

Chapter 14

Literary Diplomacy in Early Nara: Prince Nagaya and the Verses for Envoys from Silla in *Kaifūsō*

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ON AN AFTERNOON in autumn, probably in 723 CE, official envoys from the Korean kingdom of Silla were hosted at the elegant residence of Prince Nagaya (Nagaya Ō or Nagaya no Ōkimi 長屋王, 676?–729), a leading figure in the Japanese court at Nara and the patron of a flourishing poetic salon.¹ There, the prince and his Japanese guests shared with their Sillan counterparts wine, music, and, most importantly, poetry in Chinese (*kanshi* 漢詩). Ten of the verses that the Japanese composed in the company of Sillan emissaries survive in Japan's oldest extant poetic anthology, *Kaifūsō* 懷風藻 (Florilegium of cherished airs), compiled in 751 of Japanese poems written in Chinese.² Two of those ten verses are introduced by long prefaces (*jo* 序) in elegant parallel prose (駢文, J. *benbun*; Ch. *pianwen*).

I focus here on several of those verses from the point of view of poetic composition and political contestation in the early eighth century—contestation both foreign, between the Japanese and Sillan blocs, and also domestic, between Prince Nagaya and his Fujiwara competitors at court. On the one hand, these verses are encomia to international concourse and to poetic ideals shared by the Japanese and the Sillans, who couched their sentiments in literary Chinese, a language native to neither but common to both. On the other hand, beneath their amiable surfaces some of the verses reflected, and perhaps

even exacerbated, the centuries of strife between Japan and Silla. Nor can they be read today without a sense of irony, in view of the tensions between Prince Nagaya and some of the Fujiwara courtiers in his own poetic circle, tensions that would soon turn to mortal conflict.

The verses are epideictic: they are public demonstrations of poetic eloquence. But they are epideictic, too, in a sense more usually applied to ornithological studies, for they constitute a form of behaviour designed to control. These poets, Japanese and Sillan alike, were indeed birds of a feather in terms of the attitudes they brought to the philosophy and rhetoric of Chinese poetry, which they understood as both a centripetal and a centrifugal exercise, as emotional and intellectual bonding but also as international and interpersonal competition. As Gustav Heldt points out with respect to the performative nature of courtly verse in the early Heian, these verses were in part created to harmonize (*wa* 和) the ruler and the ruled.³ In the context of poems by Japanese in the presence of Sillans, the notion of *wa* becomes multivalent; they harmonize, but they also attempt to subordinate Silla within the Japanese (*Wa*) purview.⁴

The anthology in which these verses appear owes its very existence to Japanese recognition of the traditional Chinese emphasis on the importance of literature to governing (recalling the relationship in

English between diplomatics and diplomacy). This nexus was memorably set forth by Cao Pi 曹丕 (187–226; Emperor Wen of Wei 魏文帝, r. 220–26) in his “Lun wen” 論文 (Discourse on literature): “Literary work is a great enterprise in the governing of a state.”⁵ An enterprising court was a literate court, and *Kaifūsō*, with its 116 Chinese verses and 64 poets spanning most of a century (670–751), bears witness to the modest but thriving Chinese poetic activity of the Nara aristocracy. Poetry was the medium through which ruler and ruled reaffirmed their hierarchical but symbiotic relationship; the ruler provided the venue, ideally set within the beauty (and instructive harmony) of nature, and the ruled composed panegyrics.⁶ This the representatives of Silla and Japan at Prince Nagaya’s residence implicitly understood.⁷

Such public harmonization was particularly necessary in diplomacy between Japan and Silla, for the rivalry between them had existed for centuries. Every Japanese in attendance was familiar with the legend of Empress-Consort Jingū 神功 centuries before, whose fleet for her invasion of Silla had been whisked across the waters without the need of oars, thanks to a benevolent tailwind vouchsafed by the Japanese gods. Inevitably, she defeated Silla and bade its king, his neck bound with a white, braided cord, see to her stables. This account figures prominently in two national histories, *Kojiki* 古事記 (Record of ancient matters, 712) and *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (Chronicles of Japan, 720), which had only recently been completed when Prince Nagaya’s banquets for the Sillans are generally believed to have taken place. Japan came to think of Silla as a tributary state, and it continued to expect such tribute even after Silla engulfed its neighbours—first the Gaya 伽倻 Federation, then Baekje 百濟, then Goguryeo 高句麗—and finally ousted the mighty Tang 唐 (618–907) itself from the peninsula in 676, in the first years of the two-and-a-half centuries of Unified Silla rule (668–935). Japan had attempted to nip this Sillan hegemony in the bud, sending a large force to reinstall the defeated Baekje house in 661, but it was disastrously defeated at the battle of Baekchon 白村 River two years later. And yet Silla was the conduit

through which Japan absorbed much of its Chinese culture; nine official Japanese missions were sent there in the last three decades of the seventh century alone, while none was sent to China during those years. Bilateral trade also flourished. Silla nevertheless chose to comply with Japan’s demands for tribute in order to ensure its own continental security, particularly after the establishment in 698 of the country of Balhae on its northern border, whose elites were Goguryeo emigrés.

Japan’s attitude towards Silla and the other Korean kingdoms is also reflected in the preface of *Kaifūsō*. Wiebke Denecke observes that although the preface acknowledges that writing originally made its way to Japan from the Korean kingdoms, it twists that event to its own advantage, making it seem as though even the technology of writing was a form of tribute from Baekje to its Japanese superiors.⁸ One illustrative passage in the preface reads thus: “After Jingū set out on her campaign north to Korea, and Emperor Hon [her son Ōjin 応神] mounted the throne of heaven, Baekje offered tribute at court, and dragon volumes were opened in the stable.”

Prince Nagaya’s salon was, in the third decade of the eighth century, the place where the most up-to-date ideas about Chinese poetry were practised in Japan. Two statistics from *Kaifūsō* suggest how important and how cutting-edge (for Japan) that salon was. First, of the 64 poets represented in *Kaifūsō*, more than one-quarter (17 poets) are specifically identified as having composed verses at the prince’s residence at one time or another. Second, those 17 poets contributed fully one-third of the total number of poems in *Kaifūsō*. To be sure, these statistics may be misleading. Though it is unknown who compiled *Kaifūsō*, one school of thought holds that Prince Nagaya’s coterie is so well represented therein because one of its members compiled it.⁹ True or not, it is certain that Nagaya’s contributions to the cultural life of the early Nara years, both as poet and host, were formidable. He has three poems preserved in Chinese in *Kaifūsō*, and five Japanese *tanka* 短歌 in *Man’yōshū* 萬葉集 (Anthology of ten thousand leaves; Japan’s oldest extant anthology of vernacular

verse, completed in the late eighth century)—a respectable number in either language. But he is even more important to literary history for his role as the sponsor of numerous gatherings of literati, at which the latest Chinese poetic techniques were displayed.

Nagaya had a superb lineage for his role as cultural doyen, being the eldest son of Prince Takechi 高市 (654?–96), who was in turn the eldest son of the great sovereign Tenmu 天武 (d. 686). His rise at court reflected his privileged birth; after the death of the political strongman of his era, Fujiwara no Fuhito (or Fubito) 藤原不比等 (658/9–720), Nagaya was appointed minister of the right, with the junior second rank, and after the accession of Shōmu 聖武 (701–56) in 724, he reached the exalted position of minister of the left, with the senior second rank. He was thus one of Japan's most eminent nobles when he entertained his Sillan guests.

His marriages were of commensurate grandeur. His principal wife was Princess Kibi 吉備, whose mother was the sovereign Genmei 元明 (661–721) and whose elder sister later ascended the throne as Genshō 元正 (680–748). But Nagaya also took to wife Nagako 長娥子, a daughter of Fujiwara no Fuhito. As we will later see, however, he eventually used his political influence to oppose Fujiwara aggrandizement, and in this violent age, that left him vulnerable to swift and brutal repercussions.

But that would be in the future. When Nagaya fêted the Sillan envoys he was in his political heyday, and he lived opulently. His main mansion was located near the southeast corner of the imperial palace (Sakyō sanjō nibō 左京三条二坊). The site of this sprawling residence, which covered 15 acres and included 30 structures, was discovered in 1988 and meticulously excavated, yielding about 50,000 wooden slips (*mokkan* 木簡) that have significantly enhanced our view of eighth-century courtly life. It was a small village in itself, with, as Joan Piggott relates, “an administrative office, waterworks, kennel, smelter, pottery workshop, and saddlery.”¹⁰ The mansion represented the epitome of aristocratic life in the Nara period.¹¹

The residence may have been owned by Prince Nagaya's consort, Princess Kibi. But records also mention a Saho Belvedere (Sahorō 作宝楼), which took its name from the Saho 佐保 area in the northeast of Nara. The location of this villa has yet to be determined. Saho was a wealthy community; the Ōtomo 大伴 also had a home there, as had Fuhito's son Fujiwara no Fusasaki 藤原房前 (or 総前, 681–737), about whom more presently. It is unknown whether the meetings with the Sillans took place at the downtown mansion or the Saho Belvedere, or even whether those were separate venues. To judge from the name “Saho Belvedere” and a reference to an “eastern tower” (a *kaku* 閣, which had two or more stories), there may have been a tall structure on the grounds, which was usually illegal but which may have been permitted to an eminent prince.¹² Such belvederes were also part of the Chinese ideal of climbing to a height and composing verse; there was a “beach belvedere” (*hinrō* 浜楼) at the Ōmi palace of the sovereign Tenchi (or Tenji 天智, 626–72), where he held banquets.¹³ This Chinese perspective is mentioned in the preface to another verse in *Kaifūsō* (no. 94), by Fusasaki's younger half-brother Fujiwara no Maro 藤原麻呂 (695–737): “Climbing to an eminence and composing is a gentlemanly art.”¹⁴

Inspirational natural surroundings were thus essential for a literary banquet. All the Sillans and Japanese present at Prince Nagaya's banquets were students of the Confucian *Analects*, wherein the Master remarks that “the wise delight in waters, the benevolent in mountains.”¹⁵ And they were equally conversant with *Wenxuan* 文選 (Selections of refined literature, ca. 520–26), that classic literary anthology of the Chinese Six Dynasties 六朝 era (220–589), which contains Cao Pi's famous statement on poetry and statecraft quoted above.¹⁶ Cao Pi provided for later generations an enduring model of the cultivated courtier (together with the earliest extant poetic anthology); for example, Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385–433) composed a group of poems in the personae of Cao Pi and the great poets of the Jian'an 建安 era (196–220). The introductory preface, also in the persona of Cao Pi, sets forth desiderata for the courtly

banquets: “a fine season, lovely scenery, admiring hearts, and pleasant pursuits.”¹⁷ These four elements constituted an ideal to which Prince Nagaya and his guests subscribed.

Given his social position and his poetic abilities, it is hard to imagine a more impressive host for the envoys from Silla than the prince. He also appears to have been a devout Buddhist; excavations suggest that there was a chapel on the grounds of his downtown mansion, and he is said to have been the patron of several structures at Kōfukuji 興福寺 temple. In addition, Ōmi no Mifune’s *Tō Daiwajō tōseiden* 唐大和上東征伝 (Account of the eastern journey of the great Tang prelate, 779) states that Nagaya had a thousand monks’ robes embroidered with this hymn: “Our mountains and rivers are in different realms, / but the wind and moon are in the same sky. / I make this present to the Buddha’s children, / that we may foster future karmic bonds” 山川異域、風月同天。寄諸仏子、共結來縁。¹⁸ The account continues that when the great Tang prelate Jianzhen (Ganjin 鑑真, 688–763) saw the verses, he resolved to carry the Buddhist message across the sea to Japan, which he finally accomplished after many attempts, losing his eyesight in the process. He went on to found Tōshōdaiji 唐招提寺 temple and to administer Buddhist vows to the retired sovereign Shōmu and his consort Kōmyō 光明 (701–60). If the poem was indeed Nagaya’s, then his largesse to his international visitors may have been motivated by more than just love of literature or political self-interest.¹⁹

The mission from Silla in 723, consisting of 115 envoys headed by Ambassador Gim Jeongsuk 金貞宿, is recorded in the historical record *Shoku Nihongi* 続日本紀 (Chronicles of Japan, continued, 797) as presenting tributary goods at the palace on the eighth day of the eighth month, and then being fêted the day thereafter.²⁰ Their visit was not a long one, and they took their leave on the nineteenth of the same month. One theory holds that nine of the ten Silla banquet poems in *Kaifūsō* were composed for this mission of 723, and that the final one was made in connection with a different Silla mission in 726.²¹

Thus literary banquets such as Prince Nagaya’s were essential elements of statecraft, and they encouraged personal friendships through the composition of poems that rehearsed universal ideals. But it is interesting to speculate on how else the Japanese and Sillans communicated besides through poems. Records of Japanese missions abroad make frequent mention of interpreters (通事 or 訳語, read in Japanese “[w]osa” を さ), and Yuzawa Tadayuki has concluded after a lengthy examination of extant records that the formal diplomatic language of meetings between Japanese and Sillans—and, later, between Japanese and officials from Balhae—was vernacular Chinese.²² Some Japanese could actually speak Chinese; others had recourse to interpreters. The ability to write excellent literary Chinese had no necessary relationship to the ability to speak a version of the vernacular; one recalls the fact that when the monk Ennin 円仁 (794–864) journeyed to the Tang in 838, he was at least initially able to communicate with the locals only through “brush conversation.” But at less formal gatherings, such as Prince Nagaya’s, several means of communication were likely in use.

Prince Nagaya also evidently chose his guest list with considerable care, not only to put on display Japan’s best poets in Chinese, but also to assemble those of continental background (often one and the same). To judge from the names of the nine Japanese poets at Prince Nagaya’s Silla banquet in 723 who are represented in *Kaifūsō*, half were of continental ancestry, and the one poet connected with the Silla mission of 726 appears to have been so as well.²³ Prince Nagaya employed numerous people of Sillan descent on his staff.²⁴ We know, too, that a nun from Silla lived in the Ōtomo residence in Saho, and that her death occasioned a long elegy in *Man’yōshū* (3: 460–61), which is indicative of the esteem in which she was held. It is probable, therefore, that Sillan was spoken at Nagaya’s banquets in addition to Chinese. And doubtless there were Sillans who could speak some Japanese. In short, the banquets were probably quite lively linguistically.²⁵ Moreover, an analysis of the rhyme schemes of some of the poetry composed at the Silla banquets shows that its composers were

well aware of the aural qualities of Chinese (see below).

The artistic level of the *Kaifūsō* verses has been denigrated in much modern scholarship as childish and derivative. One scholar writing in English, for example, states, “There is something contrived about these efforts, bringing to mind an English schoolboy painfully including in his Latin poem mention of Philomel or of the wise Cato.”²⁶ The remark is apt, but it needs elaboration. Certainly the composition of poetry in a foreign language was a challenge, and these poets were not the equals of the masters of the High Tang 盛唐 (first half of the eighth century). Many lines in *Kaifūsō* were taken directly from Chinese models.²⁷ But as we have already seen, it was precisely the invocation of shared literary conventions, references, and ideals that made these poetic gatherings work. And an analysis of the *Kaifūsō* Silla banquet poems shows some of them to be very up to date in terms of contemporary poetic practice in China. Again, these banquets mixed collegiality with competition, and the last thing these representatives of Japanese culture wanted was to seem old-fashioned in front of emissaries from Silla, their ostensible tributary. The stakes were likewise high for the Sillans, as demonstrated by the line in *Sanguozhi* 三國志 (Records of the Three Kingdoms, comp. 285–97) that reads, “To know a ruler, you have only to observe his messenger, for a clear-sighted subordinate indicates an awe-inspiring master.”²⁸ *Shoku Nihongi* also relates that there was an archery match at court involving Sillans and Japanese during the visit of 723, which would have emphasized the rivalry in more martial terms.²⁹

In any event, in terms of historical memory, the deck was stacked: none of the Korean verses is preserved in *Kaifūsō*.³⁰ The anthology is a showcase of Japanese poetry only, and no foreign verse is included. We obviously would have a much better idea of the relative levels of accomplishment of the two groups had we been able to compare them.

There are, very generally speaking, two types of Chinese poetry in *Kaifūsō*, which reflect continental poetic developments during the eighty years or so

covered by the *Kaifūsō* verses. The earlier type is the “old-style poem” 古體詩 (Ch. *gutishi*; J. *kotaishi*), most examples of which in *Kaifūsō* are composed of eight lines of five characters per line, with the last characters of the even-numbered lines rhyming. Since *Kaifūsō* is organized chronologically, these poems predominate in the early part of the book, but they continue throughout. They are increasingly accompanied, however, by “recent-style poems” 今體詩 (Ch. *jintishi*; J. *kintaishi*), which boast not only rhymed last characters but also a regulated tonal scheme throughout. Of the 116 poems in the standard edition of *Kaifūsō*, 28 are to varying degrees recent-style in form.³¹ They have not quite developed the sophisticated tonal schemes of the High Tang, but a few come quite close, and many observe some of the High Tang rules.³²

At least nineteen poems in *Kaifūsō* were composed at Nagaya’s residence at various times, and ten of those were written at banquets for Sillans.³³ Seven of those nineteen are in recent style, and twelve are in old style. But considering just the ten poems composed at Nagaya’s in the company of Sillans, fully half are in recent style. And just as important, of the ten Japanese poets who composed with the Sillans, at least eight were capable of composing in the recent style, as shown by recent-style poems by them elsewhere in *Kaifūsō*. Clearly the poets Nagaya assembled for his Silla banquets possessed advanced poetic skills. One of the foremost was another of Fuhito’s sons, Fujiwara no Umakai 藤原宇合 (694–737), who had served as the vice ambassador to the Tang in 717–18.³⁴ He is the best represented poet in *Kaifūsō*, with six poems, and also one of the most innovative, having left two compositions therein in seven-character lines. There are only seven compositions in seven-character lines in the entire collection (nos. 6, 22, 72, 89, 90, 100, and 110).

Of the verses by the Japanese guests to Nagaya’s banquets for the Sillans, two bear prefaces in parallel Chinese prose. One is by Shimotsukeno no Mushimaro 下毛野蟲麻呂 (n.d.), an assistant professor at the state university.³⁵ The preface and its appended verse (*Kaifūsō* no. 65) read as follows:

Five-character lines. On a day in autumn at the residence of Prince Nagaya, fêting envoys from Silla. One verse (with a preface, receiving the rhyme word “before” [前 qián, Sui/Tang dzɛn]).³⁶

The autumn wind has already begun to blow; it was at such a time that Infantry Commandant Zhang began to long for home.³⁷ The fall air brings sadness; it was then that Grand Master Song felt a pang in his heart.³⁸ Thus men of taste admire and esteem the vistas of the year and the panoply of the seasons; companions on excursions to lovely places are moved by them and forget to return home. All the more so now, when the exalted and perspicacious sovereign governs events and the times require no action. Writing and wheel tracks have been standardized, and the flowery centre and the hinterlands unite in glad reverence; rites and music have been perfected, and court and countryside enjoy the utmost happiness and gaiety.³⁹

Prince Nagaya on his fifth-day leave opens his phoenix pavilion and orders fragrant mats set out, and the envoys who had travelled a thousand leagues recline by Goose Pond and bathe in his benevolence.⁴⁰ Carved trays glisten, aligned in profusion; gauze seats lie strewn in abundance, each setting off the colours of the next. “Irises and orchids” are seated three feet apart and comport themselves with a gentlemanly air. The farewell wine in a hundred jars is covered with an inch of sediment, and everyone ladles the thick “wise man” into their cups.⁴¹ With zithers and poetry to the left and right, our talk and laughter ranges far and wide. Forgetting both self and surroundings, we break free to the edge of the universe. Were the ancients of the Bamboo Grove the only ones who relinquished all thoughts of blossoming and withering?

The heat of the day breaks and the long slope darkens.⁴² Cold clouds form about the thousand peaks and cool breezes blow from the four directions. The white dew settles, and the south pavilion falls silent; smoky blue haze rises up, and the north woods are dense and shaded. Grasses! Trees! Their leaves flutter and fall—long till our feelings could fade!⁴³ Cups! Verse! We climb a hill, gaze over a stream, and send off our guests on their homeward journey—short the time till they will grow distant!⁴⁴ Moreover, this is a place where, enticed by the colours of nature, people are in a hurry of spirits, what with

the smoke and mist; this is a spot where, for men of benevolence, there is no respite, what with the wind and the moon.

Come, let every man ink his brush, take paper in hand, and compose on these things, giving wing to exquisite phrases on the western season [autumn] and continuing the tradition of fragrant verses on leaving North Bridge.⁴⁵ May each take one character and present his work when finished.

This sage rule matches the seven-	聖時逢七百
hundred-year cycle;	
an auspicious imperium is set in	祚連啓一千
motion for a thousand years.	
Now, too, guests who scaled	況乃梯山客
mountains	
and whose hair has grown long sit	垂毛亦比肩
with us shoulder to shoulder.	
Chill cicadas chirr among the	寒蟬鳴葉後;
leaves;	
northern geese course through the	朔雁度雲前
clouds.	
Only the tune of the flying	獨有飛鸞曲
simurgh	
joins with the strings of parting.	並入別離絃

The first important fact about the preface is that it is there at all, for though such prefaces began to appear in the Six Dynasties, they did not flourish until the early Tang.⁴⁶ Mushimaro’s bears a debt to prefaces by Wang Bo 王勃 (650–ca. 676), one of the “Four Elites of the Early Tang” (Chu Tang sijie 初唐四傑), both in phraseology and in its quadripartite structure of introduction, description of the event, description of the surroundings, and conclusion. The very form of Mushimaro’s contribution at the Silla banquet, therefore, including as it does both verse and preface, showed the Sillan guests that Japan was up to date with respect to Chinese poetic fashion. In fact, a partial copy of the *Wang Bo Anthology* (*Wang Bo ji* 王勃集) preserved in Japan’s Shōsōin 正倉院 imperial repository is dated 704, only 28 years or so after Wang’s death. The document may have been brought back by the eighth Japanese embassy to the Tang in the early years of the eighth century.⁴⁷ The great *Man’yōshū* poet Yamanoue no Okura 山上憶良 (660–733?), who was himself likely born in Baekje, was a member of that mission, and he also

attended Prince Nagaya's salon, though he does not appear in *Kaifūsō*. The preface and verse also appropriate in numerous places specific phrases by Wang Bo, as well as by another of the Four Elites, Luo Binwang 駱賓王 (ca. 626–84), about whom more in a moment. All told, the preface and verse appear to appropriate material from more than a dozen sources (only some of which are noted here), attesting to the considerable scholarship of the composer and his awareness of what passages and authors from the Chinese tradition were worthy of emulation.⁴⁸

In his preface, Mushimaro begins with a bow to Chinese precedents, demonstrating the universality of the sentiments he is expressing as well as his own mastery of Chinese models. It was artistically fortuitous for Mushimaro that the parting banquet for the Sillans took place in late autumn, for that season in China had long been associated with bittersweet sadness. Nagaya's salon was one of the earliest places in Japan to adopt this trope of autumn melancholy.⁴⁹ Mushimaro then continues that such mastery of literary precedent is shared by all present and is made possible by the perfected ruler. But here not only is the sovereign praised but also Prince Nagaya, as the immediate source of the day's largesse.

The preface then moves from a Confucian to a Daoist universe, in which the guests forget for a moment their worldly duties and different nationalities in the shared pleasures of wine and song amid the beauties of nature. But such moments are brief, and the day ends with intimations of the departure of the guests, who must travel the melancholy autumn road. The conflict between the shared momentary pleasures of wine and nature and the official responsibilities that mandate separation appears in several of the Silla banquet verses in *Kaifūsō*. Mushimaro's preface and poem also make explicit the traditional conflict between service to the state and renunciation. The reference to "forgetting self and surroundings" comes from Zhuangzi 莊子, and the seven sages of the Bamboo Grove were recluses of the Jin 晉 dynasty

(265–420) who gathered in natural surroundings, drank wine, and played the zither.

In an atmosphere as implicitly contestative as a meeting between Japanese and Sillans, however, the degree of literary skill with which one expressed one's transcendence of politics became itself a political statement, with ramifications for national prestige.⁵⁰ In fact, the composition of poetry was itself viewed as an official duty, incumbent upon guest and host alike. This introduces another conflict to which Mushimaro alludes, and that is the tension inherent in hosting visitors from Silla, who are at once honoured guests and potentially deadly enemies. Inkings of these cross-purposes can be sensed early in the preface, when Mushimaro mentions the "exalted and perspicacious" Japanese sovereign who "governs events," which suggests that both Japanese and Sillans come under the same imperial sway. Mushimaro then warms to this theme, noting that "the flowery centre and the hinterlands unite in glad reverence." The characters used here are *ka'i* 華夷 (literally, "flowery [centre]" and "barbarian"), a loaded term in the East Asian context. It was a given in the Tang world order that China occupied the flourishing centre, to which the surrounding barbarian states paid homage. As those barbarian satellites gradually became sinified, they adopted this imperial attitude for themselves, generating national ideologies that fashioned themselves as the centres of their own cultural sub-spheres. Japan was emulating this in its treatment of Silla, and on the Korean Peninsula Silla was doing the same, as had Baekje and Goguryeo until their demise.⁵¹ Silla classed Balhae as a barbarian state, for example, and awarded its first king Sillan court rank, thus subordinating him into a Sillan world order. The reference to "court and countryside" (*chōya* 朝野) sounds innocent on the surface and may in part relate to the Nara court and the Japanese periphery, but in the context of the previous sentence, it cannot help but assume an international dimension as well, to Silla's disadvantage.

The conclusion of the preface is particularly resonant: "Come, let every man ink his brush, take

paper in hand, and compose on these events, giving wing to exquisite phrases on the western season and continuing the tradition of fragrant verses on leaving North Bridge. May each take one character and present his work when finished.”⁵² This shows that the Sillan guests were literally “subjected,” both to these verses and *in* these verses, in public.

The same attitude is adopted in the first lines of the other preface that accompanies a Silla banquet verse, composed by another professor, Yamada no Mikata 山田三方 (*Kaifūsō* no. 52): “The gentlemanly prince, who openheartedly cherishes everyone, provides a grand entertainment with zither and wine cask. The envoys, lavishly honoured in their official appointment, joyfully behold the phoenix visage.” Mikata skips the ritual encomia of the Japanese sovereign and gets right down to business: praising his host Prince Nagaya. Perhaps the phrase “openheartedly cherishes everyone” obliquely refers to Nagaya’s generosity towards foreigners bearing tribute. Mikata then adroitly manages, in the two next lines, at once to congratulate the Sillans on the honour of having been appointed as envoys, and then to put them in their place, for that honour allows them the greater honour of calling on the Japanese, who afford them the pleasure of beholding Prince Nagaya’s glorious visage. The beginning resembles the line “The prince cherishes his guests” by Cao Zhi 曹植 (192–232), which opens a poem describing an entertainment by his elder brother Cao Pi.⁵³

Nowhere is this attitude of congeniality and condescension given better literary voice than in a poem (*Kaifūsō* no. 86) composed at Prince Nagaya’s residence by Fujiwara no Fusasaki. Fusasaki was the most politically powerful man at the banquet besides Prince Nagaya himself, being the head of the northern branch of the Fujiwara house. His verse reads thus:

Five-character lines. On a day in autumn at the residence of Prince Nagaya, fêting envoys from Silla. One verse (receiving the rhyme word “difficult” [難 *nán*, Sui/Tang *nan*]).

Emissaries who	職	貢	梯	航	使
sailed across the	●	●	○	○	●
sea bearing	入	去	平	平	去
tribute	tʃ ɪ ək	kuŋ	téi	ɦaŋ	ʃiɛi

leave us for the	從	此	及	三	韓
Three Koreans.	○	●	●	○	○
	平	上	入	平	平
	dziəŋ	ts’iē	gɪəp	sam	<u>ɦan</u>
Often is one	岐	路	分	衿	易
parted from a	○	●	○	○	●
bosom friend at a	平	去	平	平	去
fork in the road;	giē	lo	pɪuən	kɪəm	yiē
rare is sitting knee	琴	樽	促	膝	難
to knee by the	○	○	●	●	○
zither and wine	平	平	入	入	平
cask.	gɪəm	tsuən	ts’iok	siēt	<u>nan</u>
In the mountains,	山	中	猿	吟	斷
the monkey’s	○	○	○	○	●
chant is	平	平	平	平	上
wrenching;	ʃan	tɪuŋ	ɦɪuən	ŋɪəm	duan
’neath the leaves,	葉	裏	蟬	音	寒
the cicada’s cry is	●	●	○	○	○
cold.	入	上	平	平	平
	yiəp	liɛi	ʒɪɛn	ɪəm	<u>ɦan</u>
I have no parting	贈	別	無	言	語
words to give you;	●	●	○	○	●
	去	入	平	平	去
	dzəŋ	bɪɛt	miuo	ŋɪən	ŋɪo
but how many my	愁	情	幾	萬	端
melancholy	○	○	●	●	○
thoughts!	平	平	去	去	平
	dziɛu	dziɛŋ	kɪəi	mɪuən	<u>tuən</u>

○ = 平聲 *ping sheng* (level tone)

● = 仄聲 *ze sheng* (deflected tone, i.e., rising, falling, or entering)

End-rhymes are underlined

Fusasaki makes no bones about subordinating the Sillans from the start, characterizing them as having carried tribute to Japan from across the waters. He also uses the old name “the Three Koreas,” which is standard flowery language but also brings to mind the fact that Sillan suzerainty over the Korean Peninsula was a relatively recent phenomenon.

The poem itself is, first of all, a pastiche of adaptations from lines by Luo Binwang, apparently containing reworkings of portions of at least three of his poems.⁵⁴ This might seem to support the verdict of the critic mentioned earlier, who characterized the poetry in *Kaifūsō* as derivative, the work of a

“schoolboy.” Yet it raises the question of individuality and stereotypicality in the Chinese-style occasional verse of this era. As Hatooka Akira nicely puts it, “Conventional expressions were at that time actively and positively employed; more than simply being stereotypes, they represented a search for superlative models.”⁵⁵ Individual cleverness and self-expression were, of course, also desirable.⁵⁶ But in the case of poetic composition at banquets with Japanese and Sillans, poets from both countries were publicly exhibiting the degree to which they had mastered the most up-to-date Chinese examples, to which everyone present aspired. Sillans and Japanese were at once forming ties, speaking (or writing) the same acquired language, and competing to display that language’s most advanced manifestations.

Second, not only does the poem borrow heavily from new poetic examples, it also takes a modern form, moving very far towards the “recent style” of regulated verse.⁵⁷ In view of the fact that it was composed extemporaneously after the poet drew the rhyme word “difficult” (*nán*), Fusasaki’s accomplishment in constructing the proper tonal patterns, proper rhyme words and parallelism, up-to-date phrases, and expressions appropriate to a parting banquet—all in a foreign language—was “difficult” indeed.

The above examples of banquet compositions for the Sillans seem on the surface to be paeans to international concourse, and laments that such concourse must come to an end. That theme is set forth in terms of traditional Chinese poetic conflicts between friendship and parting, and between the demands of official duty on the one hand, and the pleasures of Daoist escape and “pure conversation” (*qingtan* 清談) on the other. But we have seen that beneath their congenial surface, these poems also selectively generate tensions that compromise, or at least complicate, the friendships they purport to celebrate: they praise the Sillan guests, to be sure, but on Japanese terms, with condescension towards envoys of a nation they subtly (or not so subtly) characterize as a tributary. It would be interesting indeed to learn how Japanese envoys were treated at poetic banquets in Silla, but examples have not yet been found. Probably their poetry was a good deal

more restrained and conciliatory when the geographical tables were turned.⁵⁸

There remains a final point of tension that that can be sensed in Fujiwara no Fusasaki’s poem. This is the domestic conflict between Prince Nagaya and the Fujiwara house. We have already seen that both Fusasaki and his brother Umakai were accomplished poets who attended Nagaya’s literary gatherings, but they were also canny politicians bent on Fujiwara primacy, and Prince Nagaya was beginning to stand in their way.

Fujiwara aggrandizement had begun a century before, when Fujiwara no Kamatari 藤原鎌足 (614–69) became the trusted advisor of the prince who would later become Tenchi. Together they planned the overthrow of the Soga 曾我 leaders at court, then oversaw the Taika 大化 Reform of 646, meant to centralize power in the throne. Kamatari’s son was the above-mentioned Fujiwara no Fuhito, a man of immense ability and ambition who in 709 became the first member of the Fujiwara house to sit on the prestigious Council of State. It was he who in 710 oversaw the court’s move to Nara, and by 718 he headed the Council of State himself, and his son Muchimaro had also become a member. Another son, Fusasaki, joined it thereafter. But as indicated above, Fuhito was related by marriage to Prince Nagaya as well, and the prince had four children by Fuhito’s daughter, in addition to three by his primary consort Princess Kibi. It may be, therefore, that Nagaya’s break with the Fujiwara began only after Fuhito’s death in 720.

Prince Nagaya was a counterbalance to Fujiwara hegemony. It is true that the accession of Shōmu in 724 represented a victory for the Fujiwara, since Shōmu’s mother, Fujiwara no Miyako 藤原宮子 (d. 754), was a daughter of Fuhito. But balance was restored when Prince Nagaya was appointed minister of the left and head of the Council of State. Immediately thereafter, Nagaya opposed an attempt to acquire extraordinary status for Shōmu’s Fujiwara mother, and after this, any pretense at harmony between the Nagaya and Fujiwara camps was futile. This lends support to the surmise that the banquet which Fujiwara no Fusasaki attended at Nagaya’s

residence for the Sillans was in 723, for the next year relations between him and the prince broke down. In view of this competition, it is telling to compare Fujiwara no Fusasaki's poem to Shimotsukeno no Mushimaro's. Whereas Mushimaro is lavish in his praise of Prince Nagaya and his residence, particularly in his preface, Fusasaki makes no mention at all of the prince or his largesse.

Tensions worsened still further in 727, when Shōmu's son by his Fujiwara consort Princess Asukabe 安宿 (or Asuka, later Kōmyō, 701–60, another of Fuhito's daughters) was named crown prince.⁵⁹ But to the dismay of the Fujiwara he died the following year, and during the ensuing battle for the succession, Prince Nagaya was accused of having used black magic to kill him. On the night of the tenth day of the second month of 729, he was put under house arrest for his alleged plot, his residence being surrounded by troops under the command of none other than Fujiwara no Umakai, who in earlier days had been the prince's guest. He was briskly interrogated the next day and then summarily invited to commit suicide, which he did the day after, the twelfth. His principal consort Kibi was also sentenced to death, as were their three sons and a son by another consort.⁶⁰ Thus ended the Nagaya house. But Nagaya's Fujiwara wife and four Fujiwara children were exempted from punishment.

Consensus today is that the charge of black magic in *Shoku Nihongi* was concocted by the Fujiwara faction, who after the death of the crown prince wished to name his mother principal empress (*kōgō* 皇后) in order to give precedence to her and any of her offspring, thus perpetuating Fujiwara power.⁶¹ But that title had hitherto been reserved for women of the imperial house, and Nagaya was eliminated to overcome his certain opposition. Princess Asukabe became Principal Empress Kōmyō six months later.

Nagaya may, in fact, have been even more of a threat to the Fujiwara than might be assumed by the account of his life in *Shoku Nihongi*. A *mokkan* discovered during the excavation of the Nagaya residence refers to him as "prince of the blood" (*shinnō* 親王) rather than just "prince" (*ō* or *ōkimi* 王), which means that he himself was likely a competitor for the

throne, and that his status may have been later downgraded in the official history. He may even have been appointed crown prince at one point.⁶²

Legend holds that Shōmu, who himself had been entertained at Nagaya's Saho Belvedere, felt remorse later in life over the possibility that some of those he had condemned, especially Nagaya, had been innocent, and he commissioned seven-storey pagodas in each province in atonement.⁶³ Others suggest that Nagaya's wrathful ghost remains unappeased to this day, for the department store that was built on the site of his excavated residence went bankrupt.

The banquet poems composed with Sillan envoys at Prince Nagaya's residence are, in sum, valuable for a variety of reasons. They demonstrate that some of the verses in *Kaifūsō* were rhetorically more skilled and up to date than they are sometimes characterized as being. They also show that such public verses could at once foster spiritual ties between poets of different lands and reassert claims of national dominance. And they remind us that the surface congeniality and scenic beauty of some of the banquet poems of the period disguised political rivalries of the most deadly kind.

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Notes

1. Prince Nagaya's date of birth is contested; *Kugyō bunin* states that he died at 36 or 46 *sai*, but *Kaifūsō* gives 54. *Kaifūsō* is closer in time, and scholarly consensus is coming to accept its dating (see, for example, Terasaki, *Nagaya Ō*, pp. 30–34).
2. The translation of the title *Kaifūsō* was coined by Denecke in "Writing History in the Face of the Other," p. 54. There is debate about whether or not all the poems were composed at the same banquet; one common theory is that nine were composed for a mission in 723 and one (*Kaifūsō* no. 62) for a different Sillan

- mission in 726 (see, for example, Suzuki, “Yōrōki no Nichira kankei”). But see also note 21 below. For more on the literary and political relationship between Japan and Silla in the eighth century, see Horton, *Traversing the Frontier*.
3. Heldt, *The Pursuit of Harmony*, p. 2. See also Murai, “Poetry in Chinese as a Diplomatic Art in Premodern East Asia.”
 4. See also Webb, “In Good Order.”
 5. Cao Pi’s “Lun wen” was later included in *Wenxuan*. In Owen, trans., *An Anthology of Chinese Literature*, p. 361. See also Holzman, “Literary Criticism in the Early Third Century A.D.”
 6. See Ijitsu, “Kunshin waraku to dōshi kōyū to.” This is not to say that Cao Pi was the first to set forth the relationship between writing and statecraft; it is already clearly described in the Eastern Han. See, for example, Kern, “Ritual, Text, and the Formation of the Canon,” p. 86, and Wu, *Written at Imperial Command*, pp. 13–21.
 7. Together with his observation in “Lun wen” on the centrality of writing to statecraft, Cao Pi also describes therein his views on the close relationship between composition and natural surroundings.
 8. Denecke, “Chinese Antiquity and Court Spectacle in Early *Kanshi*,” p. 104.
 9. Kojima, *Kaifūsō*, *Bunka shūreishū*, *Honchō monzui*, p. 11. *Kaifūsō* is also often attributed to Ōmi no Mifune 淡海三船 (a descendent of Prince Ōtomo 大友, the son of Tenchi who was defeated in the Jinshin War), but no attribution of the work is yet definitive.
 10. Piggott, “*Mokkan*,” p. 453.
 11. For a plan of the grounds of the mansion and a detailed discussion of various interpretations of the excavated evidence, see Machida, “Nagaya Ōtei no hakkutsu,” p. 7.
 12. Tatsumi, *Man’yōshū to Chūgoku no bungaku*, p. 359.
 13. A remark in *Hanshi waizhuan* 韓詩外傳 attributed to Confucius reads, “The superior man, when he climbs to a height, must express himself” 君子登高必賦 (Han, *Han Shih Wai Chuan*, trans. Hightower, p. 248).
 14. 夫登高能賦, 即是大夫之才 (Kojima, *Kaifūsō*, *Bunka shūreishū*, *Honchō monzui*, p. 158).
 15. See, in another translation, Legge, *Confucian Analects, The Great Learning, The Doctrine of the Mean*, p. 192.
 16. In Japan, *Wenxuan* (*J. Monzen*) was adopted as a basic text for study at the state university in 728, but it was brought to Japan much earlier and may even have influenced Prince Shōtoku’s “Seventeen-Article Constitution” of 604.
 17. “Fine season” 良辰 may also mean “lucky day”; see *Monzen (shihen)*, vol. 2, p. 683.
 18. Ōmi no Mifune, *Tō Daiwajō tōseiden*, p. 87. The verse was later included in book 732 of *Quan Tangshi*. For more on Jianzhen, see Dorothy C. Wong’s chapter in the present volume.
 19. Nagaya may, in fact, have been pious to a fault; the earliest extant collection of Japanese tale literature (*setsuwa* 説話), *Nihon ryōiki*, initially completed by the monk Kyōkai 景戒 (n.d.) in 787 and enlarged until ca. 810–24, alleges that in a fit of righteous indignation, Nagaya struck a misbehaving novice on the head with his sceptre, and that this was the root cause of his later tragedy. The *setsuwa* ends with the lesson that pride goeth before a fall, particularly where monks are concerned. The story appears in Nakamura, trans., *Miraculous Stories from the Japanese Buddhist Tradition*, pp. 158–60. For a survey of Ganjin’s contributions to the Buddhist material culture of Japan, see Dorothy C. Wong’s chapter in the present volume.
 20. *Shōku Nihongi*, pp. 133–35.
 21. The mission in 726 was led by Gim Jogeun 金造近; it arrived on 5.24, was received at the palace on 6.6, and left a month later, on 7.6 (*Shōku Nihongi*, pp. 167–69). It seems that *Kaifūsō* no. 62 was composed for the 726 mission, as it is the only one of the ten Silla banquet poems that bears the date “early autumn” (see Terasaki, *Nagaya Ō*, p. 104). But Shimada (“Utsurikawaru kisetsu,” p. 60) notes the theory of Murata Masahiro 村田正博, based on Murata’s analysis of the internal seasonal imagery in the ten poems, that they may have been composed with the Sillans on not two but three different occasions: nos. 52 and 62 in 719; nos. 63, 77, 79, and 86 in 726; and nos. 60, 68, and 71 in 723. Murata, then, evidently believes that Fusasaki (the composer of no. 86) and Nagaya were still on speaking terms in 726.
 22. Yuzawa, *Kodai Nihonjin to gaikokugo*, p. 88. There were, of course, many different forms of vernacular Chinese.
 23. Tatsumi, *Man’yōshū to Chūgoku no bungaku*, p. 360.
 24. Como, *Shōtoku*, p. 138.
 25. The dearth of native Japanese specialists in the Sillan language is demonstrated by an entry dated 761.1.9 in *Shōku Nihongi*, which notes that as part of the

- preparations for another projected attack on Silla (which never took place), forty young men were selected to begin an intensive course in the language of the enemy whom they would presumably meet on the battlefield. Their instruction was to be provided on an *ad hoc* basis by Sillan immigrants who had settled in Mino (southern Gifu Prefecture) and Musashi (Tokyo Metropolitan Prefecture, Saitama Prefecture, and northeast Kanagawa Prefecture) in eastern Japan. There was evidently no permanent system maintained for Sillan language training (Yuzawa, *Kodai Nihonjin to gaikokugo*, pp. 78, 111–13).
26. Keene, *Seeds in the Heart*, p. 77. Kōzen (*Kodai kanshi sen*, p. 13) is likewise critical of these *Kaifūsō* verses, finding their parallelism too insistent.
 27. Keene, *Seeds in the Heart*, p. 83 n. 66, notes one particularly close copy of a Chinese source by a *Kaifūsō* poet.
 28. Wang, *Ambassadors from the Islands of the Immortals*, p. 35.
 29. *Shoku Nihongi*, pp. 132–33. Archery competitions were often part of formal court entertainments in China, reflecting a dual emphasis on the “civil and martial ways” (*wenwu zhi dao* 文武之道); see Wu, *Written at Imperial Command*, p. 59.
 30. Two foreign poets who do appear in the early Heian Japanese *kanshi* anthology *Bunka shūreishū* (818) were members of a Balhae mission to Japan in 814: Wang Hyoryeom 王孝廉 (?–814?), head of the delegation, and Injeong 仁貞, a scribe (Kojima, *Kaifūsō, Bunka shūreishū, Honchō monzui*, pp. 210–28). I am indebted to Brendan Morley for his remarks on this topic.
 31. Kō, “*Kaifūsō* to Chūgoku no shiritsugaku,” p. 178.
 32. This is not to say that tonal regulation only appears in the Tang; it took two centuries to develop, and elements of it are seen in the verses of Shen Yue 沈約 (441–513) and Xie Tiao 謝朓 (464–99); see Kōzen, *Kodai kanshi sen*, p. 6. There are fewer than ten perfect recent-style verses in *Kaifūsō* (though, to be sure, the recent style had variations), but the rule about alternating the tones (between the “level” tone [平聲, Ch. *píngshēng*; J. *hyōsei/hyōshō*] and the three “deflected” tones [仄聲, Ch. *zèshēng*; J. *sokusei/sokushō*]) of the second and fourth characters in a line (二四不同, Ch. *ersi butong*; J. *nishi fudō*) is usually observed among recent-style verse in five-character lines. The rule about tonal correlation between lines is less often followed (i.e., the tones of the second and fourth characters in the second line should be the opposite of those in the first line but the same as those in the third; the tones of the second and fourth characters in the fourth line should be the opposite of those in the third, but the same as those in the fifth, and so on). The rule is also observed about the lines of the second couplet being parallel as well as those of the third (Kōzen, *Kodai kanshi sen*, p. 13). Indeed, there is a tendency in *Kaifūsō* also to make parallel the lines of the first couplet, which is optional in Chinese practice, and even those of the last couplet, which is counter to the usual Chinese example. Rhyme at the ends of the even-numbered lines is also maintained, and those rhyme words should be in the level tone (hence the criticism of the “insistent” parallelism of the *Kaifūsō* examples, mentioned earlier). For a succinct guide to composition in the recent style, see Cai, “Recent-Style *Shi* Poetry.”
 33. It is unclear whether one of Prince Nagaya’s three poems (no. 67) was composed at his residence or at court. If it is included, then the total number of poems composed at the Nagaya residence is twenty. It is in the old style.
 34. Saitō Kiyoe 齊藤清衛, for one, thinks that those poets who had been to China would have read their poems in Chinese (Kō, “*Kaifūsō* to Chūgoku no shiritsugaku,” p. 192).
 35. This preface contains a variety of recondite references to such Chinese classics as *Chuci* 楚辭 (The songs of the south) and *Zhongyong* 中庸 (The doctrine of the mean). Some of the passages admit of other interpretations; I have relied on Eguchi, *Kaifūsō*; Hayashi, *Kaifūsō shinchū*; Kojima, *Kaifūsō, Bunka shūreishū, Honchō monzui*; and Sawada, *Kaifūsō chūshaku*.
 36. Here, the rhyme of lines 2, 4, 6, and 8 is based upon the character “before” zen 前 (EMCh. *dzen*): sen 千 (*ts’ēn*), ken 肩 (*ken*), zen 前 (*dzen*), and gen 絃 (*hēn*). These reconstructions are from Tōdō, *Gakken Kanwa daijiten*.
 37. Infantry Commandant Zhang was Zhang Jiyong 張季鷹 (Zhang Han 張翰) of the Jin, who grew homesick and relinquished his office when the autumn breezes blew.
 38. Grand Master Song was Song Yu 宋玉, a disciple of Qu Yuan 屈原. Song Yu is thought to have written “*Jiu bian*” 九辨 (Nine changes) when Qu Yuan was exiled.

- The nine verses are found in *Chuci*. Mushimaro refers to the first two lines of the first poem of “Jiu bian”: “Alas for the breath of autumn! / Wan and drear: flower and leaf fluttering fall and turn to decay.” Hawkes, trans., *The Songs of the South*, p. 209.
39. “Now, over the kingdom, carriages have all wheels of the same size; all writing is with the same characters; and for conduct there are the same rules.” *Doctrine of the Mean*, Chapter 28, in Legge, trans., *Confucian Analects, The Great Learning, The Doctrine of the Mean*, p. 424.
40. The phoenix was a traditional indication of royalty in China. Goose Pond was named after one in the palace of the King of Liang. It became a generic term for a mansion pond.
41. “Wise man” (*kenjin*) is a name for a kind of thick wine but also has overtones that apply to the cultured participants. This is unfiltered wine or ale. Wine was outlawed in the Northern Wei 北魏 dynasty (386–534), so code words were invented—“wise man” for unfiltered wine and “sage man” for filtered. “Nandufu” 南都賦 (Southern Capital rhapsody) by Zhang Pingzi 張平子 in *Wenxuan* includes the line “unstrained spirits covered with inch-thick sediment” (Knechtges, trans., *Wenxuan*, vol. 1, p. 325).
42. The “long slope” appears in “Gongyanshi” 公讌詩 (Prince’s banquet verse), a famous composition by Cao Pi’s brother, Cao Zhi. It appears in *Wenxuan*; see Cutter, “Cao Zhi (192–232) and His Poetry,” pp. 76–77.
43. This refers to the lines by Song Yu alluded to at the beginning of the preface.
44. This is taken from Ban Yue 潘嶽, “Qiuxingfu” 秋興賦 (Rhapsody on autumn inspirations): “All is gloomy and sad, like traveling afar. / Climbing a hill, looking down on a stream, sending someone off on a homeward journey.” Knechtges, trans., *Wen xuan*, vol. 3, p. 15.
45. North Bridge appears in “Jiu huai” 九懷 (Nine regrets) in *Chuci*: “Leaving North Bridge behind, / I take my leave forever.” Hawkes, trans., *The Songs of the South*, p. 276.
46. One signal exception is the preface by Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (330–61) to what may have been the most famous East Asian poetic banquet of all, held in China at the Orchid Pavilion on the third of the third month in 353. For a translation, see Owen, *An Anthology of Chinese Literature*, pp. 283–84. As mentioned above, Xie Lingyun also employs the preface form.
47. Konishi, *A History of Japanese Literature*, p. 379.
48. Kojima, *Kaifūsō, Bunka shūreishū, Honchō monzui*, pp. 460–62. The other two of the Four Elites of the early Tang were Yang Jiong 楊炯 (650–92) and Lu Zhaolin 盧照鄰 (636–89). Cranston (*A Waka Anthology*, p. 537) points out the influence of Wang Bo and Luo Binwang on Ōtomo no Tabito’s *kanbun* preface to the 32 verses composed at his plum-blossom party of 730.
49. Tatsumi, *Man’yōshū to Chūgoku no bungaku*, p. 366.
50. On the apparent contradiction between panegyric poetry and the eremitic impulse, see Wu, *Written at Imperial Command*, pp. 87–88.
51. Sakayori, “Ka’i shisō no shosō,” pp. 29, 34.
52. Extemporaneous composition of a preface such as Mushimaro’s at a banquet would have required preternatural skill, though Wang Bo is said to have done just that. It is far more likely that Mushimaro prepared his preface in advance and unveiled it in public later. For an engaging description of a similar contestative international poetic gathering involving the great literatus Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 (845–903), see Borgen, *Sugawara no Michizane and the Early Heian Court*, pp. 228–40.
53. Cao Zhi’s poem “Gongyanshi” cf.n.42 is discussed in Cutter, “Cao Zhi (192–232) and His Poetry,” pp. 76–77.
54. For specific examples, see Kojima, *Kaifūsō, Bunka shūreishū, Honchō monzui*, pp. 146, 465.
55. Hatooka, “Kaifūsō no shizen byōsha,” p. 123.
56. As Wu (*Written at Imperial Command*, pp. 211–12) points out, “When addressing an imperial ruler, the way in which a poet expressed himself could not be the same as in a private situation. . . . But this did not mean that his personal reaction to the poetic occasion had to be entirely abandoned or sacrificed.”
57. These Sui/Tang pronunciations are taken from Tōdō, *Gakken Kanwa daijiten*. See also Pulleybank.
58. As Borgen (*Sugawara no Michizane and the Early Heian Court*, p. 230) speculates with regard to Balhae (Parhae), “Japanese visitors [to Parhae] perhaps followed the practice of their compatriots who in China discreetly adopted a more humble posture than they were willing to admit when they returned home, for at home Parhae too may have regarded itself as yet another Central Kingdom.”
59. This was Crown Prince Motoi 基, the only male child born to Shōmu and Kōmyō. But their daughter later

- assumed the throne as Kōken 孝謙 (r. 749–58), then later reassumed it as Shōtoku 稱徳 (r. 764–70).
60. It is unknown whether the prince was arrested at the downtown residence or at the Saho Belvedere (as observed earlier, they may have been in the same location). *Nihon ryōiki* preserves the legend that his cremated remains were sent to Tosa, but that this brought death to many in the area, so the remains were instead laid to rest on an island off the coast of Kii. *Shoku Nihongi*, by contrast, states that the prince's remains were interred at Ikomayama, near Nara.
61. The theory was proposed by Kishi (*Nihon kodai seijishi kenkyū*, pp. 213–55). For the background of the rivalry between Nagaya and the Fujiwara, see Piggott, “Mokkan,” pp. 458–61, and Naoki, “The Nara State,” pp. 245–49.
62. Indeed, Nagaya is referred to as *shinnō* in the *setsuwa* account from *Nihon ryōiki* mentioned in note 19 above.
63. This was the beginning of the program to build a national network of temples (*kokubunji* 國分寺); see Tatsumi, *Higeki no saishō Nagata Ō*, pp. 134–36.

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