their efforts into a coherent whole.⁴⁵ It is tempting to draw a parallel between Heian poets’ experience of social versification on the one hand, and on the other, that of eighteenth-century

Viennese nobles who could waltz to quite predictable accompaniment, or a handful of mildly skilled pop musicians who can improvise a twelve-bar blues jam during their first session together.

Several of the guidelines provided by this framework of *shi* composition are important for understanding the five poems I will analyze, so I will briefly sketch each of them in the remainder of this section. Before composition begins, poets were often provided with a topic (*dai* 題), either decided upon by the person presiding over the gathering, or chosen by drawing slips upon which topics were written (*tandai* 探題).⁴⁶ The rhyme word(s) that had to be used could likewise be decided upon in advance, or established by lot (*tan’in* 探韻).⁴⁷ In this way, not only were poets liberated from having to rely on their “inspiration,” it was also possible to steer compositions and thus ensure that they would be appropriate to the occasion—in fact, Reeves suggests that even the act of randomly drawing rhymes may sometimes have been carefully prepared instead of being left to assignation by lot.⁴⁸

With this, the poet set to work crafting a poem guided by a number of compositional principles, chief among them the function of each line within the poem, and the expectations and requirements of the genre that was being composed. In a quatrain, each of the four lines served a specific purpose: the opening line (*hokku* 発句) was used to introduce the setting or topic of composition, the two middle lines (*kyōku* 胸句 and *yōku* 腰句) developed the topic through variation on the original theme and allusion to classical examples, while the final line was reserved for the expression of personal sentiment (*rakku* 落句).⁴⁹ This framework is of course very general, and variation exists—in octaves, the division of verses was two-four-two, and in less allusive poetry, a clear break could often be found between the second and third lines⁵⁰—but generally speaking the place of a line within the poem carried a certain semantic weight.

46 Rabinovitch and Bradstock, *Moonlight*, p. 103.

47 *Ibid.*, p. 106.

48 Reeves, “Poetry, Patronage, and Politics,” p. 637.

49 Ogawa, *Tōshi gaisetsu*, pp. 163–64; Rabinovitch and Bradstock, *Moonlight*, pp. 95–97. For the terminology, which could be rendered into English as the “opening, breast, waist, and completing” couplets, see also *Sakumon daitai* 作文大体 4, translated in Steininger, *Chinese Literary Forms*, p. 234.

50 For example, the *ten* 転 of a *ki-shō-ten-ketsu* 起承転結 structure; see also Ogawa, *Tōshi gaisetsu*, pp. 163–64.

42 Rabinovitch and Bradstock, *Moonlight*, p. 3.

43 Eoyang, “Generic Self,” p. 246.

44 Steininger, *Chinese Literary Forms*, p. 109.

45 See Heldt, *Pursuit of Harmony*, pp. 17, 48; Webb, “In Good Order,” p. 101.

The choice of genre, on the other hand—which itself was influenced by the setting where and audience for whom the poet composed⁵¹—helped poets to choose between a plethora of expressive possibilities at their disposal to fulfil the aim of each line: for instance, the choice of tropes, the language register, or the implied relationship between poet and audience.⁵² To illustrate, formal banquet poetry (such as K183), which was composed at official palace ceremonies, would open with a description of (an aspect of) the ceremony itself, develop this statement through variation and lofty allusion to *loci classici* and other *exempla*, and close with a personal observation by the poet (*jukkai* 述懷).⁵³ The language employed was formal and solemn, and the poet thematized the grandeur of the occasion and its host (for example, the sovereign), implying gratitude in an asymmetrical relationship between host and guest.⁵⁴ Farewell poetry, however (to which K185–K187 belong, although properly speaking the term usually seems to be reserved for poems presented to the departing traveler) while adhering to the same basic pattern, uses less ornate language and implies a relationship between equals, or at least a sense of friendship/intimacy.⁵⁵ The themes that are developed are less allusive in nature, refraining for instance from direct reference to historic examples. Nevertheless, they do conform to certain thematic patterns of their own. William Matsuda's article on Kūkai's 空海 (774–835) "epistle-poems" to provincial governors draws out how these works displayed a tendency to represent the provincial periphery (especially in the northeast) as uncivilized frontier regions, while the life of the governor was expressed in terms of its many hardships.⁵⁶ These hardships were a theme familiar from many continental works, including examples such as Qu Yuan's 屈原 (343–278 BCE) *Li sao*

51 For the role of setting in the production of poetry, see also Smits, "Way of the Literati," pp. 115–17.

52 For a discussion of generic choices, see Reeves, "Poetry, Patronage, and Politics," chapters 4–5 (pp. 477–735), especially pp. 573, 590–91.

53 Rabinovitch and Bradstock, *Moonlight*, p. 96. Brian Steininger's description (*Chinese Literary Forms*, pp. 114–15) of *jukkai*'s function in mid-Heian *shi* as an expression of "[a]n authorial stance of aggrieved misfortune" may also apply to certain earlier examples, such as *Ryōun shinshū* 凌雲新集 34; *Bunka shūreishū* 文華秀麗集 67 (Rabinovitch and Bradstock, *Moonlight*, pp. 148–49 and pp. 168–69); as well as K183.

54 Rabinovitch and Bradstock, *Moonlight*, pp. 37–38.

55 Reeves, "Poetry, Patronage, and Politics," p. 573.

56 Matsuda, "Poets on the Periphery."

離騷, in whose portrayal of exile Eugene Eoyang traces the "generic self" of the underappreciated scholar-official;⁵⁷ and the near-contemporaneous writings of Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846), which may have provided an important model for how Michizane would describe his own life as court official.⁵⁸ At the Heian court, too, where exile was effectively the most severe punishment that could be imposed on a courtier, the periphery *tout court* carried strong associations with exile in particular.⁵⁹ Significantly, historian Niboshi Jun has recently argued that the bureau graduates of Michizane's day, suffering from the bureau's diminishing prestige, saw themselves assigned to the provinces more frequently than their predecessors several decades before. He stresses how not only Michizane, but also scholar-officials such as Fujiwara no Sukeyo 藤原佐世 (?–897) and Miyoshi no Kiyoyuki 三善清行 (847–918), all used the language of exile to describe provincial administration, which already begins to suggest how "demotion" may have been a figure of speech, rather than the historical reality readers of Michizane's Sanuki poetry have constructed from it.⁶⁰

The final outcome of the act of composition is thus much more than a reflection of the poet's personal experience, determined as it is by numerous other factors such as the social nature of poetry, the expectations of audience and genre, and the appropriate use of language, allusion, and motifs. For these reasons Takenaka Yasuhiko, as one of very few scholars to discuss the methodological problems involved in using Michizane's own works for biography, warns us not to overestimate the "reliability" (*shinpyōsei* 信憑性) of his poetry as historical fact, stressing its "grandiloquence" (*kodai na hyōgen* 誇大な表現) as an obstruction instead.⁶¹ In the following section I return to the five poems Michizane wrote between the moment his appointment was announced and his departure for Sanuki and analyze them from the perspective that interpretations of Heian *shi* should account for the poetic practices surveyed in this section. I will argue that these poems were not general laments about the fate of a poet-turned-governor, but that each had a specific purpose and catered to a

57 Eoyang, "Generic Self," pp. 245–46.

58 Takenaka, "Sanuki no kami Michizane," pp. 272, 281.

59 Stockdale, *Imagining Exile*, introduction and chapter 5 (pp. 1–16, 85–113).

60 Niboshi, "Bunjin no kokushi ninkan."

61 Takenaka, "Sanuki no kami Michizane," pp. 267–68.

specific setting and audience, which interferes with the autobiographical reading typically applied to them.

Poems in Their Place

We know that the five poems under discussion were written right before departure because of a headnote in *Kanke bunsō*. These headnotes are a product of Michizane's own act of compilation: in 900 he presented the collected works of three generations of the Sugawara house to the throne, with his own twelve-fascicle literary collection as its culmination. The third and fourth fascicles, which contain the poetry from the Sanuki years, were first compiled around 894 or 895 to be presented to Prince Atsugimi 敦仁, heir apparent, and the definitive twelve-fascicle edition was presented to him after he had succeeded to the throne as Daigo *tennō* 醍醐天皇 (885–930, r. 897–930).⁶² Since many of the poems had been composed before Atsugimi/Daigo became politically active at court, these headnotes can be understood as reading guides for royal eyes, and as such they steer our interpretation of the Sanuki poems. More generally, the coordination of these poems into a single text implies other reading strategies as well. The scroll format, in particular, cannot be easily leafed through and thus forces the reader to at least take note of, for instance, the presence of the first four poems before reaching the fifth. It thus suggests that these poems in this context were expected to be read together.⁶³ By way of experiment, however, in this section I will ignore these poems' intratextual coherence, and following from the preceding outline, focus instead on what we may reconstruct of their social and rhetorical contexts when they were first composed.

The first poem (K183), with which fascicle three opens, accompanies a poem Michizane composed at the Naïen 内宴, or "Residential Palace Banquet." This banquet, which was held at the sovereign's quarters around the twentieth of the first month, probably func-

tioned as the conclusion to the various first month celebrations and involved dance, musical entertainment, and poetry extemporized by the attendant court poets.⁶⁴ Michizane's oeuvre suggests that together with the annual Double Ninth Festival (*Chōyō* 重陽) banquet, which was held on the ninth day of the ninth month, these banquets constituted his most important public venue to display poetic skill. In Naïen poetry, this skill was put to use in describing the banquet's refinement and beauty, especially of the dances, and praising the sovereign's beneficence, through which the event had been made possible.⁶⁵ The poem that Michizane wrote for the occasion, and the headnote that explains this, run as follows.

早春内宴、聽宮妓奏柳花怨曲、應製。(自此以後、讚州刺史之作。向後五首、未出京城之作。)

宮妓誰非舊李家
就中脂粉惣恩華
應緣奏曲吹羌竹
豈取含情怨柳花⁶⁶
舞破雖同飄綠朶
歡酣不覺落銀釵
餘音縱在微臣聽
最歎孤行海上沙

In early spring at the Naïen banquet, as we were listening to the palace entertainer girls performing the song *Ryūkaen* [Resentment of the Willow Blossoms], I composed a poem as per royal command. (Hereafter follow compositions by the governor of

62 Taniguchi, *Shi to gakumon*, pp. 83–86. Taniguchi suggests (p. 81) that the first five poems may not have been part of the original Sanuki collection, as they do not technically belong to the poetry written in Sanuki. For the use of *tennō* 天皇, see Piggott, *Kingship*, pp. 8–9.

63 Sumiyoshi, "Gozanban no sōtei," p. 472, suggests that the codex format did not begin to appear in the archipelago until the late Heian. I would like to express my gratitude to Sasaki Takahiro 佐々木孝浩 of Keio University, to whom I owe this reference.

64 Hatooka, *Kyūtei shijin*, pp. 50–51. See also Rabinovitch and Bradstock, *Moonlight*, pp. 34–35.

65 Hatooka, *Kyūtei shijin*, pp. 62–64.

66 Murata, "Michizane shishō," p. 34, remarks that the expression is very rare, and has to resort to an ad hoc interpretation of *toru* 取る as "to take [a particular action]." While there is no direct textual evidence in the *variae lectiones* to support emendation (see for example the three-volume Hizen Shimabara Matsudaira Bunko 肥前島原松平文庫 manuscript of *Kanke bunsō*, date uncertain, or the six-volume print edition first published in Genroku 元禄 13 [1700]), parallels in Michizane's oeuvre suggest 豈敢 as an alternative for 豈取 (besides K219.32, where it is also used in conjunction with the phrase 應緣, also K226.8; K238.1; K240.8; K446.1). Calligraphically, the 取 and 敢 characters can be rendered similarly (see Kodama, *Kuzushiji yōrei jiten*, pp. 136, 437), and a twelve-fascicle scroll manuscript held at the Dōmyōji Tenmangū 道明寺天満宮 suggests a copyist's hesitation over the expression, as it shows one additional brush stroke above the ear-radical on the 取 character. Thus emended the line could be read, "[So] how could I dare harbor feelings and resent the willow flowers?"

Sanuki. The following five pieces are compositions from when I had not yet left the capital.)

Who of these palace dancers is not of the House of Li of old?
Their red and white make-up in particular, all are flowers bestowed by royal grace.
It must be because they perform this song that they play the Qiang flutes,
So why should I choose to nurse these feelings and resent the willow flowers?
The dance quickens, and they all flutter their green branches, but
Their pleasure climaxes, and they do not notice how they drop a silver hairpin.
While the echo remains in your lowly servant's ears,
What I lament most is that I will walk in solitude, along the sands by the sea.⁶⁷

Reading the poem in full shows that the lines that describe Michizane's own state of mind (the lines to which biographers turn)⁶⁸ form the *jukkai* couplet of this banquet poem: no sudden cry of grief, they are instead an expression of personal sentiment that is required by the poetics of banquet poetry. In fact, as Murata Masahiro 村田正博 has shown in a detailed analysis of the full poem, its *jukkai* is tightly interconnected with the rest of the composition:⁶⁹ far from spontaneous, it is a carefully controlled conclusion to the six lines that describe the banquet dance. In this analysis, Michizane's reference to his new appointment is not the ultimate aim of the poem; instead, his imminent departure plays a support role because of the double perspective on the *Ryūkaen* performance it grants Michizane, a perspective that informs the conceit of the poem.

Murata reconstructs how at the Heian court, *Ryūkaen* was primarily performed for its sophistication and allure, as illustrated by the eventual replacement of the ominous expression "resentment" (*en* 怨) in the piece's name by the more auspicious "garden" (*en* 苑).⁷⁰ This is reflected in Michizane's description of *Ryūkaen*: he

compares the *danseuses* to the famously skilled dancer Li furen 李婦人 ("Lady Li," second century BCE) and praises their exquisite, royally-bestowed make-up, while the girls themselves are so engrossed in their performance that they forget everything else.⁷¹ Nevertheless, Michizane himself is aware of the classical implication of the title: "resenting the willow blossoms" is associated with the sorrow of leaving the capital in early spring, when the willow was in full bloom.⁷² That is why in ll. 3–4 he detects a conflict between the refined flute melody and the conventional meaning of "resenting the willow blossoms": he knows that the "Qiang" flute refers to a nomadic group on the fringes of the sinosphere, but suggests instead that the instrument was chosen as accompaniment to a splendid performance, not because of the association with departure to foreign lands.⁷³ The antithesis (*iedomo* 雖) in ll. 5–6 also hinges on this double vision: from the poet's classical point of view, the performance's climax should express deep grief, but for the girls absorbed in their dance—and for the spectators at court—it is abstracted to a moment of intense pleasure (*yorokobi wa takenawa ni shite* 歡酣).⁷⁴ As a conclusion to these observations, the final couplet thus becomes the interpretive key to the poem as a whole: here Michizane explains what had attuned him to alternative associations, and provides a different reading of the banquet performance, which allows him to both showcase his learning and at the same time imply that the performance is perfectly in line with cultural precedent.

In hindsight, the explicit reference to Michizane's own departure activates a third possible interpretation of the poem: as an allusion to the story of Wang Zhaojun 王昭君 (first century BCE). Wang Zhaojun was one of the most attractive concubines of emperor Yuan of Han 漢元帝 (75–33 BCE), but her beauty remained unnoticed and was only recognized by the emperor after he had unwittingly promised her as tribute to one of the leaders of a border tribe.⁷⁵ A number of elements in the poem point in her direction: Wang Zhaojun is

67 For other translations, see Borgen, *Michizane*, p. 150, and Murata, "Michizane shishō," pp. 33–35.

68 Iyanaga, "Ninna ninen no Naizen," p. 92; Hatooka, *Kyūtei shijin*, p. 65.

69 Murata, "Michizane shishō," pp. 36, 42–43.

70 *Ibid.*, p. 38.

71 *Ibid.*, pp. 33–35. Kawaguchi's suggestion (NKBT 72, p. 247) that "the House of Li" refers generally to the Tang dynasty is less convincing.

72 Murata, "Michizane shishō," pp. 38–39. See also K364.5–6.

73 *Ibid.*, p. 34.

74 *Ibid.*, pp. 39–40.

75 Numerous versions of the story were in circulation by the Tang period; see Eoyang, "Wang Chao-chün Legend." Among the versions he lists, Michizane will have been aware of at least those

frequently described as hearing the Qiang flutes;⁷⁶ “drop[ping] a hairpin” (*kamusashi o otosu* 落釵) is a phrase used in at least one famous retelling of this story;⁷⁷ and Michizane’s explicit reference to “sands” (*isago* 沙), which is here used to describe his sea voyage in a surprising metonymy, echoes the frequent reference to the deserts where Wang Zhaojun spent the remainder of her days.⁷⁸ Murata suggests that this allusion, which is enabled through Michizane’s double vision, served to increase the force of his expression of dismay over having to leave the capital like an unrecognized Wang Zhaojun.⁷⁹ But I believe that this interpretation ignores an important aspect of the comparison, namely their ultimate incongruence: Michizane’s unrequited compositional and textual ability are apparently of the same ilk as Wang Zhaojun’s unemployed beauty, while governorship in the provinces is equated to marriage with a barbarian.⁸⁰ Rather than a moment of deep pathos, the *jukkai* seems to have been employed to suggest a more humorous identification with a classical model, in a confusion that resembles the confusion of the two meanings—one ludic, one full of gravitas—of *Ryūkaen*.⁸¹ Thus if we take the Wang Zhaojun parallel seriously—and I think we should—it becomes very difficult to maintain the conventional interpretation of this poem. It was not a burst of uncontained grief, but a finely crafted banquet poem that simultaneously praised the occasion and the sovereign, lauded the double appropriateness of the dance, displayed the poet’s

erudition, and maybe even satirized his new appointment as the fate of a beautiful lady.⁸²

The second passage commonly cited when reconstructing Michizane’s departure for Sanuki is not actually part of a poem, but comes from the long headnote accompanying K184. Written in prose, it relates some of the events at the Naïen banquet’s concluding drinks and an interaction between Chancellor Mototsune and Michizane himself. The narrative, which is cited by almost every scholar who touches upon Michizane’s appointment to Sanuki,⁸³ is seen as an objective record of Michizane’s role at the Naïen banquet, and provides seemingly direct evidence of his devastation at being appointed governor. But even though the headnote did not have to negotiate the numerous expectations guiding poetic practice, I nevertheless doubt that we can simply read the passage as autobiographical narrative.⁸⁴ First of all, such an interpretation relies on a very selective reading of Michizane’s participation in the Naïen banquet. It privileges evidence that meshes with preconceived ideas about the new governor’s grief (*viz.* the headnote), and casts him as an emotional wreck, while virtually ignoring the fact that at that same banquet, Michizane was sufficiently *compos mentis* to compose the intricate (and equanimous) poem K183.⁸⁵ On a

in *Han Shu* 漢書 (History of the Former Han), *Hou Han Shu* 後漢書 (History of the Later Han), and the poems by Bai Juyi.

76 Murata, “Michizane shishō,” p. 34. The association was known to Heian poets: see for example Rabinovitch and Bradstock, *Moonlight*, pp. 168–69, 194–95.

77 Murata, “Michizane shishō,” p. 40.

78 *Ibid.*, p. 41. See Eoyang, “Wang Chao-chün Legend,” p. 12. The *danseuses’* “painted beauty” (*shifun* 脂粉; “red and white make-up”) may hint at Wang Zhaojun, in particular a version where she would not bribe the court painter to depict her more beautifully than she actually was (Murata, “Michizane shishō,” pp. 41–42), or alternatively a variant in which Wang Zhaojun refused to use make-up *herself*. I am unsure if Michizane could have known this version (for which see Eoyang, “Wang Chao-chün Legend,” pp. 6–7) but cosmetics are a motif in at least two other versions (*Ibid.*, pp. 11–12).

79 Murata, “Michizane shishō,” pp. 42–43.

80 Bai Juyi, too, used Wang Zhaojun to allude to governorship (“Guo Zhaojun cun” 過昭君村; “Passing Through Zhaojun’s Village, cited in Eoyang, “Wang Chao-chün Legend,” pp. 13 and 22). This may suggest Zhaojun was a serious *exemplum* for those who departed from the capital.

81 For moments of humor in *shi*, see Rabinovitch and Bradstock, *Moonlight*, p. 38.

82 Haruna suggests (“Nin Sanuki no kami,” p. 459) that the final line was not a cry of grief, pointing out that the verb *tan* 歎 can also mean “to eulogize,” and reads the entire poem in that frame.

I do not think we need to make such a clear-cut decision, and would rather choose to acknowledge the verb’s ambiguity as a reflection of Michizane’s own double vision.

83 A number of key points in the narrative are frequently cited: (a) attendance was an enormous honor (*koto naru megumi nari* 殊恩也); (b) Mototsune’s solicitousness (*Shōkoku, tsuide ni ataru o motte ... yō-zeshimu* 相國以當次 ... 詠); (c) Michizane choked up when he started reciting (*oetsu su* 嗚咽); and (d) a sleepless night (*yomosugara neburazu* 通夜不睡). See Borgen, *Michizane*, pp. 150–51 (who mentions points a, b, c, and d); Endō, “Sanshū jidai no Michizane,” p. 101 (c); Endō, “Michizane no seiji,” p. 2 (b, c); Fujiwara, *Shijin no unmei*, p. 155 (b); Haruna, “Nin Sanuki no kami,” pp. 457–58 (c); Hatooka, *Kyūtei shijin*, p. 295 (b); Hirata, *Kesareta seijika*, pp. 55, 63–64 (a, b, c, d); Iyanaga, “Ninna ninen no Naïen,” pp. 91–92 (a); Kawaguchi, NKBT 72, p. 31 (c); Kon, *Sekkan seiji*, p. 50 (b, c); Murata, “Michizane shishō,” pp. 36–37 (a); Niboshi, “Bunjin no kokushi ninkan,” p. 30 (a); Sakamoto, *Michizane*, p. 69 (c). Iyanaga Teizō’s interpretation (“Ninna ninen no Naïen,” p. 92) that Mototsune was harassing Michizane and waiting for him to drain the cup ignores the poem that this headnote accompanies and is a misjudgment of the relationship between the two men; see Haruna, “Nin Sanuki no kami,” pp. 457–58.

84 Eoyang, “Generic Self,” pp. 244–45.

85 This observation holds for the Sanuki poetry more generally: little attention has been paid to poems such as K191, a piece commemorating a successful rainmaking ritual, or K214, where

textual level, too, this line of interpretation elides two important details about the headnote: its date of composition, and its function. As discussed, the headnote was likely composed well after the event, when Michizane compiled his poetry and intended to guide his readership's interpretation, possibly even in new directions. Not only did this color the narrative—through subsequent experiences in Sanuki, or nostalgia, for example—it also means that the author's aims with the poem may have radically changed since its original composition. Indeed, the fact that Michizane presented the poem to Daigo, towards whom a certain modicum of modesty was due, may serve to explain why Michizane emphasizes—overstates?—the special honor of his participation.⁸⁶ In other words, even though a prose headnote is nowhere near as restricted in theme and diction as a poem, its contents are no historical document: their contents are conditioned by the audience and by the poem that had to be explained. Indeed, reading the headnote and the poem (K184) side by side makes it clear that many of the phrases in the former are no documentary record, but serve specifically to explicate expressions in the latter.

予爲外吏、幸侍内宴裝束之間、得預公宴者、雖有舊例、又殊恩也。王公依次、行酒詩臣。相國以當次、又不可辭盃。予前佇立不行。須臾吟曰、明朝風景屬何人。一吟之後、命予高詠。蒙命欲詠、心神迷亂、纔發一聲、淚流嗚咽。宴罷歸家、通夜不睡。默然而止如病曾塞。尙書左丞、在傍詳聞。故寄一篇、以慰予情。

When I had become a provincial official, I was fortunate to serve at the Naïen banquet while I was preparing for my voyage. To have the opportunity to participate in an official banquet under those circumstances—even if not without precedent—is still an exceptional favor.

Members of the royal family and the nobility, by order of their rank, all poured drinks for the poetic vassals. Because the chancellor's [Fujiwara no Mototsune] turn had come, he could not refuse the cup again. He stopped in front of me and

Michizane describes inviting some local officials to an informal, and apparently enjoyable, round of New Year's drinks.

86 Kido Yūko 木戸裕子 has shown how such self-deprecatory remarks became a staple of poetic prefaces, beginning in the late ninth century; Kido, "Heian shijo no keishiki," especially pp. 14–15.

did not pour [me a cup].⁸⁷ After a brief pause, he spoke to me, reciting: "Tomorrow's landscape—to whom shall it belong?" After reciting it once, he instructed me to chant it out loud. I took up the order and wanted to chant, but my heart and mind were lost in confusion, and when I had barely uttered one sound, tears flowed and I broke into sobs.

After the banquet was over and I had returned home, all night I failed to get to sleep. Silent and unmoving, it was as if I was ill, and my chest felt tight. The Middle Controller of the Left [Fujiwara no Sukeyo] was nearby and listened to the full account.⁸⁸ That is why I sent him one poem and thus consoled my feelings.

自聞相國一開脣
何似風光有主人
忠信從來將竭力
文章不道獨當仁
含誠欲報承恩久
發詠無堪落淚頻
若出皇城思此事
定啼南海浪花春

Since hearing the Chancellor parting his lips once [I have been wondering] why it resembles how "a scenery has a master."

Loyal and reliable, thus far I have been prepared to exhaust my strengths.

87 It is left implicit who the subject of "refuse the cup" (*sakazuki o inamu* 辭盃) is; the various *kakikudashi* 書き下し (reading glosses) and translations (Kawaguchi, NKBT 72, p. 248; Hatooka, *Kyūtei shijin*, p. 295; Higashi, *Kujira*, pp. 74–75) shirk this interpretative difficulty. Perhaps banquet courtesy required Michizane to refuse the wine cup from higher nobles; but the fact that both *tsuide* 次 and *choryū* 佇立 refer to Mototsune suggests that it was the latter who could not refuse the cup. This would tally with the fact that he recited a poem, possibly instead of pouring Michizane a cup: I read 不行 as a call-back to *sake o okonau* 行酒 two sentences prior, glossing *okonawazu* instead of the common but pleonastic reading *arikazu*, "to stand still and not move" (Kawaguchi, NKBT 72, p. 248; Higashi, *Kujira*, p. 74).

88 Higashi, *Kujira*, p. 75, interprets the phrase to mean that Sukeyo was "well-informed about these matters" (*kuwashii jijō o shitte iru* 詳しい事情を知っている) instead. The anonymous reviewer makes the attractive suggestion that the phrase might refer not to Sukeyo's presence at Michizane's mansion, but at the banquet, which would render it "The Middle Controller of the Left had been by my side [at the Naïen] and had heard everything in great detail."

But as for my compositions, I do not say that I
alone fulfil my responsibilities.⁸⁹
With a feeling of sincerity in my heart, I want to
return the favor, because I have long enjoyed
your acts of kindness.
Beginning to chant, I am unable to contain myself,
while my tears fall constantly.
If I would think of this event after I have left the
capital,
I would certainly cry over [my appointment on]
the Southern Sea—a spring on the spray of the
breakers at Naniwa harbor.⁹⁰

In contrast to the headnote, which has attracted much attention and has been translated before, to my knowledge the poem has thus far not been translated, and the only scholarly treatment that I am aware of is the commentary in Kawaguchi's NKBT edition. Although my translation of this admittedly obscure poem is therefore of a very tentative nature, the headnote helps to clarify most (if not all) of the interpretative problems, starting from the poem's obscurity itself: we learn that it originally was a private exchange between Michizane and his friend Fujiwara no Sukeyo, to whom Michizane was grateful for his attention to the story about the banquet (*tsubabiraka ni kikeri* 詳聞).⁹¹ Sukeyo was also a close associate of Mototsune, suggesting that Michizane could have expected the poem to have been circulated to the chancellor as well.⁹² The poem's audience was thus originally limited to those directly involved in the events it describes, and could therefore be terse and highly elliptic without risking reduction to obscurity.

To remedy the problem for the poem's potential new audience, the headnote fills in the details that initially had been silently understood in an exchange between familiars. Central among these details is the reading of the first two lines as an allusion to a line of poetry Mototsune had recited. This line, it turns out, is the final line of a poem Bai Juyi wrote for his friend Yuan Zhen

元稹 (779–831) as an expression of parting: at the time Bai and Yuan were both serving in the capital, and their separation (*fensan qu* 分散去 in the original) came as they set out for their respective offices at the break of dawn, each greeting a different scenery as they went.⁹³ Although it seems likely that Mototsune's recitation was intended as encouragement, Michizane undermines this suggestion by questioning the appropriateness of the allusion—“Why does my situation resemble Bai Juyi's poem?”:⁹⁴ after all, Bai and Yuan had only been separated during the daytime, which is nothing like Michizane's four-year tour of duty.

The significance of ll. 3–4, unfortunately, is not entirely clear. In the translation, I have followed Kawaguchi's suggestion that Michizane means that he has exerted himself as a loyal subject but does not claim to be the only one whose responsibility lay in drafting exquisite compositions. These lines might thus refer to why he was invited despite the appointment: i.e., because of his compositional, bureaucratic skill set.⁹⁵ By contrast, the headnote does provide much context for ll. 5–6; both headnote and couplet emphasize Michizane's original intention to comply with Mototsune's request. The headnote's formulation that “my heart and mind were lost in confusion” (*kokoro tamashii madoimidarete* 心神迷亂) during the banquet should be interpreted as a foil for the poem's “feeling of sincerity in my heart” (*makoto o fufumite* 含誠, l. 5).⁹⁶ Similarly, “a long time” (*hisashi* 舊, l. 5) is relativized as an exaggeration for one night of sleeplessness (*yomosugara neburazu* 通夜不睡). That the headnote was constructed to contrast with the poem is suggested most clearly by l. 6, which states that unlike at the banquet (where Michizane “barely uttered one sound,” *wazuka ni issei o hatsu suru nomi* 纔發一聲; emphasis mine), after returning home Michizane could barely contain himself from repeating Mototsune's allusion (*yō o hatsu shite tauru koto naku* 發詠無堪; emphasis mine).⁹⁷ Even Michizane's

89 For the expression 當仁 (Ch. *dang ren*, Jp. *jin ni ataru*), see *Lunyu* 論語 15.36, consulted in *Kaji, Rongo*, p. 372.

90 For another translation (headnote only), see Higashi, *Kujira*, pp. 74–75.

91 Or, in whom Michizane could confide because he had been present. See n. 88.

92 Higashi, *Kujira*, p. 75. The anonymous reviewer suggests, furthermore, that it may have been out of line for Michizane to write to Mototsune directly.

93 See for example Kawaguchi, NKBT 72, p. 248. The poem in question is *Baishi wenji* 白氏文集, 14.0745.

94 This interpretation solves Kawaguchi's problem (NKBT 72, p. 248) on how to understand 似 (*gotoshi*).

95 Kawaguchi, NKBT 72, p. 681; Borgen, *Michizane*, p. 150.

96 The reading *fufumu* (modern *fukumu*) is used by Kawaguchi and is also listed in *Nihon kokugo daijiten* as an ancient variant reading for 含.

97 Haruna adds (“Nin Sanuki no kami,” pp. 458–59) that ll. 5–6 imply gratitude for Mototsune's encouragement rather than depression, and thinks that Michizane was overcome by emotion

most mundane remark—that he was already preparing for departure (*sōzoku no aida* 裝束之間)⁹⁸ as provincial official (*geri* 外吏) when he was invited to the banquet (*Naien ni hamuberite* 侍内宴)—serves to explain part of the poem, namely what “leaving the capital” (*sumera miyako o idete* 出皇城, l. 7) and “this event” (*kono koto* 此事, l. 7) refer to.⁹⁹

The headnote thus provides, through contrast and explication, a key for reading the poem exchanged between Michizane and Sukeyo (and Mototsune?). It was originally composed in response to something that occurred at the banquet, and Michizane may well have been moved to tears by Mototsune’s consoling words and felt a deep appreciation for Sukeyo’s thoughtfulness. Indeed, the final line suggests that Michizane would rather spend the springtime with Sukeyo than at sea, suggesting a personal response to his appointment. Yet it is something altogether different to read Michizane’s general despondency into a poetic commentary, which was written *ex post facto* and whose contents were dictated by a personal (but not autobiographical) poem that was itself written in partially exaggerated language and composed in response to a minor episode at a banquet where Michizane also wrote the successful composition found in K183. Indeed, as this convoluted logic indicates, the headnote is so far removed from whatever Michizane’s authentic feelings about the governorship were that, even if he had been genuinely moved—for either gratitude or grief—it would be naïve to take seemingly autobiographical facts at face value in a text so rhetorically overdetermined. Paratexts, in other words, are as opaque as the literary texts they accompany.¹⁰⁰

The remaining three poems were all written at banquets, but in contrast to K183 these get-togethers were informal farewell gatherings in honor of Michizane himself, a fact reflected in the poetry, which is both shorter and less solemn than the *Naien* banquet composition intended for the sovereign’s ears. Although

this no doubt granted the attending poets greater expressive bandwidth, they still worked within a particular set of boundaries. Some were explicit, such as the fact that all three poems were written after drawing rhyme words (*tan’in*), and needed to be appropriate for the social situation and the audience present, while others were less so. Crucial for understanding the next two poems (K185–K186), for instance, is the quatrain’s implicit three-tier structure of statement-development-personal response. The line that scholars quote from both K185 and K186 is only the first, expository, line of each poem.

尙書左丞餞席、同賦贈以言、各分一字。〈探得時字。〉

讚州刺史自然悲
 三倍以言贈我時
 贈我何言爲重寶
 當言汝父昔吾師

At a farewell banquet organized by Middle Controller of the Left [Fujiwara no Sukeyo], everyone composed on the theme “giving someone a [farewell] gift with words,” and each person was given one [rhyme] character. (Drawing [a rhyme], I received the character “time, occasion” [時].)

As Governor of Sanuki Province, of course I am sad,
 And the sadness multiplies on this occasion, when you give me a gift with your words.
 As you give me your gift, which words become valuable treasures?
 I shall tell you: “Your father was once my teacher.”

相國東閣餞席。〈探得花字。〉

爲吏爲儒報國家
 百身獨立一恩涯
 欲辭東閣何爲恨
 不見明春洛下花

At a farewell banquet at the Chancellor’s [Fujiwara no Mototsune] Eastern Sidegate. (Drawing [a rhyme], I received the character “flower” [花].)

Serving as a provincial official, serving as a learned man, we repay the sovereign [of this land]:

because the chancellor himself, at a public banquet, personally offered his cup to an official of only middle (fifth) rank.

98 For this interpretation, see Hirata, *Kesareta seijika*, p. 64, and see Kamata and Yoneyama, s.v. *sōzoku* 裝束 (4).

99 The rather late period of travel suggested by K188 implies that being called to the *Naien* banquet in the middle of preparations may be somewhat exaggerated as well, although as a poem written on the last day of spring, K188 too might be relying on a conventional trope (Higashi, *Kujira*, pp. 80–83).

100 See Steininger, “Manuscript Culture,” esp. pp. 362–77.

A hundred [different] people each stand on their own, yet [all are indebted because of] that same exceptional royal favor.
 As I am about to leave the Eastern Sidegate behind, what causes these bitter feelings?
 Not seeing, in the following spring, the flowers of the capital.¹⁰¹

The first line of K185 is cited as evidence that Michizane “did not hide his feelings of anguish” at his imminent departure.¹⁰² The first line of K186 is taken to mean that Michizane was beginning to come to terms with his appointment,¹⁰³ although for this passage alone, a number of scholars are reluctant to take Michizane’s poetry at face value, seeing it (apparently in line with their beliefs about Michizane’s views of governorship) as a disingenuous attempt to save face.¹⁰⁴ Unlike the opening of K187, however, where the poet is explicitly present (*ware* 我, see below), the first line of neither K185 nor K186 contains a (pro)noun that expresses the subject—either of “being sad” (*kanashi* 悲) or “serving as an official” (*ri to nari* 爲吏).¹⁰⁵ And while the governor mentioned in K185 can only refer to Michizane himself, his sadness is portrayed as something more universal—something that occurs “of its own accord” (*onozukara* 自然). Because the function of the first line conventionally was to state the topic on or background against which the poem would be developed, it is much more natural to take these lines not as expressions of personal sentiment but as a point of view that is shared between the banquet’s participants.

This is, in fact, also suggested by the language of both poems. In the first, because the sadness occurs “of its own accord”—i.e. independent of the “I,” the language use draws our attention away from the poet himself and opens up the possibility to develop the poem in

a different direction. It was written under the theme of “sending people off with words,” a learned allusion to a meeting between Confucius 孔子 and Laozi 老子 told in the *Record of the Grand Historian* (*Shiji* 史記).¹⁰⁶ From the second line, Michizane moves away from the theme of the governorship and begins steering in Sukeyo’s direction: what really moves him, Michizane claims, is not so much the appointment, but the fact that Sukeyo mentioned his former mentor, Michizane’s father Sugawara no Koreyoshi 菅原是善 (812–880). The poem apparently replies to something Sukeyo, the host of the banquet, had said before, and is formulated in such a way that it emphasizes, in the rhetorically prominent final line, the personal relationship between the two men.¹⁰⁷ The governorship, by contrast, functions only as a foil to bring Michizane’s appreciation for his friend into higher relief. In other words, instead of glossing the poem as “I feel terrible about Sanuki, and now it gets even more terrible,” I would argue that, given the poem’s structure and the fact that it addresses the banquet’s host, we should rather read it as “Of course, what you say about governorships is true—but I am moved far more because you express your feelings of indebtedness to my late father.” The poem was not written to be about the mission to Sanuki, but composed to lament the separation from Sukeyo.

The same applies, *grosso modo*, to the next poem. “Serving as an official, serving as a learned man” does not reflect Michizane’s personal resolution to “repay the sovereign,”¹⁰⁸ but instead describes what all officials do in return for the “exceptional royal favor” (i.e., being selected to serve in the court bureaucracy).¹⁰⁹ That

101 For alternative translations of K185, see Kawaguchi, NKBT 72, p. 249, and Rabinovitch & Bradstock, *Butterflies*, p. 129. For alternative translations of K186, see Borgen, *Michizane*, p. 157; Endō, “Sanshū jidai no Michizane,” p. 102; Higashi, *Kujira*, p. 76; Kawaguchi, NKBT 72, p. 249; and Rabinovitch & Bradstock, *Butterflies*, p. 130.

102 Hatooka, *Kyūtei shijin*, pp. 231, 296. See also Haruna, “Nin Sanuki no kami,” p. 456.

103 Borgen, *Michizane*, p. 157; Endō, “Michizane no seiji,” p. 4; Hatooka, *Kyūtei shijin*, p. 295 (but hesitantly); Kon, *Sekkan seiji*, pp. 62–63; Sakamoto, *Michizane*, p. 70.

104 Hatooka, *Kyūtei shijin*, p. 230; Rabinovitch and Bradstock, *Butterflies*, p. 130; Sakamoto, *Michizane*, p. 70.

105 See Eoyang, “Generic Self,” pp. 248–50.

106 *Shiji*, “House of Confucius” section (*Kongzi shijia*, 6). This passage describes how a young Confucius, taking his leave after a meeting with Laozi, remarked, “I have heard that the rich give someone a send-off with treasures, while the humane give someone a send-off with words. I am unable to do as the rich, so I will appropriate the title of a humane person, and send you off, Master, with words” (吾聞富貴者送人以財。仁人者送人以言。吾不能富貴。竊仁人之號。送子以言)。See Kawaguchi, NKBT 72, p. 249.

107 See Endō, “Sanshū jidai no Michizane,” p. 102.

108 Most commentators and translators interpret *kokka* as “nation” or “state,” but this seems anachronistic. As *Kokushi daijiten* explains (s.v. *kokka*), the term referred to the sovereign and his entourage in ancient sources. The use of *kokka* as a term for institutions of government is a medieval development, with the meaning coming to include land area and subjects only as late as the early modern period. *Kokka* as “sovereign” meshes well with a parallel in K484.177, which suggests that the *kokka* is the one to whom one owes a debt of gratitude. For *ongai* 恩誼, see Hatooka, *Kyūtei shijin*, p. 139.

109 For the contrast, see also K324.

the first line is again not to be interpreted as having a first-person subject is suggested by the following line's "hundred persons" (*hyakushin* 百身, l. 2), which probably refers to the "hundred different officials" (*hyakkan* 百官) at court.¹¹⁰ Granted, this opening creates a particular expectation with the audience about how Michizane might react to being reassigned from a position as learned man at the Bureau for Higher Learning to become a provincial official. But this expectation remains unfulfilled when in the third line, Michizane shifts his attention to his participation in Mototsune's poetry banquets at the Eastern Sidegate and praises the blossoms in the capital. Michizane is reminded of these flowers as he leaves the Eastern Sidegate, and they therefore represent more than just a vague metaphor for life in the capital.¹¹¹ We should recall that Michizane drew "flower" as his rhyme-word, whose use in this poem is therefore not just a reference to flower-viewing in general but symbolizes the playful versification that took place at Mototsune's mansion—indeed, we may surmise that flowers were often the poetic topic at the Eastern Sidegate sessions. The rhetoric is thus one of deference to the host, similar to that of K185: "You may think that I feel bitter because I have to leave behind my old post at the bureau, but actually it is because I can no longer join your blossom viewing parties." The poem was not written to display Michizane's sense of duty, but composed to convey a sense of gratitude to Mototsune, master of the banquet.

At banquets organized especially for him, Michizane made the understandable choice to praise his host in elaborate terms. In the final poem, written at a banquet at the Bureau for Higher Learning, there is no explicit host, but audience and situation nevertheless determined how Michizane expressed himself. Unlike at Mototsune's farewell banquet, where he poetically staged the learned man (*ju* 儒) and the provincial official (*ri* 吏) side by side, here Michizane found himself in the company of scholars, as is reflected in the antithesis Michizane sketches in the final of the five poems (K187).

110 Higashi, *Kujira*, p. 76. This line is often read in the first person: see Endō, "Sanshū jidai no Michizane," p. 102 (who speaks of Michizane's *kakugo* 覚悟 or "resolve"); Kawaguchi, NKBT 72, p. 249; and Rabinovitch and Bradstock, *Butterflies*, p. 130.

111 Hatooka, *Kyūtei shijin*, p. 268.

北堂饞宴、各分一字。〈探得遷。〉

我將南海飽風煙
更妬他人道左遷
情憶分憂非祖業
徘徊孔聖廟門前

At a farewell banquet in the Northern Hall [at the Bureau for Higher Learning], one character was distributed to everyone. (Drawing [a rhyme], I received "change, departure" [遷].)

I will surely, on the Southern Sea, grow sick of [the scenery of] wind and mist.

What's even more upsetting is how others speak of my "demotion."

I have carefully considered it, but "sharing the ruler's grief" was not the task of my forefathers.

I walk to and fro in front of the gate to the Temple of the Sage Confucius.¹¹²

Compared to K185–K186, Michizane is much more vocal about his appointment. The first-person *ware* 我 as the explicit subject of "growing sick of the wind and mist" (*akidaru* 飽, l. 1) makes it clear that the poem represents his own expectations about how the provincial governorship will come to affect him in the years of service to come.¹¹³ This sense of apprehension is not negated, as it was in K185–K186, but developed more intensely throughout the poem. In l. 2, Michizane replaces his future fears with a complaint about current rumors surrounding his reappointment. In l. 3, "sharing the ruler's grief" (*bun'yū* 分憂)—a common trope for governorship¹¹⁴—is seemingly rejected in favor of Michizane's ancestral occupation, i.e. the scholarly activities at the bureau that his father Koreyoshi (whom Sukeyo had remembered as his teacher) and grandfather Kiyokimi 清公 (alternatively, Kiyotada/Kiyotomo, 770–842) fulfilled before him. In l. 4, Michizane is loath to leave the bureau's Confucius temple where,

112 For other translations, see Endō, "Sanshū jidai no Michizane," p. 103; Hatooka, *Kyūtei shijin*, p. 130; Higashi, *Kujira*, p. 77; Rabinovitch & Bradstock, *Butterflies*, pp. 130–31.

113 As Higashi remarks (*Kujira*, pp. 77–79), the expression "wind and mist" (*fūen* 風煙) is an expression Bai Juyi used in his provincial poetry to describe the allure of the countryside, suggesting again Michizane's navigation of literary expectation as much as of personal sentiment.

114 Kawaguchi, NKBT 72, pp. 249–50.

as Hatooka points out, the *sekiten* 釋奠 memorial rites for the sage would be held in less than a month, and which he would be unable to attend this year.¹¹⁵ Before concluding that this poem is a personal piece providing us with autobiographical detail, however, it is worth considering if, given the setting of the banquet, the poet could have expressed himself otherwise. When interpreting l. 3 we should keep in mind that the banquet was held at the bureau: if there is any place where Michizane should speak of his scholarly family tradition it would have been here, and either bragging about his new appointment—we could also read l. 3 as an expression of suppressed pride at being the first in his family to attain this new status—or claiming to be happy to leave the bureau behind would have been nothing less than an insult to his colleagues and students. In fact, we know that Michizane is twisting the facts in order to emphasize his connection to the bureau, for as Robert Borgen and Takenaka Yasuhiko (among others) have pointed out, both Michizane's grandfather and uncle had served as governors *in loco*.¹¹⁶ Michizane selectively forgets this part of his family history because in the company of his colleagues and fellow scholars it would have been a *faux pas* to exclaim, "So long, and thanks for all of this!"

Significantly, this is the poem that, because of its explicit mention of the word "demotion" (*sasen*), has been a cornerstone in the debate on how to evaluate Michizane's appointment.¹¹⁷ Even though the poem only goes so far as to say that this was a *rumor* going around, many have seen it as evidence that Michizane himself did consider his appointment an insult tantamount to exile.¹¹⁸ But as the headnote shows, the reason the line ends in *sasen* is to accommodate the character Michi-

zane had drawn for his composition: *sen* 遷, "change places," a word that by itself carries strong associations with demotion and exile.¹¹⁹ As already briefly touched upon above, exile was one of the main tropes late ninth-century poet-scholars used to talk about their provincial appointments,¹²⁰ so one could readily interpret this line as the author's acknowledgement of the community that shared this language: not just bureau graduates in general, as Niboshi Jun has suggested,¹²¹ but the *specific audience present* for this banquet that imagined governorship as demotion. If (as Reeves has proposed) the rhymes were not always truly random, I would expect that Rabinovitch and Bradstock are right to suggest that the appearance of this somewhat uncommon character was not "an awkward coincidence."¹²² Instead, we should imagine that someone involved in the organization of the banquet had decided to include this rhyme so as to hint at *sasen*, banter that Michizane acknowledged in his poem: "This is a dirty trick you played on me, including this rhyme and implying that my assignment is actually a demotion!" In other words, we might read the line to imply that Michizane took the bait, and replied to what it insinuated to such people as were present at a bureau banquet. As with the other banquet poems analyzed above, Michizane did not just unabashedly write how he felt. He was compelled to comply with the rules of the game—actual rules, such as the *tan'in* rhyme, as well as unwritten social expectations that determined how he could represent himself and his family tradition.

In this section, I have explored how rhetorical, poetic, generic, and social conventions helped shape Michizane's predeparture poetry, and how reading strategies informed by these conventions complicate an autobiographical reading of these poems. Given the results of this exploration, the idea that Michizane wrote these poems primarily as personal intimations is in my view untenable, which implies a need to reconsider the historical narrative of Michizane's governorship as a bleak period in his life. As such, these results also give cause for scepticism regarding other moments in

115 Hatooka, *Kyūtei shijin*, pp. 124, 129, 296. For a brief evaluation of Michizane's attitude toward the *sekiten*, see McMullen, *Worship of Confucius in Japan*, pp. 94–98.

116 This contrasts with *yōnin* 遣任: governors, who remained in the capital. See Borgen, *Michizane*, p. 152; Takenaka, "Sanuki no kami Michizane," p. 278.

117 Borgen, *Michizane*, p. 152; Endō, "Michizane no seiji," p. 4; Fujiwara, *Shijin no unmei*, pp. 111–12; Haruna, "Nin Sanuki no kami," pp. 455–59; Hatooka, *Kyūtei shijin*, pp. 124, 129, 231; Higashi, *Kujira*, pp. 76–77; Kon, *Sekkan seiji*, pp. 46–47; Niboshi, "Bunjin no kokushi ninkan," pp. 28–29; Rabinovitch and Bradstock, *Butterflies*, pp. 130–31; Sakamoto, *Michizane*, p. 70.

118 Hirata, *Kesareta seijika*, p. 55; Fujiwara, *Shijin no unmei*, pp. 112–13; Hatooka, *Kyūtei shijin*, p. 299; Rabinovitch and Bradstock, *Butterflies*, p. 130; Takenaka, "Sanuki no kami Michizane," p. 281. Niboshi urges us ("Bunjin no kokushi ninkan," p. 37) to remember how different parties at court would have held different interpretations of the appointment.

119 See the definitions in Kamata and Yoneyama, *Shin kangorin*, s.v.

120 Niboshi, "Bunjin no kokushi ninkan," pp. 30–31.

121 *Ibid.*, p. 37.

122 Rabinovitch and Bradstock, *Butterflies*, pp. 130–31. The character 遷 (rhyme category 先) is one in a large pool of potential rhymes, further suggesting this one appeared by design. In the remainder of Michizane's poetic oeuvre, as a rhyme it is only used once, in K402, where it is used in its neutral sense "to move."

his biography that heavily rely on the poems as source material, and suggest that there is considerable room for new discoveries about how *shi* were used as an instrument for the negotiation of hierarchies and social expectations, both by Michizane and by Heian *shi* poets in general.

Conclusion

In the first section of this article, I argued that scholars' constructions of Michizane's personal voice can be explained through at least two modern developments: the creation of the loyal Japanese poet-hero Michizane and the entrenchment of literature as a medium of personal expression. Both have contributed to the notion that Michizane's poetry should be read as autobiographical portrayals of Michizane's inner life, but as I showed in section two, recent scholarship on Heian *shi* practice suggests that such a reading strategy should be problematized. It flags a variety of external factors that poets needed to negotiate during the composition of these poems, including genre expectations, rhetorical structures, situation, and audience. In an attempt to accommodate these factors, in section three I offered alternative interpretations of the five Sanuki poems Michizane wrote before his departure. In this experiment, I have constantly distanced myself from the question of what their personal language can tell us about Michizane's subjective experience of his governorship, and instead tried to explain how the use of such language may be understood in terms of the poetics of *shi*.

The possibility of such an interpretation complicates the received autobiographical reading, on which questions about Michizane's governorship rely: questions that, as I have argued in the introduction, seem to require an answer because of their shared assumption that the governorship was a setback. Suppose instead, as I have done, that Michizane's poetry was not written as autobiography; that his use of such language was instead motivated by poetic practice; and that we therefore have no reason to assume that Michizane was disappointed with the assignment: from this perspective, the questions that have occupied historians and biographers—"Why was Michizane demoted?" and "Why was Michizane upset?"—are much less elucidating than an investigation of the dual rhetorics of grief and exile: "How did Michizane employ these tropes?"

"What could he hope to achieve by the use of such language?" Such close reading strategies for Michizane's poetry (and by extension, for other *shi* poets as well) may give the impression that I intend to categorically deny that Michizane harbored negative personal feelings about the Sanuki governorship. But whether or not he did feel that way is not the point. Rather, I have shown that whenever the poet says "I"—and on many occasions when he does not—we should be cautious to read these as moments of autobiographical expression that can be explained in terms of individual self. There are many possible reasons to talk about "I" besides the desire to give vent to lyrical passions.

Attention to the rhetorical instead of the expressive nature of poetic language opens up new avenues of research into the oeuvre of Michizane and other poets, not only of *shi* but also *uta* 歌/*waka*—Ariwara no Narihira 在原業平 (825–880), a contemporary of Michizane's father, and Ono no Komachi 小野小町 (mid-ninth century BCE) being only two examples that come to mind of poets whose biographies heavily rely on their presumed literary oeuvre.¹²³ Concerning Michizane, one could think for example of the poetry he exchanged with his tutor-cum-father-in-law Shimada no Tadaomi 島田忠臣 (828–891), and the social functions this may have fulfilled in addition to purely private ones.¹²⁴ Alternatively, the poems that discuss backbiting at the bureau and rumors that Michizane wrote diatribes against high court officials may be read as more than personal frustration at the pettiness of court society,¹²⁵ serving instead as persuasory compositions intended for circulation, whose language was enhanced through silence, understatement, or hyperbole for political effect.

Equally tantalizing is the potential of such strategies in interpreting Michizane's use of poetry in the context of his actual exile to Dazaifu. Given how Wiebke Denecke, in her book *Classical World Literatures: Sino-Japanese and Greco-Roman Comparisons*, has signalled an "emotional realism projected onto the exile poetry" of Michizane's one-fascicle collection of exile poems *Kanke kōshū* 菅家後集 (The Later Sugawara Collec-

¹²³ The constructedness of Komachi's life has been the explicit subject of investigation in Terry Kawashima's *Writing Margins*, pp. 124–29.

¹²⁴ This topic has already been the subject of a first exploration in Reeves, "Poetry, Patronage, and Politics," chapter 4 (pp. 477–599).

¹²⁵ Borgen, *Michizane*, pp. 133–40.

tion)¹²⁶ it may prove very valuable to reread this work from a non-autobiographical perspective. In addition, I would argue the original *Kanke bunsō* should also be considered in this regard. The reason behind the compilation and presentation to the throne are not entirely clear: Michizane himself only vaguely explains that he followed the advice of “[s]ome vassal” who “recommended to me to present some of my literary drafts to the throne” (*jishin aru hito shin o susumete, bunsō no tashō o tatematsurashimu* 侍臣或人勸臣、令獻文章多少).¹²⁷ It has been suggested that such enterprises represented “the symbolic relationship that royal involvement with poetry projects in Sino-Japanese sought to express,”¹²⁸ but such relationships affirmed not only the role of the sovereign, but also of the poets who undertook those projects. Although Michizane is not explicit about the function *Kanke bunsō* was expected to fulfil, one might for example suggest that its presentation was intended as an act of self-justification.

In this regard, it is significant that Michizane presented the collection to Daigo *tennō* in the autumn of 900, a mere five months before his exile. Although we should be wary of teleological misrepresentation, we do know that Michizane had received a letter from Miyoshi no Kiyoyuki, a courtier who had divined catastrophe for Michizane in the year 901, and who warned him to “know where to stop” (*sono shisoku o shiru* 知其止足).¹²⁹ Michizane was not on good terms with him, and might have dismissed this as relatively harmless political slander, but three petitions Michizane submitted to the throne to plead to be dismissed as Minister of the Right (*udaijin* 右大臣; see K629–K631) suggest Michizane’s own uncertainty about his standing at court. Could it be possible that the presentation of *Kanke bunsō* was also part of a strategy to secure his reputation? Such a reading seems attractive, for it would help explain the existence of *Kanke bunsō*’s “other” half: the six fascicles of prose, which have thus far received very little attention because of their apparently low literary value. We might read poetry and prose together to suggest the persona of a loyal scholar who has served through several reigns through study, service, and the composition of poetry and prose as the sovereign

commanded—who acted, in other words, in accordance with the Confucian ideal of the scholar-minister, and did not deserve to be punished.

We cannot be certain, of course, that Michizane already anticipated that he would fall as deep as he did. But if he did expect some form of retribution from his political rivals, then a more permanent sojourn in the province was not inconceivable. Personally, I doubt that the Sanuki governorship was the troubled period so many scholars have made it out to be. But their interpretation is more than a mere mirage. Fifteen years later, on the eve of exile, Michizane selected precisely these poems to stand at the beginning of the two fascicles of Sanuki poetry. Here, couched in the suggestive language of headnotes and placed in mutually reinforcing coordination, their personal, emotional language created a new narrative of the Sanuki period for a new audience, a narrative of hardship that might convince Michizane’s rivals to take pity on him and forgo condemnation to a new, undeserved journey into exile. But that was in 900. When he joined the banquets in 886, on the eve of an unexpected—but not necessarily unwanted—appointment, not even Michizane knew then what emotions and experiences his time in the province would have in store for him.

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¹²⁶ Denecke, *Classical World Literatures*, p. 232.

¹²⁷ Kawaguchi, NKBT 72, p. 618.

¹²⁸ Smits, “Sorting out Songs,” p. 15.

¹²⁹ *Honchō monzui* 本朝文粹 7.187. See Hérail, *Miyoshi no Kiyoyuki*, pp. 36–39; 231–33.

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Sujung Kim. *Shinra Myōjin and Buddhist Networks of the East Asian “Mediterranean.”* University of Hawai’i Press, 2020.

BOOK REVIEW BY EMILY B. SIMPSON

THE deities of medieval Japan have made a comeback, though on the shelves of scholars rather than the altar. Bernard Faure’s magnum opus *Gods of Medieval Japan*, with two of four volumes published (University of Hawai’i Press, 2015), is perhaps the most obvious example, but we may also consider the recent interest in deity-focused paradigms such as *honji suijaku* 本地垂迹—the conceptualization of Japanese *kami* 神 as trace manifestations (*suijaku*) of Indian Buddhist deities, the original ground (*honji*)—and studies of individual gods and cults within the past two decades that have contributed to a renewed focus on deities.¹ Sujung Kim’s recent monograph certainly falls within this trend, with its focus on Shinra Myōjin 新羅明神, whose name means “deity of Silla” (p. 1), and the deity’s various functions within the Jimon 寺門 branch of Tendai Buddhism. Like many studies of individual deities, however, the purview of *Shinra Myōjin and Buddhist Networks of the East Asian “Mediterranean”* goes far beyond the god in question to consider broader patterns of religious meaning and the role of deities in institutional strategy. In particular, with a focus on the

acculturation of a supposedly Korean deity, Kim uses Shinra Myōjin as a lens through which to explore the translocal exchange of ideas, texts, and iconography across East Asia.

In conceptualizing and structuring this monograph, Kim relies on two key concepts of noted historian Fernand Braudel: the Mediterranean as “spatial center” (p. 2) and his three scales of temporality. In putting the Mediterranean front and center, Braudel underscored the vital role of the Mediterranean Sea in connecting disparate polities and cultures, and by extension, emphasized the sea not as a barrier, but rather as a conduit for exchange. While Angela Schottenhammer was the first to apply this concept to East Asia and coin the phrase “East Asian ‘Mediterranean,’”² Kim ably demonstrates the utility of this framework for considering the diffusion and adaptation of religious ideas. Bringing the Mediterranean to East Asia may be seen as somewhat Eurocentric, and Kim is clearly aware of this; cautioning that the various seas of East Asia were by no means identical to the Mediterranean, she suggests the phrase to evoke a sense of the space and its linkages, with the Mediterranean as a “quality rather than an object” (p. 3). Kim further emphasizes the contested nature of the

1 See, for instance, Teeuwen and Rambelli, *Buddhas and Kami in Japan*; Zhong, *The Origin of Modern Shinto*; Andreeva, *Assembling Shinto*.

2 Schottenhammer, *The East Asian Mediterranean*.

seas³ she is discussing, to which I would add that the Mediterranean itself is not only a nexus for Europe, but also for North Africa and parts of the Middle East (essentially, the Levant).

Kim also draws on Braudel's notion of three distinct yet interrelated scales of time: the *long durée* of several centuries, the *conjunctures* or middle term of generation change, and *l'histoire des événements*, or the short span of events. This allows the author to delve into specific moments and movements vital to the development of Shinra Myōjin while organizing the book into three parts, with the *long durée* in mind: the pre-Shinra Myōjin period (Asuka 飛鳥 period [538-710] to early Heian period 平安 [794-1185]), the "sedentarization" of Shinra Myōjin (late Heian to early Muromachi 室町 [1336-1573]), and Shinra Myōjin's return to fluidity through participation in new medievalism (also late Heian to early Muromachi).

Part 1, "Maritime East Asia: Networks of Immigrants and Silla Shrines/Temples," focuses on pre-Shinra Myōjin and pre-medieval networks between East Asian polities as well as the immigrant communities within them. Chapter 1 "Between History and Story" examines the origin story of Shinra Myōjin in great detail, considering the patterns of exchange it represents as well as its utility in shaping the origins of Onjōji 園城寺, the center of the Jimon tradition. Originally established as Sūfukuji in 668, the temple was formally affiliated with the Tendai sect and renamed Onjōji in 866, when Enchin 円珍 (814-891) became its chief monk. Enchin's travels to China formed the basis of both Shinra Myōjin's origins, his connection to Enchin and the Jimon, and perhaps even the schism which led to rival branches of Tendai. When Enchin was on his way home from China in 858, a great storm threatened the vessel, and Enchin prayed for protection. An old man appeared above the boat and stated, "I am a deity of the Silla Kingdom [Shinra Myōjin]. I will protect your practice of Buddhism until the Buddha Maitreya comes into this world" (p. 27). In later versions of the story, Shinra Myōjin (or an old man representing him) also guides Enchin to the site of Onjōji. In fact, as Kim elucidates, Enchin brought back esoteric images, texts, and knowledge from China, and when Tendai split into two

factions based primarily on succession disputes, the Jimon, which supported the Gishin-Enchin lineage, featured more esoteric teachings than the Sanmon 山門 branch of Tendai. This first chapter shows how origin stories—particularly those centered on Shinra Myōjin—were vital tools in establishing the legitimacy of institutions such as Onjōji. As Onjōji became the headquarters of the Jimon school, stories of Enchin and Shinra Myōjin further served to legitimize both the lineage and teachings of the Jimon.

In chapter 2 "The Network of Silla Immigrants and the Emergence of Shinra Myōjin," Kim turns to the space around Onjōji in order to consider the Korean immigrants who settled in Ōmi Province (now Shiga Prefecture) along Lake Biwa, where Onjōji is located. Immigrants from the three Korean kingdoms settled in Japan in large numbers from the fourth to the seventh century,⁴ as the recorded names of several shrines attest. Not only did these communities support the worship of Silla-derived deities at such institutions, but they also served as crucial nodes within networks connecting Japan, Silla, and the continent, as Kim shows in her close analysis of the monk Ennin 圓仁 (794-864), later a key early figure of the Sanmon lineage, and his travels to China, which were largely facilitated by Sillan residents of Shandong Province in China. Furthermore, she shows that it was actually Ennin who initiated worship of the mountain deity Sekizan Myōjin 赤山明神, who was later reimagined as Shinra Myōjin. Thus, Kim argues that these networks of Silla immigrants were vital to the success of the various Japanese monks who visited China and brought back texts, concepts, and schools of Buddhism, as well as to the emergence of Shinra Myōjin.

Part 2, "Sedentarization: Networks of Silla Deities

3 Kim defines the East Asian "Mediterranean" as comprised of the Yellow Sea, the East China Sea, and the East Sea/Sea of Japan, whose alternate names alone demonstrate ongoing and enduring disputes between the countries of East Asia (pp. 9-10).

4 The Korean Peninsula (and a significant part of Manchuria) was largely controlled by the Three Kingdoms of Goguryeo, Baekje, and Silla, along with several small states, from 57 BCE to 668 CE, when Silla finally succeeded in conquering Goguryeo with the help of Tang 唐 dynasty (618-907) forces. Conflict between the kingdoms led many Koreans to emigrate to Japan during this time. Later or Unified Silla controlled the peninsula until the tenth century, when the three kingdoms briefly re-emerged before the peninsula was once again unified under the Goryeo dynasty (918-1392), which endured until the end of the fourteenth century, although it was briefly interrupted by Mongol rule. Accordingly, in medieval Japan, both Silla and Goryeo could be used to refer to the entire Korean Peninsula, but the Three Kingdoms period also occupied an important place in cultural memory, as chapter 6 of Kim's monograph demonstrates.

and Shinra Myōjin,” moves into the medieval period and examines how Shinra Myōjin became localized as a mountain deity, and in turn, the central deity of the Jimon tradition. Accordingly, chapter 3 “The Medieval Transformations of Shinra Myōjin” places this “sedentarization” process as a core part of the Jimon’s efforts to establish its independence from the Sanmon branch of Tendai. Indeed, Kim further elucidates the duplication of this deity based on Ennin and Enchin’s respective travels to the continent: as the Sanmon and Jimon schools divided further, Sekizan Myōjin, associated with Ennin, became the protector of the Sanmon, and Shinra Myōjin of the Jimon, even though their iconography is almost identical. The rivalry and mutual appropriation between the two branches served to develop Shinra Myōjin’s iconography and narratives, but Kim also discusses the role that patronage by the Minamoto clan and the Jimon’s involvement in managing the Kumano pilgrimage played in the proliferation of Shinra Myōjin. Kim frames the localization of Shinra Myōjin to not only Japan, but to Lake Biwa, as crucial in Shinra Myōjin’s elevation to Jimon’s primary protector deity.

Chapter 4 “Shinra Myōjin, the Multifaceted Deity” considers the popular marketing of Shinra Myōjin, delving into the various media through which the Jimon showcased and performed its origin story. Like the *kami* Susanoō and Sumiyoshi, Shinra Myōjin came to be considered a patron deity of *waka* 和歌 poetry, which was by then considered the Japanese equivalent of, and sometimes superior to, sacred incantations and phrases (*dharani*) used in esoteric Buddhism. Rituals included a regularly held practice of Shinra *nenbutsu*, which was likely a recitation of the deity’s name akin to the *nenbutsu* of Pure Land Buddhism; a lecture series called the Thirty Lectures of the Shinra; and the Shinra Myōjin Festival, a large public festival that began as a small ritual gathering in the mid-eleventh century but grew in scope and pageant to include a parade, dances by *dōji* 童子 or “divine children” to honor the deity, and eleven portable shrines (*mikoshi* 神輿) by 1210. From legends to the performing arts, Shinra Myōjin functioned as the face of the Jimon, and his role in various rituals shows that this deity was fully integrated into the daily practice of the Jimon. Thus, Kim demonstrates that Shinra Myōjin was central to both the collective identity and the political legitimacy of the Jimon branch, and through literature and performance, worship and knowledge of the deity spread beyond Onjōji.

Part 3, “Restoring Fluidity: Functional and Symbolic

Networks of the Silla Deities,” pivots back to the consideration of networks beyond Japan, but unlike the immigrants, merchants, and traveling monks of part 1, this section considers Shinra Myōjin’s associations with peninsular and continental deities. Each chapter focuses on a particular deity and the constellation of associations that each respective deity brought to Shinra Myōjin. Indeed, chapter 5 “Trek for the Star Deity: Sonjōō and Shinra Myōjin” literally concerns a constellation: Sonjōō 尊星王, which Kim translates as “the monarch of the revered star” (p. 11) but could also be translated as “venerable king of the stars.” A better-known and more popular star deity, Myōken 妙見, was the deified form of the polestar and thus associated with the emperor. However, the Jimon asserted that Sonjōō was not only the celestial form of Myōken, but represented the entire cosmos. This, as Kim points out, is reminiscent of the earlier doubling we saw with Sekizan Myōjin and Shinra Myōjin, and likely originates from the same source: the Sanmon-Jimon split, with the Jimon not only creating a new deity but a rival esoteric ritual associated with this deity. Documented as early as 1006, this Sonjōō ritual soon came to be monopolized by the Jimon and was used to build ties with retired emperors during the Insei 院政 period (1086–1185), when retired emperors held the reins of power.

Accordingly, rituals related to Sonjōō were often performed on behalf of imperial family members, particularly to ensure their long life, health, and safe childbirth. The association with childbirth, and the patronage by and on behalf of imperial women, led to Sonjōō being described as female and identified as the bodhisattva Kannon or alternatively as Kichijōten, a female deity adapted from the Hindu goddess Lakshmi. Though the chapter is primarily about Sonjōō, Kim shows how the Muromachi-period text *Onjōji denki* 園城寺伝記 linked Sonjōō with Shinra Myōjin: the latter both protected the former, and was the former. The esoteric nature of Sonjōō, both as falling within the purview of esoteric Buddhism and being secret—that is, only known to the Jimon—solidified the Jimon’s relationship with the imperial family, but was of necessity limited in scope.

In the introduction, Kim suggests that the worship of Shinra Myōjin at Onjōji reached its height only with Sonjōō, which in turn increased the Jimon’s overall clout during the Insei period (p. 11). Yet in this chapter, it appears that Shinra Myōjin is in some sense replaced, or at least overshadowed, by Sonjōō. This begs the ques-

tion of whether it is truly Shinra Myōjin, or rather the clever invention and manipulation of “new” deities by the Jimon, that reached new heights during this period. To me, it is the latter that truly shines in this chapter, and yet we are left wanting to know more about how Sonjōō and Shinra Myōjin were connected, and how the image of Sonjōō as female may have influenced depictions or descriptions of Shinra Myōjin.

Chapter 6 “Shinra Myōjin as a Pestilence Deity: Susanoō and Shinra Myōjin” brings Shinra Myōjin back to center stage and also back to Silla by considering the place of Silla within the medieval Japanese *imaginaire*. Though negative views of Silla surfaced in the Heian period due to pirate attacks and actual epidemics from the Korean Peninsula, in the late thirteenth century, the Mongol invasions of Japan in 1274 and 1281, in which the then recently conquered Goryeo army took part, not only contributed to the increasing valuation of Japan as the land of the gods (*shinkoku* 神国), but also fostered an association between Silla and threats to Japan, including pestilence. While this might suggest that Shinra Myōjin’s obvious connection to Silla (it is his name, after all) would lead to a devaluation of the deity, Kim shows that instead, he was brought in closer association with—indeed, identified as—Susanoō. Perhaps best known for the myths in which he wreaks havoc on the other major deities of the Japanese pantheon, Susanoō also visited Silla before ending up in Izumo. Accordingly, like Susanoō, Shinra Myōjin became a deity who both caused and brought an end to pestilence, and also one who had visited Silla, but was based in Japan. Indeed, Shinra Myōjin was redefined as having conquered Silla and thus having protected Japan in a way that allowed him to both represent Silla and yet fit within the *shinkoku* paradigm. As Kim states, “Shinra Myōjin was not only the object of imagination and recreation; he also served as the medium for the medieval reimagining of Silla” (p. 99).

Finally, chapter 7 “Shinra Myōjin as Part of the Network of the Divine Old Man” examines the visual arts and the depiction of Shinra Myōjin as an old man. Kim convincingly shows that such visual representations were greatly influenced by images of the divine old man appearing in paintings of the Manjusri Pentad, often in the act of crossing the sea from Mt. Wutai. Indeed, Manjusri was often featured in the iconography of Shinra Myōjin and was considered by some the *honji* (true form) of Shinra Myōjin. Kim situates Shinra Myōjin within a broader network of old man deities, almost

entirely connected to Korean immigrants: Sekizan Myōjin, Shirahige 白鬚 (lit. white-bearded) Myōjin, and even Inari 稲荷 Myōjin. In addition, Kim looks to a broader network of old man deities throughout East Asia, from Daoist immortals to Korean Buddhist shamanic deities depicted as old and wise. She also points to the tradition of *okina* or old man, which folklorist Yanagita Kunio and others have claimed to be the origin of many *kami*, and also notes the importance of this figure in the performing arts as well as folklore. To this I would also add Sumiyoshi, mentioned in chapter 4 as a fellow patron deity of *waka*, but surely equally important as an old man deity with whom Shinra Myōjin shared iconographic features.

In her conclusion, Kim suggests that looking at Shinra Myōjin provides insight into multiple aspects of medieval religiosity in Japan, from translocal networks that facilitated the exchange of ideas, to revealing the role of the Jimon as an innovative branch of Tendai worthy of consideration. Indeed, Kim shows us how consideration of a particular deity can revolutionize the history of a particular sect, as the Tendai Jimon have been vastly understudied when compared to the Tendai Sanmon. Her monograph also demonstrates how multidisciplinary approaches can provide useful tools for considering topics in which source material is sparse. This is often true for medieval cultures, but particularly in the case of Tendai Buddhism because of the destruction of key sites; yet again, while the burning of Enryakuji by Oda Nobunaga in 1571 is most famous, the internecine warfare and repeated destruction of Onjōji by the Sanmon is the cause here. Her astute interleaving of visual materials with keen textual analysis is particularly noteworthy, though one occasionally wishes the images were somewhat clearer in order to see aspects of composition that Kim references in the main text. While the monograph may be somewhat difficult to parse for those without prior knowledge of Japanese religions, the text is invaluable to scholars of Japanese religions in adding complexity and richness to the medieval religious landscape, acknowledging and exploring the networks of the East Asian Mediterranean, and contributing to our growing knowledge of the role of deities in Japanese religious history.

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Nanxiu Qian, Richard J. Smith, and Bowei Zhang, eds. *Rethinking the Sinosphere: Poetics, Aesthetics, and Identity Formation*. Amherst, NY: Cambria Press, 2020.

BOOK REVIEW BY SIXIANG WANG

SCHOLARS of premodern and early modern East Asia have in recent years renewed their attention to cultural practices that endow the region with its analytical and historical coherence. A cosmopolitan intellectual effort, *Rethinking the Sinosphere: Poetics, Aesthetics, and Identity Formation* addresses these shared practices from the tenth to the nineteenth century, with contributions from leading scholars in the United States, China, Korea, Singapore, and the Netherlands. This is the second volume in a two-volume series edited by Nanxiu Qian, Richard J. Smith, and Bowei Zhang. Whereas the first volume covers questions of circulation, the intersections of gender, class, and religion, and the evolution of these practices in the twentieth century, this second volume is devoted to literary interactions, historical motifs (both also covered in part 1 of this volume), and the evolution of aesthetic and poetic forms (the focus of part 2).

The “Sinosphere,” as conceived throughout this book, denotes the “cultural sphere of Chinese written characters” sustained by circulations of people, books, ideas, and, most importantly, texts. Rejecting the center-periphery model that inevitably defaults to Sinocentrism, the volume focuses on the productive transformations that occur when texts move beyond “local, regional, and ‘national’ boundaries” (p. xx). For instance, in the Japanese narrative histories that com-

bine Japanese (*wabun* 和文) and Sinitic styles discussed by Michael McCarty (pp. 40–57 in chapter 2), Chinese historical events were not treated as events from a time and place far away. They were immediately relevant and capable of elucidating important moral lessons when paired with Japanese references. The term “Sinosphere” might suggest the centrality of China, but these and other examples show that “there was not one essential China that served as a reference culture for all writers in the Sinosphere” (pp. xxvii). This capacious conceptualization allows the possibility of even a “personal Sinosphere” (p. 70), free of political or cultural domination. As Sonja Arntzen shows for the Japanese monk Ikkyū 一休 (1394–1481), writers and monks from the Chinese past were models for personal identification and even sources of friendship (pp. 88–90 in chapter 3).

Instead of assuming a general, universal reference culture, the book’s essays emphasize how Japanese, Koreans, and Vietnamese drew from the Sinosphere’s wellspring. After all, early modern and premodern East Asian elites did not think of this culture as foreign to their own traditions. As Matthew Fraleigh shows in his chapter on Sinitic poetry in Japan, appending the label *kan* 漢 to distinguish Sinitic poetic forms from indigenous Japanese poetry was a relatively recent late nineteenth-century phenomenon. And even then, Japanese critics and writers of Sinitic poetry more likely saw

their practices as continuous with the critical and literary traditions of the broader Sinosphere (pp. 252–60 in chapter 8). Even Mori Ōgai 森鷗外 (1862–1922), a “modern” author, integrated Japanese syntax, lexica, and puns into otherwise formally standard Sinitic poetry, melding Japanese and Sinitic registers into a distinct “Japanese-Sinitic,” as John Wixted argues (pp. 281–86 in chapter 9). To be sure, it is not good enough to simply acknowledge that the Sinitic cultural repertoire was adapted in diverse ways, however useful it is for putting aside dated assumptions and national biases. The urgency is to make sense of *how* it was used. The essays in this volume generally offer compelling and distinctive examples in this vein; for instance, the integration of Tao Yuanming’s 陶淵明 (365–427) eremitism with Neo-Confucian sensibilities in Chosŏn 朝鮮 (1392–1910) Korea described by Hong Cao (pp. 147–53 in chapter 5); the transmuted meanings of the Xiao Xiang landscape motif in both poetry and painting across Japan and Korea discussed by Luo I-fen (chapter 7); or how a courtly literary genre, the *mudaishi* 無題詩 (“poems that lack a verse topic,” p. 169), moved into new, localized poetic registers in the poetry of the priest Renzen 連禪 (fl. 1149) in Ivo Smits’s chapter (pp. 169–94 in chapter 6).

However successful the essays are individually, one still senses where the volume’s conception confronts some limitations. Seven out of the ten essays address Japanese authors or traditions; only Keith Taylor’s essay (chapter 10) on the employment of Sinitic referents and linguistic elements in vernacular poetic forms concerns Vietnam. (In the few essays that do mention Korea, Korean names are inconsistently Romanized, mixing two official Romanization systems, or even Chinese *pinyin*—editorial oversights that distract from the cosmopolitan thrust of the work.) More substantively, one wonders whether the lean towards Japan is what compels treating the Sinosphere primarily in terms of a cultural imaginary (as in the case of Bashō’s 芭蕉 [1644–1694] use of tropes of eccentricity, discussed by Peipei Qiu [pp. 119–29 in chapter 4]). Without the political burden of reckoning with imperial China as a direct neighbor, Japanese authors enjoyed a luxury not always afforded Korean and Vietnamese writers of the same period. For them, political contact with imperial China—which they often relied upon for access to sinographic texts—meant that tributary hierarchy, frontier friction, and imperial irredentism lurked not far in the background. If these issues had been foregrounded in-

stead, the literary rivalry (and the militaristic tropes describing them) discussed by Jongmook Lee (pp. 17–20 in chapter 1) would be cast in an entirely different light. Lee’s essay, which opens the volume, hints at the nature of this problem: at least in Chosŏn Korea, the celebration of shared culture was promoted strongly through a diplomatic channel, with much at stake politically.

Moreover, the book repudiates the nation-state as a category, but its organization and approach are both fundamentally national. On some level, this reflects current conventions in the field, where literary specialists of East Asia are usually trained and employed in disciplines defined by modern national categories. But the volume also leaves out many bona fide members of the Sinosphere who are not ancestral to modern national formations and literary traditions: states with no modern successors (Bohai or Xi Xia), ethnic minorities in China (such as Hui Muslims), Ryūkyūans, and overseas Chinese in Nanyang and southern Vietnam to give some examples. Can a framework that emphasizes the circulation of culture, apt for individual thinkers or writers who could comfortably engage the Sinosphere without the burden of Chinese political hegemony, be sustained in contexts of marginalization or politicization? To be fair, these limitations are duly acknowledged by the book’s editors (pp. xxxi–xxxii), and to address every outstanding issue is to set an impossible bar. After all, any book—especially one with ambition—has to make choices. In this case, these choices do not detract from the promise of the approaches represented in the book, but rather they elicit important questions and highlight the potential for further inquiry.

Research Note on the Amitābha Cult and Its Imagery in Early Japan

YOKO HSUEH SHIRAI

IMAGINE a place inhabited by celestial musicians playing delightful music beside a beautiful, jeweled palace. There is a pond filled with lotus buds and flowers in full bloom, and nearby are verdant trees and countless divine beings who welcome you to their heavenly paradise. You—or to be precise, a reborn version of you, after your earthly life has come to an end—lack for nothing here. Everyone is guaranteed rebirth in this blissful paradise, located in the direction of the setting sun, simply by calling out the name of the One who presides here: Amitābha (Jp. Amida 阿弥陀). The Amitābha cult in Japan is generally considered to have emerged in the late Heian 平安 (ca. 1068–1185) or Kamakura 鎌倉 (1185–1333) period.¹ Yet the earliest Buddhist icons identified as Amitābha in Japan

reflect Hakuho culture (Hakuho *bunka* 白鳳文化, ca. 645–710), within the Asuka 飛鳥 (538–710) period, almost three centuries earlier.² This unsatisfactory gap in knowledge is quite puzzling. Why have scholars been unable to reach a consensus regarding the exact nature of the Amitābha cult and its imagery in pre-eleventh century Japan?

After years of research on this topic, it has become evident to me that the state of the field itself prevents definitive clarification, due in part to the uneven nature of what was transmitted to and practiced on the Japanese islands, especially during the seventh and eighth centuries. The extant written and material evidence indicates that the earliest followers of Amitābha in Japan may not have consistently distinguished images of Amitābha from other buddha icons, in particular Maitreya (Jp. Miroku 弥勒), the Future Buddha.³ If this was

Many thanks to the anonymous reader who helped reformulate sections of this essay. I am also grateful to Akiko Walley, who commented on an earlier draft (June 2018). Ideas appearing in this research note were first presented on 12 February 2016 at “Reassessing Kodai: An Interdisciplinary Workshop on Approaches to the Cultural History of Early Japan and its Historiography” at the University of Michigan, hosted by Professor Kevin Carr and his graduate students, Chun Wa Chan and Susan Dine. Anne McGannon, Sonya Lee, Fukuda Sayoko, Hirooka Takano, and Shimizu Akihiro kindly provided critical assistance. William Bodiford, as always, has patiently answered questions relating to this work. All errors remain the responsibility of the author.

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- 1 One well-regarded volume among many published in English is Payne and Tanaka, *Approaching the Land of Bliss*.
 - 2 Breaking up the past into named periods such as the “Kamakura period” is a modern, scholastic artifact, and scholars may differ in the starting and ending dates they select for a given period. Regarding Hakuho, see McCallum, *Hakuho Sculpture*, pp. 15–17.
 - 3 I do not discuss other buddhas, such as Bhaiṣajyaguru (Jp. Yakushi 薬師), the Medicine Buddha, in this research note because I observed a significant degree of overlap between Amitābha and Maitreya; however, there is a certain degree of

indeed the case, we can speculate that the iconography of Amitābha (and perhaps Maitreya as well) was not yet standardized and that there were overlaps in the ritual use of these icons during the first few centuries after the seventh century. As in many fields of study, the dearth of surviving evidence, both material and written, has placed limits on secondary scholarship. In short, the presumed lack of consistency in practice during the first few centuries after the seventh century, combined with a lack of substantial records and evidence available to scholars in the twenty-first century, conveys an impression of overall ambiguity and unevenness with regard to the Amitābha cult and imagery in early Japan. This research note therefore seeks to contribute to the field by summarizing recent publications that offer insights into the Japanese Amitābha cult and its imagery based in part on new archaeological discoveries in Japan. My broader research has focused on the study of Amitābha, especially within events dating to the seventh and eighth centuries; this review focuses on recent secondary scholarship on Amitābha icons and other evidence from the seventh through the ninth century.

Concerning Early Practice

Two studies in particular have a bearing on the ambiguity in cultic practice during the Hakuho and Nara 奈良 (710–784/794) periods. In his 2017 examination of prayer texts (Jp. *ganmon* 願文, Ch. *yuanywen*), Bryan Lowe corroborates the lack of standardization. “By the Nara period,” Lowe writes, “patrons were readily conversant in the terminology of pure lands and heavens [associated with specific buddhas] that had only recently been introduced to Japan, as evidenced by the frequent appearance of Buddhist proper names in prayers.”⁴ These proper names included references to Amitābha’s pure land, but “most common” at this time were “invocations of the future buddha Maitreya’s Tuṣita heaven (Jp. *tosotsuten* 兜率天 or *toshitaten* 觀史

多天).... From the evidence in prayers, we can conclude that these new cosmological ideas spread widely and rapidly in Japan and were well known by the mid-Nara period, if not earlier.”⁵ Of particular interest are prayers that demonstrate how “patrons creatively imagined the heavens and pure lands they invoked”: some prayers expressed a wish for the spirit of the departed to travel to two separate buddha realms, a notion “unorthodox by canonical standards, though common in prayers.”⁶ Lowe’s work indicates several key developments in the Nara period: the Amitābha cult was rising in popularity but the Maitreya cult was more prevalent;⁷ the pure land or heaven of more than one buddha could be “creatively imagined” in “unorthodox” ways; and some devotees aspired to more than one heavenly paradise after death.

Many new ideas, including religious concepts like these, originated from the Chinese mainland and were then filtered through the Korean Peninsula before arriving on the Japanese islands. It is important to keep in mind that features that arrived intact from abroad are hard to distinguish from those that were invented or changed in Japan; each should be analyzed on a case-by-case basis. In terms of Amitābha’s pure land, some of the ambiguity or unorthodoxy that we perceive may have existed since the cult’s inception. In his study of the Chinese context, Robert Scharf argues for a revision of our idea about an independent Pure Land school, urging that we “abandon not only the notion of a distinctive and self-conscious Pure Land school comprised of an orthodox lineage of patriarchs, but also the idea of a distinctive Pure Land approach to Buddhist soteriology.”⁸ Rather, “Pure Land cosmology and practice were part and parcel of Chinese Buddhism virtually from its inception.”⁹ So although there were those who “specialized in Pure Land scriptures” or “lay persons whose devotions were centered on Amitābha and the aspiration for rebirth in his Pure Land, they did not constitute anything resembling an independent tradi-

interchangeability between the pure lands of Amitābha and Bhaiṣajyaguru—a topic that deserves further study.

4 Lowe, *Ritualized Writing*, p. 74. Lowe explains that “[i]n the Nara period, prayers were most commonly performed on behalf of the deceased, asking that they be born in a better place such as a heaven or a pure land” (p. 61). For more in English on the Amitābha cult during the Nara period, see Rhodes, “The Beginning of Pure Land Buddhism in Japan.” Many thanks to Cynthia J. Bogel for directing me to this article, among others.

5 Lowe, *Ritualized Writing*, p. 74. In the same paragraph, Lowe lists the various names for Amitābha’s paradise: “Realm of Tranquility and Nourishment (Jp. *An’yōkai* 安養界), Land of Tranquility and Bliss (Jp. *Anraku kokudo* 安樂國土), or simply Supreme Bliss (Jp. *Gokuraku* 極樂).”

6 *Ibid.*, pp. 74–75.

7 Lowe adds, “As numerous scholars have observed, the cult of Maitreya likely surpassed that of Amitābha in the eighth century.” *Ibid.*, p. 103; references for the “numerous scholars” appear in n. 50 on p. 103.

8 Scharf, “On Pure Land Buddhism,” p. 319.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 320.

tion, much less a school.”¹⁰ If the Amitābha cult was not really an independent cult or tradition in China during these centuries, as Scharf proposes, then it is likely that this was also the case in Japan. This helps explain the ambiguity or unorthodoxy that we perceive in the historical record.

On the Origins of the Amitābha Image

What did early images of Amitābha look like? To answer this question we need to examine the history of Amitābha belief in India and China.

The Amitābha cult arose in India, although details as to the precise location remain obscure. According to one textbook on Japanese Buddhism:

Very little is known regarding the inception of belief in either the Buddha Amitābha or his Western Pure Land (Sukhāvati) in early India, and to date no hypothesis has won general acceptance. The earliest forms of the *Larger Sukhāvati-vyūha* and *Amitābha* sutras both appeared during approximately the first century A.D. at the time of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty in northwestern India.¹¹

There is, in my opinion, little doubt that written accounts of Amitābha preceded the imagery, although specific dates are not clear. It also seems clear that Amitābha literature and imagery developed separately, evolving along parallel but separate trajectories. Basic doctrines concerning Amitābha were written down in the *Sukhāvativyūha*, two canonical Mahāyāna texts that explain the significance of Amitābha and Sukhāvati (“Land of Bliss” or “Pure Land”), the realm over which Amitābha presides. Known by several names—the *Larger Sukhāvativyūha Sutra* (Jp. *Muryōjūkyō* 無量壽經, Ch. *Wuliangshou jing*) and the *Shorter Sukhāvativyūha Sutra* or *Amitābha Sutra* (Jp. *Amidakyō* 阿彌陀經)¹²—the scriptures tell us three things that

are significant for Amitābha imagery. First, Amitābha is attended by two bodhisattvas: Avalokiteśvara (Jp. Kanzeon bosatsu 觀世音菩薩 or Kannon 觀音), often depicted with a miniature, seated buddha on the crown (Jp. *kebutsu* 化仏); and Mahāsthāmaprāpta (Jp. Seishi bosatsu 勢至菩薩), whose attribute is a long-necked bottle on the crown.¹³ Second, the inhabitants of Sukhāvati “move freely, riding in seven-jeweled airborne palaces.” And third, the process of rebirth involves being “spontaneously born by transformation, seated with legs crossed, in the seven-jeweled lotus flowers.”¹⁴ That is, newborn souls emerge out of lotus flowers that grow in the ponds of Sukhāvati.

A portion of the earliest surviving Amitābha sculpture was recovered in 1977 at Govindnagar, on the western outskirts of Mathurā City in India. According to Gregory Schopen, the inscription on the base contains “an unambiguous reference to the Buddha Amitābha” and a date, “the 26th year of the Great King Huveṣka,” which likely corresponds to the year 153 CE.¹⁵ Unfortunately, we do not know what the figure looked like as only the bare feet of this stone buddha remain. Schopen raises the possibility that almost as soon as the cult of Amitābha came into existence, Sukhāvati became non-specific and non-exclusive to Amitābha, a phenomenon he describes as a “definite process of generalization and dissociation from Amitābha.” Schopen believes his interpretation “may have isolated the key factor in the history of the development of the ‘cult’ of Amitābha in India”: this generalization essentially “effected a decline and weakening of the specific cult of Amitābha as a separate entity” because it would have emptied the Amitābha cult of one of its signature offerings, namely rebirth in Sukhāvati.¹⁶ So if the Amitābha cult did not become independent, popular, or dominant in India soon after its emergence, then there was probably no distinctive buddha image that exclusively depicted Amitābha.

of Bliss.” Other translations are found in Inagaki, *The Three Pure Land Sutras*.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Both of these sutras mention Amitābha. Matsunaga and Matsunaga, *Foundation of Japanese Buddhism*, vol. 2, pp. 19–20. For the study of Amida, Fujita, *Jōdo sanbūkyō no kenkyū*, is highly relevant.

¹² For an English translation of the *Sukhāvativyūha* scriptures, see Gómez, *The Land of Bliss*. For a more recent translation of the *Shorter Sukhāvativyūha sutra*, see Gómez, “Rebirth in the Land

¹³ The names of the two bodhisattvas can be found in the English translation of the scripture by Inagaki, *The Three Pure Land Sutras*, p. 36, corresponding to *Muryōjūkyō*, p. 273b.

¹⁴ Inagaki, *The Three Pure Land Sutras*, pp. 57–58, corresponding to *Muryōjūkyō*, pp. 278a–b.

¹⁵ For monochrome reproductions of the image, see Schopen, “The Inscription on the Kuṣāṇ Image of Amitābha,” figure 1 on p. 249, and figures 2a–b on pp. 250–51.

¹⁶ Schopen, “Sukhāvati as a Generalized Religious Goal,” p. 183.

Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis likewise believes the “cult” of Amitābha in India was “quite minor” and draws attention instead to the popularization of Amitābha in China:

Whatever kind of Amidist movement existed seems to have been quite minor [in India] during the Kushan period (ca. 50–200 CE) and to have become submerged during the Gupta period (320–570). Not until the eighth century do Chinese pilgrims to India mention Pure Land practice. We must therefore look to China to observe the development of an early religious tradition focused on Amida.¹⁷

Worship of Amitābha appears to have gained a foothold in China during a chaotic period that spanned more than three centuries, when China was not unified into a single empire. Referred to variously as the Period of Disunity, the Age of Fragmentation, the Six Dynasties, or the Northern and Southern Dynasties, this period began after the fall of the Han dynasty in 220 CE and ended with the reunification of China by the Sui in 589 CE. This time of uncertainty could be viewed as providing fertile ground for the introduction and adaptation of new ideas from foreign sources, including belief in Amitābha. According to Eileen Hsu:

Through the interpretation of scriptures and proselytizing efforts, Pure Land Buddhism gained increasing popularity in the fourth and fifth centuries, particularly in the south among members of the elite driven from northern China by the invading nomads at the end of the Western Jin dynasty (265–317). Among the most influential Pure Land advocates was Huiyuan 慧遠 (334–416 or 417), who attracted enthusiastic gatherings in the cult center at Lushan, Jiangxi province.¹⁸

Hsu begins her examination of the earliest surviving Amitābha images from China with the “statues of the Buddha Amitāyus and the bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta,” located in Niche 6 of Cave 169 in the Binglingsi 炳靈寺 cave complex in Gansu 甘肅

Province and dated by inscription to 420 CE (Western Qin kingdom, 385–431).¹⁹ The central buddha sits with legs crossed and the partially damaged hands rest in the lap. Without the inscription, it would be virtually impossible to identify the figure as Amitābha.

Hsu also discusses three relief images dated to the sixth century that depict Amitābha’s paradise. The first, a stele excavated in 1953 at Wanfosi 萬佛寺 near Chengdu, Sichuan Province, and attributed to the Southern Liang dynasty (502–557), “best exemplifies the southern tradition of Pure Land imagery” and is one of the “earliest known representations of Sukhāvātī in China.”²⁰ In this paradise scene a small buddha, presumably Amitābha, is seated at the top of a triangular composition, accompanied by standing attendants, trees, a pair of two-story palaces, and a pond filled with what appear to be newly reborn souls among lotus flowers. Amitābha is not enlarged, so details such as the hand position are difficult to see.

Hsu’s second relief was found in what is generally known as the Xiaonanzhai 小南海 cave-temple in Anyang 安陽 County, Henan 河南 Province, dated to between 555 and 560 (Northern Qi dynasty, 550–577).²¹ (Hsu refers to this as the “Sengchou cave” after its sponsor, the eminent monk Sengchou 僧稠 [480–560].) On the west wall, above the haloes of the standing Buddha triad, is a scene in low relief that portrays Sukhāvātī. Oddly, a buddha is nowhere to be found in the scene. Nevertheless, newly reborn souls sit inside lotus flowers, and behind the blooms are trees and palace buildings. Most critically, and “unprecedented in Buddhist art before Sengchou’s time, [are] the multiple cartouches inscribing the various categories of rebirth and scenes of Sukhāvātī described in the *Guanjing* 觀經” (Ch. *Foshuo Guan wuliangshoufo jing* 佛說觀無量壽佛經, the Scripture Spoken by the Buddha on Visualizing the Buddha of Immeasurable Life).²² The cartouches

17 Ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese Mandalas*, p. 19.

18 Hsu, “The Sengchou Cave and Early Imagery of Sukhāvātī,” pp. 312–13.

19 Ibid., p. 312 and figure 13. In n. 65 on p. 309, Hsu indicates that the two names, Amitāyus, or “Buddha of Immeasurable Life” (Ch. *Wuliangshoufo* 無量壽佛), and Amitābha, or “Buddha of Boundless Light” (Ch. *Amitufo* 阿彌陀佛), were “often used interchangeably”; Hsu, too, seems to use the names interchangeably in her article.

20 Ibid., p. 313 and figure 14.

21 Ibid., p. 309 and figures 11–12. The cave’s principal sculptures are missing their heads and some of their hands, so the reliefs carved on the walls, which were spared from damage, provide the best examples for study.

22 Ibid., pp. 310, 316. On p. 311, Hsu states that the “*Guanjing* was translated in the middle of the fifth century by the Central Asian

are inscribed with labels indicating the Nine Degrees of Rebirth, such as “middle rebirth of the upper rank.” According to Hsu the insertion of cartouches to identify the various degrees or ranks associated with rebirth in Amitābha’s paradise is a “Chinese interpolation” or invention.²³ Portraying and then inscribing each rank in the relief image of Sukhāvati thus reflects “the early development of a sinicized Pure Land Buddhist art.”²⁴ These modifications likely signify attempts to make the Amitābha cult more appealing and familiar to potential donors in sixth-century China.

Hsu’s third Sukhāvati relief was removed from a limestone cave-temple and is now housed at the Smithsonian Institution’s Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C.²⁵ The relief is attributed to Cave 2 of the Nan 南 (south) Xiangtangshan 響堂山 monastery complex in Hebei 河北 Province, an array of cave-temples created in the Northern Qi around 565 CE, or approximately one decade after the Sengchou cave.²⁶ The central buddha in the relief sits under a jeweled canopy with legs crossed, right hand raised with open palm facing the viewer, left hand resting in the lap. There is a pair of miniature, palace-like buildings on the far right and left of the relief, and in a small rectangular pool in front of Amitābha are several newly reborn souls seated on lotus flowers. The sculptural styles and trends established at Xiangtangshan not only continued into the Sui dynasty,

but were disseminated to regions beyond China, for instance the Japanese archipelago, as Katherine Tsiang has persuasively argued. In her examination of imagery from Xiangtangshan, Tsiang offers several important considerations about this context. First, contrary to how the Xiangtangshan caves are generally perceived today, in conception and patronage they were not unified but instead were associated with different monasteries.²⁷ Second, most of the imagery was removed and taken to museums around the world. And third, although the Northern Qi dynasty lasted only twenty-eight years, “its impact on the history of Chinese art is disproportionately large [and] the art of [the Northern Qi] was a model for that of subsequent periods.”²⁸

The Xiangtangshan caves contain commissioned images of various buddha icons, and among these Tsiang identifies the three most likely Amitābha groupings (in addition to the Freer relief mentioned above) as follows:

1. Northern Xiangtangshan, South Cave, East wall altar: a large, headless buddha seated with right leg crossed over the left, whose hands are either missing or damaged. The buddha is joined by six standing attendants with missing heads. Based on old photographs of the icons with intact heads, Tsiang identifies two of the four standing bodhisattvas as Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta, suggesting that the buddha in the center was Amitābha.²⁹
2. Southern Xiangtangshan, Cave 2: a pair of free-standing, greater than life-size limestone sculptures, believed to be from this cave and now in the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. One is identified as Avalokiteśvara based on the small buddha image in the crown. The second may be Mahāsthāmaprāpta, but this attribution is less definitive.³⁰ They likely formed a triad whose central buddha was Amitābha.
3. Southern Xiangtangshan, Cave 4 (one of three caves situated directly above Cave 2): three seated figures in the round, originally at the back wall, joined by two free-standing icons. The figural group no longer remains in situ but an inscription carved into the back wall “identif[ies] these [free-standing

monk Kālayaśas (Ch. Jiangliangyeshē 薑良耶舍).” See *Foshuo Guan wuliangshoufo jing*.

23 “This hierarchical system of rebirth, not found in either the *Larger* or the *Shorter Sukhāvativyūha Sutra*, provided the rationale for further development of Pure Land devotion aimed at achieving the vision of Amitāyus through meditation as the sole means to rebirth in Sukhāvati.... Especially significant is that the theme of the Nine Degrees of Rebirth is arguably a Chinese interpolation, absent from the original *Sukhāvati [vyūha]* scriptures.” *Ibid.*, pp. 314–15.

24 *Ibid.*, p. 309.

25 *Ibid.*, figure 15. Hsu labels the Freer relief as “Purchase, F1921.2.” For a digital image, see <https://asia.si.edu/object/F1921.2/>.

26 The Sengchou cave and the groups of caves known as Nan Xiangtangshan and Bei 北 (north) Xiangtangshan are relatively close to one another. The northern and southern sites in Xiangtangshan are roughly fifteen kilometers apart (Tsiang, *Echoes of the Past*, p. 18), while the Sengchou cave lies about fifty kilometers from Xiangtangshan (Steinhardt, “Xiangtangshan and Northern Qi Architecture,” p. 64). Because Sengchou was the chief abbot of the Bei Xiangtangshan monastery complex near Ye (present-day Lin’an 臨安 County, Hebei Province), the capital of the Northern Qi kingdom, Hsu considers it likely that a close relationship existed between these sets of cave-temples. See Hsu, “The Sengchou Cave and Early Imagery of Sukhāvati,” p. 290.

27 Tsiang, *Echoes of the Past*, p. 18.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 19.

29 *Ibid.*, figure 19 on p. 37, pp. 38–39.

30 *Ibid.*, figures 20–21 on pp. 204–207.

sculptures] as the bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta.³¹ This raises the possibility that the central buddha was Amitābha.

Amitābha Images in Japan

As the above examples make clear, exactly what the image of Amitābha looked like, or should look like, was not yet fully developed in sixth-century China. Researchers must rely on inscriptions or circumstantial evidence to confirm an icon's identity: Amitābha accompanied by the bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta, or Amitābha represented in a scene that includes palace buildings and a lotus pond with reborn souls. Although these features can be used to identify Amitābha in Chinese imagery, this is rarely the case for the earliest icons found in Japan. Inscriptions do not exist for most images and, with few exceptions, the narrative framework of a palace and reborn souls is not found. The primary indicator of Amitābha has thus been the identification of the two attendants Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta in a buddha triad. Some art historians, primarily those working in Japan, have attempted to identify single and unaccompanied buddha icons—presumably the lone survivor from a group of sculptures—based on iconographic or visual clues. But traditions for making buddha icons were still being formed during this period in Japan, so relying on iconography as a means to identify these images is of limited use. Nonetheless, some of these studies have gained wide acceptance, so a review of the relevant publications is warranted.

Okada Ken has established an iconography for Amitābha images dating primarily to the seventh and eighth centuries based on a visual device found in confirmed images of Amitābha icons of the same period from China.³² According to Okada, sponsorship of Amitābha images in China, as identified by inscription, gained in popularity during the second half of the sixth century,³³ though initially, images of Amitābha were indistinguishable from other icons such as Śākyamuni. Various buddhas were depicted with the *dharmacakra*

mudrā—a hand gesture in which the tips of two fingers on one hand touch to make the shape of a wheel, known as the teaching gesture. But at some point after the Sui period, the *dharmacakra mudrā* was appropriated to create a “new” dominant image of Amitābha in China that looked suitably foreign or Indian. Okada proposes that this type of Amitābha image did not previously exist in India or Central Asia, but was invented in China.³⁴ One well-preserved mural painting dating to 642 on the south wall of Cave 220 at Mogao, Dunhuang, features a seated Amitābha whose fingers are positioned in the *dharmacakra mudrā*.³⁵ As this specific image-type of Amitābha became increasingly popular in China, it was soon transmitted across the sea and reached the Japanese islands by the second half of the seventh century.

Nakano Satoshi, who has studied the Amitābha cult in Nara Japan,³⁶ reinforces Okada's claim that the *dharmacakra mudrā* serves as a visual indicator of Amitābha during a limited period in Japan. But he proposes an even more specific categorization since Okada did not specify exactly which fingers should touch to form the wheel gesture. Nakano establishes a stylistic evolution among images presumably manufactured in Japan and identifies a tradition dating to the Hakuho period that features an Amitābha whose thumb is joined to the index or middle finger on each hand in what he calls the “Hakuho style.” Then a shift occurred in the subsequent Nara period: this “Nara style” has Amitābha joining the thumb with the ring finger. Nakano believes the Nara-style hand gesture was an intentional innovation, an attempt to create a more orthodox image by replicating a written description of Amitābha in *Darani jikkyō* 陀羅尼集經 (Ch. *Tuoluoni jijing*), a scripture known to have circulated at the highest levels of court during the eighth century. It is important to note, however, that the older, Hakuho-style hand gesture continued to be used

31 Ibid., p. 45.

32 Okada, “Shotōki no Tenpōrin'in Amida zuzō ni suite no kenkyū.”

33 Ibid., p. 21. Okada refers to an inscribed date which corresponds to 588 CE on a white jade icon unearthed in Quyang 曲陽, Hebei Province.

34 Ibid., p. 29. This process of “sinicization” was not limited to images of Amitābha, but reflects a broader trend in Chinese Buddhism during this period. Mizuno Saya finds a similar phenomenon taking place in the visual representation of Divinities of the Eight Classes (Jp. *tenryū hachibu shū* 天龍八部衆, Ch. *tianlong babu* 天龍八部). According to Mizuno, selected divinities of both local and foreign origin were incorporated into the Divinities of the Eight Classes around the second half of the sixth century in China. See Mizuno, “Hachibushūzō no seiritsu to hirogari,” p. 198.

35 For a color reproduction of Amitābha in Cave 220, see Lee, *Surviving Nirvana*, figure 3.29, p. 172.

36 Nakano, *Nara jidai no Amida nyoraizō to Jōdo shinkō*.

for some images dating to the Nara period.

The Hakuhō Style

In the following artworks, Nakano identifies the central buddhas as Amitābha based on their “Hakuhō-style” hand gesture—the thumb touching the index or middle finger of the same hand:

1. **Figured Buddhist tiles:** These are referred to in the Japanese secondary literature as *senbutsu* 尊仏, and multiple fragments have been excavated from the ruins of the Buddhist temples Natsumi Haiji 夏見廃寺 in Mie Prefecture and Nikōji Haiji 二光寺廃寺 in Nara Prefecture.³⁷ The tiles are attributed to the late seventh and early eighth centuries.
2. **Hōryūji Kondō hekiga rokugōheki 法隆寺金堂壁画六号壁 (Hōryūji Golden Hall mural no. 6):** The execution of the mural is attributed to the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century.³⁸
3. **Taima mandara 当麻曼荼羅:** This tapestry, housed at Taimadera in Nara Prefecture, is described by Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis as “[o]ne of the most important types of Pure Land mandara in Japan.”³⁹ Both ten Grotenhuis and Nakano indicate that it was manu-

factured during the eighth century in China.⁴⁰ At the earliest, this tapestry could have arrived in Japan during the Nara period, perhaps in the second half of the eighth century. As a Chinese work, this image fits well with the standard portrayal of Sukhāvātī in Tang imagery. This Sukhāvātī scene, with its elaborate palace structures and pond with reborn souls, is rare among surviving eighth- and early ninth-century representations of Amitābha in Japan. Yet the existence of *Taima mandara* gives rise to an interesting possibility: that images of Sukhāvātī *could have been* represented at Nara temples. This notion is supported by green-glazed tile fragments unearthed during archaeological surveys. Decorated with wave designs indicating ripples on the surface of a pond, these tiles may have been used to compose a three-dimensional, sculptural scene of Sukhāvātī with a life-size Amitābha icon. This body of material evidence will be discussed below.

4. **Zutō 頭塔 triad:** Located in Nara City, the monumental earth and stone pyramidal pagoda is dated to the late eighth century and features a triad carved in low relief in stone on the exterior surface. According to Nakano’s thesis, the relief is an example of the now old-fashioned Hakuhō style still being employed during the Nara period.⁴¹

The Role of Darani jikkyō

The Buddhist scripture *Darani jikkyō*, mentioned above, contains detailed visual descriptions of Buddhist deities such as Amitābha and may therefore have had a direct influence on the production of new Amitābha imagery in Nara Japan. *Darani jikkyō* (Collected Dhāraṇī Sutras) is, according to Koichi Shinohara, a twelve-

37 A handful of fragments have also been found at other sites. For reproductions and a discussion of this type of tile, see Shirai, “The Amitābha *Senbutsu* Unearthed in Japan.” Hida Romi offers an interesting counter-perspective regarding the main thesis but agrees that the main buddha featured on the tiles is none other than Amitābha. Hida, “Ōgata tason senbutsu to Hōryūji Kondō hekiga,” p. 387.

38 Discussion of the mural in relation to the tile-type mentioned above appears in Shirai, “The Amitābha *Senbutsu* Unearthed in Japan.” For a reproduction of the mural online, see http://umdb.um.u-tokyo.ac.jp/DKankoub/Publish_db/1997DM/DM_CD/DM_CONT/HORYUJI/HEKIGA/IMG006.HTM.

39 Ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese Mandalas*, p. 3. A richly nuanced, concise analysis of the Japanese *mandara* appears in Bogel, *With a Single Glance*, pp. 8, 44–51. On p. 45 Bogel indicates “[t]here is no Japanese visual or textual record that the *Taima mandara* was of much influence on praxis or representation before the eleventh century.” Bogel notes a similar trend on p. 46 regarding the “so-called *Chikō mandara*, a lost Nara-period painting depicting the Amida Pure Land realm said to have been painted by the monk Chikō and likely based on an imported eighth-century Chinese work.” For an online reproduction of the twelfth-century Senshōji 専称寺 (Osaka) *Taima mandara* hanging scroll housed at Nara National Museum, see <https://www.narahaku.go.jp/english/collection/781-o.html>.

40 Ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese Mandalas*, p. 3; Nakano, *Nara jidai no Amida nyoraizō to Jōdo shinkō*, p. 299. According to Nakano, earlier scholars proposed that the *Taima mandara* was manufactured in Japan during the Nara period, but today it is believed to have originated in Tang China. Nakano’s n. 17 refers to Ōta (1963), “Tsuzure ori Taima mandara ni tsuite.” In a reprint, Ōta states that the *Taima mandara* was probably not made in Japan, and was instead brought over from Tang China. See Ōta (1978), “Tsuzure ori Taima mandara ni tsuite.”

41 See Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjo, *Shiseki Zutō hakkutsu chōsa hōkoku*, pls. 33, 73. For a brief discussion of *Zutō*, see Nakano, *Nara jidai no Amida nyoraizō to Jōdo shinkō*, pp. 293–302. Additional information is available online at <http://www.pref.nara.jp/6709.htm>.

volume compilation of various documents.⁴² The Sanskrit word *dhāraṇī* (Jp. *darani* 陀羅尼) can be translated as “spells”; these were often chanted and believed to have a magical component.⁴³ Cynthea J. Bogel describes *Darani jikkyō* as “an influential esoteric work consisting of assembled esoteric rituals and sutras ... [that was] known in Japan by Tenpyō 天平 9 (737).”⁴⁴ Indeed, records dating to the mid-eighth century from the Offices of Queen Consort Kōmyō (also known as the Queen Consort’s Palace Agency) include written requests to borrow *Darani jikkyō*, indicating the availability and significance of this set of scriptures during this time.⁴⁵ Kōmyō kōgō 光明皇后 (701–760) was Queen Consort to the Heavenly Sovereign, Shōmu *tennō* 聖武天皇 (701–756, r. 724–749), and there is growing evidence that she was involved in the incipient Amitābha cult, primarily because of her association with the most important temples of this time: Tōdaiji, Hokkeji 法華寺, and Hōryūji.

Given that *Darani jikkyō* was available in Nara Japan, Nakano believes the text served to instruct and guide

image-makers on what Amitābha should look like, perhaps to maximize ritual effectiveness.⁴⁶ According to *Darani jikkyō*, an image of Amitābha consists of a seated buddha with legs crossed and each foot resting on the opposite thigh (*kekka fuza* 結加跏趺座), while both hands make the shape of a wheel (the teaching gesture, *seppōin* 說法印) with the tip of the thumb (*ōyubi* 大指) touching the tip of the ring or fourth finger (*mumeishi* 無名指).⁴⁷ Nagaoka Ryūsaku, too, has examined Amitābha images dating to the Nara and Heian (794–1185) periods, but in stark contrast to Nakano, who discusses *Darani jikkyō* over several chapters, Nagaoka mentions the compilation only once, in a footnote.⁴⁸ Although Nagaoka’s reasons for giving just a passing reference to *Darani jikkyō* are unknown, this opens up the possibility that Nakano may have been overly enthusiastic in relying so heavily on *Darani jikkyō*.

At least two other articles weigh in against Nakano’s scholarship in general. Seyama Satoshi analyzes the reception and development of the Four Heavenly Kings (Deva) of Buddhism (*Shitennō* 四天王) and compares the extant imagery to descriptions found in *Darani jikkyō*, or what Seyama calls “*Darani jikkyō* style” (*Darani jikkyō yō* 陀羅尼集經樣). In contrast to earlier studies, Seyama concludes that in the case of the Four Heavenly Kings icons in Japan there was a time lag, and that the *Darani jikkyō* style was not employed by artists until the end of the eighth century, i.e. the beginning of the

42 The full title is *Foshuo tuoluoni jijing fanyì xu*, p. 785a, but in the Japanese secondary literature the title is often shortened to *Darani jikkyō*. According to Shinohara, the collection was compiled in the mid-seventh century by Atikūta, an Indian monk from central India. Furthermore, “the name of the translator, given in transcription as Adiquduo 阿地瞿多, is elsewhere translated as Wujigao 無極高.” See Shinohara, *Spells, Images, and Maṇḍalas*, pp. 28–29, and note 2 on p. 238. Brief mention of this scripture also appears in Orzech, “Ritual Subjects,” pp. 269, 278. A classic study in Japanese is Sawa, “*Darani jikkyō* oboegaki.”

43 For an extensive investigation, see Copp, *The Body Incantatory*. In his preface on p. xx, Copp argues that *dhāraṇī* were part of an “ancient heritage of protective magic” and were “important parts of Buddhism in China for at least five hundred years before proponents of the ‘Esoteric synthesis’ begin to establish their lineages there in the early eighth century.” Copp briefly discusses *Tuoluoni jijing* (Jp. *Darani jikkyō*) and defines “esoteric” in his n. 14 on p. 291.

44 Bogel, *With a Single Glance*, p. 28. Bogel refers to Ishida, *Shakyō yori*, n. 39 on p. 358. Seyama Satoshi also claims that in 1930 Ishida Mosaku was the first to state that *Darani jikkyō* was mentioned in Japanese records corresponding to 737 CE. Seyama, “*Darani jikkyō yō* Shitennōzō no Nihon ni okeru juyō to tenkai,” p. 83.

45 See the following Shōsōin documents: DNK *Hennen* 13, “Shibi chū dai shōkyōmon” 紫微中台請經文, Tenpyō Shōhō 天平勝宝 7 (755).8.21 (pp. 154–55); DNK *Hennen* 4, “Kyōsho suitōchō” 經疏出納帳, Tenpyō Shōhō 7 (755) (pp. 85, 91–92); and DNK *Hennen* 12, “Shakyō bujō chūmon” 寫經奉請注文, Tenpyō Shōhō 5 (753).5.1 (p. 440). Digitized documents are accessible at <http://www.wap.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/ships/shipscontroller> by selecting the database for Nara-period Ancient Manuscripts (奈良時代古文書フルテキストデータベース). For a discussion of these entries, see Nakano, *Nara jidai no Amida nyoraizō to Jōdo shinkō*, pp. 132, 195–97, 257–61.

46 The first scholar to name *Darani jikkyō* as a possible source for Amitābha depictions during the eighth century appears to be Mizuno Keisaburō; he is credited by both Nakano and another scholar, Nagaoka Ryūsaku. See Nakano, *Nara jidai no Amida nyoraizō to Jōdo shinkō*, pp. 183, 189; Nagaoka, “*Amida zuyō no keishō to saisei*,” n. 37 on p. 298; and Mizuno, “*Amida sanzonzō Denpōdō Nishinoma shozai*,” p. 69. A reprint with additional commentary is Mizuno, “*Hōryūji Denpōdō no Amida sanzonzō sangu*,” on p. 125 the author refers to the thumb and middle finger touching, but this appears to be a typographical error because it is the thumb and ring finger that touch in the Hōryūji Denpōdō Nishinoma icon; moreover, when Mizuno revisits the same icon on p. 128, he correctly mentions the thumb and ring finger.

47 *Darani jikkyō*, p. 800c. Nakano, *Nara jidai no Amida nyoraizō to Jōdo shinkō*, pp. 183, 194, 230, 296–99.

48 Nagaoka, “*Amida zuyō no keishō to Saisei*,” n. 37, p. 298, writes that Mizuno observed the basis for the hand gestures in the second volume of *Darani jikkyō*. As to possible reasons for this short reference to Mizuno, perhaps Nagaoka was unconvinced that *Darani jikkyō* was the source for the hand gestures but chose not to refute Mizuno; perhaps he simply accepted Mizuno’s attribution and saw no need for further elaboration; or, as suggested by this journal’s anonymous reader, Nagaoka chose to emphasize his own theories instead of highlighting another scholar’s work.

Heian period.⁴⁹ Although Seyama's thesis concerning the Four Heavenly Kings imagery may not apply to Amitābha icons, his findings serve as a precautionary note: just because *Darani jikkyō* was in circulation during the first half of the eighth century does not mean it was immediately appropriated for icon production. Ōkusa Hiroshi, too, takes issue with several theories in Nakano's monograph, arguing in one instance that Nakano misunderstood a primary source and thereby misinterpreted the relationship between Queen Consort Kōmyō and the monk Chikō 智光 (d.u.). Ōkusa also refutes the significance and meaning of rosaries, a core part of Nakano's argument.⁵⁰

With such caveats in hand, we now proceed to the images assumed to represent Amitābha with the thumb and ring finger touching, discussed by Nagaoka and Nakano. Nagaoka examines surviving paintings and sculptures dating to the Nara period and later and identifies the following works:

1. Konbuin 興福院, Hōrenchō 法連町, Nara City: a wood-core dry lacquer icon dated to the second half of the eighth century (late Nara period).⁵¹
2. Private collection: a painting on silk, *Kōfukuji kōdō mandarazu 興福寺講堂曼荼羅図*, attributed to the "medieval period" (*chūsei* 中世), circa late twelfth to late sixteenth century. The Amitābha icon portrayed in this temple scene (of Kōfukuji 興福寺 in Nara City) may date to the eighth century.⁵²
3. Kōryūji 広隆寺, Kyoto: a wood-core dry lacquer icon dated to the first half of the ninth century.⁵³
4. Fushimiji 伏見寺, Kanazawa City, Ishikawa Prefecture: a small, gilt-bronze icon (H. 21.5 cm) dated to the ninth century.⁵⁴
5. Hokkeji 法華寺, Nara City: a painting on silk, *Kenpon chakushoku Amida sanzō oyobi dōji zō 絹本著色阿弥陀三尊及童子像 (Amida Triad With a Boy*

Attendant), dated to the Heian period.⁵⁵

Nagaoka proposes that this group of images reflects the creation of a specific Amitābha image-type, and attempts to connect this type to a specific historical event: the one-year death anniversary in 761 of Queen Consort Kōmyō.⁵⁶ While it is known that Queen Consort Kōmyō sponsored numerous Buddhist projects, the connection suggested by Nagaoka cannot be confirmed. As Nakano Satoshi explains, Nagaoka attempts to resurrect or reimagine Amitābha icons referenced in primary documents from the eighth century, yet their exact hand gestures remain unknown because visual descriptions of the icons were not provided in those documents and none of the icons mentioned are known to survive.⁵⁷ The historical record does indicate that new Amitābha icons were commissioned to commemorate the death anniversary, but there is no way to validate Nagaoka's claim due to a lack of evidence. Nevertheless, I find it conceivable that an Amitābha image-type based on *Darani jikkyō* was created in the late Nara or early Heian, whether under Kōmyō's direction (if the image was made during her lifetime) or in memory of Kōmyō (if it was made after her death).

For his list of "Nara-style" Amitābha icons based on *Darani jikkyō*, Nakano refers to the five works identified by Nagaoka ten years earlier and then adds three more sculptures dating to the late Nara period. These icons are housed inside two temples located in Nara Prefecture—Hōryūji 法隆寺 and Saidaiji 西大寺:

6. Hōryūji Denpōdō 伝法堂 (East Precinct of Hōryūji): a hollow, dry lacquer icon, part of the "West Sector" (*Nishi no ma* 西の間) triad.⁵⁸
7. Hōryūji Denpōdō: a wood-core, dry lacquer icon, part of the "East Sector" (*Higashi no ma* 東の間) triad.⁵⁹
8. Saidaiji: a wood-core, dry lacquer icon, one of the "Buddhas of the Four Directions" (*Shibutsu zazō* 四仏座像).⁶⁰

49 Seyama, "Darani jikkyō yō Shitennozō no Nihon ni okeru juyō to tenkai," pp. 82, 88.

50 Ōkusa, "Nara jidai Jōdo shinkōron no saikentō," pp. 234–35. I am grateful to Bryan Lowe for bringing this article to my attention.

51 Nagaoka, "Amida zuyō no keishō to saisei," pp. 288–90. For a reproduction, see NBZ 4, monochrome plate 89 on p. 140.

52 Nagaoka, "Amida zuyō no keishō to saisei," pp. 288–94, nn. 36 and 57. A cropped image of the Buddha appears as figure 2 on p. 289.

53 *Ibid.*, pp. 288–89. For a reproduction, see NBZ 5, figure 55.

54 Nagaoka, "Amida zuyō no keishō to saisei," pp. 288–89. For a reproduction and the height of the Fushimiji icon, see NBZ 5, monochrome plate 193 on pp. 143, 236.

55 Nagaoka, "Amida zuyō no keishō to saisei," pp. 288–89. A color reproduction of the painting is available on the Hokkeji website at <https://hokkejimonzeki.or.jp/about/treasure/>.

56 Nagaoka, "Amida zuyō no keishō to saisei," with special emphasis on p. 280.

57 Nakano, *Nara jidai no Amida nyoraizō to Jōdo shinkō*, pp. 189–92.

58 *Ibid.*, pp. 184–96, 230. For a reproduction, see NBZ 4, figure 76, monochrome plate 61 on p. 137.

59 Nakano, *Nara jidai no Amida nyoraizō to Jōdo shinkō*, pp. 190–93, 230. For a reproduction, see NBZ 4, figure 83.

60 Nakano, *Nara jidai no Amida nyoraizō to Jōdo shinkō*, pp. 191–94, 230. For a reproduction, see NBZ 4, monochrome plate 87 on p.

These three images largely conform to the iconographical features detailed in *Darani jikkyō* for an Amitābha icon, but whether they were indeed commissioned as Amitābha cannot be confirmed.⁶¹ I find it possible that some Amitābha icons with the hand gesture of thumb and ring finger forming a circle were made during this period; yet it is equally possible that other buddhas, such as Maitreya, were likewise portrayed making the same hand gesture—an example of overlapping iconographical features. Sorting out questions of identity is a complex task for scholars today, but for the Nara-period devotees who prayed to what they considered to be an Amitābha (or other buddha) icon, these iconographical concerns probably did not matter.⁶²

Archaeological Remains: Wave-Pattern Tiles

Let us return to *Taima mandara*, the woven tapestry discussed above that portrays an image of Sukhāvati. The existence of this tapestry suggests that there may have been other images of a pure land in eighth-century Japan. One type of material evidence, known as “green-glazed wave-pattern tiles” (*ryokuyū hamonsen* 緑釉波紋磚 or *ryokuyū suihamonsen* 緑釉水波文磚), gives rise to the possibility that glassy ponds were represented in paradise scenes, perhaps even a version of the Sukhāvati that is portrayed in *Taima mandara*. Yet we cannot simply assume that the tiles were linked to a (now lost) image of Sukhāvati and Amitābha: they may just as well have been part of a paradise scene featuring Maitreya or Bhaiṣajyaguru during the seventh and eighth centuries in Japan.⁶³ In other words,

the portrayal of a pond was not exclusive to images of Amitābha’s pure land during this period. Here is yet another instance of overlap in practice and imagery between different buddhas.

Since broken fragments of wave-pattern tiles tell us nothing about what the complete scene once looked like, scholars often consider the iconography of the Tachibana shrine (*Tachibana fujin zushi* 橘夫人厨子), which is stored at Hōryūji. Housed inside this miniature shrine is a gilt-bronze Amitābha triad with a bronze screen and base (*Tachibana bunin nenjibutsu* 橘夫人念持仏), attributed to the late seventh or early eighth century. Cast on the flat surface of the bronze base are stylized wave patterns and lotus plants representing the surface of a lotus pond.⁶⁴ Growing out of the base are three bronze stems in the round that support three large lotus flowers. Each flower in turn serves as a pedestal for one of the icons of the Amitābha triad—two standing bodhisattvas and one seated buddha. The waves on the base are styled in the form of neatly compartmentalized packets, somewhat resembling the shape of a peapod that encloses a tiny, undulating wave. Although none of the recovered tiles exhibit a similarly stylized wave shape, the Tachibana shrine demonstrates one way in which wave patterns were used in pure land scenes and opens the possibility that glazed tiles featuring a wave pattern were affixed on the base of a large icon or triad housed inside a special hall at a Nara temple.

Wave-Pattern Tiles from Kawaradera and Kōfukuji

Wave-pattern tile fragments have been unearthed at nearly a dozen archaeological sites dating to the seventh and eighth centuries, most of them within the former Nara or Heijō capital, though some were found in the surrounding regions. Ōwaki Kiyoshi provides a useful survey of these fragments.⁶⁵ Three different

140. A color image is available on the Saidaiji website at: <http://saidaiji.or.jp/treasure/to4/>.

61 The problem of identification is challenging because icons are often moved and transferred from their original place of installment. The Buddhas of the Four Directions at Saidaiji, for example, may have changed places or even been replaced by icons originating from other temples. As for the three sets of buddha triads housed inside the Hōryūji Denpōdō, one, two, or all three could have been donated from other temples.

62 Especially at this time in Japan, the requirements or expectations for “correct” Amitābha iconography were likely much less rigorous than in later periods. For a classic study on Amitābha icons in Japan, see Mitsumori, *Amida nyoraizō*.

63 Ōwaki examines wave-pattern tiles used to represent lotus ponds in Amitābha, Maitreya, or Bhaiṣajyaguru paradise scenes in Ōwaki, “Dōnai sōgon no kōkogaku,” p. 17. For his other references to Bhaiṣajyaguru, see pp. 24–26. Glazed tiles without wave patterns may have been used as sacred decoration inside

the Hokkeji Golden Hall, whose main icon is conjectured to have been Vairocana (Jp. Dainichi 大日). See *ibid.*, pp. 29–30; Takahashi, “Sansai, ryokuyūsen sairon,” p. 50; and Nakagawa, “Hokkeji kyūkeidai shutsudo kokusenmon nisaisen ni tsuite.” The Nakagawa reference is available at <http://repository.nabunken.go.jp/dspace/handle/11177/6788>.

64 For a reproduction of the Tachibana shrine’s bronze base, see McCallum, *The Four Great Temples*, figure 3.20 on p. 187.

65 Ōwaki, “Senbutsu to ryokuyū hamonsen ni yoru sōgon.” The exhibition catalogue in which this article appears can be difficult

types of wave-pattern tiles were unearthed from the ruined Buddhist temple Kawaradera 川原寺 and its environs in Nara Prefecture.⁶⁶ Ōwaki indicates, however, that they were not necessarily installed when Kawaradera was first built in the seventh century; instead, he suggests the different types of tiles likely belonged to separate miniature shrines or pedestals for icons that were donated to Kawaradera between the seventh and eighth centuries.⁶⁷ Based on his chronological sequence, Ōwaki proposes that one type of Kawaradera green-glazed wave-pattern tile, which dates to the end of the seventh century, is likely the oldest used in Japan.⁶⁸ Next in his chronology is the bronze base with wave patterns in the Tachibana shrine at Hōryūji. The other two types of wave-pattern tiles discovered in and around Kawaradera probably date to the eighth century (figure 1).⁶⁹

Ōwaki makes no further assessments about how the Kawaradera wave-pattern tiles may have been employed or in which structure, but more than a decade earlier, Takahashi Teruhiko proposed that these tiles were used to portray a narrative scene of the pure land of Maitreya—not Amitābha—in the temple's Central Golden Hall.⁷⁰ Takahashi bases this proposal on similarities he has identified between the Kawaradera Central Golden Hall and the Kōfukuji Central Golden Hall. An active temple today, Kōfukuji is located just south of the massive Tōdaiji 東大寺 temple complex in Nara City. That Kōfukuji has survived into the present day is due in part to its role as the family temple of the

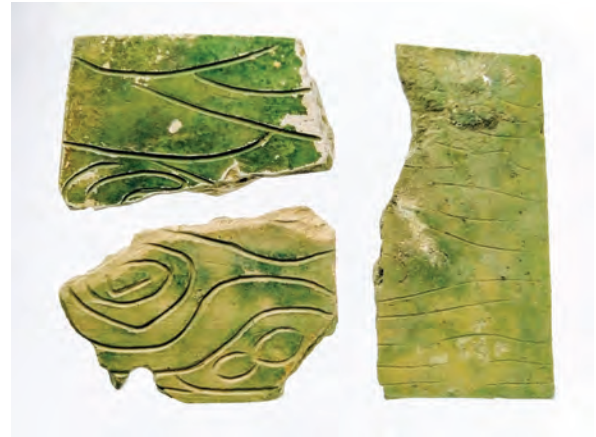


Figure 1. Wave-pattern tile excavated at Kawaradera Urayama Iseki 川原寺裏山遺跡, Nara Prefecture. 8th c. H 25, W 15.5, D 1.2 cm. Housed at Asukamura Kyōiku I'nkai 明日香村教育委員会. From Ōwaki, "Senbutsu to ryokuyū hamonsen ni yoru sōgon," p. 23, lower photo; p. 47 for tile dimensions. Permission of Asukamura Kyōiku I'nkai and Nara Bunkazai Kenkyūjo Asuka Shiryōkan.

powerful Fujiwara 藤原 clan, which included such notable figures as Queen Consort Kōmyō, her father, Fujiwara Fuhito 藤原不比等 (659–720), and her mother, Agata Inukai Michiyo 県犬養三千代 (also known as Tachibana Michiyo 橘三千代, d. 733).⁷¹ Different types of wave-pattern tiles were unearthed near Kōfukuji's Central Golden Hall (figure 2) and its East Golden Hall (figure 3), as both Ōwaki and Takahashi note.⁷² The Kōfukuji Central Golden Hall is widely believed to have once housed a Maitreya pure land tableau on the basis of written descriptions found in a text known as *Kōfukuji ruki* 興福寺流記.⁷³ Although the text was

to locate; it is listed at <http://www.worldcat.org/oclc/914461314>. For a chart of glazed, wave-pattern tile fragments and relevant details such as excavation site and proposed manufacture date, see Ōwaki, "Dōnai sōgon no kōkōgaku," p. 27.

66 For a discussion of Kawaradera see Shirai, "The Buddha Triad *Senbutsu* Unearthed in Japan," pp. 191–213. More extensive discussion appears in McCallum, *The Four Great Temples*, pp. 155–200.

67 Ōwaki, "Senbutsu to ryokuyū hamonsen ni yoru sōgon," p. 48. For an explanation in English, see McCallum, *The Four Great Temples*, pp. 185–87; in his note 62 on p. 186, McCallum cites Ōwaki, "Kawaradera," pp. 132–33.

68 For a reproduction of the Kawaradera wave-pattern tiles attributed to the seventh century, see Ōwaki, "Senbutsu to ryokuyū hamonsen ni yoru sōgon," p. 48; and McCallum, *The Four Great Temples*, lower photo of figure 3.19 on p. 186.

69 Ōwaki, "Senbutsu to ryokuyū hamonsen ni yoru sōgon," p. 51; a color reproduction of the tile fragments appears on p. 23. A monochrome image appears in McCallum, *The Four Great Temples*, upper photo of figure 3.19 on p. 186.

70 Takahashi, "Butsuzō sōgon toshitenō ryokuyū suihamonsen," p. 134.

71 For a concise history of Kōfukuji in English, see Grapard, *Protocol of the Gods*, pp. 48–57. A recent publication on the history of Kōfukuji is Bauer, "Tracing Yamashinadera."

72 Ōwaki, "Senbutsu to ryokuyū hamonsen ni yoru sōgon," p. 49; Takahashi, "Butsuzō sōgon toshitenō ryokuyū suihamonsen," pp. 127–28. In nn. 4 and 5 on p. 136, Takahashi lists the following with regard to the excavation history of the Kōfukuji East Golden Hall wave-pattern fragments: Kokuho Kōfukuji Higashi Kondō Shūri Jimusho, *Kokuho Kōfukuji Higashi Kondō shūri kōji hōkokusho*; Kōfukuji, *Kōfukuji bōsai shisetsu kōji*. On the Central Golden Hall wave-pattern fragments, see Kōfukuji, *Kōfukuji dai ikki keidai seibi jigyō ni tomonau hakkutsu chōsa gaihō ni*, polychrome image on frontispiece, p. 14; and Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjo, "Kōfukuji Chū Kondō-in kairō no chōsa: Dai308ji," SK 7560 on p. 36. This excavation report is available online at https://repository.nabunken.go.jp/dspace/bitstream/11177/5481/1/AN00181387_2000_3_32_39.pdf.

73 A color reproduction is available online at <http://webarchives.tnm.jp/dlib/detail/3846.jsessionid=6F79DD5FC19ACD167369.047989462FA2>. According to Grapard, *Protocol of the Gods*,



Figure 2. Wave-pattern tile excavated at Kōfukuji Central Golden Hall, Nara Prefecture. 8th c. D approx. 1.5 cm. From Kōfukuji, *Kōfukuji dai ikki keidai seibi jigyō ni tomonau hakkutsu chōsa gaihō ni*, p. 14, polychrome image on frontispiece; p. 14 for tile thickness. Permission of Kōfukuji.

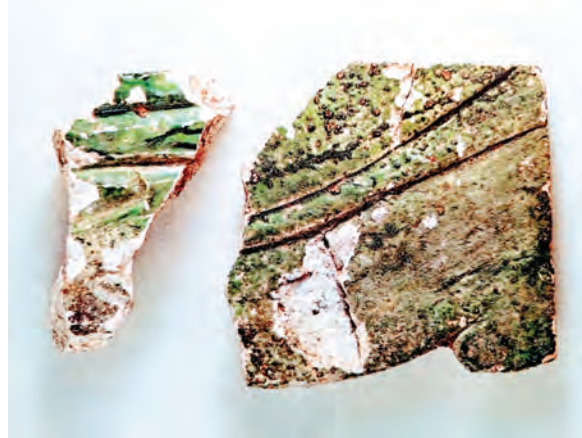


Figure 3. Wave-pattern tile excavated at Kōfukuji East Golden Hall, Nara Prefecture. 8th c. D 2.6–2.9 cm. From Kōfukuji, *Kōfukuji bōsai shisetsu kōji*, p. 49, polychrome image on frontispiece; p. 23 for tile thickness. Permission of Kōfukuji.

compiled during the late Heian period, or several centuries after the presumed Maitreya tableau at Kōfukuji would have been dedicated, many scholars take what is recorded in *Kōfukuji ruki* at face value, not questioning the validity of its claims—mostly because additional evidence that could corroborate or refute such claims is unavailable.⁷⁴ According to the *Hōjiki* section in *Kōfukuji ruki*, Kōmyō's mother dedicated the Maitreya

pure land tableau in Yōrō 養老 4 (720 CE) in memory of her husband, who had died that year.⁷⁵ The relevant entry describes the details of the paradise scene: one Maitreya buddha; eight bodhisattvas; four arhats (*rakan* 羅漢); sixteen celestials (each holding a musical instrument according to written-in notes); twelve guardian figures; eight divinities (*hachibu kami* 八部神; possibly the Divinities of the Eight Classes, *tenryū hachibushū* 天童八部衆); two mythical or protector lions (*shishi* 獅子); what seems to be a censer for incense; various special trees; and two parrots or cockatoos (*ōmu* 鸚鵡). There is no mention of a pond or palace architecture in this entry but, as Takahashi notes, another entry that many scholars consider relevant does mention the use of glazed wave-pattern tiles. The entry appears in the section called *Kyūsho anchi Miroku Jōdo engi* 舊所安置弥勒浄土縁起, whose title mentions “Maitreya pure land” (*Miroku Jōdo* 弥勒浄土), and it is here that we find the reference to *ruri no den* 瑠璃之殿.⁷⁶ During this period, *ruri* meant both “glass” and “glazed” pottery, so this entry can be translated as “place/hall (*den* 殿) of glass/glazed ware (*ruri* 瑠璃).” Taken together this textual evidence seems to indicate the use of glazed tiles, presumably with wave patterns in line with the

n. 53 on p. 263, “The texts relating to the origins of the Kōfukuji are found in [DNBZ] where they are all collected under the title *Kōfukuji sōsho* [興福寺叢書; see pp. 295–307]. They include the *Kōfukuji ruki*, compiled toward the end of the Heian period ... [which] is itself made up of several documents: the *Kōfukuji engi* [興福寺縁起] (dated 900); the *Tempyō-ki* [天平記], which covers the period 729–48; the *Hōji-ki* [寶字記] (757–64); the *Enryaku-ki* [延暦記] (782–806); the *Kōnin-ki* [弘仁記] (810–23); and other documents.”

74 For a study in Japanese, see Shibuya, “*Kōfukuji ruki* ni tsuite.” Shibuya investigates the reliability of *Kōfukuji ruki*, drawing attention to the different versions that were consulted and copied over several centuries. The original texts do not survive, but copies of earlier texts were repeatedly made—a process that introduced errors over time. According to Shibuya, some sections are more reliable than others, but caution is necessary because *Kōfukuji ruki* is like a collection of remnants that were at times revised during replication.

75 DNBZ, pp. 297–98. Tōno Haruyuki revisits his analysis of the Kōfukuji Central Golden Hall and its icons in relation to *Kōfukuji ruki* in “Tempyō jūin to bukkyō,” p. 131; “Jōdai jūin no Kondō to sono dōnai kōsei,” p. 77; and *Yamato koji no kenkyū*, pp. 11–14. See also Shibuya, “*Kōfukuji ruki* ni tsuite,” pp. 58–59.

76 DNBZ, p. 298.

archeological finds, in a hall featuring a Maitreya pure land tableau.⁷⁷

A significant comparative visual source is a painting on silk, *Kōfukuji mandarazu* 興福寺曼荼羅図, which depicts the icons assembled inside most of Kōfukuji's many buildings.⁷⁸ In the painting, attributed to the twelfth century, the roof and walls of each structure (with the exception of the pagoda) were not depicted so as to reveal the icons and their raised platforms within.⁷⁹ Unfortunately, the floor and platform surfaces were left blank so it is not possible to confirm whether wave-patterned tiles were used there to depict a pond.

How accurate is the painting? We know that it was executed approximately four centuries after the Kōfukuji sculptures were installed in the temple's halls and that it contains obvious fictionalizations: Kasuga Spring Shrine, for example, has been placed to the north of Kōfukuji instead of to the east, its actual location. Further, the Kyoto National Museum monograph notes the presence of "touch ups" (*hohitsu* 補筆) made to the painting, which means what we now see in the painting is not the same as the original at the time of production.⁸⁰ Putting aside these considerations, a comparison of the *written description* of the Maitreya pure land tableau inside the Kōfukuji Central Golden Hall and its *painted image* reveals a vague, superficial likeness with some differences. For example, according to the Kyoto National Museum monograph, the painting has only four (not eight) bodhisattvas⁸¹ and eighteen (not sixteen) celestials playing musical instruments. Whether these discrepancies are meaningful or not cannot be

known. But what seems to me most significant is how this tableau, despite what *Kōfukuji ruki* claims, could easily have been perceived as an Amitābha pure land tableau, especially since it was situated on the west end of the Central Golden Hall—a suitable location for Amitābha, the Buddha of the Western Paradise. In addition, the types of figures accompanying Maitreya in both the painting and the *Kōfukuji ruki* description, such as the celestial musicians and guardians, are also associated with the imagery of Amitābha's pure land. Visual identification of this tableau as a Maitreya pure land, as opposed to an Amitābha pure land, seems nearly impossible and again reflects the notion of overlap in the representations of the two paradises.⁸²

Wave-Pattern Tiles from Tōdaiji and Hokkeji

A number of eighth-century documents stored in Japanese temple collections serve as evidence that halls dedicated to Amitābha were indeed built at temple complexes in the ancient Nara capital. These halls are referred to by scholars today as Tōdaiji Amidadō 東大寺阿弥陀堂 and Hokkeji Amida Jōdo-in 法華寺阿弥陀净土院 and will be discussed below. Specifically, the documents refer to rituals conducted in an Amitābha Hall (Amida-in 阿弥陀院), or list items used during such rituals, but none mention the name of the temple complex or the exact geographic location where the rituals were held. To locate the Amitābha halls described in the primary sources, scholars must interpret the material evidence, in particular the wave-pattern tile fragments unearthed at Tōdaiji and Hokkeji. The task is made more difficult because some tile fragments have shifted from their original place of use due to either natural causes, such as mudslides, or manmade causes, such as digging or earth removal during construction. Many complicated arguments have been published, but here I offer a summary of recent developments. This section relies on the scholarship of Nakano Satoshi, whose work provides an extensive historiography and

77 Takahashi, "Butsuzō sōgon toshitenō ryokuyū suihamonsen," pp. 127–28. On p. 127, Takahashi writes that in *Kōfukuji engi* 興福寺縁起 (compiled in *Shoji engishū* 諸寺縁起集, *Gokokuji hon* 護国寺本), the term *ruri* appears in a note appended to a reference to what seems to be the Kōfukuji East Golden Hall. Because wave-pattern tiles were also excavated in the vicinity of the East Golden Hall, the tiles may have been affixed inside both the East and Central Golden Halls at Kōfukuji. For this entry in *Kōfukuji engi*, see Fujita, *Kōkan bijutsu shiryō*, vol. 1, p. 270.

78 The painting is now in the Kyoto National Museum; for a reproduction, see <https://www.kyohaku.go.jp/syuzou/meihin/butsuga/item04.html>. The painting's acquisition history and its relatively small dimensions (96.8 x 38.8 cm) are provided in Kyoto National Museum, *Kōfukuji mandarazu*, p. 52.

79 The Kōfukuji Pagoda, considerably miniaturized in size, is depicted with exterior walls intact and obscures our view of what was housed inside the building.

80 Kyoto National Museum, *Kōfukuji mandarazu*, D2 on p. 68.

81 According to *ibid.*, E15–E55 on pp. 70–71, there is a bodhisattva to the right and to the left of the Buddha, and a pair of dancing bodhisattvas near the bottom of the scene.

82 Hayami compiled a list of entries from various primary documents related to the Maitreya cult dating from the seventh or eighth century in Japan. These express a range of aspirations; of special interest is an entry dated to 728—close in time to the purported Maitreya Pure Land tableau in the Kōfukuji Central Golden Hall—in which the donor refers to both Maitreya and Amitābha and their respective paradises. Hayami, "Ritsuryō shakai ni okeru Miroku shinkō no juyō," entry 9 on p. 112.

other useful background information.⁸³

A document stored at Tōdaiji, *Amida kekaryō shizaichō* 阿弥陀悔過料資材帳, subtitled *Amida-in hōmotsu mokuroku* 阿弥陀院宝物目録, is a catalogue or inventory list related to the annual Amida Keka 阿弥陀悔過 ritual, held during the third month in an “Amitābha Hall,” which is named in the subtitle.⁸⁴ Any details that would specify the location of this Amida-in are not recorded. If the document has always been stored at Tōdaiji, then it could very well be an internal record of a ritual conducted somewhere within the vast Tōdaiji complex. However, this document could have originated at another temple and was then transferred to Tōdaiji at some point.

Inscribed just below the subtitle is the date Jingo keiun gannen 神護景雲元年 (767 CE), followed by a list of icons and scriptures; these were presumably used during the ritual at Amida-in.⁸⁵ However, another inventory of icons and scriptures appears in the next section, at the end of which is an entry that reads “manufacture of the abovementioned [items] was completed in the third month of Tenpyō 13 [741 CE].”⁸⁶ This difference in time is critical: a record dating to 741 indicates the existence of an Amitābha Hall that *predates* the construction of Tōdaiji, which occurred after 745, the year the capital was transferred back to Heijō (Nara).⁸⁷ To account for this discrepancy, scholars have proposed two competing theories: either the Amida-in described in *Amida kekaryō shizaichō* belonged to an earlier temple built on the grounds of the Tōdaiji, or the Amida-in belonged to a different temple at a completely different site (Hokkeji is considered a leading candidate) and that temple’s records were transferred to Tōdaiji at a later date.⁸⁸ Excavations at both Tōdaiji and Hokkeji have yielded fragments of green-glazed wave-pattern tiles, which may have been used in an Amitābha Hall. It is important to remember, however, that wave-pattern tiles were apparently employed in a pure land tableau of Maitreya at Kōfukuji, so the recov-

ery of wave-pattern tiles at Tōdaiji and Hokkeji does not serve as indisputable evidence of a lost Amitābha Hall. There could have been a Maitreya Hall instead, a possibility that is largely downplayed or neglected in the scholarship focused on identifying the Amitābha halls mentioned in written records.

Several of the green-glazed wave-pattern tile fragments from Tōdaiji were unearthed during the 1980s by Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo 橿原考古学研究所 of Nara Prefecture; the pieces emerged while the group was excavating beneath Busshōya 仏餉屋, a small structure located near Nigatsudō 二月堂 and used as a special kitchen during the annual Omizutori 水取り ceremonies held in the first two weeks of the third month.⁸⁹ Although the current Busshōya was built during the Kamakura period, artifacts found under the structure, including the wave-pattern tile fragments, date to the Nara and Heian periods (figure 4).⁹⁰ In the excavation report (1984), the lead archaeologist, Nakai Kazuo, proposed three stages of building activity at the site; the earliest stage was assigned to the first half of the eighth century, which predates the construction of Tōdaiji. Three decades later, Suzuki Kazuyoshi reexamined the excavation finds from Busshōya and revised part of the earlier report.⁹¹ Instead of three stages, Suzuki proposed four stages of building activity at the site. Most significantly, Suzuki and his team located the earthenware vessel fragments catalogued from the excavation; their subsequent analysis of the vessel typology revealed the date of manufacture to be in the *second* half of the eighth century, not the first half as reported earlier.⁹² Details related to the proposed earliest structure and its building pattern also agree with this date, according to Suzuki. The corrected date indicates that the initial building activity at the Busshōya site does not predate Tōdaiji.

To further complicate the situation, Suzuki claims that roof tile fragments dating to the first half of the eighth century from the Busshōya excavation were not part of a structure built at this site, but instead had been moved there and may have originally been used

83 Nakano, *Nara jidai no Amida nyoraizō to Jōdo shinkō*, pp. 83–121.

84 *Ibid.*, p. 83. For a reproduction of the text, see figure 24 on p. 84; for a modern reprint, see DNK *Hennen* 5, Jingo Keiun 神護景雲 1 (767).8.30 (pp. 671–83).

85 *Ibid.*, pp. 671–73.

86 DNK *Hennen* 5, Jingo Keiun 1 (767).8.30 (pp. 673–77).

87 Other explanations are possible; for instance, the two entries could be unrelated, or the inventories might refer to Amitābha rituals conducted at separate temples or at separate times.

88 Nakano, *Nara jidai no Amida nyoraizō to Jōdo shinkō*, p. 95.

89 Naraken Bunkazai Hozon Jimusho, *Jūyō bunkazai Tōdaiji Nigatsudō Busshōya shūri kōji hōkokusho*.

90 *Ibid.*, p. 69. For a color reproduction, see the exhibition catalogue Nara National Museum, *Tokubetsu chinretsu: Omizutori*, p. 47. I am grateful to Hirooka Takanobu 廣岡孝信 for informing me about the catalogue.

91 Suzuki, “Tōdaiji Nigatsudō Busshōya kasō ikō no saikentō.”

92 *Ibid.*, pp. 375–76.



Figure 4. Wave-pattern tile excavated at Tōdaiji Busshōya of Nigatsudō, Nara Prefecture. 8th c. Right fragment: H 12.5, W 8.5 cm; left fragment: H 10.5, W 10.0 cm. Housed at Tōdaiji. From Nara National Museum, *Tokubetsu chinretsū: Omizutori*, p. 47, fig. 32. Permission of Tōdaiji and Nara National Museum (photo by Morimura Kinji 森村欣司).

at a nearby temple that predates Tōdaiji, for instance Fukujuji 福寿寺, which is believed to have been built in this northern sector now occupied by Busshōya, Nigatsudō, and Sangatsudō 三月堂 (also known as Hokkedō 法華堂).⁹³ Although a temple predating Tōdaiji could have existed near Busshōya, it was not situated at this exact location. Suzuki calls for further excavation to answer this and other questions about past building activity in this area. As for the wave-pattern tile fragments, their exact place and time of use remain unclear. Confirming such details is critical to pinpointing the location of a presumed pure land tableau or Amitābha Hall that once existed at what is now Tōdaiji.

We turn now to Hokkeji. Once a vast complex built just east of the former Heijō Palace in the capital, the temple today occupies a fraction of its original land holdings. The residential compound of Fujiwara Fuhito, mentioned above in connection with the history of Kōfukuji, was first constructed at this site. After his death, Fuhito's daughter Kōmyō established her Queen Consort Palace here and eventually transformed the site into the Hokkeji Buddhist temple complex. The Hokkeji Amida Jōdo-in is believed to have been situated to the south of the present temple. There is an ex-

tensive corpus of secondary analysis of Hokkeji's early history based on primary documents, even though the latter are rather vague in meaning. Here, instead of summarizing the analyses of written records concerning the relationship between Kōmyō, Hokkeji, and an Amitābha Hall, my focus is limited to a brief discussion of the relevant archaeological record.⁹⁴

In 2000, Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjo excavated a small section of the southwest corner of Hokkeji, unearthing one fragment of a glazed wave-pattern tile (figure 5). The archaeologists presume the area was the former site of the Hokkeji Amida Jōdo-in. According to the report, the excavation also confirmed that a pond or small lake was made in the center of this area. There was an island in the pond with traces of three structures, perhaps a hall, bridge, or corridor, but the nature of the structures remains unclear. The report ends by noting that a pond was constructed at the Hokkeji Amida Jōdo-in in order to reflect Pure Land

94 A concise overview of the historiography concerning Hokkeji-related primary documents is found in Ōkusa, "Nara jidai Jōdo shinkōron no saikentō," pp. 230–36. A monograph devoted to Hokkeji Amida Jōdo-in is Sannomiya, *Hokkeji Amida Jōdo-in to Byōdōin Hōōdō*; see pp. 1–64 for a historiography and other background material regarding the proposed construction history of Hokkeji Amida Jōdo-in.

93 Ibid., pp. 361, 379.



Figure 5. Wave-pattern tile excavated at Hokkeji, Nara Prefecture. 8th c. H 7.9, D 4.0 cm. From Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjo, "Hokkeji Jōdo-in no chōsa: Dai312ji," p. 60, fig. 66. Permission of Nara Bunkazai Kenkyūjo Asuka Shiryōkan.

ideology, in particular the conceptualization of a built environment that included both buildings and gardens as a unit. That is, the archaeologists suggest that the site is a Nara-period precursor to a type of built environment that became popular in the late Heian period, as can be seen at Byōdōin Hōōdō 平等院鳳凰堂 near Kyoto.⁹⁵ These places included a lotus pond in front of palace buildings, offering an image of Sukhāvātī as a real place on earth.

Concluding Remarks

Evident in each of the studies presented in this research note is the strong desire on the part of scholars to reveal the exact nature of the early Amitābha cult in Japan. Yet making definitive assertions about the incipient stage of the Amitābha cult appears premature, especially since there seems to have been no independent Amitābha cult with consistent, standardized imagery during the seventh and eighth centuries in Japan, and likely through the ninth century. Instead, there were

⁹⁵ Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjo, "Hokkeji Jōdo-in no chōsa: Dai312ji." A monochrome reproduction of the tile is available at http://repository.nabunken.go.jp/dspace/bitstream/11177/2754/1/AN00181387_2000_%e2%85%a2_56_61.pdf (figure 66 on p. 60). One of the archaeologists involved in the excavation published a related article; see Watanabe, "Amida Jōdo-in to Kōmyōshi tsuizen jigyō." For another perspective, see Sannom-ya, *Hokkeji Amida Jōdo-in to Byōdōin Hōōdō*, pp. 100–104.

overlaps in use that were uneven and perhaps unorthodox. The notion of a heavenly pure land, a splendid paradise waiting for devotees after their death, was embraced and represented beginning in the Hakuho and Nara periods, but specific questions concerning cultic practice may never be answered. Nevertheless, we should not forget that even if the life-size buddha icons dating to this period look generic and inaccessible to modern viewers because they lack inscriptions or do not strictly adhere to a known or standardized iconography, they were undoubtedly sponsored by patrons who gave them precise identities in order to gain specific merit.

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- DNK *Hennen Dai Nihon komonjo: Hennen monjo* 大日本古文書: 編年文書. Ed. Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo 東京大学史料編纂所. 25 vols. Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1901–1940.
- NBZ *Nihon bijutsu zenshū* 日本美術全集. Ed. Mizuno Keisaburō 水野敬三郎 et al. 25 vols. Kōdansha, 1990–1994.
- T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. 100 vols. Ed. Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡邊海旭 et al. Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924–1934. Digitized in CBETA (v. 5.2) and SAT Daizōkyō Text Database (<https://21dzk.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/SAT/index.html>).

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Research Report on the Current Status and Prospects for Nineteenth-Century Ryukyuan Paintings on Wooden Doors in the Historic Miyara dunchi House

CHIE KYAN AND YŪKI TAIRA
TRANSLATED BY TRAVIS SEIFMAN

Introduction

THIS research report examines the materials and techniques used in paintings on the wooden doors of the Miyara dunchi 宮良殿内 historic house (a nationally designated Important Cultural Property). The Miyara dunchi wooden door paintings are five wooden door paintings produced by painters in service to the Yaeyama *kuramoto* 八重山蔵元¹ as archi-

tectural decoration for the Miyara dunchi.

The wooden door paintings at Miyara dunchi are extremely important materials for the study of the paintings on wood that once existed at the now-lost Engakuji 円覚寺 and Sōgenji 崇元寺 temples, Nakagusuku *udun* 中城御殿 Palace, and elsewhere, and for the study of the broader field of Ryukyuan painting which includes them. “Ryukyuan painting” refers to works painted during the time of the Ryukyu Kingdom (Ryūkū Ōkoku 琉球王国, 1429?–1879) but a great many works have been lost due to the hot and humid Okinawan climate, World War II, or other conditions and events, and there are extremely few extant. Even among those that survive, there are many that are in poor condition, and there are many conservation issues to address. In recent years, research has made many inroads that have resulted in clarification of the history of Ryukyuan painting. However, in terms of our understanding of painters associated with the Kaizuri Bugyōsho 貝摺奉行所² in Shuri 首里 and others com-

This research note is a slightly adapted translation of Kyan and Taira, “Kyū Miyara dunchi itadōe no genjō to tenbō,” and includes revisions made by the authors. Additional footnotes have been added to the English translation. For the reader’s ease of reference, the translator has indicated the original note number in brackets (e.g. [n1]) at the end of the note.

This research was made possible by a grant from the Uruma Academic Research Assistance Fund (*Uruma gakujutsu kenkyū josei kikin* 宇流麻学術研究助成基金). Further, in connection with the visits to the site to perform visual surveys of the works, the authors would like to express their gratitude to Miyara Yoshiaki 宮良芳明 (owner and proprietor of Miyara dunchi), Miyara Yoshikazu 宮良芳和, Miyara Yasunori 宮良安則, Shimono Eikō 下野栄高 of the Ishigaki City Board of Education (Ishigaki-shi Kyōiku linkai 石垣市教育委員会), and the Yaeyama Museum (Yaeyama Hakubutsukan 八重山博物館). We would also like to express our gratitude to Tōma Takumi 當間巧, Shinohara Akane 篠原あかね, and everyone at the Okinawa Churashima Foundation (Okinawa Churashima Zaidan 沖縄美ら島財団) for letting us view important documents, and their kind assistance in making this research possible.

1 [Translator’s note] The Yaeyama *kuramoto* was the government office overseeing the Miyako 宮古 and Yaeyama 八重山 Islands (i.e., Sakishima 先島) for the Ryukyuan royal court based at Shuri 首里 on the island of Okinawa.

2 [Translator’s note] The Kaizuri Bugyōsho (lit. “Office of the Magistrate of Mother-of-Pearl”) was a government office that

pared to the *kuramoto* painters (provincial painters of Sakishima), there is still much that remains unclear, and the same can be said of the wooden door paintings they produced.

For these reasons, we hope to clarify the condition of the wooden door paintings through a survey of the materials and techniques used in their production. This research report, touching upon the results of two surveys conducted on 24–26 January and 25–26 August, 2019, discusses comparisons with historical records and previous scholarship, and connects these with prospects for the future.

The Kuramoto Painters and the Wooden Door Paintings of Miyara dunchi

Miyara dunchi is a Ryukyu Kingdom-era private house in Ishigaki City 石垣市, Okinawa Prefecture. It is said to have been built in commemoration of the 1819 appointment of Tōen 當演 (d.u.), the eighth head of the Matsumō 松茂 family, to the position of administrator (*kashira shoku* 頭職) of Miyara *magiri* 宮良間切.³ It was named a nationally-designated Important Cultural Property (Building) in 1972.

Five wooden door paintings attributed to Yae-yama *kuramoto* painter Kyūna Anshin 喜友名安信 (1831–1892) and others⁴ survive within the house. The *kuramoto* painters were appointed as individuals of particular talent in painting techniques; when Western vessels came to the islands, they were responsible for producing sketches of the foreigners and their ships as reports to be sent to the royal court at Shuri, accompanying interpreters and aiding in communication through the use of images, and producing maps. The *kuramoto* government office conducted exams to select individuals for these official painter positions, and only the most talented were selected. Among those selected for appointment, individuals of even more exceptional talent were sent to Shuri to train and practice, or were granted special opportunities otherwise.

From this we can understand that these official painter positions demanded high levels of skill and the fulfillment of important roles. As Kamakura Yoshitarō notes, the pigments believed to have been used at that time are still expensive and precious materials today. Kamakura writes that the last *kuramoto* painter, Miyara Ansen 宮良安宣 (1862–1931), told him that the pigments used were all imported from Fuzhou 福州 and stored by the *kuramoto*.⁵ By studying the wooden door paintings at Miyara dunchi, we can get a glimpse of the *kuramoto* painters' techniques. These paintings can also be expected to become a resource for future research on the relationship with the Shuri royal court and Kaizuri Bugyōsho, the system of master-apprentice relationships, etc., as well as on broader organizational or administrative structures of the time within which the painters were incorporated.

The Current State of the Miyara dunchi Wooden Door Paintings

Deterioration is considerable at Miyara dunchi, and a partial dismantling of the structure for repair purposes within the next few years is under consideration. Investigations into the materials and techniques used in these paintings are therefore being conducted so that in future the original wooden door paintings can be conserved, and reproductions installed for viewing in their place. To this end, in order to collaborate and exchange opinions with experts in various fields, Shimono Eikō 下野栄高 of the Yaeyama Board of Education Cultural Division, painting mounter Tōma Takumi 當間巧, Okinawa Prefectural Museum and Art Museum curator Shinohara Akane 篠原あかね, and Nizoe Marina 仁添まりな, PhD candidate at the Okinawa Prefectural University of the Arts, also accompanied us and contributed to conducting the survey.

oversaw the production of lacquerware and certain other luxury items for the royal court's use.

3 [Translator's note] The Ryukyu Kingdom was divided into administrative districts known as *magiri*.

4 This information is based on interviews and other work by Kamakura Yoshitarō 鎌倉芳太郎 (1898–1983); "and others" refers to the presence of additional artists who were Anshin's followers. Kamakura, *Okinawa bunka no ihō*, vol. 2, *Shashin-hen*, p. 215. [n1]

5 Kamakura, *Okinawa bunka no ihō*, p. 214. [n2] [Translator's note] Due to both policy and maritime conditions, there was no official trade or direct official contact between Sakishima and mainland China during the early modern period. Pigments, along with any other Chinese-made products obtained by the officials of the Miyara dunchi, were most likely acquired via the royal court at Shuri, which held a monopoly within the Ryukyus on official trade with China.

▪ The Objects Surveyed

The locations of the wooden door paintings surveyed are indicated in figure 1.

This survey examines five wooden door paintings in total, including four paintings of hawks with differing compositions,⁶ and one painting of Shōki 鍾馗 the Demon Queller.⁷ (The hawk paintings are differentiated

by the use of the letters a–d.)

According to Miyara Yoshiaki 宮良芳明, proprietor of the Miyara dunchi house, the historical location of paintings three to five within the house is not known, so they have been hung together in one location as marked in figure 1. Details pertaining to the wooden door paintings noted in materials by Kamakura Yoshitarō⁸ and from our survey are compiled in table 1.

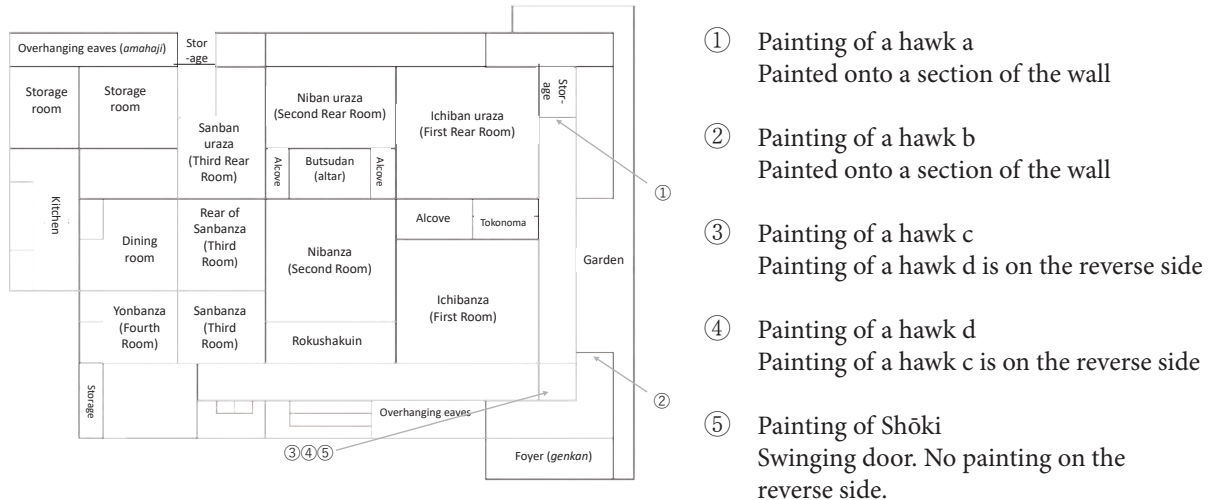


Figure 1. Miyara dunchi floor plan. Created by Taira Yūki, based on materials distributed at Miyara dunchi, entitled “Kyū Miyara dunchi.” Permission of Ishigaki City Board of Education.

Table 1. Listing of wooden door paintings. Based on Kamakura, *Okinawa bunka no ihō*, vol. 2, *Shashin-hen*, pp. 299–301, and a visual survey.

No.	Title (according to Kamakura)	Title (as represented in our own notes)	Letters assigned	Painter (according to Kamakura)	Color (current condition)	Height (mm)	Width (mm)
1	<i>Yaeyama Miyara dunchi sugiita-e taka-zu</i> (Yaeyama Miyara dunchi cedar panel painting, hawk)	<i>Taka-zu</i> (Painting of a hawk, figure 2)	a	Kyūna Anshin and others	Yes	1900	955
2	<i>Yaeyama Miyara dunchi sugiita-e taka-zu</i> (Yaeyama Miyara dunchi cedar panel painting, hawk)	<i>Taka-zu</i> (Painting of a hawk, figure 3)	b	Kyūna Anshin and others	Yes	1880	960
3	<i>Yaeyama Miyara dunchi sugiita-e taka-zu</i> (Yaeyama Miyara dunchi cedar panel painting, hawk)	<i>Taka-zu</i> (Painting of a hawk, figure 4)	c	Kyūna Anshin and others	Yes	1885	915
4	(not mentioned)	<i>Taka-zu</i> (Painting of a hawk, figure 5)	d	(not mentioned)	No	1885	915
5	(not mentioned)	<i>Shōki-zu</i> (Painting of Shōki, figure 6)		(not mentioned)	Yes	1790	825

6 We use the title “Painting of a hawk” as in Kamakura, *Okinawa bunka no ihō*, but not as a formal title for the work. Note, however, that since Kamakura also indicates that “these hawk paintings at Miyara dunchi may be of eagles” (Kamakura, *Okinawa bunka no ihō*, p. 215), future consideration may be necessary. [n3]

7 There are various theories, such as this painting being described as an “Image of Guan Yu”; see Okinawa-ken Kyōikuchō Bunkaka, *Kennai kaiga*, p. 73. Given the many similarities in the clothing, sword, appearance of the figure, and other elements present in *Shōka Shōki-zu* (Painting of Shōki Beneath a Pine) by Ōhama

Zenkei and *Kishi Shōki-zu* (Painting of Shōki Riding a Lion) at Nakagusuku *udun*, however, the authors designate Shōki (Painting of Shōki) as the subject rather than Guan Yu. [n4] For illustrations see Kamakura, *Okinawa bunka no ihō*, vol. 2, *Shashin-hen*, figs. pp. 298 (Zenkei) and 182 (Nakagusuku *udun*).

8 Kamakura, *Okinawa bunka no ihō*, vol. 2, *Shashin-hen*, pp. 299–301. [n5]

▪ Survey Methods

The following five methods were used in the survey:

1. Comparison with Kamakura Yoshitarō's materials: A comparison of photographs of three of the Miyara dunchi wooden door paintings in Kamakura, *Okinawa bunka no ihō*, vol. 2, *Shashin-hen*, with their current condition.
2. Visual examination: To the extent possible by eye, visual examination of the condition (cracks, peeling paint, etc.), linework, and subject matter of the wooden door paintings.
3. Ultraviolet light: UV light was shone on portions painted white to investigate whether they were painted with *gofun* 胡粉 (a white pigment made from seashells) or with lead white. Where lead white is present, it shows as white under UV light. However, since this is a simple method, chemical analysis will later be performed to identify the pigments. Due to the deterioration of the works, UV light was not used for a lengthy period.
4. Infrared camera: Photographs reveal *sumi* ink lines covered by pigment.
5. Microscopes: Magnifying areas where pigment was used, the presence or absence of mineral pigment particles can be determined. We investigated whether mineral pigments or dyes were used.

▪ Current State of the Wooden Door Paintings

Below, we divide our findings into four sections:

1. Comparison with materials by Kamakura Yoshitarō: Hawk paintings a, b, and c (figures 7, 9, 11), which can be seen in glass plate photographs by Kamakura Yoshitarō, are compared with the current state of the paintings (figures 8, 10, 12).
From comparison with the Kamakura Yoshitarō materials, it can be clearly seen that the paint is continuing to peel. Looking at the door paintings seen in figures 9 and 11 and comparing them with the current state of the doors, the branches seen in the upper section (figure 10) and the section believed to depict rocks and plants in figure 11 (see figure 12) have almost completely disappeared.

2. Condition of the Doors: We investigated the condition of the wooden doors chiefly through visual examination. There is ongoing deterioration due to the rusting and expansion of the iron nails seen in the upper portion of the images, which causes the wooden boards to split. The doorframe is now broken and does not retain its original shape (see figure 13). Further, termite damage was visible on the frame of the door featuring hawk paintings b and c (figure 14). Other damage on doorframes (figure 15) and gaps between the door and the doorframe caused by deformation (figure 16) were also observed in many places.

3. Underdrawings: We investigated the ink line brushwork and pigments used on the doors through visual examination and infrared photography. The infrared photography was performed using an infrared camera: SONY F-828; lens filter: KenKo R72.

Focusing on the linework in hawk paintings a, b, and c (figures 2, 3, 4), and looking at the hawks, stones, and plants, many similarities can be seen in the brushwork, pigments, and use of color. They are thought to have been produced by the same artists. The linework in hawk painting d (figure 5), however, clearly differs from the other four works. For example, focusing on the way the hawk is depicted, in hawk paintings a, b, and c, the linework gives a sense of the patterns on the hawks' wings. By contrast, in hawk painting d, the linework clearly differs. The modulation or force of the lines, the strength of the placing and lifting of the brush, and other factors reflect brushwork that gives a sense of modeled portions of the hawk; we believe this to be the work of a particularly skilled painter. Even if we compare the faces of the hawks in hawk paintings b (figure 17) and d (figure 18), the difference is clear. The same difference was noted in the linework of the rocks.

The differences are clear in comparing hawk a (figure 19) and hawk d (figure 20) as well. In contrast to the touches expressing a sense of a rugged feeling in the rocks in hawk a (figure 19), in hawk d (figure 20), the brushwork conveys a sense of the modeling of the front and back of the rocks, and of their strength. Considering these two points as well, it is believed that the painters clearly differed.

4. The Media Utilized: We investigated the pigments utilized in the wooden door paintings by using UV light and by an examination using an electron microscope (Dino-Lite Pro2, model number: DINOAD-413TAI2V).

Table 2. Pigments utilized (from investigations by visual examination, UV light, and electron microscope).

No.	Title (according to Kamakura)	Title (as represented in our own notes)	Letters assigned	Pigments Utilized
1	<i>Yaeyama Miyara dunchi sugiita-e taka-zu</i> (Yaeyama Miyara dunchi cedar panel painting, hawk)	<i>Taka-zu</i> (Painting of a hawk, figure 2)	a	<i>sumi</i> ink, <i>gofun</i> , brown dye, lead white?, vermilion?
2	<i>Yaeyama Miyara dunchi sugiita-e taka-zu</i> (Yaeyama Miyara dunchi cedar panel painting, hawk)	<i>Taka-zu</i> (Painting of a hawk, figure 3)	b	<i>sumi</i> ink, <i>gofun</i> , lead white?, vermilion?
3	<i>Yaeyama Miyara dunchi sugiita-e taka-zu</i> (Yaeyama Miyara dunchi cedar panel painting, hawk)	<i>Taka-zu</i> (Painting of a hawk, figure 4)	c	<i>sumi</i> ink, <i>gofun</i> , verdigris, lead white?, vermilion?
4	(no record)	<i>Taka-zu</i> (Painting of a hawk, figure 5)	d	<i>sumi</i> ink
5	(no record)	<i>Shōki-zu</i> (Painting of Shōki, figure 6)		<i>sumi</i> ink, <i>gofun</i> , verdigris, ultramarine, lead white?, vermilion?, brown dye, blue-green dye

Through visual examination, *sumi* ink, copper green (verdigris), two types of white pigment, brown pigment, and blue pigment could be discerned. It is highly likely that the white pigments are lead white or *gofun*. Ultraviolet light was used to determine this; areas which shone white under the UV light are very likely lead white. The breasts of the hawks in hawk paintings a, b, and c, the sword of Shōki, and the whites of his eyes reflected the UV light in this way (figures 21, 23, 24).

Further, in areas where the pigments used could not be determined by eye, an electron microscope was used to determine the presence or absence of mineral pigment particles (figure 22). Areas where the presence of pigment particles could be confirmed included the leaves on the pine tree in hawk painting c, and in Shōki's belt (figures 25, 26), cap, and sword hilt. From these results, the pigment on the belt is believed to be ultramarine and, on the cap, verdigris.⁹ Mineral pigment particles could not be confirmed for the brown pigment used in the autumn leaves in hawk painting a, for the skin in the painting of Shōki, or for the blue-green pigment used in Shōki's garments; therefore, it is thought that these were painted with dyes. Similarly, a white pigment used in the tassel on Shōki's sword

and believed to be *gofun* was painted as an undercoat,¹⁰ with a red pigment lacking in mineral pigment particles applied over it. Comparing this against the pigments mentioned when Kamakura interviewed Miyara Ansen, it is believed this is probably vermilion,¹¹ but in order to reach a better conclusion as to the pigment it is necessary to conduct further investigation, including chemical analysis. The pigments that we were able to distinguish in the current survey are listed in table 2.

Survey Results

Three points were made clear as a result of this survey. First, the pigments used on the wooden door paintings include the natural mineral pigments ultramarine and verdigris. It will be necessary to perform chemical analysis to identify other pigments, but even at the current stage, we can see that these were lavishly produced wooden door paintings.

Second, the painters of the wooden door paintings

9 [Translator's note] The original Japanese report at this point refers to "figures 27 and 28," but as these images were not available at the time of publication, they were omitted. As the images remain unavailable at this time, the words "figures 27 and 28" are omitted from this English version and the images originally labeled as figures 29-32 are now renumbered as figures 27-30.

10 When Kamakura performed a survey in Yaeyama, he collected his notes on the pigments used at the Gongendō 権現堂 in his notebooks. Since those notes include descriptions of layers of pigment painted over a *gofun* ground, it is possible to point to the same technique being used here. Hateruma and Asō, *Kamakura Yoshitarō shiryōshū*, p. 79. [n6]
[Translator's note] The Yaeyama Gongendō 八重山権現堂 is an eighteenth-century shrine located near Miyara dunchi; it is the only example of Ryukyuan shrine architecture surviving from the time of the Ryukyu Kingdom. Suzuki, Miyamoto, and Ushikawa, "Ryūkyūan Architecture," p. 87.

11 Kamakura, *Okinawa bunka no ihō*, p. 214. [n7]

differed. Initially it was thought that all the wooden door paintings were handled by the same painter. Based on this study, however, we are able to state that the creator of hawk paintings a–c differs from the creator of hawk painting d. As discussed above, we believe hawk painting d to have been produced by a skilled painter. One interpretation is that this was Kyūna Anshin and that hawk paintings a–c were painted by his followers. The brush techniques on the leaves in hawk painting a (figure 27) and the use of light ink in the stems resembles Anshin's style (figure 28), however. Additionally, in the representation of rocks, the brushwork in hawk painting d (figure 20) and in Anshin's rocks (figure 28) clearly differ. Based on these points, the painter of hawk paintings a–c is thought to be Anshin, as indicated in Kamakura's materials as well. Further, compared to the wooden doors the other works are painted on, the damage to hawk painting d is considerable, and it appears to be painted only in ink lines, with no pigments able to be confirmed. The influence of Chinese painting styles can be strongly seen in the awareness of line, judging from the modulation of the brushstrokes as the brush was placed onto the wood and lifted up. Not only this, but regarding brush techniques from Chinese painting, this can be surmised to be by a painter with some degree of accumulated training in Chinese painting styles. As a result, these works might also be thought to be by Anshin's teacher Mō Buntatsu 毛文達 (Kohagura Anshō 古波藏安章, 1838–1886), Buntatsu's teacher Mō Chōki 毛長禧 (Sadoyama Anken 佐渡山安健, 1806–1865), or Ōhama Niya 大浜仁屋 (Zenkei 善繁, 1761–1814), who participated in the production of the door paintings for the inner chambers of the Yaeyama Gongendō 八重山権現堂. Works depicting the motifs in these paintings in a similar fashion include Mō Chōki's *Botan onagadori-zu* 牡丹尾長鳥図 (Painting of Peonies and Long-Tailed Chickens) and *Taka suzume kareki fuyō-zu* 鷹雀枯木芙蓉図 (Painting of a Hawk and Sparrows on an Old Hibiscus Tree). Figure 29 is a left-right inverted image of a detail from *Painting of Peonies and Long-Tailed Chickens*. Although the rocks depicted here do not extend towards the background as in the Miyara dunchi door painting (figure 20), there are many similarities, such as in the strength of the brushstrokes, the inclusion of moss, and the form of the rocks. Figure 30 similarly shows a left-right inverted detail of *Painting of a Hawk and Sparrows on an Old Hibiscus Tree*. Comparing it with figure 18, from the depiction of the outer corner of the eye and the beak, the two both feature

brushwork which gives a sense of the construction of the hawk's face.

The painting of Shōki is also believed to have been by Anshin. However, given its superior conservation condition compared to the other four works, the use of richer pigments, and the absence of photographic records of this work in Kamakura's materials, it may have been painted later than the other four. This has yet to be confirmed, however. It is necessary to take these considerations into account based on surviving works, including the possibility that these were painted by the abovementioned painters, but it is clear that an artist with a degree of training in Chinese painting or a painter possessing techniques learned via the court painters of the Kaizuri Bugyōsho of the Shuri royal court contributed to the production of the wooden door paintings at Miyara dunchi. Finally, it became clear through this survey that the wooden door paintings are critically damaged due to the expansion of the rusting iron nails in the doors that has caused some of the doors to split.

As a result, the paintings are in an unfortunate state, with some of the wooden doorframes broken, and some of the paintings misaligned with the doorframes. At the time of our first visit, efforts were made to conserve the state of the doors, but on our second visit, deterioration had continued further. According to master painting mounter Tōma Takumi, who accompanied us on our second visit, if the iron nails are not removed and the expansion stopped, the deterioration will only continue. Taking advantage of the opportunity provided by this survey, and based on the advice of Mr. Tōma, a set of shelves were constructed to allow three works—that had, until now, been installed upright—to be instead stored flat in a room within Miyara dunchi as a simple conservation measure.

From the results of this survey, and considering what can be seen of the master-student system or relationships with the Shuri royal court and Kaizuri Bugyōsho, the pigments and wooden ground used, and through further analysis of the techniques employed, we can see that the Miyara dunchi wooden door paintings have the potential to be important pieces that play a role in our understanding of Ryukyuan painting. The creation of reproductions hereafter is under consideration as a means to conserve the extant door paintings. Further, we hope that it will be possible to discern the processes the painters of that time deployed in producing these works. For example, it is difficult through simple vi-

sual examination to determine the use of *gojiru* 呉汁 (a liquid made from seaweed and soybean powder), *nikawa* 膠 (animal hide glue), or other materials; the painters' handling of the thickness of the pigments; their handling of the brush while thinking about loading it with ink; their approach to the wooden panels; and other considerations, but we think it may be possible to analyze these aspects in the process of copying the techniques.

Conclusion

The goal of this investigation was to research the materials and techniques used in the Miyara dunchi wooden door paintings, and to evaluate their current conservation status. This survey employed comparison with photographs, notebooks, and other records by Kamakura Yoshitarō; visual examination of the state of the works; and the use of an electron microscope and other equipment to investigate the materials and techniques employed. When comparing these works with those by painters associated with the Kaizuri Bugyōsho centered at Shuri, and by others, many points pertaining to the *kuramoto* painters remain obscure. Even considering this, the survey of the Miyara dunchi wooden door paintings cast into relief the possible existence of new painters, the use of lavish pigments, and matters pertaining to conservation.

Future goals include determining the identity of the painters and considering partially disassembling the paintings for repair and conservation by producing and replacing them with reproductions. In the current survey, we were able to engage in an exchange of opinions with Mr. Miyara and with experts in various fields.

Hereafter, through the copying and conservation of the paintings and deeper research into the artists and techniques, we can expect new developments in research into the lost wooden panel paintings from Engakuji and Nakagusuku *udun* based on the examples of the Miyara dunchi paintings.

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Figure 2. ① Painting of a hawk, a, current condition. Painted onto a section of the wall. Color is present. Photograph by Nizoe Marina. Permission of Ishigaki City Board of Education.



Figure 3. ② Painting of a hawk, b, current condition. Painted onto a section of the wall. Color is present. There is an exhibition case in front of the door; since this could not be moved, photography of the lower right portion of the door was not possible. Photograph by Nizoe Marina. Permission of Ishigaki City Board of Education.



Figure 4. ③ Painting of a hawk, c, current condition. Hawk d is painted on the reverse side. Color is present. Photograph by Nizoe Marina. Permission of Ishigaki City Board of Education.



Figure 5. ④ Painting of a hawk, d, current condition. Hawk c is painted on the reverse side. No color is present. Photograph by Nizoe Marina. Permission of Ishigaki City Board of Education.



Figure 6. ⑤ Painting of Shōki, current condition. Hinges are attached above and below to the left of the image, making for a swinging door. Color is present. Photograph by Nizoe Marina. Permission of Ishigaki City Board of Education.



Figure 7. Painting of a hawk. Photograph by Kamakura Yoshitarō. Collection of Okinawa Prefectural University of the Arts Library, with permission.



Figure 8. Painting of a hawk, a (detail), current condition. The lower portion of the composition. Photograph collection of Chie Kyan. Permission of Ishigaki City Board of Education.



Figure 9. Painting of a hawk. Photograph by Kamakura Yoshitarō. Collection of Okinawa Prefectural University of the Arts Library, with permission.



Figure 10. Painting of a hawk, b (detail), current condition. The upper portion of the composition. Photograph collection of Chie Kyan. Permission of Ishigaki City Board of Education.



Figure 11. Painting of a hawk. Photograph by Kamakura Yoshitarō. Collection of Okinawa Prefectural University of the Arts Library, with permission.



Figure 12. Painting of a hawk, c (detail), current condition. Lower portion of the composition. Photograph collection of Chie Kyan. Permission of Ishigaki City Board of Education.



Figure 13. Current condition. From left: paintings of Shōki and hawks b and c, removed from their doorframes and laid on the floor. Photograph collection of Chie Kyan. Permission of Ishigaki City Board of Education.



Figure 14. Current condition. The doorframe for hawk paintings b and c. Termite damage remains in places. Photograph collection of Chie Kyan. Permission of Ishigaki City Board of Education.



Figure 15. Current condition. The doorframe for hawk paintings b and c. The iron nails have expanded due to rusting, and the wooden frame has been damaged. Photograph collection of Chie Kyan. Permission of Ishigaki City Board of Education.



Figure 16. Current condition. Reverse side of painting of Shōki. The wooden planks of the door and the doorframe have become misaligned. Photograph collection of Chie Kyan. Permission of Ishigaki City Board of Education.



Figure 17. Painting of a hawk, b (detail). Photograph collection of Chie Kyan. Permission of Ishigaki City Board of Education.



Figure 18. Painting of a hawk, d (detail, infrared photography). Photograph by Tōma Takumi. Permission of Ishigaki City Board of Education.



Figure 19. Painting of a hawk, a (detail, infrared photography). Photograph by Tōma Takumi. Permission of Ishigaki City Board of Education.



Figure 20. Painting of a hawk, d (detail, infrared photography). Photograph by Tōma Takumi. Permission of Ishigaki City Board of Education.



Figure 21. Painting of Shōki (detail). Under UV light, the whites of the eyes shine white. Photograph by Nizoe Marina. Permission of Ishigaki City Board of Education.

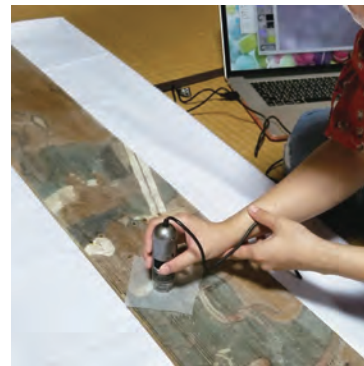


Figure 22. Painting of Shōki (photography setup). Photographs were taken using the electron microscope with a focus on areas where color could be seen. Photograph collection of Chie Kyan. Permission of Ishigaki City Board of Education.



Figure 23. Painting of Shōki (detail). Photograph of the whites of Shōki's eyes. Photograph collection of Chie Kyan. Permission of Ishigaki City Board of Education.

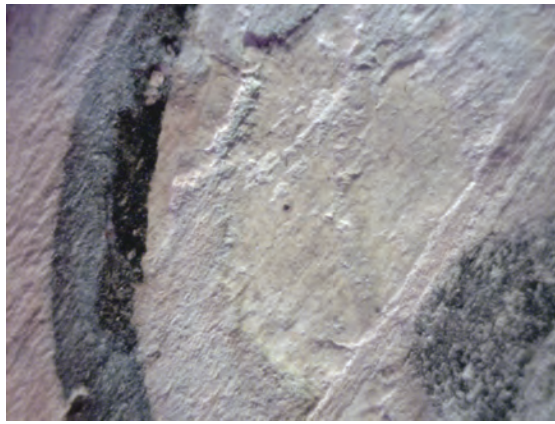


Figure 24. Electron microscope photograph, area A (x39 magnification). Photograph by Yūki Taira. Permission of Ishigaki City Board of Education.

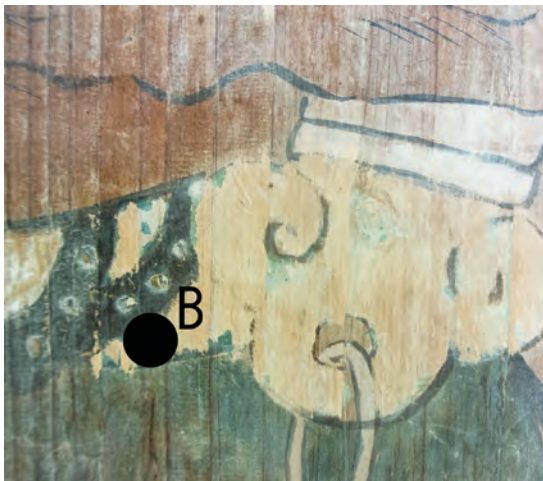


Figure 25. Painting of Shōki (detail). Photograph of a portion of Shōki's belt. Photograph collection of Chie Kyan. Permission of Ishigaki City Board of Education.



Figure 26. Electron microscope photograph, area B (x39 magnification). The presence of blue mineral pigment particles was confirmed. Photograph by Yūki Taira. Permission of Ishigaki City Board of Education.



Figure 27. Painting of a hawk, a (detail). Infrared photography. Photograph by Tōma Takumi. Permission of Ishigaki City Board of Education.



Figure 28. Kyūna Anshin. *Peonies* (detail). From Ishigaki-shi Yaeyama Hakubutsukan, *Yaeyama kuramoto eshi gakōshū*, p. 1.



Figure 29. Mō Chōki. *Painting of Peonies and Long-Tailed Chickens* (inverted detail). Collection of the Okinawa Churashima Foundation, with permission.



Figure 30. Mō Chōki. *Painting of Hawk and Sparrows on an Old Hibiscus Tree* (inverted detail). Collection of the Okinawa Churashima Foundation, with permission.

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