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## Preface

This booklet is the compilation of notes for lectures, reference materials handed out to students, visual materials projected onto the screen, quizzes, and so forth on the course, "History, Manners and Customs, and Interchange - Asia and Japan -," prepared for OUSSEP (the Osaka University Short-term Student Exchange Program) 2006 Fall Semester. We instructors are going to publish it to the following effects.

It was the first experience for our five instructors to give lectures in English language to international students. Our arrangements certainly left a lot to be desired. However we devised methods for teaching in our own way. We would like to show our colleagues the contents of the course in order to take their advice for improving our teaching methods for foreign students as well as to provide them with useful information about the teaching methods.

The teaching team of the course consists of five professors, Shinya Fukunaga, Takashi Umemura, Masayuki Taira, Masaharu Arakawa and Tsuyoshi Katayama. The four professors but Professor Umemura are also regular members of a collaboration project on the subject of history related to manners and customs concerning death and life in Japan, Asia and Europe, which has been operating in the Section of Comparative Studies of Regional Societies, Graduate School of Letters from 2004 spring. A glance at the theme of the course shows that it has something to do with the subject of the above project. Therefore this booklet is, in brief, the fruits of our collaboration project for three years, especially in educational activities for foreign students. This is why the booklet has been edited and is going to be published by the Section of Comparative Studies of Regional Societies.

Finally we would like to extend our heartfelt thanks to Ms. Samanthika Lokugamage, a teaching assistant of the course, for her assisting us in our lectures.

March 2007

On behalf of the teaching team,

Tsuyoshi Katayama

Comparative Studies of Regional Societies

Graduate School of Letters

Course Records  
“History, Manners and Customs, and Interchange - Asia and Japan -”  
in the Osaka University Short-term Student Exchange Program  
(OUSSEP) 2006 Fall Semester

Contents

1. Information and announcement on the whole course .....	1
1.1. Syllabus	
1.2. Schedule of dates, instructors, and subjects	
1.3. Announcement about evaluation	
2. Record of each instructor	
2.1. Professor Fukunaga .....	4
Perspectives of Japanese Archaeology	
2.2. Professor Umemura .....	22
Past and Present of Japanese History	
(1) The Birth of Emperor in Japan .....	(22)
(2) The Formation of Landlords in Japan .....	(26)
(3) The Meaning of Bushi on Japanese History .....	(30)
2.3. Professor Taira .....	38
(1) Japan and attitudes towards impurity .....	(38)
(2) Imported culture and Nationalism .....	(43)
(3) War of gods .....	(48)
2.4. Professor Arakawa .....	56
Oasis States and Caravan Trade	
in Central Asia during Pre-Islamic Times (c. 3-9C.)	
2.5. Professor Katayama .....	70
Ritual Spaces for Soul Tablets:	
Past and Present in the Pearl River Delta, South China	

## 1. Information and announcement on the whole course

### 1.1. Syllabus

#### Course Title

History, Manners and Customs, and Interchange -Asia and Japan-

#### Accreditation

2 credits, 1.5 hours per week, 15 weeks per semester

#### Timetable

14:40 - 16:10, Tuesday, October 3, 2006 - January 30, 2007

#### Instructors

Tsuyoshi KATAYAMA, et al. (School of Letters)

#### Objective

Asia (including Japan) is a pluralistic world which consists of multiple ethnic groups and cultures. Each ethnic group has their own history and has developed characteristic manners and customs in the course of history. At the same time, each of them does not exist self sufficiently; they have accumulated close interchanges on the political, economical and cultural matters not only with others in Asia, but, occasionally, with the outer world of Asia. The history as well as the manners and customs of each ethnic group have been formed on that sort of various interchanges. This course provides an introduction to the history of Japan, China and Central Asia, the manners and customs, which have been developed in the societies of ethnic groups in each region, and the various phases of diverse interchanges.

#### Course Outline

Topics introduced in this course (These may be revised at the beginning of the semester)

1. Introduction to Japanese pre- and protohistory based on archaeological evidence, covering from palaeolithic age to Kofun period (early state) (FUKUNAGA Shinya).
2. Historical background of the Japanese Emperor, Lord, and Samurai, and the comparison of them with the same kind of Europe (UMEMURA Takashi).
3. Influence of the conception of Kegare (sense of ritual impurity or defilement) on the Japanese life-style and the Japanese culture, such as eating meat and the sense of discrimination (TAIRA Masayuki).



4. Introduction to the history of the Central Asia, and the various phases of political, economical and cultural interchanges between the Central Asia and its surrounding world (ARAKAWA Masaharu).
5. Belief in the Afterlife and Ritual Practices for the Deceased in the Han Chinese Society: Past and Present (KATAYAMA Tsuyoshi).

#### Textbooks and reference materials

No particular textbook is used. Various reading materials and references will be distributed in each class.

#### Grading

Evaluation will be based on class attendance (50%) and a term paper or an examination in each class (50%).

### 1.2. Schedule of dates, instructors and subjects

Part 1: Oct. 3, 10, 17 / Professor Fukunaga, School of Letters /  
Perspectives of Japanese Archaeology

Part 2: Oct. 31, Nov. 7, 14 / Professor Umemura, School of Letters /  
Past and Present of Japanese History  
Oct. 31: The Birth of Emperor in Japan  
Nov. 7: The Formation of Landlords in Japan  
Nov. 14: The Meaning of Bushi on Japanese History

Part 3: Nov. 21, 28, Dec. 5 / Professor Taira, School of Letters /  
Nov. 21: Japan and attitudes towards impurity  
Nov. 28: Imported culture and Nationalism  
Dec. 5: War of gods

Part 4: Dec. 12, 19, Jan. 9 / Professor Arakawa, School of Letters /  
Oasis States and Caravan Trade  
in Central Asia during Pre-Islamic Times (c. 3-9C.)

Part 5: Jan. 16, 23, 30 / Professor Katayama, School of Letters /  
Ritual Spaces for Soul Tablets:  
Past and Present in the Pearl River Delta, South China

Teaching Assistant

Ms. Samanthika Lokugamage, a Doctoral candidate, Graduate School of Letters

The number of students

22 foreign students and 4 Japanese students

### 1.3. Announcement about evaluation (Handed out to students on November 14)

1. Each instructor will evaluate you out of 20 and finally the total mark will be given out of 100. Students should be present for more than 12 out of the total 15 lectures.
2. Evaluation in details.
  - 2.1. Professor Fukunaga will evaluate you by two short tests (quiz) and one feedback written by you. You will get pass marks unless you have written obviously wrong answers. The answer papers will be returned to you in December.
  - 2.2. Professor Umemura will evaluate you by three short tests. You will get pass marks unless you have written obviously wrong answers. The answer papers will be returned to you.
  - 2.3. Professor Taira will evaluate you by three short tests.
  - 2.4. Professor Arakawa will evaluate you by three short tests.
  - 2.5. Professor Katayama will evaluate you by three short tests and a report (The topic will be given to you in the first day of his three lectures and your reports will be collected in the last day.). You will be given some materials in English that could be referred when you write the report.
3. Please answer the short tests seriously. Some of your answers are very difficult to read. You are not asked to use beautiful handwriting, but write clearly so that anybody could read and understand what you want to say.
4. Your answer sheets, although it might take a few weeks, will be returned to you. Feedback given by the instructors may vary. Some professors will give you only grades (A, B or C), while some professors may add some comments.

## Perspectives of Japanese Archaeology

FUKUNAGA Shinya

### Introduction

In this essay, I intend to present an image of pre- and protohistoric Japan, as seen by the point of view of archaeology.

Chronological division of ancient Japan takes place as follows: Paleolithic, Jômon Period, Yayoi Period, Kofun Period and Nara Period. Paleolithic, Jômon and Yayoi Periods are parallel to prehistoric times, as writing still remains unknown. Kofun Period corresponds to protohistoric times, as writing, however scarce, began. And at last, Nara Period marks the beginning of historic times, as written records became common, restricted to the elite class, though.

I will start with focusing on the Paleolithic and Jômon Period in the next chapter. Secondly, I will take up Yayoi and Kofun Periods, and in the 3rd and last chapter, I will deal with archaeological research and its implications in Japanese society.

### I . Paleolithic and Jomon Period

#### 1. Paleolithic culture in Japan

The history of human race began 5 or 6 million years ago, in Africa. Chopped stone-made tools are the only artifacts archaeology can keep records of. This long period of Human history is called Paleolithic. Compared to present times, Paleolithic age was characterized by relatively low temperatures, especially during the several so-called “Ice Ages”. Paleolithic and the last glaciation came to their end about 12,000 years ago.

Evidences of a Paleolithic culture in Japan, only became clear after WW2, when in 1949, at Iwajuku site (Gunma prefecture) in the middle of Honshû island, stone tools were discovered in volcanic ashes dated of 20,000 to 30,000 years ago. About 5,000 archaeological sites belonging to the Paleolithic are now well documented in Japan, but most of them are younger than 30,000 years ago, and so belong to what archaeologists call the “Late Paleolithic”.

During Ice Age, temperatures were 7 to 8°lower compared to present times, and sea level was more than 100 meters below from its modern times. Back to Ice Age, the Japanese archipelago was connected by land to the continent, enabling people to cross and leave us numerous archeological evidences of their presence.

In Japan, because of the high degree of soil acidity, skeletal remains do not preserve well. Except for the case of Minatogawa, in Okinawa, where a few 18,000 years old skeletons were discovered, there are no other known examples of Paleolithic human remains in Japan. Archaeological data are then basically constituted by stone artifacts,



**Location map of Paleolithic and Jomon sites**

mainly made of such materials as Obsidian and Sanukite, the latter being a variety of andesite. On sites where a huge amount of lithic industry remains are found, it is possible to reconstruct the production process by refixing together the different pieces of stone tools and flakes obtained from the same original stone.

It is generally assumed that these human groups were characterized by a high mobility, following the beasts on which they performed their predation. Because of data limitations, it is still not possible to get a very precise image of their society.

Dating of Paleolithic sites is facilitated by volcanic ashes strata. Special mention can be made of the ashes of the Aira caldera volcano, in southern Japan, which erupted 25,000 year ago, and is frequently detected during archeological excavations. The ashes deposit constitutes then what is called a “key stratum” in the dating process of sites in which it can be observed.

## 2. The Jômon Period

About 12,000 years ago, Ice Age came to its end. Global warming took place, sea level came up, and Japan was formed as an archipelago. Cut off from the continent, Japan human groups and culture began to develop autonomously. This new culture is characterized by hunter-gatherers groups using the bow and the arrow as the main hunting weapon and polished stone tools, as well as the use of pottery and a highly sedentary way of living.

The pottery during this period often presents, on its surface, decorations due to cord imprints. This is the reason why it is called “Jômon pottery”(in Japanese Jomon means “cord marked” decoration), the culture it belongs to is called “Jômon Culture”, and its period “Jômon Period”. Jômon Period lasted about 10,000 years, from 12,000 to 2,500 years ago.

Thankful to the pottery, some decisive developments occurred in the food preparation, allowing the consumption of broader natural food resources, for example, nuts (like acorn), fish and shell as well as other animals. Specially, it seems that a very massive consumption of shellfish took place, leaving a great amount of shell mounds all over Japan.

As the Jômon Culture is a sedentary one from its very beginning, it produced also some big settlements. The most impressive known example to this date is San-nai Maruyama “village” in Aomori prefecture. This site was in activity for about 1,500 years, and there, were found the remains of about 500 pit houses, which come along with a large cemetery. Inside the Jômon Period settlements as well as in its burials, there is no noticeable evidence of wealth differentiation, indicating then a broadly egalitarian society.

During the Jômon Period a variety of rituals developed, seeking the wealth of the natural resources or the prosperity of the community. It happens sometimes that in the nearby sector of the settlements such ritual places are found, often in the shape of stone circles. As ritual artifacts, we can give the examples of clay figurines (dogû) representing women, and erected stones representing men.

At a global scale, pottery and polished stone tools are characteristics of the Neolithic, but the Jômon Period lacks two decisive elements of Neolithic society, which are plant cultivation and stock breeding. Due to a very wealthy natural environment, the hunter-gatherers economy sufficed to cover all the nutritional needs. Jômon Period continued for about 10,000 years, and came to its end by the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, with the starting of irrigated rice growing. It was the beginning of Yayoi Period.

In order to determine the chronological context of Jômon Period sites, the Carbon 14 dating method is frequently used. Besides, the ashes called Akahoya that came out

from the Kikai caldera volcano, in southern Kyûshû, about 6,500 years ago, formed a key stratum frequently noticeable during excavations, that enables the dating of the early stage of Jômon period.

## II. The Yayoi and Kofun Period

In the first chapter, we saw that Jomon Hunter-Gatherers societies existed for about 10,000 years, from the twelfth millennium BC on. Although rice growing had started in Eastern Asia by sixth millennium BC, this technique took far more time to reach and develop in the Japanese archipelago, due to the very favorable natural context that already ensured Hunter-Gatherers societies' prosperity.

At last, irrigated or paddy rice growing starts in Japan during the fifth century BC, together with the Yayoi Period. Yayoi Period earned its name from a type of pottery that was first discovered in Yayoi-machi, inside the city of Tokyo. The Yayoi pottery is thinner and less rustic than Jômon one. Yayoi Period lasted for about 700 years, from the fifth century BC to the middle of third century AD.

Irrigated rice growing technology first came to Northern Kyûshû from the Korean peninsula, at the beginning of Yayoi Period, and then reached the northern end of Honshû very soon. However, Okinawa and Hokkaidô remained outside this diffusion area, and went on with their former Hunter-Gatherers economy. This led to the formation and the development in both regions of very distinct cultural spheres from the one observable in the Japanese archipelago mainland.

Together with paddy rice growing, also came metallic artifacts and the technology to produce them. On a global scale, it is generally admitted that after the Stone Ages (Paleolithic and Neolithic), followed Bronze, then Iron Ages, but in the case of Japan, both Bronze and Iron technology appeared at the same time in the Yayoi Period. Besides, Bronze concerned essentially ritual artifacts, such as bronze bells and mirrors, while iron artifacts were essentially tools or weapons and were of "real" utility.

During the Yayoi Period, sedentary settlements developed in plains, where the conditions were the most appropriate for irrigated rice growing. A large settlement was the regional center with a variety of smaller ones around it, each center and its periphery settlements creating distinctive community. The leader of such community stood on a slightly higher social position than the other members of the society, but was nevertheless part and parcel of the society itself, living with the commoners and being buried in the same cemetery. In such a context and in order to hold together the entire community, agrarian rituals using "Dôtaku" bronze bells were very frequent.

The Yayoi society remained relatively egalitarian until the first century AD. But in

the second century it began to be transformed into a more complex one. Together with the increase of social stratification, the gap between communities and their leaders – the latter very likely to be called now chiefs –, continued to grow even bigger. At the same time, the large settlements ceased their activity, and the chiefs came to dwell away from the common settlements, to separate residences. The same phenomena are observable in the funerary space, where the large chiefs' tombs are now clearly separated from the cemeteries, and contain an unprecedented quantity of funerary goods. The community rituals involving “Dôtaku” bronze bells also came to their end with these modifications of the social structure. In other words, as status distinctions increased it became less significant to keep solidarity of the community by means of Dôtaku rituals. Everywhere by the end of Yayoi Period, Dôtaku were ceremoniously buried in the ground and never used again or broken and melt down to recast other bronze objects such as arrowheads.

The reason for the increase in power of the chiefs was in their ability to take under control the long distance exchanges involving iron. During the Yayoi Period, stone tools were progressively abandoned for their iron equivalents, making iron essential to the daily life. Iron ore does exist in Japan, but due to the technical limitations of the time, it was impossible to make any use of it. Therefore, in order to fulfill the increasing demand for iron, the Yayoi people had to rely on exchanges with China and the Korean peninsula. The better chiefs succeeded in long distance exchanges with the continent, the higher became their position among their own community or even among other chiefdoms in the archipelago.

From the second century to the middle of the third century, powerful confederations of chiefdoms took form in some regions of the archipelago, and started to develop into regional polities. According to the Chinese records of the third century, 30 of such polities existed in Japan, and among them, the most powerful was “Yamatai Koku”, under the control of “Queen Himiko”. The exact location of Yamatai Koku is a matter discussed for more than 200 years in Japan, but recent archaeological findings tend to speak in favor of the central Kinki region, emphasizing its very high density of large chiefs' tombs.

By the middle of the third century, except in Okinawa and Hokkaidô, gigantic chiefs' tombs made their appearance all over Japan. In Japanese history, this period, from the middle of the third century until the seventh century, when the elite built their mounded tombs according to largely shared “conventional” rules is called Kofun Period. In Japanese, “Kofun” means “old mounded tombs”.

These mounded tombs are divided in 4 categories, according to their characteristics in plan: “zenpôkôen-fun” (“keyhole-shaped” tomb); “zenpôkôh-fun”

(“keyhole-shaped” tomb with square rear mound); “enpun” (circular mounded tomb); “hōfun” (square mounded tomb). The “zenpōkōen-fun” remained the largest type of burial mounds during all the Kofun Period, and corresponds to the highest rank in the hierarchy observable among tombs, then come “zenpōkōhō-fun”, “enpun” and, at last, “hōfun”. Such a system, the “Kofun system”, designating socio-political status of the dead through the shape and size of his or her burial mounds, is the very essence of the Kofun Period.

Strict resemblances in style that can be observed in the elite burial mounds of the Kofun Period, show a unification of the former regional polities into a single vast political entity replacing them.

And according to the fact that the largest “zenpōkōen-fun” are always located in the prefectures of Nara or Ōsaka, we can state that the initiating and leading political power of this unification was in the hands of the chiefs of the central part of Kinki region. This is why the central power of this unified political entity is called “Yamato Political Power”, Yamato being the ancient name of Nara region. Keeping in mind the situation of the Yamato Political Power, we can assume that it was developed from the former Yamatai-koku of the Yayoi Period.

The largest “zenpōkōen-fun” throughout the Kofun period is the Daisen-Kofun, located in the south of Ōsaka, and belonging to the Fifth Century. It is popularly thought to be the tomb of the Emperor Nintoku, academically uncertain, though. Ōbayashi Corporation, a Japanese General contractor, estimated that the working power of about 6,800,000 workers and 16 years of labor were necessary to build this huge 480 meter long mound. This emphasizes even more the strength that the Yamato Power held in its hand in order to complete such a project. At this point, it is not exaggerated to state that there was now a sovereign in Japan.

The Yamato Power strengthened its domination to every region of Japan, by controlling the Kofun system, the circulation of prestige goods and funerary goods as well as their productions. While doing so, according to the Chinese ancient records, Yamato Power also strengthened bonds with Chinese authorities, earning from it prestige and legitimacy to make use of in Japan. Of course, Yamato also had a dominant military power.

Although still scarcely used, writing made an appearance in Japan during Kofun Period. Chinese characters were used to spell Japanese words. There are several known examples of swords with inscriptions inlaid with gold or silver, distributed by the sovereign of Yamato to other powerful regional chiefs.

Corresponding to the birth of a great political power, Kofun Period can very well be, in my opinion, considered as a form of Archaic State, but lacking any kind of written



legal code about governance. However, in place of written code of law, such monuments as Kofun, or Kofun system played an important role to represent and keep the social order.

Kofun construction almost ceased by the second half of the seventh century. It means the formation of the more mature Classical State, which does not need any more monuments like Kofun to ensure its legitimacy.

Chronological indications on both Yayoi and Kofun period are obtained through already well dated metal artifacts, especially bronze mirrors, imported from China. Furthermore, from the Middle Kofun period on, swords with characters including chronological indications inscribed on them are disposed in some burials. Although this kind of artifact remains scarce, it is nonetheless very useful to the dating purpose.

Human history in the Japanese Archipelago started 30,000 years ago with the Hunter-Gatherers of Paleolithic age. After Jômon Period, followed the Yayoi Period with irrigated rice growing agrarian societies. Finally it achieved the formation of sovereign power of an Archaic State in Kofun Period, before initiating, with Nara Period, the age of a Classical State.

### III. Archaeological research and its implications in Japanese society

The purpose of the last chapter is to focus on archaeological research in Japan and its implications in Japanese society.

Rebuilding Japan in the WWII aftermath induced large scale constructions and an intensive development of the country. As the development went on, more archaeological remains were discovered and the problem of their protection got serious. In response to these situations, according to the 1950 law for the protection of cultural properties, the government obliged the developers to perform archaeological excavation in advance when they planned construction in the area of registered archaeological sites.

Soon afterward, Local Public Bodies began to hire their own archaeologists, and nearly 7,000 researchers are now involved in cultural property management as government employees. Comparatively, there are unfortunately only 300 archeologists in universities and research institutes all over the country. There are about 9,000 archaeological campaigns held in Japan each year, but most of them are 'rescue excavations' which are urgently performed in advance of constructions. The number of archaeological campaigns with an exclusively scientific research status is also very small, comparing to "rescue" operations.

Founding the Japanese actual archaeological campaigns system was not easy. But a motive and decisive factor was the interest shown by the public concerning

archaeological remains. Newspapers often inform a demanding public on the results of all kinds of archaeological campaigns, and exhibitions presenting archaeological findings are held everywhere.

Japanese people seem to be history-lovers. Maybe one of the most important reasons for it is that in Japan, never in history did massive new people arrival happened, and Japanese pleasantly feel a strong link between their ancestors' history and the archaeological remains under the soil. For them, excavating sites is directly linked to searching for their own roots. And as an expression of this phenomenon, sometimes more than 10,000 visitors take part in 'the site open day', to hear public explanations on an excavation result.

It is also quite interesting to observe that there are, inside Japan, local differences in the periods that retain the public attention the best. While Jōmon Period is very popular among the population of eastern Japan, in the western parts of Japan, Yayoi and Kofun Periods encounter a greater popularity. And there is a logical reason to this situation.

The present Japanese population mainly corresponds racially to the Mongoloid category. But among this category, two different morphotypes of Japanese further exist. One presents the characteristics of an "Old Mongoloid" type, with a wide, clear-cut face and double-edged eyelids, and the second one presents the characteristics of a "New Mongoloid" type, with a long, flat face and single-edged eyelids. As you can see, I have single-edged eyelids and flat face, and should so correspond to the "New Mongoloid" type. Native inhabitants in Okinawa and Hokkaido, for example, with their double-edged eyelids, rather correspond to the "Old Mongoloid" type.

Thanks to the archaeological as well as physical anthropological research, it is generally admitted that Jōmon culture belongs to the "Old Mongoloid" type, and the "New Mongoloid" type is rather responsible for the foundation of Yayoi and Kofun Culture. "New Mongoloid" type was formed by repeated arrival of population from the continents during their relative period. And thus it brings elements of explanation concerning the presence of many people with "New Mongoloid" characteristics in the western part of Japan presently.

Of course, there is no such thing as purely "new" or "old" mongoloid Japanese nowadays, as genetic mixture occurred through history. But it is still possible to observe very often some of their characteristics among the relative diversity of the Japanese people, and this distinction is one of the reasons for the present cultural differences between Eastern and Western Japan. According to this scheme and as a tendency, on one hand Eastern Japanese nowadays feel closer to Jōmon Culture, and on the other hand do the Western Japanese feel closer to Yayoi and Kofun Culture. This scheme is

also verifiable in the field of archaeological studies, that is, while Jômon Period archaeology is very dynamic in Eastern Japan, Yayoi and Kofun Period archaeology is active in Western Japan.

In Japan, based on archaeological sites after their excavation, exist a lot of “archaeological parks”. Among them, such places as Yoshinogari in Kyûshû and San-nai Maruyama in Tôhoku attract a great interest from the public, and with their hundreds of thousands visitors each year, became real tourist spots. Yoshinogari is one of the biggest Yayoi Period’s settlements and was found during the rescue excavation campaign prior to the construction of an industrial complex. San-nai Maruyama is one of the largest settlements of the Jômon Period, and was also found during rescue excavations prior to the construction of a baseball stadium. Because of the importance of such archeological remains, both former projects were canceled, but in the end, the archeological parks that came to exist in their place proved to be far more economically profitable.

Of course, Yoshinogari and San-nai Maruyama are quite exceptional examples, but archaeological parks of this type, on a smaller scale, do exist all over Japan, and achieve a function for life-long education, and play a very important role in making and consolidating regional identities.

In Okinawa and Hokkaidô, where Yayoi Culture did not settle, ethnicity may differ from the rest of the country. But even then, archaeology holds an important function in order to bring light on their very particular history. In fact, besides being a potent tool in understanding the past, archaeology also has very important relations to modern society itself.

As you can see, in Japan, we try to make the best out of the benefits that can be expected from archaeology, but some issues that would need to be fixed still remain. One problem is the status of the so-called Imperial Mound of the Kofun Period. Many of huge Keyhole-shaped mounded tombs in Kinki region are now under control as Emperor’s tombs by the Imperial Household Agency. The Agency strictly prohibits the public, of course including archaeologists, from stepping into the mound. Though they are at the same time invaluable archaeological sites with clues on the state formation process in Japan, the public cannot come close to them.

Another problem is the still insufficient consideration for foreigners present in Japan. Information panels at museums and archaeological parks are still often written in Japanese only. Whether they are living in Japan or simple tourists, foreigners are increasing in Japan each year. So it will be more and more important to make information about archaeology and history intelligible to them as well.

Then, last but not least of the challenge that awaits Japanese archaeologists, is to

make further communication efforts toward as many people as possible, in order to make them acknowledge even more the importance of every archaeological remains that is still sleeping beneath their feet.

### Quiz

- 1 Oct.3. Give more than 4 differences between humankind and apes.
- 2 Oct. 10. Introduce me an archaeological site in your hometown(or home country) .
- 3 Oct. 17. Describe your impressions about Japanese archaeology after hearing my sessions.

00 Location map



Location map of Paleolithic and Jomon sites

01 chronological sequences

History	Nara Period	奈良時代	794 AD
			710 AD
Protohistory	Kofun Period	古墳時代	250 AD
			500 BC
Prehistory	Yayoi Period (Bronze and Iron)	弥生時代	500 BC
	Jomon Period (Neolithic)	縄文時代	10,000 BC
	Paleolithic	旧石器時代	30,000 BC

Chronological sequences of pre- and Protohistoric Japan

02 view of Iwajuku



A distant view of Iwajuku site in 1949

03 Iwajuku excavation



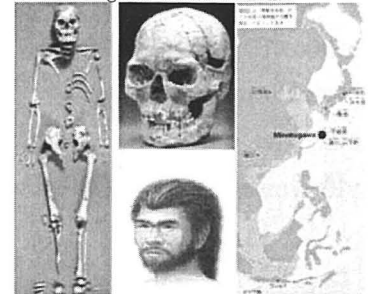
Snapshot during the preliminary excavation of Iwajuku site, Summa pref. in 1949

04 paleolithic Japan



paleolithic Japan islands

05 Minatogawa human remains



Paleolithic human remains (Minatogawa, Okinawa)

06 suicho-en & Nijozan  
Mt. Nijozan



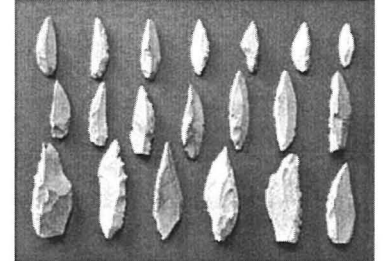
Suicho-en site and Mt. Nijozan

07 suicho-en fragments



Unearthened stone tools and fragments at Suicho-en site, Osaka pref.

08 knife Suicho-en



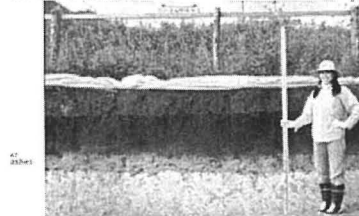
Knife-shaped tools ( Suicho-en site)

09 refix suicho-en



Refixing stone flakes (Suicho-en site)

10 A-T ashes



Aira-Tanzawa volcanic ashes in the cross section (Nanokaichi site, Hyogo pref.)

11 caldera



paleolithic Japan islands

12 stone tools



Stone tools (Early Jomon period)

13 Incipient Jomon pottery



Jomon pottery, incipient stage of Jomon Period

14 Early Jomon pottery



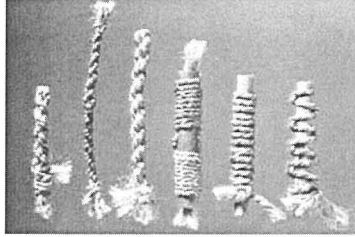
Jomon pottery ( Early stage)

15 middle Jomon pottery



Jomon pottery (Middle stage)

16 Jomon cords



17 Nakazato shell mound



Nakazato shell Mound, Tokyo

18 san-nai Maruyama



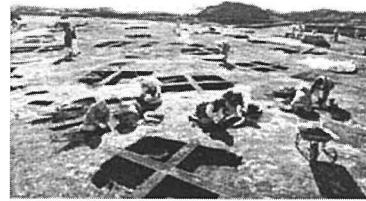
Panoramic view of San-nai Maruyama site, Aomori pref.

19 Uenohara Jomon settl..



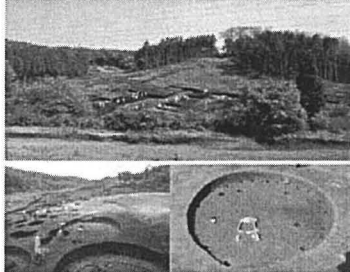
Uenohara Jomon settlement  
(Incipient stage, Kagoshima pref.)

20 Uenohara excavation



Excavation of pit dwellings at Uenohara site

21 Tangoyachi settlement



Excavation of Jomon settlement (Tangoyachi site, Aomori pref.)

22 Jomon life georama



Daily life in a Jomon settlement (presumed)

23 stone circle



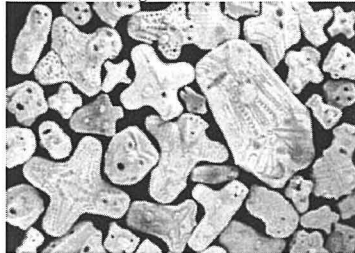
'Stone circle' at Komakino site, Aomori pref.

24 Jomon Dogu1



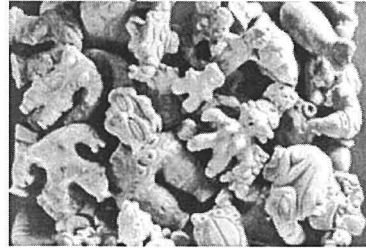
Jomon Dogu (Woman clay figurine)

25 Sannnai Dogu



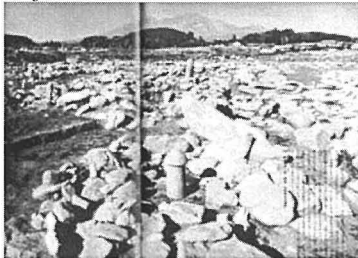
Jomon Dogu (San-nai Maruyama site, Aomori pre.)

26 Jomon Dogu2



Jomon Dogu, intentionally broken

27 Jomon elected stone



Jomon elected stones (Kinsei site, Yamanasi Pref.)

28 Kagosima volcanic ashes



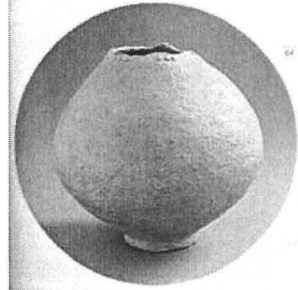
大島の火山灰などがきれいに層をなす地層遺跡 (指宿郡喜入町)。シラス層の下から2万4,000年前の石器と埴輪が見つかった。  
Cross section of volcanic ashes at Chochi site, Kagoshima pref.

# 01Yayoi Kofun chronology

Kofun period	final	500 AD.
	late	300 AD.
	middle	270 AD.
	early	250 AD.
Yayoi period	final	190 AD.
	late	50 AD.
	middle	250 BC-7
	early	500 BC-7
Jomon period		

Chronological sequences of Yayoi and Kofun Periods

# 02First Yayoi pottery



A pot discovered in Yayoi-machi, Tokyo in 1884

# 03Kyushu Yayoi pottery



Yayoi pottery in the northern Kyushu region (middle Yayoi period)

# 04Kinki middle Yayoi pottery



Yayoi pottery in the Kinki region (middle Yayoi period)

# 05yayoi pottery



Yayoi pottery in the Tohoku region (middle Yayoi period)

# 06Tamura



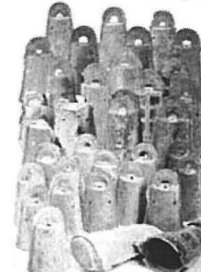
Yayoi paddy fields in western Japan Tamura site (3C BC, Kochi pref.)

# 07Wooden agricultural tools



Wooden agricultural tools

# 09Kamo-iwakura be..



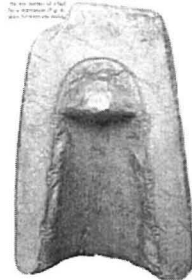
Dotaku bronze bells (Unearthed at Kamo-iwakura site)

# 10kamo-iwakura01



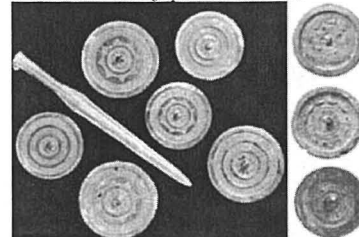
Kamo-iwakura site, Shimane pref.

# 11Dotaku mold



Stone mold of Dotaku Higashinara site, Osaka pref.

# 12Chinese and Japanese mirrors



Chinese bronze mirrors(left) and Japanese bronze mirrors(right)

# 13Otsuka settlement



An example of 'moated settlements' Otsuka site, Kanagawa pref. (middle Yayoi)

# 15Cemetery at Otsuka site



Cemetery at Otsuka site, Kanagawa pref. (Square-shaped, moat-surrounded burials)

# 21Otsuka settlement and cemetery



Settlement and cemetery at Otsuka site, Kanagawa pref. (Middle Yayoi period 1C BC)

# 22Terasaki-mukaihara site



Square-shaped, moat-surrounded burials (Terasaki-mukaihara site, middle Yayoi, 1C BC Chiba pref.)



23Uryudo moated burial



**Square-shaped moat-surrounded burial**  
Uryudo site, 1C BC, Osaka pref.

24Wooden coffin burials



**Wooden coffin burials in the middle Yayoi period**  
(1C BC, Osaka pref.)

25Yoshinogari cemetery



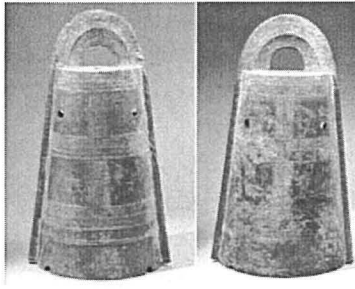
Cemetery in northern Kyushu area(1C BC, Yoshinogari site, Saga pref.)

26Pot burials



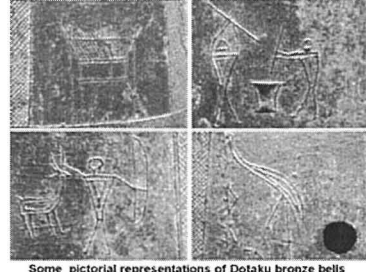
Pot burials in northern Kyushu area(1C BC.)

27some Dotaku bells



Some Dotaku bells have pictorial representations

28Dotaku pictorial representation



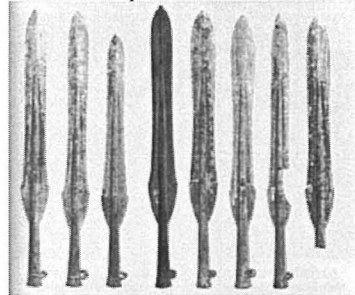
Some pictorial representations of Dotaku bronze bells

28Raised-floor storehouse



**Reconstruction of raised-floor storehouses**  
(1C BC, Yoshinogari site, Saga pref.)

29Socketed spearhead



Socketed bronze spearheads for ceremonial use

30Mitsudera1



**Moated chief's residence**  
Mitsudera site, Gumma pref. 5C AD

31Mitsudera2



**Reconstruction of Mitsudera chief's residence(5C AD.)**

33Sonobe-kuroda1



**Chief's tomb in the final stage of Yayoi period**  
(Sonobe-kuroda tomb, Kyoto pref. 3C AD.)

34Sonobe-kuroda2



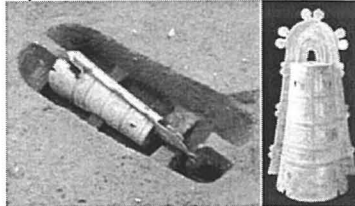
**Burial facility of**  
Sonobe-kuroda tomb (3C AD.)

35Pit burials of com..



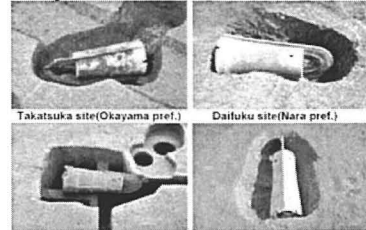
**Pit burials of commoners in Kofun period**  
(Otadaira site, Osaka pref. 5C AD.)

40Yano



**Dotaku bronze bell ritually deposited in the ground**  
Yano site (2C AD, Tokushima pref.)

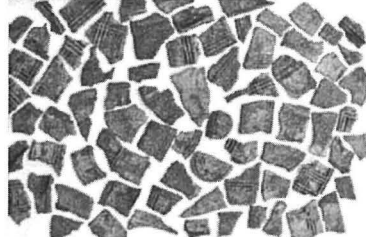
41deposited



Myodo site(Tokushima pref.) Maehara site(Shizuoka pref.)

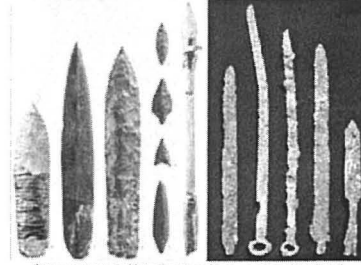


42Kutatani Dotaku fragments



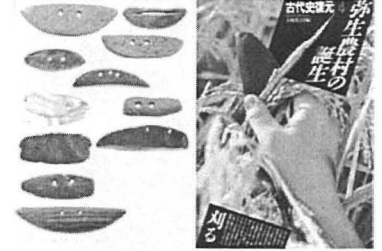
Fragments of Dotaku bells (late Yayoi, 2C AD.)  
Kutatani site, Hyogo pref.

43weapons



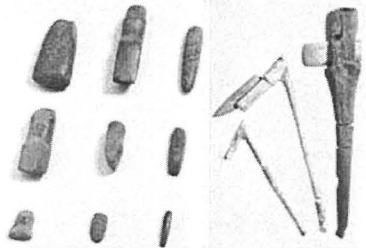
Stone weapons(middle Yayoi) and iron weapons(late Yayoi)

44stone reaping knife



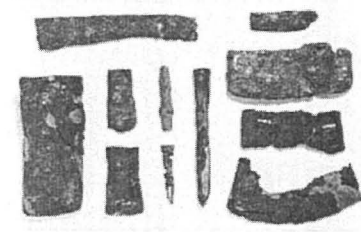
Stone reaping knives

46stone axe-heads



Stone axe-heads (middle Yayoi, 1C BC.)

47iron tools



Iron tools(late Yayoi, 1-2C AD.)

48Queen Himiko



'Fancy pictures' of Queen Himiko

49Hashihaka



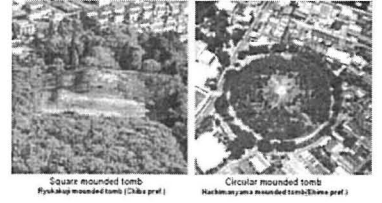
Hashihaka mound tomb(Nara pref. 3C)  
One of the oldest keyhole tombs. 250m in length

50Shimo-zamuraizuka



keyhole-shaped tomb with square rear mound  
Shimo-samuraizuka mound tomb( 4th century, Ibaraki pref.)

51square and circular tombs



Square mound tomb  
Fushiki mound tomb (Chiba pref.)

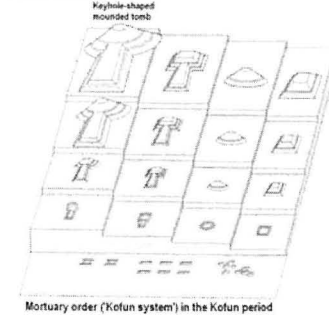
Circular mound tomb  
Kakumiyama mound tomb(Saitama pref.)

52saitobaru



Keyhole-shaped tombs and circular tombs (Saitobaru tomb group, Miyazaki pref.)

54kofun system



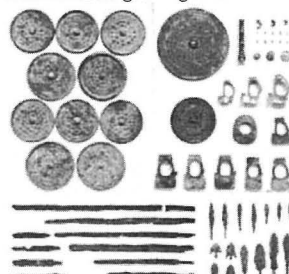
Mortuary order (Kofun system) in the Kofun period

55Shikinzan chamber



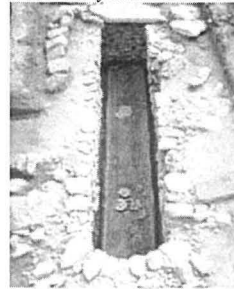
Burial chamber in a keyhole-shaped tomb  
Shikinzan mound tomb, Osaka pref. 4C AD.

56Shikinzan grave goods



Funerary goods unearthed from a burial chamber of  
Shikinzan mound tomb, Osaka pref. 4C AD.

57Yukinoyama chamber



Burial chamber in a keyhole-shaped tomb  
(Yukinoyama mound tomb. 4C AD. Shiga pref.)

58Inside the chamber



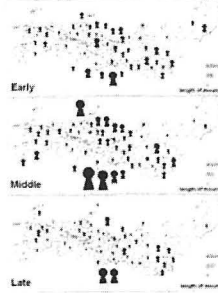
Inside the burial chamber  
(Yukinoyama mound tomb, Shiga pref. 4C AD.)

59operation inside..



Archaeological operation inside the chamber (Yukinoyama mound tomb)

60Comparison of mou..



Comparison of mound size

61Heartland of Yamato power



Heartland of Yamato Political Power (Yanagimoto mound group, Nara pref.)

62Daisen Kofun



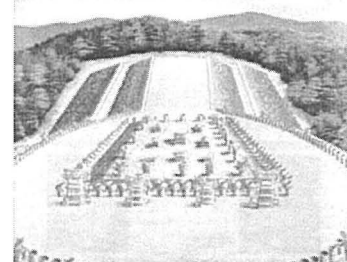
Daisen mound tomb (Osaka pref. 5th century)  
The largest Keyhole tomb. 480m in length

63Goshikizuka tomb



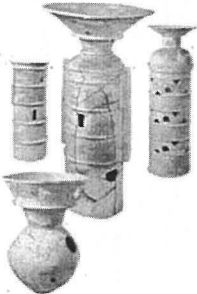
Cobble stones on the mound surface  
Goshikizuka mound tomb, Hyogo pref. 4C AD.

64Haniwa reconstruction



Haniwa (ceramic funerary sculpture) placed on a mound tomb (presumed reconstruction)

65Cylindrical haniwa

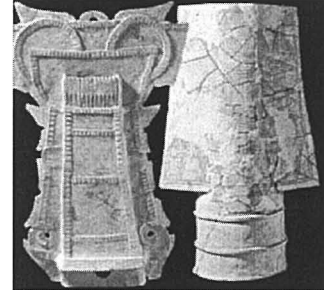


Cylindrical and pot-shaped Haniwa

66house-shaped haniwa



67Quiver and shield



Quiver and shield-shaped Haniwa

68Horse-shaped haniwa



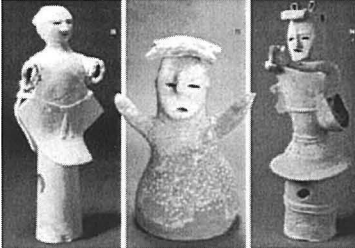
69elite man



70Elite men



71shamans



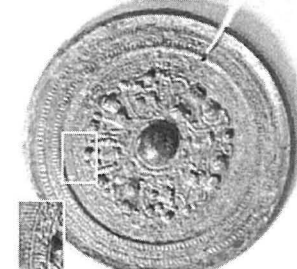
Shamans

72Inariyama iron sword



Iron sword with inscriptions inlaid with gold  
(Unearthed from Inariyama mound tomb, Saitama pref.)

73Kambara Jinja mirror



Chinese bronze mirror with inscriptions of the name of an era (unearthed from Kambara Jinja mound tomb)

01Kurozuka news



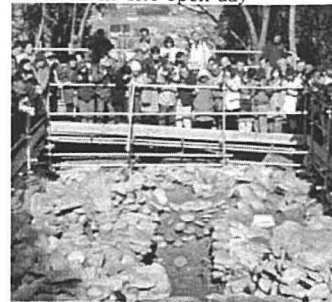
Excavation of Kurozuka kofun made the front page(Jan.1998)

02Kurozuka chamber



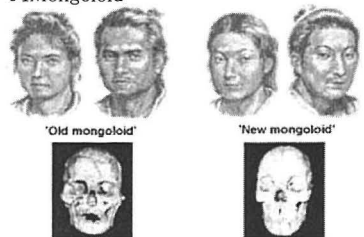
Kurozuka kofun (inside the burial chamber)

03Kurozuka site open day



'Site open day' at Kurozuka kofun, Nara pref. 1988

04Mongoloid



Two types of Mongoloid

05Yoshinogari before excavation



Yoshinogari site before excavation(Saga pref.)

06Yoshinogari park



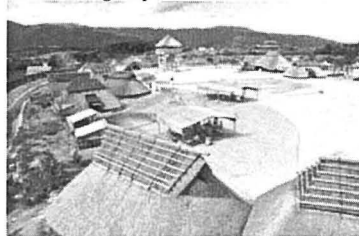
Yoshinogari National Historic Park(Saga pref.)

07Yoshinogari park



Yoshinogari historic park (Saga pref.)

08Yoshinogari park 02



Yoshinogari historic park (Saga pref.)

09San-nai Maruyama park



Panoramic view of San-nai Maruyama site, Aomori pref.

10Sannai-maruyama site..



'Site open day' at Sannai-maruyama site

11Sannai-maruyama guide map



Guide map of Sannai-maruyama historic park

12Sannai-maruyama park



Sannai-maruyama historic park

13Goshikizuka kofun park 01



Goshikizuka kofun park (Kobe)

14Excavation of Goshikizuka kofun 01



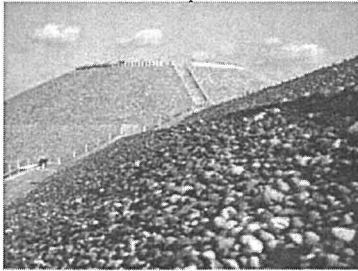
Excavation of Goshikizuka kofun (1974)

15Excavation of Goshikizuka kofun ..



Haniwa ceramic sculptures  
(unearthed from Goshikizuka kofun, Kobe)

16Goshikizuka kofun park 02



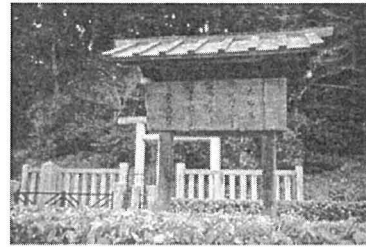
Goshikizuka kofun reconstructed

17Goshikizuka kofun park 03



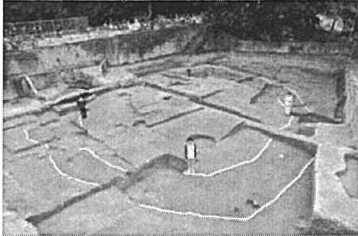
Goshikizuka kofun park (Kobe)

18Notice board



Notice board in front of 'Imperial mounded tomb'

19Machikaneyama No5 tomb



Enclosing moat of Machikaneyama No.5 mounded tomb

20Machikaneyama No5



Machikaneyama No.5 mounded tomb( 5C AD.)

## Past and Present of Japanese History

UMEMURA Takashi

### I . The birth of Emperor in Japan

#### 1.1 Introduction

Today Emperor is used to express the Japanese King, ‘Tennou(天皇)’ because it is officially translated to Emperor at present.

The biggest questions in Japanese History are about the birth, the existence and the continuation of the Emperor and the Emperor System in Japan.

(1) When and Why was the Emperor born?

(2) Why is the Emperor system in Japan considered as only one dynasty from the Ancient to the Modern times?

(3) Why does the Emperor continue until the present?

Various arguments have been considered in the academic community as answers to these questions. Particularly despite several big changes in Japanese history, the Emperor system basically has continued as only one dynasty until the present day. It is a kind of mysterious question in lots of king's histories of the world. Below is a part of the arguments.

#### 1.2

(1) The significance of ‘Tennou’

‘Tennou’ is a Chinese term. In ancient Japan it was called "Sumera Mikoto(スメラミコト)". According to some academic studies, “Sumera” meant the most cleansed existence and "Mikoto " meant the only person who could tell some words to people in place of God. Namely it meant noble language itself. That is to say that was some religious philosophy.

In ancient Japan, it seems that the kings who constructed huge tombs were called "Great King(オオキミ)" until about the sixth century.

However, this name was changed to "the Emperor" about in seventh century. It is necessary to remember that the term of Emperor includes special concepts different from Great King that meant the greatest king among many kings.

(2) In Japan the seventh century was the time when unified nation was formed. Then Japan developed a culture, a legal system, ceramic products, ironworks and adopted Buddhism, administrative organizations from the continent, particularly Korea.

However, in the same century, China was unified into ‘Zui Empire(隋帝国)’, after that Japan started to interact with China and it carried on the next Chinese Empire ‘Tang

(唐)’ until ninth century. Especially a code of law had the biggest influence on ancient Japan and a constitutional state was formed at last.

In the China-Japan relationship the first problems for Japan were naming the country and a Monarch.

In ancient times Japan was named “Wa (倭)”, but it meant a lower ranking in the international society. Therefore people disliked the name and made a new name, “Nippon (日本)”. But the sound of “Wa” stays as a common word in present Japan like another name for Japanese, Wajin (和人) or name for Japanese set lunch, wa-tei-shoku(和定食).

Today It is well known that Nippon means the origin of Sun at the eastern place from the west continent. And it seems to be easily received by the international community.

On the other hand, the new title of King ‘Tennou’ was hard to be accepted. Because titles of Kings were concerned with ranking of countries.

“Ten (天)” of ‘Tennou’ meant to cover the earth widely and “Nou (皇), an accent of “Wau,” was more common form. According to a popular theory it is said that ‘Tennou’ was adopted from the highest God's name of ‘Taoism(道教)’ in Old China. In any case it was difficult to use the name in the China-Japan relationship particularly for China. In fact we can't find any signs that have used ‘Tennou’ for a long time in the Pre-modern era. It was a name that was difficult or unable to be used overseas.

The seventh century was the time when new types of King were made in such new international relations, also it was the time when Japan entered into political order.

Afterwards the Imperial Court moved to Asuka, Nara, Kyoto and Kyoto was a thousand years Capital until the Modern ages. Kyoto Imperial Palace symbolize the times.

(3) The beginning of the Middle Age is established with the formation of “Bakufu(幕府)”, a type of government for Bushis, by “Minamotono Yoritomo (源頼朝)”. The house of “Minamoto” was one of noblemen connected with the lineage of ‘Tennou’.

One of the reasons that Minamoto could gather the Powers of “Bushi” in East Area was not only his ability to lead but also his lineage.

In the times of Bushi, big landlords “Daimyou(大名)” ruled their countries. They were guaranteed by Bakufu. And many “Daimyou” were authorized by a kind of connection with the Imperial Court.

But in the Warring State Period wide areas of Japan were battlefields for more than 100 years. In the meantime the Authority of ‘Tennou’ and the Imperial Court wore down gradually and even the lives of Nobles got difficult.



Most of the big Daimyous thought that going to Kyoto and meeting ‘Tennou’ was the evidence that they were the strongest.

The known Heroes — Oda Nobunaga (織田信長), Toyotomi Hideyoshi (豊臣秀吉), Tokugawa Ieyasu (徳川家康) found the way to establish their governments without abolishing the Emperor.

In the last years of the Edo era the west-south Daimyou Powers, like Satsuma(薩摩) or Choushu(長州) supported and made ‘Tennou’ their symbol against the Tokugawa Shogunate. After the defeat the Shogun returned political power to ‘Tennou’. Here ‘Tennou’ got Edo castle as the new residence in the capital Tokyo, and he could succeed as the highest sovereign, and attain the right to lead all the military.

In spite of Japanese defeat at World War II, the Tennou did not lose rank, and so the dynasty established in Ancient times continues into the future.

#### (4) Authority of the Emperor

As for the ancient system of the Emperor, Japan was given a large influence above all thought and culture. I cannot now point them one by one, but it is certain that the Emperor brought a strong sense of value into the social root of Japan.

Even now the origin of Emperor is covered with a secret veil by "myth", and decoding the memories written down in the classics, "Kojiki(古事記)" and "Nihonshoki(日本書紀)" is a subject that we cannot avoid to elucidate in the formation of Emperors.

In addition, the days of the Bushi lasted about 700 years in Japan, but the highest rank “Shogunate(将軍)” was also certified formally by ‘Tennou’.

Besides you know that the first article in the Constitution of Japan(日本国憲法) declares "the symbol of the State and of the unity of the people" about ‘Tennou’, and it is recognized by the present administration too.

#### Conclusion

If we appreciate Japanese history, we have to take notice that the history of the Japanese Emperor reflects importantly at all times throughout the history of Japan. We can't ignore existence of the Emperors. And system of the Emperor in Japan is recognized as an important part of history at present.



Summary 1, The Birth of Emperor in Japan

#### 1.1 Introduction

One of the biggest questions in Japanese History are about the birth, the existence and the

continuation of the Emperor and the Emperor System in Japan.

1. When and why was the Emperor born?

2. Why is the Emperor system in Japan considered as only one dynasty since ancient times?

3. Why does the Emperor continue until the present?

※ ‘Tennou(天皇)’ is officially translated to Emperor at present. And it is only Emperor in the present world.

## 1.2 Points at issue

(1) The significance of ‘Tennou’

“Tennou(天皇)” was called “Sumera Mikoto(スメラミコト)” that was a religious philosophy. It includes special concepts different from concepts that mean the greatest King.

(2) ‘Tennou’ in international relations

In the seventh century the important problems were naming the country and a Monarch for Japan. But we can't find any signs that have used ‘Tennou’ for a long time in the Pre-modern era. It was a name that was difficult or unable to be used overseas.

Afterwards the Imperial Court moved to Asuka, Nara and Kyoto that was a thousand years Capital. Kyoto Imperial Palace symbolizes the times.

(3) ‘Tennou’ in the Middle ages

The house of “Minamoto” which was one of noblemen connected with the lineage of ‘Tennou’. One of the reasons that Minamoto could gather the powers of “Bushi” in east area was not only his ability to lead but also because of his lineage. After that many “Daimyous(大名)” were authorized by a kind of connection with the Imperial Court too.

(4) Authority of ‘Tennou’

As for the ancient system of the Emperor, in Japan he had a large influence over all thought and culture. I cannot now point them one by one, but it is certain that the Emperor brought a strong sense of value into the social root of Japan.

Even now the origin of the Emperor is covered with a secret veil of "myth", but it is a subject that we cannot avoid elusions in the formation of the Emperors.

For example, the days of the Bushi (Samurai) \* lasted about 700 years in Japan, but the highest rank “Shougunate(将軍)” was also certificated formally by ‘Tennou’.

The first sentence in the Constitution of Japan declares "A symbol of unification of the nation" about ‘Tennou’, and it is recognized by the present administration too.

\*Here I won't use a popular word, “Samurai” but will use “Bushi” which meant a warrior in those days.

## 1.3 Conclusion

We can't ignore existence of the Emperors. And the system of the Emperor in Japan is recognized as an important part of history at present.



## II. The Formation of Landlords in Japan

### 2.1 Introduction

It is a big problem in historical science how to change from the ancient age to the medieval age in Japanese history. At first I want to refer to the concept of division of times in Japanese history.

In the Meiji era when scientific studies were adopted in Japan, the method of classifying history into three ages, ancient, middle and modern, was introduced by “foreign employees”, mainly from Europe or America. ※In those days foreign employees numbered about 2,500 in total and they brought and taught European culture, products, technology, even like the postal system or the minting system.

One of the most famous scholars in historical science was Ludwig Riess from Germany. He taught scientific methods to divide history and educated some students in the Imperial University of Japan. History was ambiguous until the division of times was taught to young historians in Japan.

The students who were the next generation tried to apply the method to the process of Japanese history. Anyway they tried to follow the fashion of Europeans and divide Japanese History into three parts, ancient, middle and modern.

As the result the Ancient Age is from “the Asuka era (飛鳥時代)” through the Heian era (平安時代), about 600 years and the Middle Age is from “the Kamakura era (鎌倉時代)” through the age of civil strife (戦国時代), about 400 years. The Pre-modern Age, “Edo period (江戸時代)” from the unification by Tokugawa (徳川) through the Meiji Restoration, about 260 years. Then the Modern Age started with the Formation of the Meiji Government when Tokyo became the capital. Consequently Japanese history was composed of four parts. Of course there were some standards to divide times from each other.

Next I want to take the concept of “Landlord (領主)” that made the epoch between Ancient and Middle Ages in Japanese history.

### 2.2 The appearance of feudal lords in the Middle Age

I will explain the background that “Landlord” became the keyword in academic communities of Japan. After the defeat in World War II, Japanese historians began to create a new type of work. Especially the way to divide times was researched from new viewpoints. The problem was the standard to explain the beginning of medieval Japan. And an excellent historian noticed that it was “a feudal lord”. The historian's name was “Ishimoda Sho (石母田正)” who led scientific history in the research fields of the Ancient and Middle ages.

He wrote “The Formation of the Medieval world (中世的世界の形成)” that paid attention to the formation and development of district lords through the analysis of a very small manor called “Kuroda no shou (黒田庄)” which Todaiji (東大寺) managed in those days.

Like his words, “The History of manors was the world itself where people lived, fought and

formed their history", he made efforts to find world-wide historical elements in small manors.

It is a symbolic fact that this manuscript was written right before he was conscripted as a soldier for the World War. Postwar, this published work played a great role as a kind of leader in the studies of Japanese ancient and medieval age, and it became the work that showed the direction in the academic community.

The original point of the work is above all to have clarified the existence of feudal lords as new rulers in the next age.

He went ahead with the idea through the competitive relations between ancient and middle powers and mentioned Japanese history with changing times.

I can't say the contents in detail. Anyhow he inspected big fights between the new powers that carried the Middle Age and the old powers that guarded the Ancient Age. As a result he concluded the new powers were still immature and the old power temporarily won out "Kuroda no shou", but he foretold the new Age was coming close in the last paragraph of the work.

This writing renovated a style of historical articles.

In other words we can understand the fact that the general history reflected even on the local manors through this writing. After that "the Landlord System" became the basic concept or the new standard to mention the change from the Ancient times to the Middle ages.

### 2.3 A feudal lord and Bushi

The proposal by Ishimoda had a decisive influence on the pre-modern study. The general idea named "a local feudal lord" gave particular influences on the study of "Bushi" as a concept which formed the basis of Japanese medieval history.

The reason that Ishimoda paid attention to "a feudal lord" as the basic historical idea of the next era followed recognition that the Middle Age is "the times of Bushi (武士の時代)".

In historical studies, the main reason that the method of periodisation was able to apply to Japanese history comparatively easily came from distinguishing pre-modern times in Japanese history. That is to say Japanese history can be easily divided into three parts, the ancient age of "the Noble (貴族)", the Middle ages "Landlord (領主) or Bushi (武士)" and the Modern "Capitalist and Labor (資本家と労働者)".

In those days it was common that in Middle ages Bushi ruled Japan instead of old nobles. Then, it became common to be the time when Bushi held leadership in the Middle Ages.

Ishimoda concluded that Bushi was equal to a feudal lord and new power established the position to have feudal tenure and own land. In addition he understood that Bushi generally appeared from manors and it was the sign of the new times. "Bushi" was the existence that guarded the land for his entire life.

But after that it got clear his theory was incorrect. That is to say "Bushi" didn't appear from manors but rather developed under the control of nobles, particularly as their guard in the local government

“Kokuga (国権)” . In fact “Bushi ” meant to serve under masters like ancient nobles.

But I don't think the concept of “Lord” lost efficacy to research the process to Middle ages. Because it was completely sure that a landlord became the ruler next.

## 2.4 Development of feudal lords as a Japanese model

The term 'feudal lord' itself is a historical term. The new development in Japanese history in the tenth century was the new social position that accompanied with the term.

I think it wasn't correct to have related a feudal lord with Bushi directly, but it is totally right to have emphasized historical significance of these terms.

In fact, in later history, Bushi gradually became a feudal lord and comes to expand feudal tenure for paying own expenses. “Kamakura era (鎌倉時代)” was the time when the government of Bushi still ranked with the power of the Imperial Court, but Bushi comes to surpass a court noble with the times and until the Age of Civil Strife (戦国時代) lords became masters conquered all of Japan and formed a system to rule them.

In the next stage they started among themselves to fight to gain leadership.

The lords armed themselves to protect the feudal tenure and to expand it, and bound strong relations with the subordinates and formed “Bushi Group (武士団)” . And through chaotic times lasted for 150 years, they aimed to stabilize their government and the nation for Bushi themselves. The final result was to realize “Tokugawa era (徳川時代)” .

Consequently it gave a characteristic on Japanese history either positive or passive sides that Bushi-lords held total control in Japan. It is sure that the existence of feudal lords is a key part in Japanese history.

## 2.5 Conclusion

When I study about Japanese history, I feel that a feudal lord and the feudal lord system become indispensable elements. A Japanese Lord has a meaning as the standard to distinguish Japanese history from that of East Asia and Southeast Asia.

And at least it seems to be certain that the feudal lord is an important role for explaining the difference between Ancient and Medieval Japan.



## Summary 2, The Formation of Landlords in Japan

### 2.1 Introduction

In the Meiji era when scientific studies were adopted in Japan, the method of classifying history into three ages - ancient, middle and modern - was introduced by a foreign employee mainly from Germany. Consequently after some studies Japanese history was added the pre-modern age and

divided into four parts.

## 2.2 The appearance of feudal lords in the Middle Ages

It is “the Landlord(領主)” that demonstrates the epoch between Ancient and Middle Ages in Japanese history. An excellent historian, “Ishimoda Sho(石母田正)” emphasized that it was “a feudal lord” in his article, “The Formation of the Medieval world(中世の世界の形成)” in which he analyzed a very small manor called “Kuroda no sho(黒田庄)” in the Iga region(伊賀国).

This published work played a great role as a kind of leader in the studies of the Japanese ancient and medieval ages, and it became the work that showed the direction of the academic community.

He went ahead with the idea through the competitive relations between ancient and middle powers and mentioned Japanese history in these changing times.

After that “the Landlord System” became the basic concept or the new standard to differentiate the change from the Ancient times to the Middle ages.

## 2.3 A feudal lord and a Bushi

The general idea named “a local feudal lord” gave particular influences on the study of “Bushi(武士)” as a concept which formed the basis of Japanese medieval history.

Ishimoda concluded that Bushi was the same as a feudal lord and new power established the position to have feudal tenure and their own land.

But after that it became clear his theory was incorrect. That to say “Bushi(武士)” didn't appear from manors but rather developed under the control of nobles, particularly as their guard in the local government “Kokuga(国衛)”. In fact “Samurai(侍)” meant to serve under masters like ancient nobles.

## 2.4 Development of feudal lords as a Japanese model

I think it wasn't correct to have related the feudal lord with Bushi directly, but it was totally right to have emphasized historical significance of these terms.

In later history, Bushi gradually became a feudal lord and came to expand feudal tenure for paying own expenses. “Kamakura era(鎌倉時代)” was the time when the government of Bushi still ranked with the power of the Imperial Court, but Bushi came to surpass a court noble year after year. the Age of Civil Strife lords became masters conquered all of Japan and formed a system to rule them. In the next stage they started to fight among themselves to gain leadership.

Consequently this gave a characteristic on Japanese history both a positive and negative side that Bushi-lords held total control in Japan. It is sure that the existence of feudal lords is a key part in Japanese history.

## 2.5 Conclusion

A Japanese Lord has a meaning and set the standard to distinguish Japanese history from that of East Asia and Southeast Asia. It seems certain that the feudal lord played an important role for explaining the difference between Ancient and Medieval Japan and it gave a great position on ‘Bushi.

### III. The meaning of Bushi on Japanese history

#### 3-1 Introduction

This time I will talk about Bushi which mean Samurai.

I won't use a popular word "Samurai" but will talk about public "Bushi" in those days.

It is well-known that Bushi were a big influence on Japanese history.

This word, "Bushi" is representing the person who specialized in military arts by the use of arms since the old age. At first it meant warriors who guarded the capital, the nobles and could use weapons skillfully and were excellent in mastering of combat technology.

It is said that a social position of Bushi (Samurai) was approved since about the middle of the Heian era.

It is often confirmed that the warriors occupied an important position in a war in domestic or foreign confrontations. In Japan, The Bushi held great power and governed the nation over a long period of time in Japan.

As a result various things were added to history like crests as the symbol of family.

#### 3-2 The origin of Bushi

It is difficult to pinpoint the beginning of the Bushi's existence, as it was widely admitted after ancient times. It is thought that Bushi's position got higher through the social unrest and the civil war in the middle of the Heian era.

Around the 10th century the local people often accused the tops of the local governments and demanded to dismiss them in the Imperial Court.

Here we can recognize lots of evidence. For example the followers whom their chief "Fujiwara Motonaga (藤原元命)" brought from the capital acted violently toward the local people as found in the information, "Owarinokuni no Gunji Hyakushou rano Gebumi (尾張国郡司百姓等解文)".

In the document the followers that seem to be in the service of the these leaders by causing violence are the original form of Bushi. On the other hand, according to many documents the general public of the big buddhist temples, "Hieizan Enryakuji (比叡山延暦寺)", "Onjyoji (園城寺)",

"Kofuku-ji (興福寺)" "Todaiji (東大寺)" strongly demanded to realize their desires. The Court couldn't defend the movements by usual guard systems. Most of the public were soldiers dressed like monks. The Court needed to organize many Bushi group to counter the power.

In this way Bushi gradually raised the social value year by year.

The Changing to the Middle ages came through the civil wars late in the ancient age and the old government couldn't counter the power.

The power that Bushi showed in "Hogen Disturbance (保元の乱)", "Heiji Disturbance (平治の乱)", "Jishou-Juei Disturbance (治承寿永の乱)" of the latter half of 12 century was the defining factor to big change in the times.

The situation was common to the local area. The manors that was private territory to support their lives barely kept the interests by the national proof. However the war disturbances had almost destroyed those mechanisms. So a new stabilized system was needed.

In such a situation the Kamakura Shogunate was established and became the organization to maintain Bushi's interests. Bushi organized the followers, "Gokenin (御家人)". And they could maintain their territory publicly.

### 3-3 Relief "Ando (安堵)"

Traditionally in Japan, rice fields were a practical and superior method for the use of land. Japanese sow seeds in every spring and harvest every autumn. Therefore the order of decided farming was guaranteed.

In the situation that the land is threatened by others or the farmer throws away land, land will go to ruin. The local lords wanted the new power to guarantee security of their land. And "Heike family (平家)" and "Genji family (源氏)" just appeared here to represent the power of Bushi.

Their ancestors had traditionally named their offspring after the Emperor and maintained an idea of noble lineage.

The Bushi group rushed to Genji which won in the competition with Heihe, and bound relations of the master and servant through "Jisho-Juei war (治承寿永の乱)" and formally secured the position of a vassal.

The dictator of Genji, "Yoritomo Minamoto (源頼朝)" opened the Shogunate in Kamakura and succeeded in giving dominance to a very large domain.

The important policy was land guarantee of "Relief, Ando (安堵)" that Yoritomo executed on Bushi here.

Relief was the colloquial words that came from words to call a partner 'let someone feel relieved'. Bushi were secured by being relieved in dominium of land and instead imposed the final duty of "service Houkou (奉公)".

It produced an ethical idea to assume that their own lives were extremely light to respond to the master. In addition, it developed in the later Bushi world to have been the existence that is conscious of death in daily life and the condition laid even special customs like "Seppuku (切腹)", a strange way of suicide.

The Bushi needed military powers training routinely and the goal was skillfully riding a horse and shooting arrows. Therefore, they repeatedly shot escaping dogs in the riding ground. They even had kinds of slaves "Etori (餌取り)" meaning people to get food.

The image most people in Japan have now of Bushi is different from the historical reality. I think that the image we have now of Bushi is some bureaucracy in the Edo period that was peaceful times for a long time.

But it is clear that Bushi isn't such a thing. Because Bushi were people who specialized "killing" as

a primary occupation.

In the collection of tales , “Konjyaku monogatari shu (今昔物語集)” of the Heian era we can find some interesting stories of Bushi, “If there was a person whose heart was different from me, they would be killed like insects” or “If there was a person who did not follow you, you should immediately tell someone to bring you his head ” . They weren't fictional stories at all.

Next chapter I want to explain some examples of Bushi concepts in present Japan.

### 3-4 The images of Bushi in Present Japan

Last June 23, Japanese soccer players were called “23 Samurai” and sent to Germany. But they were completely defeated in the tournament.

Thus Bushi tend frequently to be using good sense. Even now the word Bushi or Samurai includes a positive image. But is this popular recognition correct?

Here I want to mention three examples.

(1) Manners of various Bushis were adopted by Japanese people and became custom. As for most of them, the origin is already forgotten, too.

To fold one's legs under oneself is the formal way in a Japanese-style room. You can easily see it in the tea ceremony. But surprisingly it seems to the outside world a strange way to sit. In fact it is difficult to find such a way in Medieval pictures. Because this way is understood to come from Boshi's manner in front of the master. That is to say it is the expression that I have no weapons. In the Tokugawa Period the custom got popular and spread around Japan.

(2) It is extremely difficult to enter a Japanese university, a university of a particularly constant level and high school students must study successfully through severe competition.

We use the expression "we often compete fiercely" in such a case, and it means to rub each other "shinogi (鎧)" which points to the backside of a blade of a sword.

It is clear that the proverb came from the way of battling by soldiers.

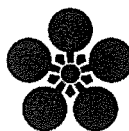
(3) Here I want to refer to the Museum “Youshukan (遊就館)” attached to “Yasukuni Shrine (靖国神社)” which is a serious problem in international politics and diplomacy, because I feel that it integrates “the Shrine Issue”, and it shows , pictures and explains various exhibits by way of history that the Bushi killed or died in past wars. There we can't find any exhibits of enemies or domestic people who were killed in wars. Anyone who has seen the exhibits will notice that they admire Bushi from first to last .

I think that this “Shrine Issue” includes the subject of how Japanese people appreciate history, especially history of Bushi.

The Bushi had an existence that accomplished their demands by routine violence as well as by a battle. When you think about these facts, you will notice that there is a tendency positively to affirm Bushi's spirit in the present Japanese mind.

### 3.5 Conclusion

It is an important view that the pre-modern times was a society of Bushi, because Bushi leaves some carved marks in the past and present history of Japan.



#### Summary 3 ,The meaning of Bushi on Japanese history

##### 3-1 Introduction

Bushi\* is the word representing the person who specialized in military arts by the use of arms since the old age. At first it meant warriors who guarded the nobles and could use weapons skillfully.

It is said that a social position of Bushi was approved since about the middle of the Heian era. The one of important characteristics in Japanese history is that Bushi actually ruled this country for about 700 years. As the result various things were added to history.

\*Here I won't use a popular word, "Samurai" but will use "Bushi" .

##### 3-2 The origin of Bushi

It is difficult to pinpoint the beginning of the Bushi's existence, as it was widely admitted after ancient times.

Around the 10th century the local people often accused the tops of the local governments and demanded to dismiss them in the Imperial Court. We can recognize lots of facts that the followers whom their chief brought from the capital acted violently toward the local people as found in the information.

On the other hand, according to many documents the general public of the big temples strongly demanded to realize their desires. Most of the public were soldiers dressed like monks "Souhei (僧兵)" .

Bushi gradually raised the social value year by year. In addition the power that Bushi showed in some wars was the defining factor to change the times.

In such a situation "the Kamakura Shogunate (鎌倉幕府)" was established and became the organization to maintain Bushi's interests. Bushi organized the followers, "Gokenin (御家人)" and they could maintain the territory publicly.

##### 3-3 "Relief, Ando (安堵)"

Traditionally in Japan, rice fields were a practical and superior method for the use of land. Therefore the order of decided farming was guaranteed in the ancient age. The local lords wanted the new power to guarantee security of their land. "Heike family (平家)" and "Genji family (源氏)" just appeared here to represent the power of Bushi. Their ancestors had traditionally named their offspring after the Emperor and maintained an idea of noble lineage. The Bushi group rushed to Genji which won in the competition with Heihei, and bound relations of the master and servant through hard wars.



The important policy was the land guarantee of "Relief, Ando (安堵)" that Yoritomo executed on Bushi here.

Relief(Ando) was the colloquial words that appeared from the words we call a partner 'let someone feel relieved'. Bushi were secured by being relieved in dominium of land and instead imposed the final duty of "service, Houkou (奉公)". It produced an ethical idea to assume that their own lives were extremely light to respond to the master.

### 3-4 The images of Bushi in Present Japan

- (1) A manner of Bushi, to fold one's legs under oneself, "seiza (正座)"
- (2) To compete fiercely, "shinogi (鎧)", a part of Japanese sword
- (3) About exhibits of the Museum attached to "Yasukuni Shrine (靖国神社)"

You will often notice that there is a tendency positively to affirm Bushi's spirit in the present Japan.

### 3.5 Conclusion

It is an important view that Bushi leaves some carved marks in the past and present history of Japan.

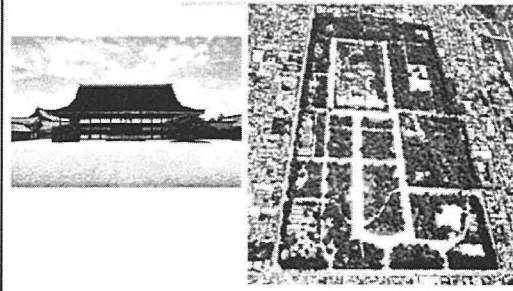
### Quiz

- I . Do you think that the Emperor (the King) System like 'Tennou' will continue until the future or not? What is the reason? (Oct.31)
- II .What is the big factor that changed the process in history? (Nov.7)
- III. What do you think about the influences that Bushi (Samurai) had in Japanese history? (Nov.14)

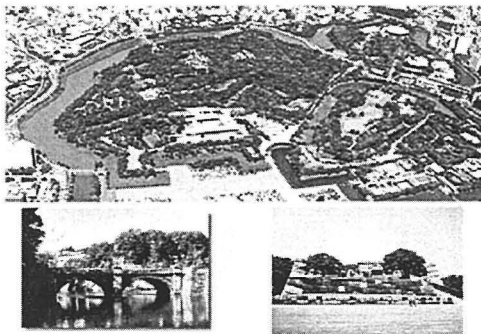
The Ancient tomb for a great King  
(Daisen Ryo Kofun "大仙陵古墳", in Osaka)



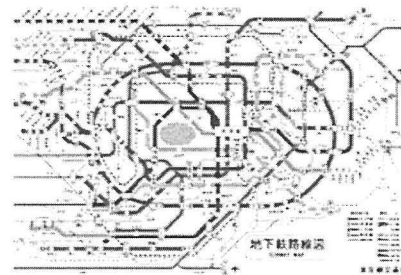
Kyoto Imperial Palace (京都御所)



The Imperial Palace (皇居) in Tokyo,  
the old Edo Castle



A Metro Map in Tokyo (東京地下鉄路線図)



日本国憲法  
THE CONSTITUTION OF JAPAN

CHAPTER I: THE EMPEROR

- Article 1. The Emperor shall be the symbol of the state and of the unity of the people, deriving his position from the will of the people with whom resides sovereign power.
- Article 2. The Imperial Throne shall be dynastic and succeed to its successors in accordance with the Imperial House Law passed by the Diet.
- Article 3. The advice and approval of the Cabinet shall be required for all acts of the Emperor in matters of state, and the Cabinet shall be responsible therefor.
- Article 4. The Emperor shall perform only such acts in matters of state as are provided for in the Constitution and he shall not have powers related to government.
- Article 5. When, in accordance with the Imperial House Law, a vacancy is established, the Regent shall perform his acts in matters of state in the Emperor's name. In this case, paragraph one of the preceding article will be applicable.
- Article 6. The Emperor shall appoint the Prime Minister as designated by the Diet.
- Article 7. The Emperor shall appoint the Chief Judge of the Supreme Court as designated by the Cabinet.
- Article 7. The Emperor, with the advice and approval of the Cabinet, shall perform the following acts in matters of state on behalf of the people:
  - Issuance of ordinances of the constitution, laws, cabinet orders and treaties.
  - Convocation of the Diet.
  - Dissolution of the House of Representatives.
  - Dissolution of general election of members of the Diet.
  - Appointment of the appointment and dismissal of Ministers of State and other officials as provided for by law, and of full powers and revocation of Ambassadors and Ministers.
  - Attestation of general and special amnesty, commutation of punishments, reprieve, and restoration of rights.
  - Awarding of honors.
  - Attestation of instruments of ratification and other diplomatic documents as provided for by law.
  - Receiving foreign ambassadors and ministers.
  - Performance of ceremonial functions.
- Article 8. No property can be given to, or received by, the Imperial House, nor can any gifts be made thereinto, without the authorization of the Diet.



Ishimoda Shou (石母田正) and "The Formation of the Medieval world (中世の世界的形成)"



Todaiji temple (東大寺), the building for Great Buddha(大仏殿)



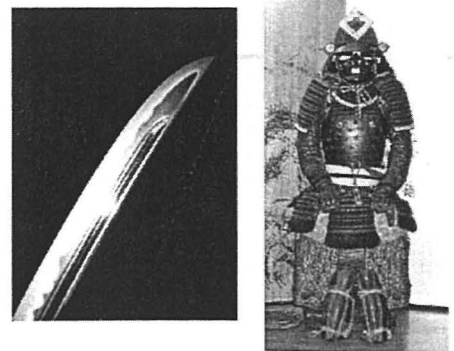
Bushi in "The pictures and notes of the attack by Mongolian (蒙古襲来絵詞,竹崎季長Takesaki Suenaga 絵詞)"

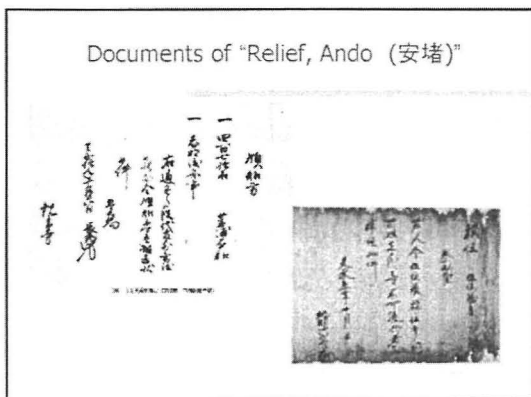
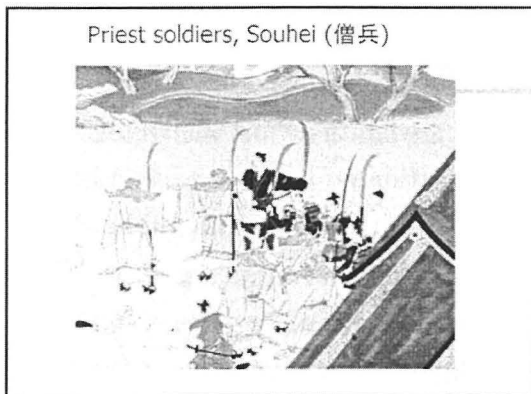
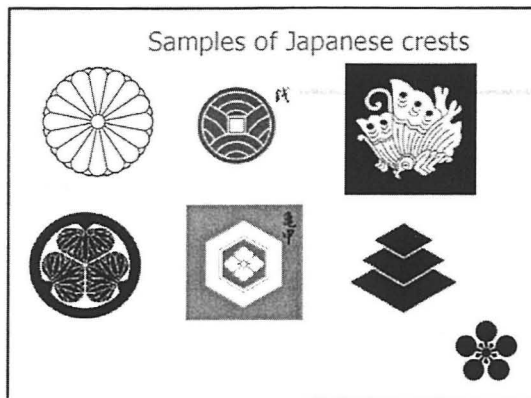


The Document to appoint a manager in Shimazu Manor 1176(安元2年),島津御荘并済使補任状



Nitobe Inazo , BUSHIDO:THE SOUL of JAPAN、1900、新渡戸稲造『武士道』  
English Text <http://www.gutenberg.org/etext/12096>





(1) Japan and attitudes towards impurity:  
Sumo wrestling, eating meat, and abandoning the sick

TAIRA Masayuki

**Female governor and abandoning the sick**

I would like to start with two topics. One is about a Female governor who could not enter the sumo ring. Her name is Ota Fusae. She was voted to be the governor of Osaka prefecture in 2000. She is the first female governor in Japanese history. She fought for the right to present the Osaka Governor's trophy to the champion by herself, at the March (Spring) Grand Sumo tournament. Every year the Spring Sumo tournament is held in Osaka. Governor of Osaka prefecture awards the Governor's trophy to the champion. This requires the governor to enter the sumo ring. Not all the time the governor himself attends the award ceremony. There were occasions that a counterpart was sent by the governor. Governor Ota said that she wish to award the trophy to the sumo champion by herself. The Japanese Sumo Association refused her request because its tradition dictated that a woman could not enter the sumo ring. The public opinion was divided. Some supported the governor's wish while some were against it. In the end her wish was not realized and a male representative was sent in her place.

The next topic is Kasugagongenki (春日権現験記). It is a picture scroll drawn in 1309, which elaborates the miracles of Kasuga Taisha shrine in Nara. Please refer to figure 1 in the handout. I have given one picture, which elaborates the story of a plague that was stricken at that time. In this picture you can see a sick man vomiting inside the house, and two women are nursing him. Gyoekishin (行疫神) is watching this from above the roof. This is the god that infects plague. In the entrance to the house, you can see fire, a huge rock, a rope and woman's hair. These are kept to prevent the arrival of Gyoekishin.

Look at the left side of the house. A man is lying down. You can see a black dog. Next to the dog there is a hut with a shabby roof. A straw mat is hanging in the entrance. The man is lying in this hut. Why is this man lying outside the house?

The common theme in the two stories is impurity. In the background of the first story, there lies the contemporary thought that avoids women considering them to be unclean. In the second the death is considered impure.

Let us observe the picture more closely. According to the literature from tenth century to sixteenth century, it was a custom in cities of the medieval age, to abandon dying patients outside. For instance the following story could be found in Tales of Konjaku (今昔物語集) which was written in the beginning of twelfth century. A woman

from a noble family, who got separated from her husband and children, came to live in her elder brother's house. She got ill and her brother, to prevent her dying inside his house, sent her away. She tried to get help from her friends but nobody gave her shelter. Left with nobody to care she finally died in a cemetery. Tales of Konjaku was written by a priest. In these tales, although those who were sent away from their houses are sympathized, sending sick people away is considered something inevitable. Abandoning those who are seriously ill was a generally approved step, as there was nothing else to be done. According to a diary kept by a noble in fifteenth century, he abandoned a housemaid who served him more than 30 years. Even though he was sorry to do so, he had no other choice, as she was ill. It seems that this custom was practiced through out the medieval age.

This was because they evaded the impurity of death. If somebody died in a house, people believed that the house was stained. They averted this situation by abandoning the sick person as soon as the illness started getting worse. Nobody could die inside a house except the landlord and his family. Especially servants who live in somebody else's house had to die outside.

### Characteristics of impurity

When and how were these attitudes of impurity started? The concept of impurity could be seen from the ancient times. But rituals like Misogi and Harae could purify impurity in those ages. Misogi washed the impure things away. In Harae, the Onusa (see figure 2) was waved from left to right above the head (figure 3), and it was said to be purifying. Especially Harae is done in Shinto shrines even today. In 10<sup>th</sup> century the notion of impurity was spread mainly in Kyoto. The characteristics of this notion are as follows.

- ① Impurity is mainly caused by death. Apart from death, blood (delivery, menstruation) and eating meat also cause impurity. It was believed that in the case of death, the impurity lasts for 30 days and in the case of a delivery it lasts for 7 days.
- ② The only thing we can do is to wait until it disappears naturally, as this impurity could not be purified by any religious method.
- ③ If somebody stays with a stained person in the same room, that person will also be unclean. For example everybody who was in the same room with a dead body was stained for 30 days. If these people associate with somebody else, they would be stained for 7 days. If such a person goes near somebody else, they would be stained for 3 days. Those who associate them would be stained for 1 day. Likewise the impurity was carried from one person to another. Therefore stained people

were forced to stay inside until their impurity vanishes away.

If somebody died inside a house the others were restricted to go out for a period of one month. To prevent this, the dying people were kept away from the house.

What is the origin of this notion of impurity? This has connection with the following matter. The Japanese Imperial Court introduced a Chinese ruling method called Law Code System and governed the society. But in the tenth century this system failed and the government became weak. They did not have enough strength to maintain even Heiankyo (Kyoto), the capital of those days. The maintenance of plumbing system was abandoned which caused a bad plague that swept through Kyoto. People were panic-stricken; they were filled with delusion and could not help but fear an invisible world. They tried to escape from the plague, and especially from those who died with hatred. This was the origin of the Gion matsuri in Kyoto, as a divine intervention to stop the plague. The notion of hell was also rooted in this period. Along with various superstitions, the notion of impurity was enlarged.

#### **Japanese attitude of impurity**

The attitude of impurity influenced Japanese culture and society from the tenth century to sixteenth century. The most typical of these influences are as follows. The first one is social discrimination, the second is considering women as unclean and the third is avoiding meat.

First let us see about social discrimination. Dying patients were thrown away, as people feared the impurity of death. When the patients die, dogs ate the corpses. In figure 1 there is a black dog near the sick man. Sometimes the abandoned dying people were even killed by dogs. But the disposing of corps could not be left to dogs only. There should be a means that protect the emperor, his administration, and customs from impurity. There came a need for people that dispose corps and purify the unclean. But as these people daily associated with the unclean, they were considered impure and were discriminated. This discrimination lasted through out Edo period and Meiji period. Today even though this kind of discrimination does not take place in public, it remains strongly in some areas.

With the origin of the notion of impurity, in tenth century, there was a big change in the attitude towards blood. In ancient culture, blood was believed to have a magical power that brings good harvest. Seed rice was soaked in deer's blood to bring good harvest. When rice plants did not grow well paddy field was sowed with deer's blood. As a strength that brought good harvest, blood had a very positive image.

In tenth century, however, a rule appeared saying that pregnant or menstruating women should keep away from the palace. Including the first lady nobody could stay in

the palace during the pregnancy and the menstruation. The attitude towards blood turned in to a negative one from its positive image. Eventually, the notion of impurity that associated with blood merged with the Buddhist thinking that women are sinful than men. This resulted in the concept that women are impure. In this background a unique custom called Nyoninkekkai 女人結界(presence of women forbidden) came in to existence.

Some of you might have already visited temples like Hieizan Enryakuji and Koyasan Kongobuji. Long ago women were not allowed to climb these mountains. Not only the temple but also the whole area, from the very foot of the mountain, was forbidden. They were afraid that unclean women contaminate the sacred area. Women were allowed in the hall of the Great Buddha in Todaiji temple. However, from twelfth century this was also considered as a restricted area. Most parts of Nyoninkekkai were abolished in policies of Meiji enlightenment. Yet some could be still seen Mt. Omine in Nara Yoshino. Only men can enter the Nigatsudo in Todaiji and see the Buddhist water-drawing ritual. The custom that prohibits women to enter sumo ring is also a remaining of this thinking.

In sumo wrestling, salt is spread on the sumo ring by two sumo wrestlers before each battle. This salt is called kiyomeno shio, which means purifying salt. In traditional Japanese culture kiyomeno shio is believed to have a purifying effect. Until 30 years ago, after attending a funeral, most of the Japanese people spread salt all over their body, at the entrance of their houses. Salt is spread in order to purify the sumo ring. Because sumo is a sacred ritual that comes from Shinto, women setting foot on the sumo ring is prohibited even today.

Eating meat was also considered to be unclean. Originally Japanese people ate meat of cows, horses, and wild boars. Since ancient times, however, they prevented from eating meat when they worship god. Meat was a tasty and luxurious food. Therefore when they offer a prayer to god, they endure this luxurious food for about one month. This way they believed their wish would be granted. When the notion of impurity was prevailed, it was interpreted, as one should avoid eating meat, because it is unclean. It was said that, if somebody ate meat, the impurity would last until 100days. From twelfth century the Emperor and the nobles prevented from meat eating. This custom was gradually spread among civilians. During Edo period almost everybody did not eat meat. Eating meat was believed to be an act of uncivilized. In the contrary, the food that symbolizes the modernization of Japan in Meiji period is Sukiyaki. Exposure to the western culture gave Japanese people the opportunity to eat beef after many hundred years.

The strong attitudes towards impurity ended in the sixteenth century. However



its various influences are still to be seen.

Well, Japanese Sumo Association refused Governor Ota's request saying that sumo is a traditional sacred ritual. But they have forgotten something important. All the sumo wrestlers eat meat. At least over 1200 years it was a Japanese custom to prevent from eating meat before you worship god. If they wish to protect the traditions of sumo, keeping women from the sumo ring is not enough. As a matter of fact sumo wrestles that eat meat cannot enter the ring either. Are they going to forbid sumo wrestlers to eat meat or are they going to let women enter the sumo ring? This is something the Japanese Sumo Association should reconsider.

### Quiz

What is the most interesting part in today's topic and why do you find it interesting? (Nov. 21)

(2) Imported culture and Nationalism

TAIRA Masayuki

**Is Buddhism Japanese or not?**

Today's theme is imported culture and nationalism. Buddhism came to China from India. Then from China it was introduced to Korea. In sixth century it was introduced to Japan. However, once this foreign culture was considered to be Japanese and became the origin to national thought.

At present generally Shinto shrines are considered as Japanese religion and Buddhist temples as imported religion. From the early days when Buddhism was first introduced to Japan, Shintoism and Buddhism were combined. But Meiji government denied this combined history. In 1868 Meiji government separated Shintoism and Buddhism. The Emperor and Buddhism were forced to separate. As a result any sign of Buddhism was swept away from everything that associates with Emperor and completely transformed to Shinto.

Figure 1 and 2 are drawings of the Shinto shrine in Musashi village in the Nara prefecture. In 1870 this shrine was remodeled. Figure 1 is the old structure. Figure 2 in the right side is how it appeared after the modification. In figure 1 there is a worshippers' hall in the center→1. In the inner part, there are three shrines. In the right side the main hall where Buddha was worshiped could be found→2. Apart from this, 3 indicates the Buddhist priests' living quarters. In Jizoudo indicated by 4 Bodhisattva was worshipped. 5 is the bell of Buddhist temple. 6 is the entrance. Like this in Shinto shrines there were lot of Buddhist facilities.

However in figure 2 the Buddhist signs are wiped out. First of all temple and shrine were separated. The top part of the right side of figure 1 was separated as the shrine by a line drawn from A to A' and B to B'. The separated part is sketched in figure 2. Worshippers' hall→1 was remodeled in to a tile-roofing magnificent building, which is enclosed by a fence. The statues of Buddha that were in the main hall were removed. Main hall was changed in to a storehouse to keep godly treasures→2. At the entrance to the shrine a torii (鳥居), a gateway of a Shinto shrine, was built→7. This is the typical structure of a modern Shinto shrine. The Meiji government thought that mixing Shintoism and Buddhism was a mistake. To refine Japanese culture Buddhism was removed from shrines. Shinto shrines like in figure 2 were considered to be Japanese.

But in Japanese god worshippers history, buildings and statues of deities were not built. They were built with the influence of Buddhism. Further more, in the fourteenth century, with quite a lot of borrowings from Buddhist doctrine, the theorization of Shinto was done. Like this Buddhism and Shinto were inseparably

linked. Of course there were shrines that refused to be affected by Buddhism. Grand Ise Shrine was one of those shrines. This shrine is dedicated to the ancestor god of the Emperor. Therefore, from the ancient times to modern times, it was thought that Grand Ise Shrine was the most important in many Shinto shrines. Grand Ise Shrine refused to be affected by Buddhism all the time. But, in thirteenth century even in this shrine there was a temple in which some hundreds of Buddhist priests were staying. For nearly 1000 years statues of Buddha were located in shrines. In temples local deities were worshipped too. As a result of this the temples and shrines could not be distinguished. Such was the state of temples and shrines for a long period of time. When you visit a Shinto shrine, please do not misunderstand that they were always like that. The present appearance of Shinto shrine is something that was forcefully made by the government about 100 years ago.

As I mentioned above, the Meiji government removed Buddhism from the Shinto shrines and Emperor saying that Buddhism was non-Japanese. However, once Buddhism was considered to be Japanese.

### Two types of Buddhism

There are many temples in Japan. There are many traditional temples like Todaiji and Kofukuji in Nara, Toji and Ninnaji in Kyoto, Enryakuji and Onjoji in Shiga etc. They were built between eighth and tenth century. It was, however, only from the twelfth century Buddhism started to spread widely among people. Twelfth century to sixteenth century could be considered the golden period of Buddhism.

In this medieval age Buddhism was believed to have two types called Old Buddhism(Classical Buddhism) and Zen Buddhism. Although both were introduced from China, in the medieval age Old Buddhism was considered to be Japanese and Zen Buddhism to be Chinese. If both of the types came from China, why were they considered differently? It has some connection with the period in which they were introduced to Japan.

Old Buddhism was introduced between sixth to eighth centuries during Sui Dynasty (AD 581-619) and Tang Dynasty(AD 618-907), while Zen Buddhism was introduced between thirteenth to fifteenth centuries during Song Dynasty(AD 960-1279) and Yuan Dynasty(AD 1271-1368). There is a time gap of nearly 500 years between the arrival of Old Buddhism and Zen Buddhism. This time gap bears two important significances. One is within Japan and the other is in the side of China.

First lets see what significances it has within Japan. In this period an ethnic culture called Heian nationalism was blooming in Japan. After the downfall of Tang Dynasty, China was in a state of confusion. From tenth to twelfth centuries Japanese

aristocrats were more interested in developing ethnic culture rather than importing Chinese culture. Hiragana and Katakana were originated based on Chinese characters, which enabled Japanese people to express their own feelings and emotions. Tales like *Genjimonogatari* appeared. Old Buddhism and Japanese culture were strongly connected with each other in such a setting.

With the end of Tang Dynasty, anti-Buddhist thinking grew in China. The Buddhism was oppressed many times. Sects like Shingoshu and Tendai were abolished. The center of Old Buddhism transferred from China to near by countries like Japan and Korai (Korea in Medieval period AD 918-1392). Since Japan had no interchange with Korai, Japanese people thought Old Buddhism which was merged with Japanese culture was something Japanese.

In the contrary during Song · Yuan Dynasty, Zen Buddhism was flourishing in China. In the end of twelfth century Bushi established an original government in East Japan and aggressively imported Zen Buddhism and Chinese culture. The main purpose of this was to oppose nobles in Kyoto. As a result temples of Zen Buddhism were built in Japan. Many Japanese priests went to China in order to study Zen Buddhism. Many Chinese Zen priests were invited to Japan. The systems in the Chinese Zen temples were directly adopted. Priests wore Chinese style attire and had discussions in Chinese language. They composed *Kanshi*, Chinese style poetry. During Meiji period, there were lecturers who wore western attire and who conducted lectures in English and in French in Japanese universities. This kind of international appearance was symbolized in Zen temples of mediaeval period. It was Zen Buddhism that expressed the yearning Japanese people had for Chinese culture.

Although these two types of Buddhism fought against each other, thorough out the mediaeval period Old Buddhism was in a dominant position. Against Zen Buddhism that expressed the yearning for highly developed Chinese culture, Old Buddhism, rather merged with Japanese culture, emphasized Japan's superiority over Chinese culture. The rivalry against Zen Buddhism gradually made Old Buddhism to be a narrow-minded Japan supreme philosophy.

#### **The harmony of Old Buddhism and Japanese culture**

How did Old Buddhism merged with Japanese culture? First of all Japanese deities and Buddha were combined. Japanese deities were generally believed to be manifestation of Buddha. Buddhist priests and Statues of Buddha could be found in Shinto shrines. In temples local deities were worshipped too. Distinction between temples and shrines could not be made. The Emperor was also influenced by Buddhism and was called 'Kinrinjoo' which was a Buddhist name. Buddhist rituals were included

even in the enthronement ceremony. Waka, the culture of 31-syllable Japanese poetry, was based on Buddhism. Studies that explore similarities between Japanese ancient mythology and sacred books of Buddhism became popular.

How did those who believed Old Buddhism create a narrow-minded Japanese dominant philosophy from a universal religion like Buddhism? It has some connection with the three-countries view derived from Buddhism. Buddhism taught Japanese people that world consists of three countries. They are Tenjiku- India, Sintan-China and Honcho-Japan.

Figure 3 is the world seen by Buddhism. In the middle of the world there is a huge mountain called Shumisen→A. Around this huge mountain there are many other mountains. Out side the mountains there is immense sea in which there are four continents. Out of these four continents people live in the southern continent which is called Nanenbudai→B. Figure 4 illustrates Nanenbudai. This is India continent. In the middle is Mt. Himalaya→C, which stands like a wall. Both sides of Himalaya, Ganges and Indus are flowing. In the middle of the sea, there are innumerable small islands just like millet seeds. One of them is Japan. In the world seen by Buddhism, Japan is only a small island in the corner.

But according to Buddhism, the center of the world is India, and not China. This made a decisive effect on the attitude towards Chinese culture. Japan was under the immense power of China until then. Buddhism taught Japan that much more sophisticated civilization does exist.

Furthermore in India, which is the center of the world, Buddhism had already decayed. In that case, if Japan becomes a Buddhist country like India, it could be a more civilized country than China. Buddhism taught this to Japan. While in China, Song Dynasty was focusing on teachings of Confucianism, countries like Japan and Vietnam, Korai, Liao Dynasty(AD.916-1125) became strong Buddhist countries. The reason for this is not certain, but through Buddhism China could be seen relatively. This could be a strong reason.

In this way in mediaeval Japan Buddhism was well established and Japan became closer to India. Buddha and gods in Japan were combined; the Emperor was unified with Kinrinjoo, the master of the world empire. Japanese language was believed to be similar to Sanskrit. Even some argued that Japanese people were the Indians.

Delusion develops furthermore. Let us see figure 5. This strange shape is map of Japan. Central part of the figure draws Kinki region of Nara / Kyoto. The right side of the figure draws East Japan, and the left of it shows Kyushu region. This map insists that the Japan Islands resembles to a Tokko used during Buddhist prayers. See figure 6. Starting from the top are, Tokko, Sanko and Goko. Tokko has one point at each side,

Sanko has three points and Goko has five points. Since the shape of Japan is similar to Tokko, they called it to be the Holy Land of Buddhism. Figure 7 is a Japanese map, too. It is a head and a tail of a dragon that is seen in the left of the figure. And a body of the dragon surrounds Japan Islands. This figure shows that a dragon protects Japan.

Not only the central pillar of Grand Ise Shrine was believed to be the center of the world, but also some said that the pillar itself was Mt. Shumisen and Japan was Nanenbutai. And there came the assertion that Buddhism and Confucianism were born in Japan.

Sun-Goddess (天照大神), the ancestor god of the Emperor, and Lord Buddha were believed to be one. It was assumed that the Sun-Goddess became Buddha and preached Buddhist scriptures. Furthermore, some said that Sun-Goddess became Confucius and Laozi, and preached Confucianism and Taoism. Those days Christianity was not yet introduced to Japan. If Christianity was there, they might have said, that Sun-Goddess became Jesus Christ and preached Christianity.

There were two reasons why such delusions that insist on Japan supremacy developed. One was the opposition to Zen religion, but more than that, the fear to Mongolia was a much bigger reason. In the latter half of thirteenth century Mongolia attacked Japan twice. Mongolian forces were destroyed by a sudden typhoon and Japan was saved from the enemy. Was this typhoon merely a natural phenomenon? People thought that it could not be. Since Japan was a sacred country protected by the powers of Buddha and God, it was impossible for Mongolia to beat Japan. Japan supreme idea was a result of the fear they had for Mongolia.

In the sixteenth century Europeans came to Japan and introduced world map. Figure 8 is map of Asia drawn in 1572 by the Europeans. Japan is in the top of the right side. They called it JAPANING. By this world map, the three-countries view of Buddhism that said India to be the center of the world, collapsed. The intellectuals of the medieval age tried to show Japan's superiority over China by unifying India with Japan, but this became rubbish. This delusion was intensely criticized and the days of Buddhism came to an end.

Above I gave some introduction to the period when, Buddhism, which was an imported culture, was considered to be Japanese culture.

## Quiz

What is the most interesting part in today's topic and why do you find it interesting? (Nov. 28)

(3) War of gods: Mongolia, Divine wind, Yasukuni shrine

TAIRA Masayuki

War of gods

Today's theme is war of gods. In the medieval Japan not only humans but also gods were fighting. In the writings of the medieval age, there appear words like 'war of gods', 'war of human'. The war was not only among human. In the background of the human war, war of gods was taking place. Well what is this war of gods? According to a diary written by Emperor Hanazono, in 1314 at a Shinto shrine in North Kyushu, there was a message from gods.

Since Mongolia started attacking, gods like Kashii and Hakozaiki started a defensive fight. God Kashii is seriously injured. If you give us a prayer we will make a sortie and repulse Mongolia force.

After seeing this notice the Emperor wrote in his diary, 'This kind of evil happens all because a man like me, who has no virtue, became the Emperor. I have no words to write. I am so unhappy. I have no other solution but to get help from Buddha and gods'. The Emperor was 16 years old by then. For a young man of 16 years, what he wrote was very matured.

Well, Mongolia actually attacked North Kyushu twice, in 1274 and in 1281. They did not attack for the third time, though they were planning to attack and Japan was also preparing for it. This diary of the Emperor has such a background.

This story implies three facts. One is gods in Japan were fighting against Mongolia. There was a war in the world of gods and some gods were injured in this war. The second fact is that if people give prayers, the gods will restart the attack. 'Prayer' implies the Buddhist prayers done by the priests. When priests gave prayers to gods, it seems that gods regained their strength. Prayers were not mere worshipping, but they were something that gave gods more strength and power. In the medieval age, the prayer itself was violence, an act of battle. The third fact is that, according to the Emperor's diary, he did believe that the notice was from gods. Of course in temples and in shrines there were people who say that they got messages from Buddha and gods. This diary says that even rulers believed them.

I mentioned above that the 'prayer itself was violence'. Let us see prayers done by the priests in details. There is a god called 太元帥明王(Taigen Myoou) who is the guardian deity of Buddha. This god played a major role in Japanese history. For about 1000 years, from 852-1871, priests prayed this god at New Year asking for protection of the Emperor. Moreover during war, they prayed Taigen Myoou and wished the defeat of Emperor's enemies.

Figure 1 shows a place where these prayers were done. 礼盤(raiban) indicated by A is where the priest sits. He puts a kimono of the Emperor on the desk of B. The priest does a prayer to the kimono and protects the Emperor. Lots of weapons were kept in front of him. Taigen Myoou transformed himself in to the weapons. In their meditations the priests attacked the enemies using these weapons. As in figure 2, in these prayers, they hit eight places of the left hand with the middle finger and forefinger of the right hand using gestures. Fingers in the right hand symbolizes sword, while the left hand symbolizes the world. The meaning of this mimic performance is that the enemies, wherever they hide themselves, are destroyed using sword in the right hand. As the effects of cursing are not believed in modern society, killing somebody using curse is not considered as a murder. In medieval period people believed the violent power of the prayers. Therefore priests who performed this kind of prayers were rewarded. Or they were punished by the enemy whom they cursed.

Let us see another example which shows that statesman believed the war of gods. Minamoto Yoritomo was the first Shogun who established a government of samurais. In this process, in 1184, his army fought with his rival Kiso Yoshinaka and defeated him in Kyoto. Great god Kashima had participated in this battle. See figure 3. 'A' indicates the place where Kashima Shrine is located. 'B' is Kamakura where Yoritomo was living. 'C' is Kyoto. In between Kyoto and Kashima there are about 600km.

Next lines could be found in Azumakagami, official records of the Kamakura Shogunate. 'On the 19<sup>th</sup> of January the main priest in the Kashima Shrine was acknowledged that god Kashima was going to the front. A black cloud gathered over Kashima Shrine on the night of 20<sup>th</sup>, and it gradually moved to West, to the direction of Kyoto. That was god going to the front.' 20<sup>th</sup> was the day that Yoshinaka was beaten by the army of Yoritomo. The main priest of the Kashima Shrine did not know any thing about what was happening in Kyoto. But anyhow he had informed Yoritomo that god Kashima entered the war. Yoritomo believed this. Later he gave Kashima Shrine a land as a reward saying, "The power of great god was splendid. The enemy force died out as soon as I got the message that god Kashima entered the war." Yoritomo believed that god actually came to the front, and gave the god a territory as a reward.

### The Mongolia war

More rewards were given during the Mongolia war. Figure 4 is Mokoshurai ekotoba, which was written by the bushi soon after the war. This illustrates how they performed at war. In the right is Takezaki Suenaka, the main character of the picture. The weapons in the middle were called Teppo, which were new weapons in which



gunpowder was used. Figure 5 is defensive stone fortress used in the war. This fortress could be seen in the beach of Fukuoka in Kyushu Island.

As you can see in figure 4, the Mongolia force took group tactics. In this period, however, Japanese warriors were still fighting in a single combat. The best honor was given the first person that charged at enemy force. There were many people who were trying to attack before any body else. Because of this it was difficult to take unified tactics. When Mongolia army retreated from the middle, Japanese warriors pushed forward and were easily surrounded by the enemy. Because of poor tactics, Japanese warriors were doing a desperate battle.

However, typhoon saved Japan twice. This typhoon is called Kamikaze 'Devine wind'. It was night. Mongolia forces were completely destroyed by the typhoon as they had returned to their ships during the night. Japan was saved. Then came the problem of rewards. As this was a defending fight and no property of the enemy was gained by the victory, it was very difficult to give rewards. Therefore most of the warriors who actually fought against Mongolia were not rewarded. The dissatisfaction of such warriors was the background to Mokoshurai ekotoba.

Of course some were highly rewarded. The gods. After the war the government rewarded temples and shrines with lots of land. No wonder the temples and shrines were rewarded. It was the Devine wind that saved Japan. Taking this opportunity, lots of stories came in to existence about gods who did distinguish and miraculous service in the war.

Apart from prayers, Buddhism did another important role in the war of gods. It was expiating sins of gods. Eison (1201- 1290) was a highly reputed Buddhist priest. He tried to increase areas where fishery and hunting were prohibited. According to him the country was full of sins caused by destroying gods and men. To calm down the hatred of the dead enemies and to expiate sins of the gods, killing animals had to be prohibited. Buddhism not only incited the gods to war, but also did an important role in expiating their sins.

Mongolia war did a big change in Japanese history. Last time I said that, the fear towards Mongolia was the reason to develop Japan supreme thinking. Actually in between Mongolia attack and the delusion of Japan supremacy, there was one more incident. It was the fall of Song Dynasty.

In 1279 Song was defeated by Mongolia. This shocked Japanese intellectuals. Until then Japan gained their development by importing Chinese culture. China was defeated by Mongolia. Which means to face Mongolia, some thing that comes from China was not enough. As Japan repelled Mongolia twice, to face Mongolia some thing 'Japanese', and not 'Chinese' was needed. This gave birth to the Japan supremacy.

China, which was relying on Zen Buddhism, was defeated. While Japan, which cherished Old Buddhism, could face Mongolia. Japanese Old Buddhism defended Japan. Things that are in Japan, which could not be found in China, such as Japanese deities, Japanese poetry 'Waka', Japanese language, the Emperor etc. must be cherished. This brings the safety of Japan.

Kamakura Shogunate, which was the first samurai government collapsed because of this kind of thinking. They were using their power too much. For instant they exiled Emperors who opposed them. This damaged the legitimacy of Shogunate. Therefore the Shogunate decided to adopt a system that cherished Confucianism. This system kept the Emperor to a namely position and enriched judicial system. An impartial administration was introduced instead of the administration done by the Emperor and his family line. This confirmed the legitimacy of Shogunate. But Mongolia war changed all. To face Mongolia, Japanese like administration system lead by the Emperor was needed. This lead to the collapse of Kamakura Shogunate.

### Yasukuni shrine and gods army

Well, war of the gods is not limited to the mediaeval age. It concerns even today. Have you heard of Yasukuni Shrine? Figure 6 and 7 are photographs of Yasukuni shrine. Koizumi, the former Prime Minister was used to visit Ysukuni Shrine. This was an obstacle in international relationship with Asian countries like China and South Koria. Most of the Japanese citizens including former Prime Minister Koiisumi do not know what Yasukini Shrine is.

Meiji government established an army of gods. In 1869 government built Tokyo Shokonsha to enshrine those who fought and died in the Meiji Restoration, as gods. Ten years later it was renamed as Yasukini Shrine. Those who sacrificed their lives in Sino-Japanese war, Russo-Japanese war, World War□and World War□ were enshrined as gods in Yasukuni Shrine.

This is a unique shrine compared to the traditional Japanese culture. In the traditional Japanese culture, the death was enshrined without making distinction between enemies and friends. The malice of death was believed to cause disaster. For that after a war, souls of both enemies and friends were prayed and tried to reestablish peace. In Yasukuni Shrine the enemies are not enshrined. It is unique that those who died in war are enshrined as gods. Generally in Japan when somebody dies attainment of Buddhahood is wished. Why do the people who died in war are enshrined as gods and not as Buddha? The answer is simple. Buddha does not fight in war, but gods do.

Yasukini shrine says that Japan's peace could be maintained if we worship those who died at war. Why is that? They became Shinpei 'gods army' and believed to

protect the country by foreign invade. Most of Japanese people may have forgotten, but the Shinpeis are still forced to a fight for the peace of the country even now.

During the World WarⅡ, Japanese army was called 'Shinpei'. Those days the word 'Shinpei' was used as a metaphor. It meant 'army as strong as gods army'. Originally the term 'Shinpei' means the army of gods who fights in a place where human could not see. In Mongolia war, the typhoon 'Kamikaze' was caused by the power of Shinpeis. By wishing those who died at war to become gods, Japanese government built Yasukuni Shrine. 'Shinpei' of the Medieval age consisted of it by local deities like God Kashii and God Kashima, but 'Shinpei' of modern times consists of it by the soldiers who died of war. The suicide corps of Japan Air Force was called 'Kamikaze'. This name comes from a divine wind 'Kamikaze' of Mongolia war. The World WarⅡ made Japanese people recall Mongolia war. Started again the fanaticism of so-called Japan superiority.

With the existence of Yasukuni Shrine Japanese army became an unusual army in the world. Generally soldiers are supposed to protect motherland. In any country, soldiers are forced to protect their motherland only when they are alive. When they die, they are released from war. But not the Japanese soldiers. They are supposed to protect the country even after death. They are enshrined as gods. They become Shinpeis and continue the struggle of protecting the country. The ex-Japanese thought that it was honor.

The 'Spirits of dead soldiers' of Yasukuni shrine means the army of gods. Japanese soldiers are not allowed to stop fighting even after death. In Yasukuni shrine, not only Japanese soldiers but also fallen soldiers from Taiwan and Korea, who were once Japanese citizens also enshrined as gods. This means they are forced to fight for Japan even now. Today, after 50 years of World WarⅡ, many Japanese people have misunderstood that Yasukuni Shrine is a place that stands for the memorial of dead soldiers. The real Yasukuni Shrine and what people think it to be have a big difference.

Yasukuni shrine does not stand for the memory of fallen soldiers. Yasukuni shrine is not more than a place where forces soldiers to continue fighting even after death. In English Yasukuni Shrine is called 'War Shrine'. I think this English translation reflects the real picture of the shrine. Foreigners may have a better understanding of Yasukuni Shrine than Japanese people.

## Quiz

What is the most interesting part in today's topic and why do you find it interesting? (Dec. 5)

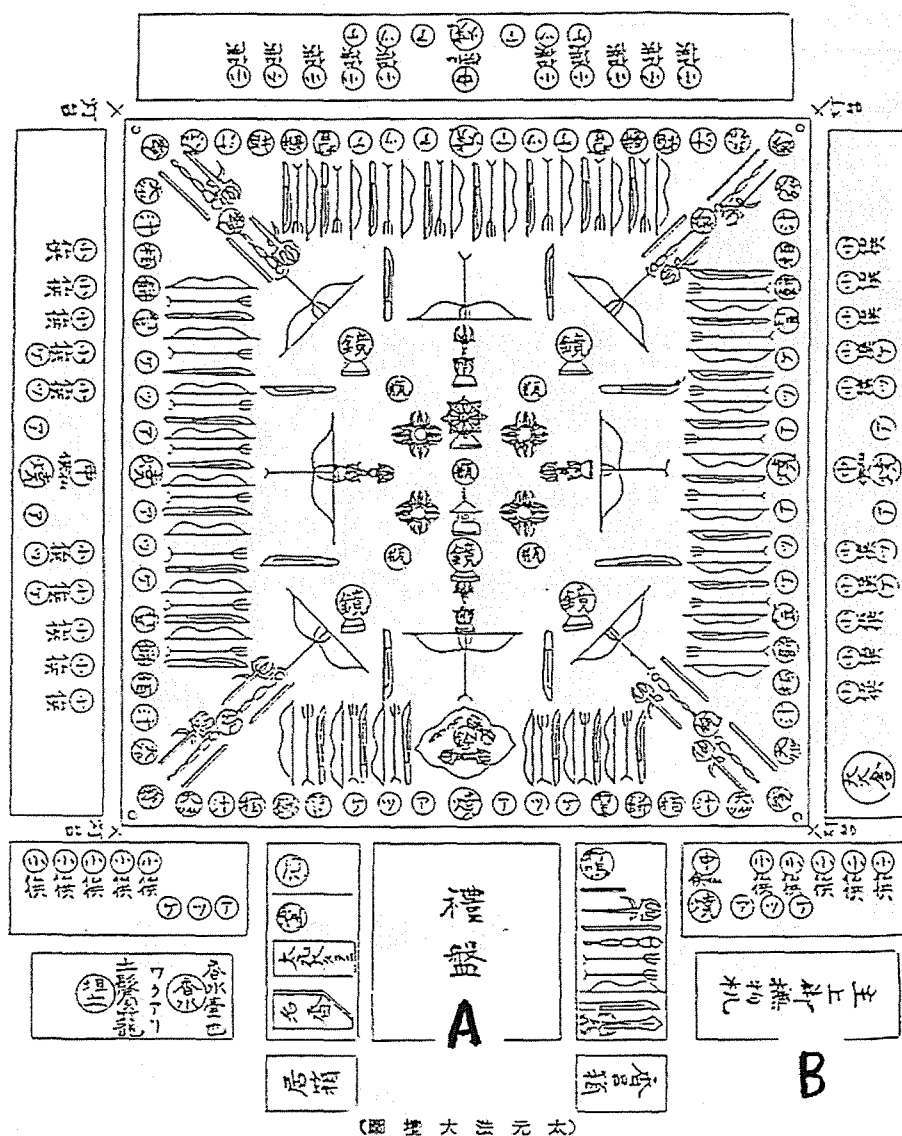


Figure 1: The prayer of Taigensuiho.

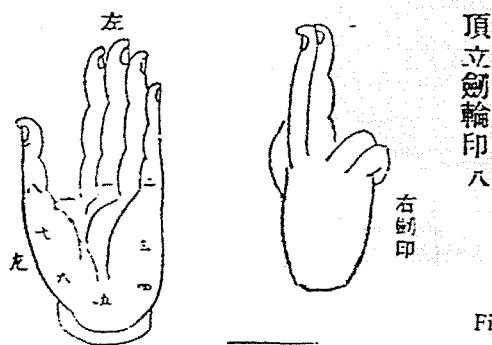


Figure 2: The prayer of Taigensuiho.

Figure 5: Defensive stone fortress used in the war.  
This is located in Imazu beach in Fukuoka.



石壁 福岡市今津の浜  
にのこる元軍防衛のための  
石壁。

Figure 3: A Location of Kashima Shrine.

B Kamakura

C Kyoto.

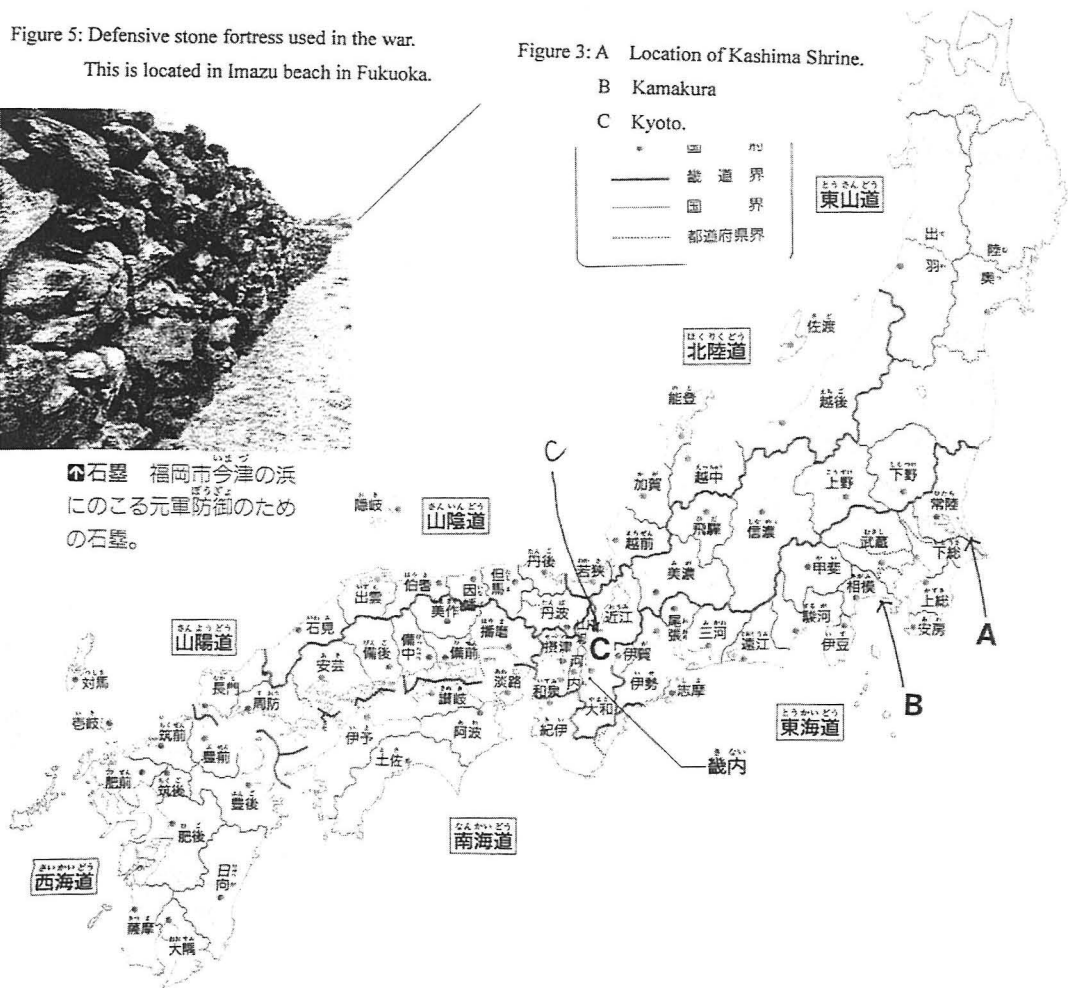


Figure 4: Mokoshurai ekotoba. This illustrates battle between Mongolia force and bushi called Takezakisenaka. The Mongolia force took group tactics and used new weapons called Teppō which Japanese warriors found hard to defend.



Figure 6,7: Yasukuni Shrine.



## Oasis States and Caravan Trade in Central Asia during Pre-Islamic Times(c. 3-9C.)

ARAKAWA Masaharu

### Historical Background

The formation of the world history, with the whole area in the world closely linked, started in modern times under the hegemony of the West. However, in the pre-modern times, various parts of “the world” in Eurasia and north Africa have also synchronized occasionally. And, it was the Central Asia that played a major role to the synchronization of “the world”. It might be acceptable that Central Asia has linked its peripheral regions into closer relations with each other, as it has been located at the center of Eurasia.

In Central Asia, the oasis states and the nomadic states of the horse riding nomads lived together, the latter maintained military power and kept giving “the world” a big impact, the former has also had big influence on the east and west exchange of economy and culture through the silk road. In other words, Central Asia was a supply source of the horse riding nomads, who had strong military power to decide movement of “the world”, and the aorta that connected its peripheral regions.

The most active time of the Oasis states in Central Asia was during the 3-9th centuries, though the peak of the movement of the nomadic states was the domination of the world by Mongol in the 13th century. It was owed to the activities of such a Oasis states that Tang empire flourished on the east side, the Arab empire prospered on the west side almost in a simultaneous period (7-8C.).

### I . Oasis states and Trade in Central Asia

#### 1 . General idea on Oasis and Oasis State

Dry area occupies the central part of the Eurasian Continent. Especially, the Eastern and Western Turkistan is extremely dry. Huge desert lies to the south of Tianshan 天山-Syr Darya line (almost at the 43<sup>rd</sup> parallel of the north latitude). Most of the area is just desert, but green belts stretch along the rivers which derive from the snow water from high mountains. Those green belts are oases. First of all, an oasis can be defined as ‘a stretch of arable land’, with no regard to the scale.

Oases vary greatly in size, but closely resemble each other in structure. Every oasis has a village or town, sometimes a walled city at its center. Larger oases may have several such towns. These centers serve as market places for farm produce. In the larger centers, there are also artisans such as blacksmiths, carpenters, coppersmiths, cobblers, and wheel-wrights. Smaller centers, which cannot support many permanent shops,

have their market day on different days of the week and the merchants and artisans visit them in rotation.

Around these centers are the farms, each with its own homestead. An important function of an oasis center is the distribution of night soil to the farms as fertilizer, and the farms which are nearest to the centers and therefore receive the most night soil, form a zone of intensive garden cultivation, producing vegetables and fruits for sale to the nonfarming population. In Kucha, a fairly large oasis, fertilizer is generously applied within a radius of five miles from the center city. Within this zone there is one orchard of seventy-five acres which produced apricots as a cash crop for the market. Beyond this inner zone, the amount of fertilizer applied decreases rapidly, and two other zones may be distinguished. In the near one, rice corn, wheat, and cotton may be grown and wheat and corn, when manured, may be grown in rotation. In the third zone practically no fertilizer is used and here hardier crops such as millet, kaoliang(sorghum millet), and potatoes are planted, and fallowing must be practiced. When some fields must lie fallow, the small farm is at a great disadvantage in competition with the larger farm. In this zone the cost of transport to market rises rapidly, and the price of land falls.

Beyond this third zone there is usually no water and the desert begins abruptly. Sometimes on the fringe of an oasis, however, there is a thin zone of grazing. Sheep are pastured here, and at the edge of roads, and in land within the oasis too rough for irrigation.

Oasis states were established in such 'stretch of arable lands' and their surroundings. Their economical ground was basically agriculture and pasturage. There was a limit in extending cultivated land, however, due to the amount of water flowing in to the oasis. Consequently, some inhabitants had to make their living not by agriculture or pasturage, but by trade and handicrafts. Therefore, it is easy to suppose that trade was very popular in the oasis states.

## 2. Oasis States around the Tarim Basin

Oases widely exist on the edge of the Tarim Basin, which is situated between the Tianshan Mountain and the Kunlun 崑崙 Mountain. In the center of large-scale oases, big cities such as Kucha 龜茲, Kashghar 疏勒, Khotan 于闐 were established. Oasis states once prospered placing capitals on those cities.

In the Hexi 河西 region, the western part of present Gansu 甘肅, oasis cities have existed since the Earlier Han period, and they have connected the Tarim Basin and the interior of China. The oasis states were established in those cities at times.

Each oasis state around the Tarim Basin was ruled by the king, the supreme ruler,



and the throne was passed down by succession. The famous examples are the Qu 麹 family of the Gaochang 高昌 and the Yuchi 尉遲 family of the Khotan Kingdom. The king, residing in the capital city, established the own ruling system and governed oases dotted in the territory.

In the beginning of the Christian era or thereabout, there existed a number of oasis states, counting 'thirty-six' or 'fifty-five', it is said, but later, they were integrated into about five main states, Gaochang, Karashahr 焉耆, Kucha, Kashghar, Khotan and Shanshan 鄯善.

The population of those cities normally reached tens of thousands, but it did not extend far beyond a hundred thousand. While the exact ratio of occupation is not acquired, high percentage of soldiers in population was a feature of the social structure. It is not clear, however, that those soldiers were career military.

Needless to say, though the merchants and the craftsmen existed in the city. However, the merchant did not socially occupy a special position in these oasis states, and we cannot confirm the existence of native merchants who conducted the long-distant overland caravan trade. I suppose that most of the merchants of the oasis states around the Tarim Basin were the local merchants who conducted their business only in the territory of the oasis state they lived.

Also, in these oasis states, Buddhism was eagerly professed. Large oasis states, such as Gaochang and Kucha, had thousands of Buddhist priest population.

And the taxes and labour services collected from inhabitants have been the main support of the finance of the oasis states.

In Turfan oasis, we can confirm that not only were households and temples treated as units of taxation, but taxes and labour services were also levied on landowners in accordance with the size of their landholdings. And the cultivation of extensive government-owned farmland and the maintenance of the canals that were the lifeline of the oasis were sustained by these taxes and labour services. Taxes and labour services were closely linked to the ownership of farmland irrigated by canals that were under the control of the government. This formed a distinctive model of taxation of an oasis state.

### 3. Oasis States in Sogdiana

Oasis states in Sogdiana (the Western Turkistan) had almost the same size of population as those around the Tarim Basin, though some of them were quite large in scale. However, they had some features not admitted in those around the Tarim Basin.

The king or lord, the supreme ruler, was not always a hereditary monarch, but a representative of the wealthy class. Oasis states formed a loose federation, with

Samarkand as the principal political power. The king of Samarkand claimed the title of 'King of Sogdiana, Sovereign of Samarkand'.

It is most remarkable that each oasis state produced merchants who conducted the long-distant overland caravan trade carried out over a very wide area.

It is said that the inhabitants of those oasis states were divided into three classes, the nobles (or the knights), the merchants and the handicraftsmen. Not only the merchants but the nobles were also involved in the commercial activities.

It is needless to say that the farmer existed around the city. However, it cannot be confirmed to have levied the taxes and labour services on them like the oasis states around the Tarim Basin.

And it is very interesting that Sogdian society was full of free and rational spirit. For example, according to contract document of marriage, it is possible for either party to divorce if the property decided beforehand was passed to the other party. Moreover, if either party was found guilty for a crime and became a slave, the other party and their children were not made to assume the responsibility for it. The status of women seen here is remarkable.

It is also remarkable that each oasis state produced merchants who conducted the long-distant overland caravan trade carried out over a very wide area.

What Sogdiana was located in a traffic strategic location that ran to north, south, east, and west was the background in which Sogdian trade activity was prosperous.

#### 4. Caravan trade

Caravan is a famous word meaning a group of merchants who goes over desert, but Sogdian merchants were not using this word. Instead, they used Sart, a word that is derived from Sārtha of Sanskrit. But for convenience' sake, I use the word of caravan in this lecture.

Caravan trade was conducted over a very wide area and was carried out beyond the territory of each oasis state, connecting the distant regions. Therefore, from the viewpoint of oasis states, a caravan can be defined as 'a party of merchants who provided channels to the outside world'.

As mentioned above, Sogdian oasis states produced merchants who were engaged in the long-distant caravan trade. They dominated the caravan trade on the Silk Road. For the inhabitants of the oasis states around the Tarim Basin, they were basically foreigners coming from the outside world.

There was a clear distinction between the merchants who were engaged in the long-distant caravan trade and the local merchants who conducted their business only in the territory of the oasis state they lived in. First of all, the merchandise they

handled was different. The former dealt in the luxury goods such as slaves, silk, fur, gold, silver and so on. On the other hand, the latter dealt in the daily necessities.

And these two types of the trade admitted in oasis states make us recollect the theories of Pirenne, H. and Polanyi, K.. They pointed out that the international trade in the market called Portus was quite irrelevant to the regional trade in the market that was set regularly in region. In a word, Portus was a trade place for the long-distance trade opened toward outside, and it was completely different from the regional market limited to the trade at the daily life level.

Moreover, the caravan, which traveled across the desert, faced severe danger, regardless of the distance they traveled. For example, one caravan party lost almost 30% of its draft animals in round trip between Dunhuang 敦煌 and Hami 哈密. Caravan trade was a high risk, but it produced huge profit.

Also, the long-distant caravan trade conducted over a wide area should be considered as a kind of investment enterprise. Caravan is something like a mutual company managed by the merchants who conducted the commercial activities directly and the investors (kings, monarchs, high-rank officials, etc.) who expected profit.

## II. Sogdian as international merchants (1)

### 1. Ancient Letters

There are documents, found to the west of Dunhuang, which show us a part of Sogdian commercial activities. They are written in Sogdian character and Sogdian language, and are called the 'Ancient Letters'.

One letter, written in not long after 311, was composed by a man called Nanai-vandak who lived in Guzang 姑藏 (武威 Wuwei) oasis and was addressed to Varzakk (and his farther Nanai-thvār) in Samarkand, Sogdiana. In the part【A】of the letter, following the greetings, Nanai-vandak wrote that the confusion had occurred in China (the invasion of nomads, the escape of the emperor from the capital and so on), and that because of the confusion, he hadn't heard from his local agents or subordinates in China and was not able to carry on the business related to China. He also mentioned the commercial activities in the Hexi region. The context of this letter so far should be regarded as a report on the business to Varzakk and Nanai-thvār. It is inferred, therefore, that Varzakk and Nanai-thvār were entrepreneurs and Nanai-vandak may have been their agent stationed in the Hexi region.

In the part【B】of the latter, Nanai-vandak asked for the management of money he left in Samarkand. He requested Nanai-thvār and Varzakk to entrust the money to someone for investment and to use the profit to raise his son he left in the homeland.

At the end of the letter( 【C】 ), he wrote that he instructed the distribution of musk belonging to his farther who had already died.

## 2. Way of Trade

From this letter, it became clear that some Sogdian resided in the Hexi region as agents of Sogdian merchants or nobles in Sogdiana in order to carry out the caravan trade. It was important for the wealthy merchants or nobles in Sogdiana, such as Nanai- thvār and his son, to send agents there, because the Hexi region was a base for the commercial activities with China, which produced huge profit. Even in an unsettled situation, they kept sending merchants to China to promote trading business.

Moreover, it is known from this letter that there was the long-distance trade in another form, besides the long-distance trade managed by the agents stationed in the local for wealthy merchants or nobles in Sogdiana. That is, it was the long-distance caravan trade organized at each contract made by the investors and the merchants who conducted the commercial activities directly.

Fundamentally, the long-distant caravan trade conducted over a wide area should be considered as a kind of investment enterprise. Caravan is something like a mutual company managed by the merchants who conducted the commercial activities directly and the investors (kings, monarchs, high-rank officials, etc.) who expected the profit. The role of merchant was to gather the capital, to conduct the caravan trade, to return the principal and distribute the profit to the investors. The part 【C】 mentioned in the Ancient Letter was probably an example of such investment enterprise. And the merchants not only distributed the profit with the investors according to the invested amount of money after completing the business, but also sent the exclusive commodity procured in the local directly to the investor.

According to another documents, it also became clear that when Sogdian merchants conducted the long-distant caravan trade, they scarcely carried the same merchandise throughout the journey. They frequently conducted trades at oases on the way and made profit. And their business partners were usually Sogdian who settled in the oases.

## 3. Sogdian Settlements

For the Sogdian merchants, backing of Sogdian who settled in the oases was necessary to carry out the caravan trade. Therefore, they founded settlements along the caravan routes and at the destinations. Their settlements were usually established away from the central town in order not to be intermingled with other people. In big cities such as Chang'an 長安 or Luoyang 洛陽, they established their

own residential zone within the city wall and lived there.

Concerning the population size of those settlements, a settlement in Dunhuang had 300 households with 1400 people. Judging from this and other examples, the average population size of those settlements was several hundred households, except for one in big cities. Not all the inhabitants were engaged in trade, and there were farmers and handicraftsmen as well.

Sogdian settlements in China were ruled by community officials called sabao 薩宝. Sabao was a transcription of a Sogdian word s'rtp'w, which meant 'leader of caravan' or 'leader of merchants'. In the oasis state of the Gaochang Kingdom, an official called sabo 薩簿 existed. Sabo was probably a variant of s'rtp'w. It suggests that variants of the title s'rtp'w were widely seen in the oasis states as a title for the leader of Sogdian merchants. Under sabao, an official called silu 司錄 was appointed. Silu was a post for the record keeper or the chief scribe. In Gaochang, he was called ḡp'yrptw 'chief of scribes'.

In a settlement in Dunhuang, a xian 祆 temple (a temple of local Zoroastrianism) was built. Since many Sogdian believed in Zoroastrianism, such Zoroastrian temples must have built in other settlements as well. Those Zoroastrian temples were under the charge of ḡynptw, 'master of the temple'.

Those posts were not set up by the local ruler, but by Sogdian themselves to rule their autonomous settlements. Under the direction of s'rtp'w, ḡynptw and ḡp'yrptw were in charge of religious and secular life of inhabitants in each settlement.

#### 4. Sogdian Commercial Network

Sogdian widely established their settlements along the caravan routes or at the destinations of trade to the east of Sogdiana. Sogdian settlements were set up not only along the oasis route, but also along the steppe route, which connects the Mongolian Plateau, the Kazakh steppe and the Southern Russian steppe. In China, settlements were found not only in the capital cities but in the local cities.

Those settlements functioned as commercial bases for the Sogdian merchants who conducted the long-distant caravan trade and supported their commercial activities. They were important not only for the caravan coming from Sogdiana, but for Sogdian merchants residing in the Hexi region as agents or business partner of the merchants in Sogdiana. Local Sogdian merchants in those settlements were also engaged in trade, and those settlements were of course their commercial bases. Sogdian settlements along the caravan routes were the place for trade as well the place to gather information.

The network of the Sogdian settlements covered a wide area from Sogdiana to China

in order to support the Sogdian commercial activities in the East. It worked as a commercial network for trade, transportation and finance until the first half 8<sup>th</sup> century when the Islamic power conquered Sogdiana. This network was also a network of informational and cultural exchange.

Some Sogdian who moved in China served as soldiers, and through the military service, they obtained high official ranks. This suggests that the Sogdian commercial activities might have had the backing of those Sogdian who went into the political world in China.

## 5. Tang Empire and Sogdian merchants

Probably, it was during the Eastern Han Dynasty that Sogdian merchants began to visit China, and from the Northern Wei Dynasty of the fifth century to the Tang Dynasty saw the surge of their activities. As mentioned above, they set up settlements along the roads for their caravans and in the destinations of their trade, and with those settlements as their bases, they made transactions. However, we can not overlook a big change in the situation of their settlements after the establishment of the Tang Empire.

In northern dynasty before Tang era, these Sogdian settlements were indirectly ruled through the *s'rtip'w*, but in Tang empire, Sogdian people in the settlements had become "baixing 百姓"(permanent residents enrolled on general household register) of the Tang, and the Sogdian settlements were incorporated in the administrative organization of Tang.

Moreover, in the Tang Empire, the communication artery system (consisting of post roads and canals) running all over the territory of the Tang Empire was established, enabling direct contacts between the capital city Chang'an of Tang Empire and Central Asian region. And Sogdian settlements were found in major cities along the post roads from the capital city to Central Asia and to Youzhou 幽州, Yingzhou 營州, Taiyuan 太原 in the Circuit (Dao 道) of Hebei 河北, Hedong 河東 in the empire's north and northeast(refer to the map behind).

It is needless to say that the complete metropolitan grid within the territory of the Tang Empire brought the personal movements and material circulation of the empire to a new height.

The region around the capital city Chang'an with a huge inhabitant population deserved the name of the largest consuming metropolitan of that time. With an enormous consumption need it attracted flows of commodities via merchants. Moreover, the domestic products in Tang China greatly flowed to the surroundings.

The peak of Sogdian commercial activities during 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> centuries was formed under such a new situation occurred in the Tang Empire.

### III. Sogdian as international merchants (2)

#### 1. Sogdian in The Gaochang Kingdom

Before the establishment of the Tang Empire, it was important for Sogdian merchants to connect with the local rulers for maintaining their trade activities without difficulties. On the other hand, it was necessary for the local rulers to be tied up with Sogdians for acquiring not only economical wealth but also the western culture and information. Such affiliations had been completed in various places before the Tang. The good example of the connection between the king of an oasis state and Sogdian is that of the Gaochang Kingdom of Qu family.

A basin called Turfan lies to the south of the eastern part of the Tianshan Mountain. The nomadic power of the north and the Chinese power of the east had fought over this basin since the Han period, but in the 5<sup>th</sup> period, Chinese who migrated to this basin established an independent kingdom. Dynasties frequently changed at first, but Qu family came to the throne in the beginning of 6<sup>th</sup> century, and their regime continued until the conquest by the Tang in 640. A series of those Chinese dynasties is the oasis state called the Gaochang Kingdom.

The Gaochang Kingdom placed its capital in a walled city of Qara-khojo and ruled over 20 oases in the basin. In an oasis city called Toyuq, situated to the east of the capital, a Zoroastrianism temple was found. Sogdian settlement was probably established in this oasis. Sinicized Sogdian probably did not live in this settlement and were intermingled with Chinese.

In this Kingdom, how were Sogdian merchants from abroad conducting their trades?

There is a document, found in Turfan, which was a contract for the sale of a female slave. A female slave from Samarkand was on sale at a market in the capital, and the vendor was a Sogdian and the purchaser was a Chinese monk living in the Gaochang Kingdom. The contract closes with the names of Sogdian witnesses and the signature of ḍp'yrptw "the chief scribe" to approve the contract.

The vendor was not a merchant living in Turfan, but a caravan merchant from Samarkand. It is well known that Sogdian caravan carried both male and female slaves.

Judging from their name, witnesses were probably non-sinicized Sogdian. They must have been inhabitants of the Sogdian settlement in Turfan, considering their role as witnesses. This suggests that ḍp'yrptw was also a Sogdian living in the Sogdian Settlement in Turfan.

Political and social systems of the Gaochang Kingdom derived from those of China.

In China, contracts were drawn up when slaves and livestock as well as real estate were dealt, and the official approval was needed to conclude the contract. On the document mentioned above, Šp'yrptw signed to approve the contract. However, such signature was not usually found on the contract when the vendor and the purchaser were both inhabitants of the Gaochang Kingdom. Therefore, it is supposed that the document mentioned above had the signature of Šp'yrptw on it, because it was drawn up under a special situation which the trade was conducted between a local Chinese and a non-inhabitant Sogdian, and the local Sogdian had to guarantee the contract.

The Gaochang Kingdom imposed a commercial tax called *chengjiaqian* 称価銭 on the trade of luxury goods. This tax was imposed on each merchandise according to the amount of dealings. It was collected from both vendors and purchasers, and their name was written on the register submitted to the king. Judging from their names, the trade was usually conducted by Sogdian merchants. Even when a non-Sogdian merchants took part in the trade, the merchant he dealt with was Sogdian. Therefore, the commercial tax called *chengjiaqian* can be defined as a tax imposed on the trade of luxury goods conducted by Sogdian merchants. Such trade was conducted not at the market for the domestic trade but at the special market set up to control the external trade.

In the Gaochang Kingdom, a special market for the external trade was set up in the capital city. The trade was usually conducted by Sogdian merchants. However, when the trade was carried out by the Sogdian merchant from abroad and the local Chinese, the local Sogdian had to work as intermediary.

## 2. King and Sogdian

As mentioned above, in the capital city of the Gaochang Kingdom, a special market for the external trade was set up, and a commercial tax called *chengjiaqian* was imposed on the trade according to the amount of dealings. The tax was collected in silver, and the revenue was sent to the royal treasury. This suggests that a part of the royal finance depended on the Sogdian commercial activities.

Probably, a passage tax was also imposed on Sogdian merchants. Passage controlling system of the Gaochang Kingdom is not clear, but the oasis state of Kucha set up checkpoints and checked the travel pass in order to watch their passage.

It is remarkable that some Sogdian served king as officials in the Gaochang Kingdom. They were appointed the post of *shilang* 侍郎 whose job was to assist the king in both political and non-political affairs. It is known from a document excavated from Turfan that a Sogdian who was appointed *shiliang* went to the adjacent oasis state to transport cargo, using official ox-drawn carriages with the approval of the king. This



suggests that the king, or the royal family, and Sogdian were allied to conduct the commercial activities.

Sogdian merchants were of great importance for the rulers of the oasis states. They were a subject for taxation, and at the same time, they played an important role in supporting their finance. Sogdian were also transmitters of information, because of their commercial network. It is no wonder, therefore, that many states, including oasis states, sent Sogdian as ambassadors to abroad.

Sogdian mission from the oasis state was basically sent by the king, and the foreign trade in alliance with Sogdian was probably on the initiative of the king. Sogdian merchants sent as a mission brought king the huge profit, and the king augmented his prestige with the wealth. Especially, the caravan sent as a tributary mission to China provided a good opportunities for the long-distant trade which produced huge profit.

Since they traveled a long distance, such caravan also was a high risk. In order to send missions to conduct trades beyond their own territory, oasis states around the Tarim Basin had to make an alliance with other oasis states by marriage, or they had to depend on the greater political power, such as the nomadic power of the north or the Chinese power of the east, for security.

Oasis states in Sogdiana, the homeland of Sogdian merchants, established their commercial network and produced international merchants, connecting and being allied with such neighboring powers.

### 3. An epoch-making change to the commercial activities of Sogdian merchants under the Tang Empire's rule

In 7<sup>th</sup> century, the Tang Empire's rule extended as far as the oases in Turkistan and exercised effective control over this region. And such a Tang rule brought an epoch-making change to the commercial activities of Sogdian merchants.

First of all, we can point out that the commercial tax in the market was abolished with the transit tax under the Tang Empire's rule. Needless to say, this became a major advantage for the trade activities of Sogdian merchants.

And then, before the establishment of the Tang Empire, Sogdian merchants were needed the permissions of the rulers in the oases when coming and going in the oases, however, with the foundation of the Tang Empire, the restrictive factors previously seen to accompany wide-scale movement of Sogdian merchants were fundamentally swept away. In the Tang, with a communications network forming the various connections between the capital and all cities including Central Asia set up in regular, the institution of passage authorized by the state, which managed public and private travel, came to function substantively.

As I mentioned before, the Sogdian communicational mechanism, which had been established long before, was reinforced by the transit system of the Tang Empire. And this transit system supplied two kinds of traffic travel permits called guosuo 過所 and gongyan 公驗 installed and perfected by the Tang Empire. Through the examination of Turfan documents, it became clear that gongyan guaranteed the passage within the territory of any prefecture(local city) and its validated period was limited in accordance with that of the official journey. In contrast, the guosuo passport, having no limitation of spatial and temporal validity, was issued for journeys of greater scope than the territory of a prefecture, that is, whole territory of Tang empire. This Tang travel permits enabled Sogdians to complete long-distance travels, communication and transportation with speed and safety.

In principle, the administration of the Tang Empire did not permit foreign merchants to frequent the Empire. However, Sogdian merchants were an exception. With a pass guosuo gained in Central Asia, a Sogdian merchant who had nothing to do with diplomatic missions could come to Chang'an without difficulty. Within the complete traffic network of the Tang Empire, Sogdian merchants, no matter whether their residences were in China's inland or not, could make transactions while keeping close contacts with the authorities of different prefectures who were authorized to grant guosuo. And Sogdians as the "baixing 百姓"(permanent residents enrolled on general household register) also acquired this guosuo, however, it have been extremely limited.

Moreover, in 8<sup>th</sup> century, the growth of the military economy, that is to say, delivery of military supplies to the garrisons stationed in Central Asia, expanded to an enormous scale. The military supplies practically all consisted of silk levied as tax, whence they were transported to depots at Liangzhou(Guzang) for transshipment and then successively were sent to the army garrisons stationed in Central Asia. And by utilizing the trade merchants (not only Sogdian merchants but also Chinese merchants) whose activities spanned Central Asia, huge scale transportation of military supplies could be guaranteed. Because these military supplies(silks) functioned as money, a kind of war(munitions) boom happened for that in Central Asia.

The golden age of the silk roads trade(the commercial activities of Sogdian merchants) arose in these conditions under the Tang Empire's rule.

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## Quiz

### I . Oasis states and Trade in Central Asia (Dec. 12)

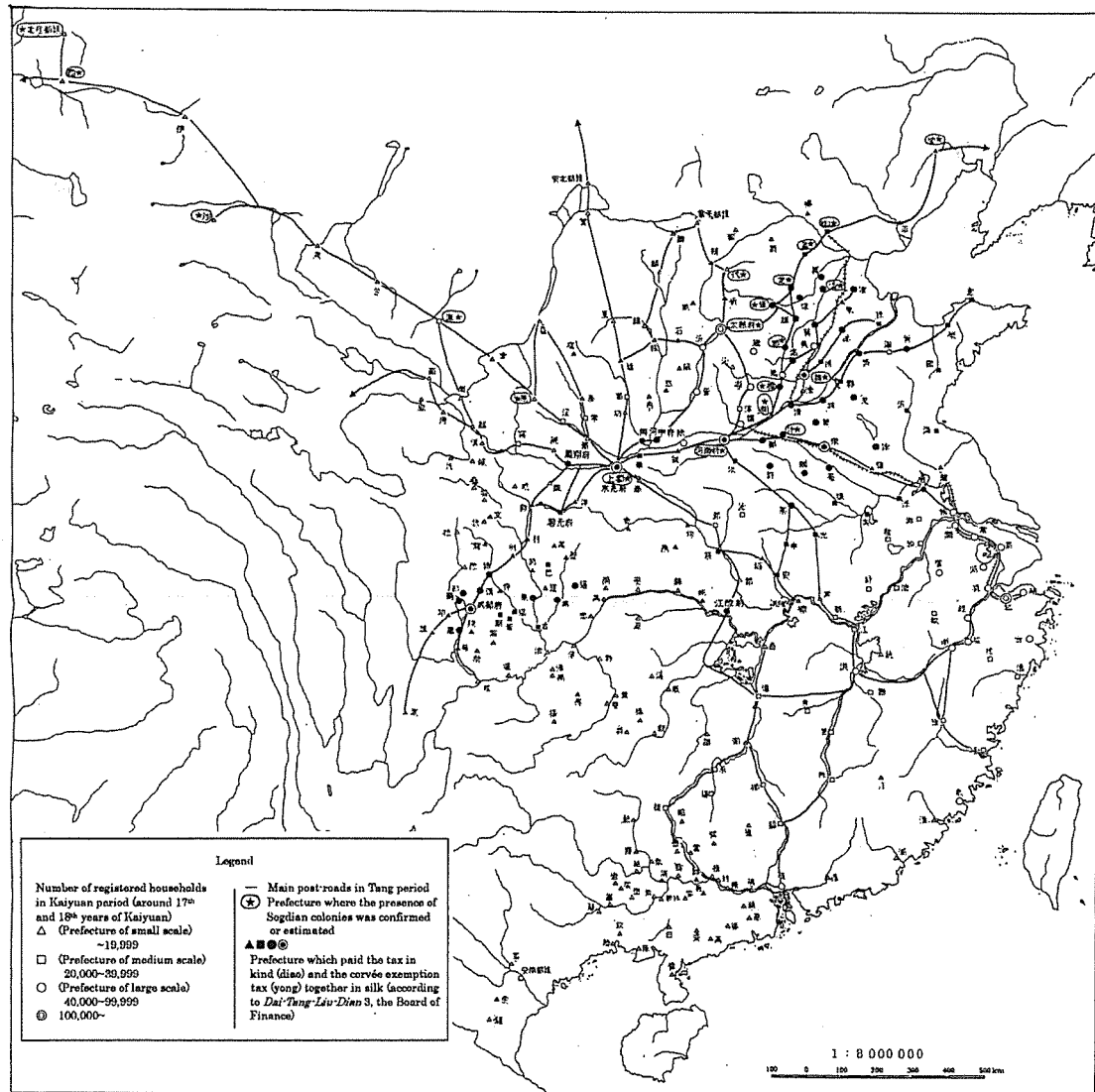
1. What is the cause for which Sogdian merchants used not "caravan" but "sart"?

### II . Sogdian as international merchants (1) (Dec. 19)

1. How did the Sogdians conduct their long-distance trades?
2. What did the establishment of the Tang Empire bring to the activities of the Sogdian merchants?

### III. Sogdian as international merchants (2) (Jan. 9)

1. In what background, the silk roads trade (the commercial activities of Sogdian merchants) was prosperous during 7-8th century?



Ritual Spaces for Soul Tablets:  
Past and Present in the Pearl River Delta, South China

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Key words: regional structure, ritual spaces, soul tablet, offerings, ancestor, hungry ghost, Confucianism, lineage, ancestral hall, adoption, spirit marriage

I will approach the regional structure of rural society in the Pearl River Delta from the angle of rituals for soul tablets. To put it concretely, I should like to illuminate the regional structure of ritual spaces for soul tablets by investigating actual ritual practices of presenting offerings<sup>1</sup> to male and female tablets in the past and present. As for sources, I will use some genealogies and some results of my field research in Longjiang Township 龍江鎮 of Shunde County 順德縣, Guangdong Province, in 1998 and 1999, as well as the materials that Janice Stockard has provided in her book. The title of it is *Daughters of the Canton Delta: Marriage Patterns and Economic Strategies in South China, 1860-1930*.

The central issue relates to the different ritual roles reflected in the choice of ritual spaces for soul tablets, and the arrangement of the ritual spaces as a whole within regional society. I will also describe a role of ancestral halls before 1949 that has previously been overlooked. Furthermore, I will examine to what extent Confucian principles regarding the offerings for soul tablets have actually spread among ordinary peasants in the Pearl River Delta up to the present. Finally I will contrast the features of rural society in the Pearl River Delta with those in the Lower Yangzi River Delta, and then consider reasons for differences between the two delta regions.

0. Domestic Altar of a Japanese Buddhist's House (Instructor's Own Parental Home)

Photo 1 is my father's grave. My father's ashes after cremation are in the grave. This kind of grave is very popular in Japan. There is not much difference among Japanese Buddhists, followers of Japanese *Shinto* and Japanese Christians.

Photo 2-1 (and Photo 2-2) is the altar of my parental home. My family, including my mother, my elder brother, myself and so on, held a Buddhist memorial service last May. Photo 2 was taken on that day. The statue on the middle of altar is Buddha, and there are two soul tablets on both sides of it. One is the tablet of my father, and the other is that of my male line successive ancestors. The photo on the top of altar is my father.

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<sup>1</sup> Offerings in China and in Japan: Similar to the bread that is used in the Christian ceremony of Communion, that is to say, the Host.

There are fruits in front of the altar and a bowl of rice on its top. Then there are flower and confectionary. These are offerings for the tablets of my father and ancestors. Many kinds of offerings are presented because it is a special day. And just tea, rice and incense are presented daily.

Now we will go back to Photo 1. The gravestone in Photo 1 was raised for my father after his decease. My mother will be buried in the grave in time. And then my elder brother also will be buried there sooner or later. But I myself will not be buried there because I am the second son. According to Japanese traditional custom, only the eldest son (and his wife) has the right to be buried in his parent's grave. This custom has something to do with that of inheritance. In traditional Japan only the eldest son of siblings has the right to succeed to their father's estate. In contrast every son of siblings has the right to succeed to their father's estate equally in traditional China.

By the way, Buddhism was born in ancient India and Buddhists in South Asia have not the practice of making soul tablets. But Buddhists in China began to make soul tablets under the influence of Confucianism. According to Confucian principles, a soul tablet for a deceased person has to be made generally after his or her death. Therefore almost Han Chinese people, including non-Buddhists, had the custom to make soul tablets in traditional China. Buddhism of Japan was imported from China and then Japanese Buddhists have the practice of making soul tablets. The practice of making soul tablets in East Asia, Korea and Vietnam as well as China and Japan, has its origin in ancient Confucianism, after all.

### 1. General Form of Offerings for a Soul Tablet

Generally speaking, rituals surrounding a soul tablet, which are held not only at domestic altars but also in other spaces, consist of two sides (Figure 1): the first is a deceased person who receives ritual offerings; the second side is a living person who presents ritual offerings. It is necessary to distinguish the above two sides when we analyze the forms of offerings for soul tablets.

#### **Figure 1: General Form of Offerings for a Soul Tablet**

Deceased person receiving offerings ◆ ← ◇ Living person presenting offerings

### 2. Ritual for Ancestral Tablets at Domestic Altars in the Pearl River Delta

The most popular service for soul tablets in China has been the ritual of presenting offerings to ancestral tablets held at domestic altars (Photo 3-1 & 3-2). This kind of ritual is composed of the following two aspects (Figure 2).

**Figure 2: Classification of Deceased Persons and Living Persons**

A) Deceased Persons

A-1) Deceased persons qualified for receiving offerings

→ Adult (or married) males & married females

A-1-a) Deceased persons who are qualified for receiving offerings and furthermore have living descendants ■

A-1-b) Deceased persons who are qualified for receiving offerings but lack living descendants 無後=没有後代

A-2) Deceased persons unqualified for receiving offerings

Nonage males & unmarried females

B) Living Persons

B-1) Living persons who have the right to present offerings □

Males & married females

B-2) Living persons who don't have the right to present offerings

Unmarried females

2-1. Deceased Persons

The concept of an “ancestor” in traditional China refers to “a deceased person who is qualified to receive ritual offerings from his or her own male line descendants,” for example his or her sons and their wives, at the altars of their homes. I think that the rituals surrounding an ancestral tablet consist of two matters: one is receiving daily necessities after death; the other is the performance of rites of resurrection<sup>2</sup>.

I refer to the above qualification as “the qualification for receiving offerings.” And then I call the deceased persons who have the above qualification “deceased persons qualified for receiving offerings” [A-1]. As this relates to my field research, adult<sup>3</sup> (or married) males and married females have this kind of qualification in the Pearl River Delta. Furthermore, I call the deceased persons who do not have the qualification for receiving offerings “deceased persons unqualified for receiving offerings” [A-2]. According to ritual practice in the Pearl River Delta, nonage males and unmarried females are deceased persons unqualified for receiving offerings.

2-2. Living Persons

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<sup>2</sup> Resurrection: The return of deceased persons to life; It is believed among Han Chinese people that the soul combines with the flesh and body to resurrect, and a soul tablet is a substitute for the flesh and body, especially the skull.

<sup>3</sup> Adult: 16 years of age and over in the Pearl River Delta.

By the right to present offerings, I mean the right to make ritual offerings of ancestral tablets. I therefore call the living persons who have the right to present offerings “living persons having the right to present offerings” [B-1]. As this applies to actual ritual practice in the Pearl River Delta, male line descendants of an ancestor and their wives have the right to present offerings. A male has the right from his birth for the tablets of his male line ancestors, that is to say, his parents, his father’s parents and so on. A female do not have the right for the tablets of her real parents and so on, while she obtain the right to present offerings for the tablets of her husband’s ancestors after her marriage.

### 2.3. Necessary and Sufficient Conditions for Ritual for an Ancestral Tablet

The service for an ancestral tablet at a domestic altar only comes into existence when the deceased person has the qualification for receiving offerings and furthermore has one or more living persons having the right to present offerings. Even if he or she is a deceased person qualified for receiving offerings, the service for him or her does not come into existence when he or she has no living person having the right to present offerings (Figure 3).

**Figure 3: Ritual for an Ancestral Tablet at a Domestic Altar**

[A-1·a] ■ ← □ [B-1]

As for deceased persons who lack living person having the right to present offerings, I refer to them as “deceased persons who lack living descendants” [A-1·b]. They are called “Wuhou 無後” or “Mei you houdai 沒有後代” in Chinese language. I then call deceased persons who have living persons having the right to present offerings “deceased persons who have living descendants” [A-1·a].

Rituals for deceased persons who are unqualified for receiving offerings at domestic altars cannot come into existence from the beginning. In other words, they are not counted as ancestors. And the tablets of them are prohibited from being placed at domestic altars.

## 3. Remedies for [A-1·b] and [A-2] before 1949

### 3.1. Remedies for [A-1·b]

In principle [A-1·b] and [A-2] could not receive offerings at domestic altars. But it is known that adoption provided a remedy for [A-1·b] before 1949. On the one hand some [A-1·b] were able to adopt boys as their sons from the lineage to which they belonged. After adoption, the adopted son presented offerings to his adoptive parents (in cases



where a married couple composed of [A-1-b]) or father (in cases in which an adult male was [A-1-b]). On the other hand, impoverished [A-1-b] who did not hold enough property for adopted sons to inherit were not able to adopt boys. As for a [A-1-b] who could not adopt a son, it is unknown yet where their tablets were placed to receive offerings.

### 3-2. Remedies for [A-2]

Janice Stockard has discovered that the remedy of spirit marriage (Minghun 冥婚 in Chinese language) was available to unmarried females in the Pearl River Delta before 1949. Spirit marriage was a kind of marriage between deceased persons or between a deceased person and a living person. After spirit marriage the tablet of the female, obtaining the status of wife, was placed at the altar of her husband's home and receives offerings there. And furthermore, Stockard and other scholars have noted that in the Pearl River Delta some tablets of unmarried females were placed in temples, nunneries and so on. But it is still unknown who actually presented rituals for the tablets of unmarried females in temples, nunneries and so on.

As for nonage males, it is still unknown whether there was a remedy for them and where their tablets were placed to receive offerings, if their tablets were even made.

### 3-3. Sworn Spinsters

And besides, there have been unique women called sworn spinsters, (Zishunü 自梳女 or Gupo 姑婆 in Chinese language), in the Pearl River Delta from the first 20<sup>th</sup> century to now. They are females who have vowed to remain unmarried through a special ritual. Rich sworn spinsters had their own houses called spinsters' houses in the first 20<sup>th</sup> century. These rich ones placed their tablets at the altars in their own houses. It has also discovered that the remedy of spirit marriage was available to sworn spinsters before 1949. Then did or do the sworn spinsters who neither had their own houses nor had chance of spirit marriage make their tablets? Where they placed or place their tablets?

## 4. Ancestral Halls as Ritual Spaces

In an ancestral hall of a lineage some tablets receive offerings (Photo 4-1 to 5-3). It is well known that these tablets are limited to those of selected ancestors who are perceived to have rendered remarkable achievements to the lineage. And the living persons who are present the offerings are from the head of the lineage down to all male members of the lineage. But it has not been confirmed yet whether the limited "selected ancestors" have really rendered remarkable achievements. Therefore we need to investigate the tablets in ancestral halls.

We can distinguish two categories of ritual space in this type of ritual (Figure 4-1). Both categories are considered as “indoor space.” The first category includes domestic ancestral alters, where ancestral tablets are placed and offerings to them are made. I call this type of space “domestic space.” And I call the other category “non-domestic space.” At present this latter category is divided into three groups:

- (1) The first is the ancestral hall, where the tablets of a limited number of ancestors belonging to a lineage are placed and offerings to them are made.
- (2) The second group consists of temples, nunneries and so on, where tablets of unmarried females, including spinsters, are placed.
- (3) The third group is the spinster houses, where the tablets of spinsters are placed.

**Figure 4-1: Conceptualization of Ritual Spaces for Soul Tablets and Hungry Ghosts**

(1) Receiver of offerings; (2) Presenter of offerings

I ) Indoor Space

I -A) Domestic space: (1) ancestors; (2) descendants

I -B) Non-domestic Space

I -B-1) Ancestral hall: (1) selected ancestors; (2) head of lineage & etc.

I -B-2) Temple, nunnery etc. (1) unmarried females, (2) unknown

I -B-3) Sworn spinster house: (1) sworn spinsters; (2) unknown

5. Special Ritual for Hungry Ghosts: Outdoor Space

Some scholars in Japan and in Hong Kong, including Issei Tanaka, David Faure and others, have illuminated a unique kind of ritual that is performed during the festival called Jianjiao 建醮 or Dajiao 打醮 (Figure 4-2). This discovery resulted from their field research in the New Territories of Hong Kong. This kind of ritual is held at an outdoor space at least once annually, in the middle of the seventh month of the lunar calendar. The main purpose of the ritual is to present offerings for the hungry ghosts who do not have their own tablets because they have no blood relatives or whose remains have not been returned to their native places.

**Figure 4-2: Conceptualization of Ritual Spaces for Soul Tablets and Hungry Ghosts**

(1) Receiver of offerings; (2) Presenter of offerings

II ) Outdoor Space: (1) hungry ghosts lacking blood relatives or remains; (2) priests

6. Concrete Problems to Be Solved

As stated above, the following problems are yet unsolved: (1) where the tablets of [A-1-b] were placed to receive offerings; (2) who presented offerings to the tablets of

unmarried females in temples, nunneries and spinster's houses; (3) whether there was a remedy for nonage males and where their tablets were placed to receive offerings; (4) aside from those ancestors who have rendered remarkable achievements, what kinds of tablets were placed in the ancestral hall to receive offerings. Now we will investigate these problems.

#### 7. Past: Another Function of Ancestral Halls

I have found out from a genealogy a case in which a married couple without sons, including adopted sons, and a nonage male received “subordinate offerings” (Fushi 附食 or Fusi 附祀 in Chinese language) from their lineage members in an ancestral hall in a county in the Pearl River Delta in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Photo 6-1 & 6-2). “Subordinate offerings” is a kind of ritual that is held subordinately for the rest of tablets in an ancestral hall when the lineage presents offerings to the tablets of principal ancestors there. In this case a wife, who was a daughter of the couple and a younger sister of the nonage male, made a donation of real estate to that ancestral hall. So, receiving “subordinate offerings” in an ancestral hall required a donation to the ancestral hall. I have not seen a case in which the tablets of unmarried adult males were placed in an ancestral hall, but I think that maybe they were allowed to be placed there.

Stockard also has presented another case [Stockard: p. 84], as follows, “According to the informant, spinsters in Waih Hau (a village in Zhongshan County 中山縣 of the Pearl River Delta) were ‘like sons.’ Not only did they live at home, spinsters were also permitted to die at home—and their tablets were placed in the ancestral hall together with the male ancestors.” If the custom according to which nonage males are [A-2] and their tablets are prohibited from being placed at domestic altars applied in the case of this village, then the meaning of the above sentence that the spinsters were “like sons” is not that they were “like adult males,” but rather that they were “like nonage males.” This case means that the tablets of nonage males were allowed to be placed in the ancestral hall in the village and to receive offerings, perhaps subordinate offerings.

These two cases, therefore, suggest that the above ancestral halls, lineage-level institutions, had another function: (1) the tablets that could not be placed in domestic altars were allowed to be placed in the ancestral halls; (2) these tablets were allowed to receive “subordinate offerings.” It is still unknown whether other ancestral halls in the Pearl River Delta also had this function. Nevertheless, I think that some of them had this function because the genealogy, which contains the first known case, praises the wife who made a donation. This indicates that the lineage had authorized this function. If so, then it is very interesting for us to note that Confucianism 儒教 and the Chinese Empire, at least during the Qing dynasty 清朝, approved of this function of the

ancestral hall. According to a regulation in the Confucian classic, “the Rites” or “Liji 礼記,” the tablets of adult males without sons and nonage males must not receive offerings at the domestic altar but have to be placed in ancestral halls to receive “subordinate offerings.” And the same regulation can be found in volume 17 of the 1824 edition of “The General Rule of Rites in Qing Dynasty” or “Da Qing tongli 大清通礼.” Namely, Confucianism and the Qing dynasty authorized the ancestral hall as an orthodox, non-domestic space where the above tablets must be installed.

#### 8. Present: Special Facilities for Service

I have also discovered from my field research that some ritual facilities have been reconstructed after the 1980s at a township in the Pearl River Delta, to put it concretely, Longjiang Township, Shunde County. They are for the tablets that are prohibited from being placed in domestic altars.

The first facility is named “Baixing gongpo ci 百姓公婆祠” or “the hall for married couples belonging to any surname,” which was founded about 85 years ago and was destroyed in 1958 (Photo 7-1). It is located in a village, to put it concretely, Longjiang village 龍江鄉 in Chinese language. The second is named “Baixing gupo ci 百姓姑婆祠,” or “the hall for sworn spinsters belonging to any surname.” The third is named “Yisi ci 義祀祠,” or “the hall for persons who have to receive offerings because of their moral accomplishments.” The second and the third are in the same house which is located in another village, to put it concretely, Lihai village 裏海鄉.

There are at least two kinds of tablets in these facilities. The first are those of unmarried females. Most of them are old sworn spinsters and some of them are unmarried females born after 1949. The second are those of married couples without sons. “The hall for married couples belonging to any surname” is a facility for the tablets of married couples without sons, as well as those of unmarried females (Photo 7-2 to 7-5). “The hall for sworn spinsters belonging to any surname” is a facility for the tablets of sworn spinsters; and “the hall for persons who have to receive offerings because of their moral accomplishments” is *actually* a facility for the tablets of married couples without sons, despite the fact that the name suggests that it contains tablets for moral exemplars.

On the surface, these facilities have two features. One is that they are not limited to the tablets of a given surname but open to those of any surname. In this sense, these facilities function in much the same way as temples, nunneries and so on. The other feature is that they do not have statues of such deities as the Goddess of Mercy (Guanyin pusa 觀音菩薩 in Chinese language) and so on, but only contain tablets of ordinary people. In this sense, these facilities resemble ancestral halls, where there are

not statues of deities but only tablets of ordinary people.

Now, the main purpose of temples, nunneries and so on is the worship of deities, so the ritual offerings to the tablets that are not placed at the domestic altar are subordinate to them. The main purpose of ancestral halls is to install and present offerings to the tablets of a limited number of selected ancestors who have rendered remarkable achievements, so the rituals for the tablets that are not placed at domestic altars are also subordinate to them. But the main purpose of such facilities as “the hall for married couples belonging to any surname,” “the hall for sworn spinsters belonging to any surname” and “the hall for persons who have to receive offerings because of their moral accomplishments” is the ritual offerings to the tablets that are not placed at domestic altars. The logical conclusion is, therefore, that these facilities were founded for specializing in the function that temples, nunneries and ancestral halls only have subordinatedly.

The blood relatives of the tablets placed in “the hall for married couples belonging to any surname,” for example daughters of married couples, and parents, brothers and sisters of unmarried females, come to pray regularly, especially on Qingming jie 清明節<sup>4</sup>. But they cannot present offerings for these tablets. This is because a daughter of a married couple does not have “the right to present offerings” for the tablet of the married couple, or because the tablets of unmarried females do not have “the qualification for receiving offerings” from their parents, brother and sisters.

Then who presents offerings there? Interviews that I conducted during field research trips make it clear that at present the manager (A 66 year-old female in 1999) of “the hall for married couples belonging to any surname” presents offerings twice a month (Photo 7-6). I did not confirm whether the manager is a regular priestess, but I think that she is at least an acting priestess.

Marjorie Topley has observed [Topley: p. 83] that on festival days they (=spinsters’ houses) invited priests to officiate at religious ceremonies. I think that priests were invited to present offerings to the tablets of spinsters. Temples, nunneries and so on were the very places where priests or priestesses lived. I therefore think that those who present offerings in temples, nunneries and so on were priests or priestesses, too.

## 9. Regional Structure of Ritual Spaces for Soul Tablets

### 9-1. Rural Area in the Pearl River Delta

See Figure 5. On the basis of the above investigation I have made a rough sketch of the “Regional Structure of Ritual Spaces for Soul Tablets and Hungry Ghosts in the

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<sup>4</sup> Qingming jie 清明節: The day of visiting graves, which is about April 5 of the solar calendar.

Pearl River Delta before 1949” adding some ritual spaces I myself have discovered to those that other scholars have already illuminated.

In Figure 5, on the one hand, there are several spaces from I-B-2 (that is, “Temples, nunneries etc.”) to “Outdoor space” that Confucianism and the Qing dynasty did not authorize as orthodox ritual spaces; however, on the other hand, there are certain spaces, including the ancestral hall as well as domestic space, that they did authorize. And we can also note that actual ritual practices in domestic space and the ancestral hall in the Pearl River Delta before 1949 almost accorded with the ideal ritual theory that Confucianism and the Qing dynasty regulated. This feature in the Pearl River Delta will be conspicuous when we contrast it with features of ritual practice in the Lower Yangzi River Delta.

**Figure 5: Regional Structure of Ritual Spaces for Soul Tablets and Hungry Ghosts in the Pearl River Delta before 1949**

- (1) Receiver of offerings; (2) Presenter of offerings; (3) Frequency of offerings;  
(4) Whether tablets exist or not; (5) Prayer by blood relatives; (6) Remarks.

I ) Indoor Space

I -A) Domestic Space: (1) ancestors; (2) descendants; (3) twice a month; (4) ○; (5) ○

I -B) Non-domestic Space

I -B-1a) Ancestral hall: (1) selected ancestors; (2) head and male members of the lineage; (3) twice a month; (4) ○; (5) ○

I -B-1b) Ancestral hall: (1) married couples and adult males without sons, nonage males, and sworn spinsters as fictitious nonage males; head and male members of the lineage; (3) twice a month; (4) ○; (5) ○; (6) subordinate service

I -B-2) Temple, nunnery etc.: (1) unmarried females; (2) priest or priestess; (3) ?; (4) ○; (5) ○

I -B-3) Sworn spinsters' house: (1) sworn spinsters; (2) priest or priestess; (3) ?; (4) ○; (5) fictitious sisters

I -B-4a) Hall for married couples belonging to any surname: (1) married couples and adult males without sons & unmarried females; (2) priestess; (3) twice a month; (4) ○; (5) ○

I -B-4b) Hall for sworn spinsters belonging to any surname: (1) sworn spinsters; (2) priest or priestess; (3) ?; (4) ○; (5) ○

I -B-4c) Hall for persons who have to receive offerings because of their moral accomplishments: (1) married couples and adult males without sons ; (2) priest or priestess; (3) ?; (4) ○; (5) ○

- II) Outdoor Space: (1) hungry ghosts lacking blood relatives or remains; (2) priests;  
(3) once a year; (4) none; (5) none

### 9-2. Rural Area in the Lower Yangzi River Delta

Miharu Azuma 東美晴, a Japanese anthropologist who conducted fieldwork in rural areas of a county (to put it concretely, Qingpu County 青浦県) of Shanghai 上海, has illuminated the fact that during the 1930s and 1940s tablets of nonage males and unmarried females were installed to receive offerings at the altars of their parental homes. This fact suggests that the actual ritual practice in domestic space did not much accord with Confucian principles.

With regard to ancestral halls in the Lower Yangzi River Delta in the Ming-Qing and Republican periods, Japanese historians have verified the following fact: namely, on the one hand there were some ancestral halls and lineage trusts in urban areas, that is, county seats and market towns, for example “Fan shi yizhuan 范氏義莊” in Suzhou 蘇州; but on the other hand there were few ancestral halls and lineage trusts in rural areas. So there was little possibility that the tablets of married couples and adult males without sons, and those of nonage males would be installed in ancestral halls in rural areas.

To sum up, in rural areas in the Lower Yangzi River Delta the arrangement of the ritual spaces for soul tablets and the ritual role in domestic space did not much accord with Confucian principles.

As for temples and nunneries in the Lower Yangzi River Delta, it is well known that rural females were fond of gathering at such places. But it has not been reported, as far as I know, that tablets of unmarried females and others were installed in them in the past. Nevertheless we had better leave room for the probability of it. Neither sworn spinsters nor spinsters' houses could be found there. In the Pearl River Delta, special facilities such as “the hall for married couples belonging to any surname” were, as mentioned above, logically founded for specializing in the services that temples, nunneries and ancestral halls provided only subordinately. But there were few ancestral halls in rural areas in the Lower Yangzi River Delta, so there was little probability that such special facilities existed there.

The above findings indicate that the structure of ritual spaces for soul tablets was different in the two regions. We will consider the reason for this difference by investigating the history of regional societies in two deltas.

## 10. History of Regional Societies of Two Deltas: Adoption of Han Chinese Culture and Assimilation into the Chinese Empire

By the way, there are 54 kinds of non-Han Chinese people in China today. And several kinds of them converted themselves into Han Chinese people in the past.

#### 10-1. The Pearl River Delta before the 10<sup>th</sup> Century

From the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B. C., at the latest, that is, from the Qin 秦 and Han 漢 dynasties, there were some Han Chinese people such as bureaucrats and soldiers inside the cities in South China, e.g., the city of Canton (Guangzhou 廣州). But outside the cities there were few Han Chinese people and a lot of non-Han Chinese people who lived on hills, table-lands and basins in and around the Pearl River Delta. Figuratively speaking, the cities were isolated islands of Han Chinese culture in an ocean of non-Han Chinese culture. Han Chinese culture, however, began to infiltrate into the rural area little by little. A historical source tells that there were “Han Chinese people” around the city of Canton in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, and they, together with non-Han Chinese people, sometimes revolted against the Tang 唐 Empire. Some sources suggest that they also lived in hills, table-lands and basins, and that they were dependant on non-Han Chinese people because their population size was small.

#### 10-2. Development of Low-lying Land in the Pearl River Delta

I will divide the category of flatlands into two groups. The first is that of hills, table-lands and basins, which non-Han Chinese people as well as Han Chinese people had technology to develop before the 9<sup>th</sup> century. The second is that of low-lying lands. The Lower Yangzi River Delta pioneered the intense development of low-lying land that began in Northeast, East and Southwest Asia after the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Subsequently, this technology of development was gradually introduced into the middle and the upper reaches of the Yangzi River, the Pearl River Delta and other regions in the empire, and eventually into the surrounding countries of Vietnam, Korea and Japan. In Japan, the development of low-lying land began in earnest after the 17<sup>th</sup> century (the Edo 江戸 period).

Before the Song 宋 period (the 10<sup>th</sup> century) there were few inhabitants in low-lying lands in the Pearl River Delta. From the Song period on, the development of low-lying land gradually proceeded through the construction of embankments. But most of embankments were built only after the early Ming 明 period (the second half of 14<sup>th</sup> century). In other words, it is since the early Ming period that the development of low-lying lands began in earnest. Then who developed low-lying lands there?

#### 10-3. Features of Rural Society and Its Relationship toward the Dynasty in the Pearl River Delta



To begin with, I would like to provide an outline of features of the early Ming dynasty. It is well known that the founding emperor of the Ming dynasty nation-wide put into operation institutions based on Confucian fundamentalism.

At present the major part of inhabitants in the Pearl River Delta is Cantonese people. They are counted among sub-ethnic groups in Han Chinese people. I will talk about the history of Cantonese people in brief because I do not have enough time to explain the details.

- (1) Cantonese people came into existence in the late 14<sup>th</sup> century from “Han Chinese people” in the 9<sup>th</sup> century. They were those who obtained the technology of developing low-lying lands. So they began to live in the low-lying lands in the Pearl River Delta.
- (2) The low-lying lands were without the territory of non-Han Chinese people because they had not the technology to live there.
- (3) Cantonese people increased their power in the low-lying lands and had the intention to become permanent Han Chinese people.
- (4) The Ming dynasty gave military support in order for Cantonese people to become independent of non-Han Chinese people.
- (5) Cantonese people and the Ming Dynasty drove out the non-Han Chinese people from the area in and around the Pearl River Delta by the end of Ming period (the early 17<sup>th</sup> century).
- (6) When Cantonese people became real Han Chinese people in the social and cultural fields, they actively began to introduce Confucian principles, which the Ming dynasty wanted to diffuse.
- (7) In the rural society of the Pearl River Delta in the Ming-Qing period there were a lot of lineage organizations. And, needless to say, the lineage organization had a close relationship with Confucianism.
- (8) The basic characteristics of Cantonese society have remained until the present day. So the features engraved on the society in its formative period have fundamentally continued as well.
- (9) This is the reason why in the Pearl River Delta the customs and manners of service for soul tablets in domestic altars and ancestral halls have been closely in accord with Confucian regulations.

#### 10-4. The Lower Yangzi River Delta

As for the history in the Lower Yangzi River Delta, it is enough just to point out the following:

- (1) The development of low-lying land there began in the Song period (the 10<sup>th</sup> century)

and fundamentally came to an end by the mid-Ming period (the 16<sup>th</sup> century).

- (2) Han Chinese culture infiltrated into the rural areas by the end of the Yuan dynasty at the latest (the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century), and the culture was not characterized by Confucian fundamentalism.
- (3) Confucian fundamentalism in the early Ming dynasty (the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century) did not have a strong influence on the rural society of the Lower Yangzi River Delta because the formation of regional society there had been basically completed.
- (4) This is the reason why in rural areas in the Lower Yangzi River Delta there were few ancestral halls and the actual ritual role in domestic space did not much accord with Confucian regulations.

In short, I suppose that differences in actual ritual practices between regional societies are closely related to when and how each regional society adopted Han Chinese culture in earnest.

#### Reference papers and books written in English

- Eastman, Lloyd E. 1988. *Family, Fields, and Ancestors: Constancy and Change in China's Social and Economic History, 1550-1949*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Faure, David. 1996. "Becoming Cantonese, the Ming Dynasty Transition." In *Unity and Diversity: Local Cultures and Identities in China*, ed. Tao Tao Liu and David Faure, pp. 37-50. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Jochim, Christian. 2003. "Chinese Beliefs." In *Macmillan Encyclopedia of Death and Dying, vol. 1*, ed. Robert Kastenbaum etc., pp. 158-163. New York: Thomson: Gale.
- Stockard, Janice E. 1989. *Daughters of Canton Delta: Marriage Patterns and Economic Strategies in South China, 1860-1930*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Topley, Marjorie. 1975. "Marriage Resistance in Rural Kwangtung." In *Women in Chinese Society*, ed. Margery Wolf and Roxane Witke, pp. 67-88. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Watson, James L. and Evelyn S. Rawski, ed. 1988. *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

#### Reference material 1 (handed out to students on Jan. 9)

"Chapter 3: Gods, Ghosts, and Ancestors: The Popular Religion," in Lloyd E. Eastman, *Family, Fields, and Ancestors: Constancy and Change in China's Social and Economic History, 1550-1949*, New York: Oxford U. P., 1988, pp. 41-61.

**Reference material 2** (handed out to students on Jan. 23)

Christian Jochim, "Chinese Beliefs," in *Macmillan Encyclopedia of Death and Dying*, ed. Robert Kastenbaum etc., New York: Thomson: Gale, 2003, vol. 1, pp. 158-163.

**Quizzes and model answers** (Model answers were handed out to students on February 6)

Notice: Quiz papers of Jan. 16, 23 and 30 were marked according to the three-grade system, or "good," "pass" and "failure."

1. January 16

Q: Write the difference of inheritance custom between in traditional Japan and in traditional China.

A: According to Japanese traditional custom, only the eldest son (and his wife) has the right to be buried at his parents' grave. This custom has something to do with that of inheritance. In traditional Japan only the eldest son among sons has the right to succeed to the estate of father's. In contrast every son equally has the right to succeed to the estate of father's in traditional China.

2. January 23

Q: Write two functions of ancestral halls in South China before 1949.

A: The first is to present offerings to the tablets of selected ancestors who are perceived to have rendered remarkable achievements to the lineage. The second function is to present offerings subordinately to the tablets of married couples without sons, nonage males and so on which are prohibited to be placed at domestic altars.

3. January 30

Q: Write the differences in actual ritual practices between in the Pearl River Delta and in the Lower Yangzi River Delta before 1949.

A: On the one hand the tablets of married couples without sons, nonage males and unmarried females were prohibited to be placed at domestic altars in the Pearl River Delta. This fact suggests that the actual ritual practices in domestic space there almost accorded with the ideal ritual theory that Confucianism and the Qing dynasty regulated. On the other hand the tablets of nonage males and unmarried females were installed to receive offerings at the altars of their parental homes in the Lower Yangzi River Delta. This fact suggests that the actual ritual practices in domestic space there did not much accord with Confucian principles.

**Question from a student on January 16 and answer from the instructor on January 23**

Q: How the distant ancestors live in the after life? Don't they receive offerings from their living male line descendants?

A: I will answer from two angles.

First let's remember that there are two tablets at the domestic altar in my parental home. One is that of my father, and the other is that of my male line successive ancestors including grandparents, great-grandparents and so on. Japanese Buddhists in general combine many tablets of remote and unknown ancestors into a piece of tablet. The living descendants present offerings to the tablet. The remote and unknown ancestors, therefore, are able to live in the after life logically. Then let's recall the scene of a domestic altar in a peasant house in the Pearl River Delta. There is a tablet of his male line successive ancestors, too. These ancestors in the after life also can receive offerings to live from their descendants.

Secondly we will open the reference material of *Family, Fields, and Ancestors*, and read the last paragraph of page 45 and the first paragraph of page 47. This book explains how Chinese people think about the souls of their remote ancestors and dispose of their tablets. To sum up, there are two ways of dealing with the remote ancestors in China.

By the way, do you believe that the soul exists in the after life? We are able to recognize the existence of the things when we can touch them with our hands or see them with our eyes. As for the things that we are neither able to touch with our hands nor able to see, for example the souls, how do we recognize it to be? I think that the soul is an imaginary thing, in other words, the soul only just exists when we imagine or wish it to be. As for one's loved persons, e.g. one's parents, he or she wish them to live in comfort in the after life. He or she, therefore, makes tablets of them and present offerings for them. As for one's remote ancestors whom he or she neither know nor remember, he or she selects one out of two ways above mentioned.

**Assignment** (Announced to students on January 23)

- A) Referring to my lecture and the reference material of *Family, Fields, and Ancestors*, divide the deceased persons in China into some groups according to the following standards: (1) Whether or not their tablets are made after their death; (2) Where the tablets are placed; (3) Who presents offerings to the tablets. (Two or three sheets of A4 paper)
- B) Introduce the way of thinking about the soul of deceased persons in your home country if you have enough time. (One or two sheets of A4 paper)

Part 5 Professor Katayama

C) Deadline: Feb. 6, 2007.

D) Drop the assignment into the instructor's mailbox at the entrance hall of the School of Letters.



Photo1 Grave of Japanese people



Photo2-1 Buddhist's domestic altar in Japan

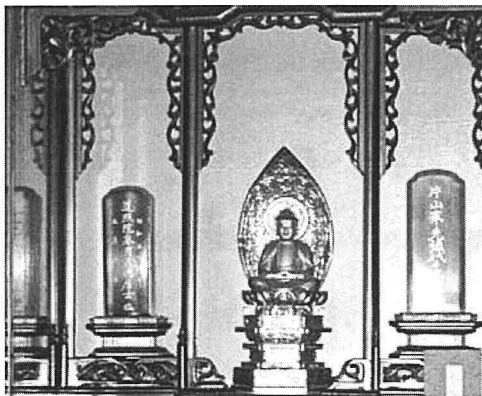


Photo2-2 Buddhist's domestic altar in Japan

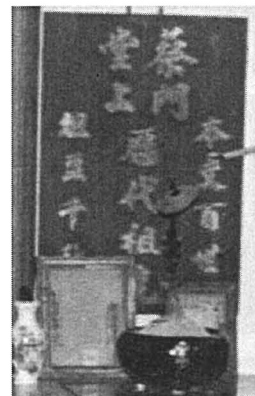


Photo3-2 Domestic altar



Photo3-1 Domestic altar & sworn spinster



Photo4-1 Ancestral hall 1

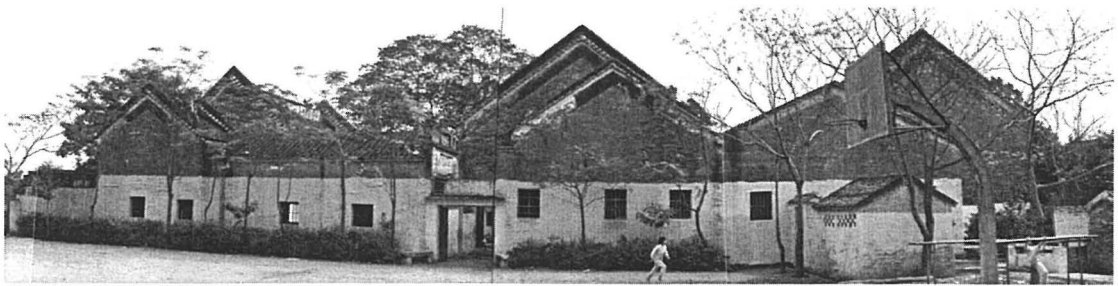


Photo4-2 Ancestral hall 1

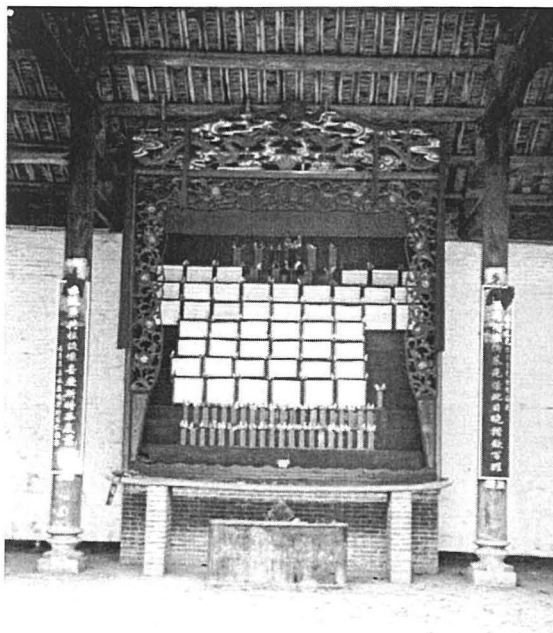


Photo5-1 Ancestral hall 2

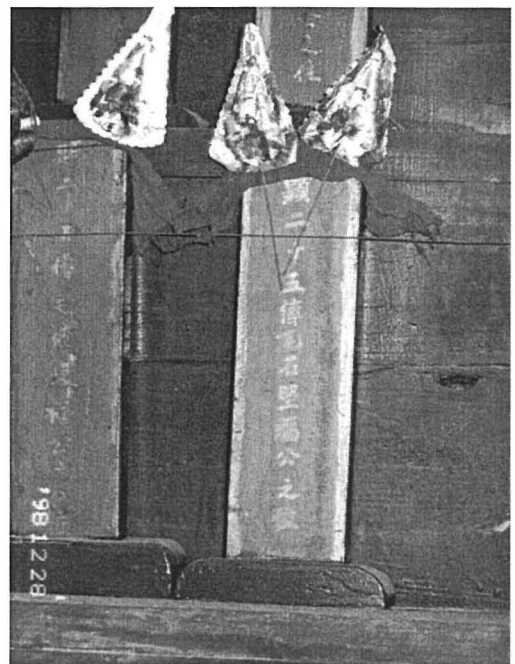


Photo5-2 Ancestral hall 2

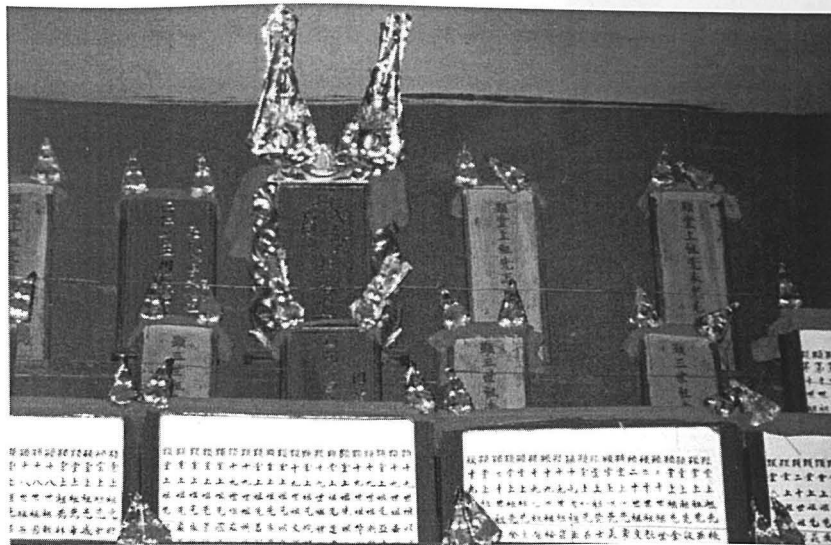


Photo5-3 Ancestral hall 2

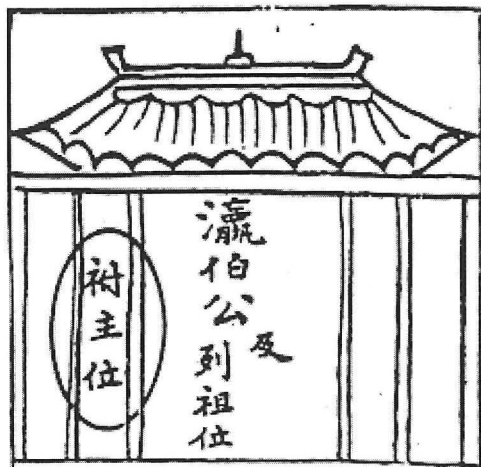


Photo6-1 Subordinate offerings



Photo6-2 Subordinate offerings



Photo7-1 Hall for married couples belonging to any surname





Photo7-2 As above



Photo7-3 As above

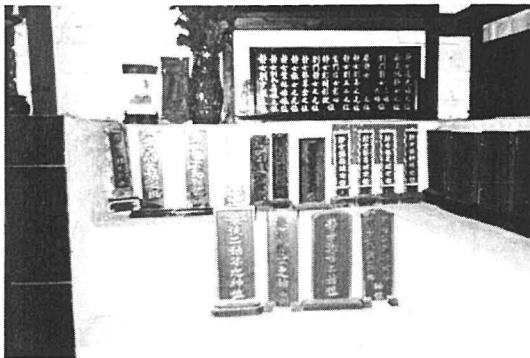


Photo7-4 As above



Photo7-5 As above



Photo7-6 Manager of the Hall (the right side)