

Japanese GR8040 (Graduate Seminar in Premodern Japanese Literature) • Spring 2023  
The *Fudoki*: Writing Place in 8<sup>th</sup> Century Japanese Literature

Tuesdays 4:10-6:00pm • 613 Hamilton

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Office Hours: by appointment at <https://calendly.com/lurie-columbia/virtual-office-hours>

Office hours are **online by default**, at the Zoom link you will receive automatically when signing up at the link above. Depending on my location and the state of the pandemic I may email to offer you an in-person option, but if you don't hear from me, we will meet on Zoom.

### Course Rationale:

The small corpus of works surviving from the Nara period (the 8th century) includes poetry anthologies (the *Man'yōshū* and *Kaifūsō*) and prose works of mytho-history (the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*), but also dozens of gazetteers recording local myths and legends from all over the archipelago: the *fudoki* 風土記. Only five of these texts survive in anything approximating their original form (for Hitachi, Harima, Izumo, Bungo, and Hizen provinces), but hundreds of quotations from now-lost gazetteers (*itsubun* 逸文) are found in commentaries, temple and shrine records, and other sources of the Heian and Medieval periods. Taken as a whole, the *fudoki* accounts provide a remarkable picture of the religion, legends, lifeways, and political economy of the early Japanese countryside, as viewed by bureaucrats and officials of the central *ritsuryō* state and its local organs. Historians have long relied on these texts as precious sources of information unavailable elsewhere, but they also represent a distinctive strain of early literary writing. This class will serve as an introduction to the *fudoki*, and through their interconnections to contemporary texts, as a survey of 8<sup>th</sup> century Japanese history and literature more generally.

### Prerequisites and Expectations:

Familiarity with *kanbun* and/or Classical Chinese will certainly be very helpful, but we generally will not be dealing with early period texts in their original forms (nearly all of the editions we consult will be in *yomikudashi* using the standard modern mixed orthography), so such skills are not required.

(Accommodations will be made for the handful of readings for which *yomikudashi* are not available.)

**However, students must have advanced capabilities in Classical Japanese and be able to read modern Japanese scholarly writing with speed and accuracy.** Anyone with concerns about their linguistic preparation should discuss them with the instructor. Students who are not already familiar with Nara period Japanese should review the discussion of some prominent departures from the Heian classical standard that is provided by pp. 308-321 of Haruo Shirane's *Classical Japanese: A Grammar* (Columbia, 2005); other aspects will be discussed as they come up in the reading.

It goes without saying, but as this is an advanced graduate seminar, expectations for quality of preparation and participation are high. Students who miss postings, or who come to class unprepared to read and translate from the primary sources and to discuss in detail the other assigned texts, will be required to drop the course.

### Assignments:

In addition to preparing the assigned readings for each week, students are required to do the following starting with Week 2. First, submit a brief Courseworks posting (500 words or less) by **midnight on Sunday**, raising questions about or otherwise responding to one or more of the secondary sources. Then, as part of preparation for in-class reading and translation of the primary source selections, by **midnight on Monday** students are also required to *email* to the instructor (do not post on Courseworks) a very short memo (a few sentences or at most a brief paragraph) with an observation or question about a particular key term or phrase used in one of that week's primary readings.

### Final project:

This paper (**due on MONDAY 15 MAY**) is meant to be a short analytic exercise (around 10 pages), with minimal reliance on secondary sources (other than those assigned in class). Students are encouraged to

pursue a topic with connections to their own research interests; comparative projects or discussions of theoretical issues are welcome, but **the paper must be substantially connected to at least one entry from one of the five ‘old fudoki’ or a quoted fragment.** Please keep this project in mind from the beginning of the semester, and consult with the instructor about it by mid-April.

### Schedule:

NOTE: All readings have been provided as PDFs on Courseworks. They are arranged by session in the Files section, excepting selections from the *fudoki*, for which consult the scan of the entire *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* (SNKBZ) edition (at the top of Files); this text is also available through Japan Knowledge.

#### 1) 17 Jan. **Introduction**

#### 2) 24 Jan. **Overview: Locating the Fudoki**

- 1) *Shoku Nihongi* entry for Wadō 6 [713]/5/2 (*Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei*), p. 197 line 16-p. 199 line 3, with supplementary commentaries (*hochū*) 2:104 and 6:10-12
- 2) Opening of the *Hitachi fudoki* (SNKBZ p. 354 lines 15-16)
- 3) *Izumo fudoki* concluding signatures to district sections: Ou (p. 159), Shimane (185), Aika (197), Tatenui (207), Izumo (225-26), Kamudo (239), Ōshi (250), Nita (259), Ōhara (271), and to overall conclusion (277)

- a) David Lurie, “Introduction: Writing, Literacy, and the Origins of Japanese Literature” and “Fudoki Gazetteers,” *Cambridge History of Japanese Literature* (2016), pp. 15-21 and 45-49
- b) Sakaue Yasutoshi, “The *Ritsuryō* State,” *Routledge Handbook of Premodern Japanese History* (2017), pp. 82-98
- c) Miura Sukekyū, *Fudoki no sekai* (Iwanami shoten, 2016), pp. 32-54
- d) *Kokushi daijiten* entry on *ge* 解

#### 3) 31 Jan. **Itsubun: Quoted Fragments**

- 1) *Settsu no kuni fudoki* (quoted in *Shaku Nihongi*), Imeno: pp. 427-28
  - 2) *Yamashiro no kuni fudoki* (quoted in *Shaku Nihongi*), Kamo no yashiro: pp. 437-39
- a) Hirooka Yoshitaka, “Fudoki itsubun,” in *Fudoki o manabu hito no tame ni* (Sekai shisōsha, 2001), pp. 239-255
  - b) Kaneoka Rie, *Fudoki juyōshi kenkyū* (Kasama shoin, 2008), pp. 1-17
  - c) Glen Dudbridge, *Lost Books of Medieval China* (British Library, 2000), pp. 1-52
  - d) Glenn Most, “On Fragments,” in *The Fragment: An Incomplete History*, ed. William Tronzo (Getty Research Institute, 2009), pp. 9-20

#### 4) 7 Feb. **Harima no kuni fudoki**

- 1) Nabitsuma Island: p. 29 lines 6-13
- 2) Atsu no mura: p. 47 l. 14-p. 48 l. 1
- 3) Ōbo-oka: p. 71 lines 5-14
- 4) Nakatsugawa no sato: p. 79 l. 12-p. 81 l. 10

- a) Edwina Palmer, *Harima Fudoki: A Record of Ancient Japan Translated, Annotated, and With Commentary* (Brill, 2016): read the introduction (pp. 1-54) and **skim** the entire translation (pp. 67-247)

5) 14 Feb. *Hitachi no kuni fudoki*

- 1) Takaku no sato: p. 365 lines 4-11
- 2) Yato no kami: p. 377 l. 9-p. 379 l. 14
- 3) Ōkushi: p. 403 l. 4-p. 404 l. 1

- a) Mark Funke, “Hitachi no Kuni Fudoki” *Monumenta Nipponica* 49:1 (Spring 1994), pp. 1-29
- b) Inoue Tatsuo/Michiko Aoki, “The *Hitachi fudoki* and the Fujiwara,” in *Capital and Countryside in Japan, 300-1180* (Cornell East Asia Series, 2006), pp. 103-127

6) 21 Feb. *Izumo no kuni fudoki*

- 1) Tatenui no sato: p. 141 l. 8-p.143 l. 12
- 2) Kaka no kamuzaki: p. 181 l. 11-p. 182 last line
- 3) Uka no sato: p. 213 lines 6-16

- a) Anders Carlqvist, “A Natural Treasury: Plants and Animals in *Izumo fudoki*,” *Japan Review* 19 (2007), pp. 77-105
- b) Richard Torrance, “The Infrastructure of the Gods: Izumo in the Yayoi and Kofun Periods,” *Japan Review* 29 (2016), pp. 3-38

7) 28 Feb. *Bungo no kuni fudoki* / *Hizen no kuni fudoki*

- 1) *Bungo fudoki*: Kubi no mine and Tano, p. 303 l. 6-p. 305 l. 2
- 2) *Hizen fudoki*: Himekoso no sato, p. 315 l. 14-p. 317 l. 10
- 3) *Hizen fudoki*: Matura district introduction, p. 329 lines 3-14

- a) Hashimoto Masayuki, *Fudoki kenkyū no saizensen* (Shin jinbutsu ōraisha, 2013), pp. 93-98
- b) Chō Yōichi, “Man’yō to fudoki no sekai,” in *Kodai no Nihon* vol. 3 (1970), pp. 272-287

8) 7 March **Earth Spiders (*tsuchigumo*)**

- 1) **Skim** accounts of Jinmu, with particular attention to bolded pages: *Nihon shoki* (NKBT pp. 188-217 [**210**]/Aston pp. 109-137 [**129-30**]) and *Kojiki* (SNKBZ pp. 140-165 [**153**]/Philippi pp. 163-185 [**174**])
- 2) *Nihon shoki* Keikō 12/10 (Aston pp. 194-95; NKBT 288-90)
- 3) *Bungo fudoki*: Tsubaichi/Chita, p. 295 lines 5-12
- 4) *Hizen fudoki*: Saka no kōri, p. 325 l. 11-p. 327 l. 8; Ōya no shima and Chika no sato, p. 334 last line-p. 337 l. 3; Suka no sato, p. 345 l. 12-p. 346 l. 14
- 5) *Hitachi fudoki*: Ubaraki district intro., p. 367 l. 10-p. 369 l. 9
- 6) *Echigo no kuni fudoki* (quoted in *Shaku Nihongi*): pp. 471-72
- 7) *Hyūga no kuni fudoki* (quoted in *Man’yōshū chūshaku* and *Shaku Nihongi*): pp. 557-58

**NOTE: see Appendix for list of all *fudoki* references to *tsuchigumo***

- a) Nagafuji Yasushi, “Hizen no kuni fudoki no tsuchigumo o yomu,” *Kokubungaku* (Gakutōsha) 54:7 (2009), pp. 34-41
- b) “Tsuchigumo,” in *Kodai fudoki no jiten* (Tōkyōdō shuppan, 2018), pp. 108-109

***Tsuchigumo* workshop with Prof. Kaneoka: Friday 10 March, time and place TBA**

**Spring break: no class on 14 March**

9) 21 March **The Land-Pulling Myth**

- 1) Izumo *fudoki* Ou district introduction: p. 135 l. 15-p. 139 l. 16
  - 2) Commentary in Matsumoto Naoki, *Izumo no kuni fudoki chūshaku* (Shintensha, 2007), pp. 40-53
  - 3) For reference (**not required**): Motoori Norinaga, “Izumo fudoki Ou-gun no na no yue o shiruseru bun,” in *Tamagatsuma (Nihon shisō taikai 40* [Iwanami shoten, 1978), pp. 323-328 (translation in John Bentley, *Tamakatsuma* [Cornell East Asia Series, 2013], pp. 261-69)
- a) Anders Carlqvist, “The Land-Pulling Myth and Some Aspects of Historic Reality,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 37:2, pp. 185–222
  - b) Ishimoda Shō, “Kodai bungaku seiritsu no ikkatei,” in *Nihon kodai kokkaron 2* (Iwanami shoten, 1973 [originally published 1957], pp. 1-93 (**focus on sections 1, 2, 3, & 7: pp. 2-41 & 84-90**))

10) 28 March **Susano-o as Plague God: Somin Shōrai**

- 1) Read/review Susano-o in *Nihon shoki*: book 1 main narrative sections V-VIII and *issho* variants VII:3 and VIII:4-5 (in NKBT [on Courseworks]; Aston vol. 1 pp. 18-20, 33-36, 40-45; 52-55; *issho* at pp. 48-52 and 57-59)
  - 2) *Bingo no kuni Fudoki* (quoted in *Shaku Nihongi*), “Enokuma no kuni tsu yashiro,” pp. 496-97
- a) James Grayson, “Susa-no-o: A Culture Hero from Korea,” *Japan Forum* 14:3 (2002), pp. 465–487 (**skim** the portions that detail fieldwork at shrines in the Izumo region)
  - b) Neil McMullin, “On Placating the Gods and Pacifying the Populace: The Case of the Gion ‘Goryō’ Cult,” *History of Religions* 27:3 (1988), 270-93 (**skim** the portions that focus on the Heian period)
  - c) Masuo Shin’ichirō, “Somin Shōrai denshō kō,” in *Fudoki no hyōgen* (Kasama shoin, 2009), pp. 281-294

11) 4 April **Ōnamu/[o]chi/Ōkuninushi and Sukunabikona**

- 1) Read/review Ōnamuchi in the *Kojiki* (SNKBZ & Philippi [pp. 93-117] on Courseworks) and *Nihon shoki* (Book 1 *issho* variant VIII:6 [Aston pp. 59-63])
  - 2) Izumo *fudoki*, Mori no sato, p. 139 l.17-p. 141 l.3
  - 3) Izumo *fudoki*, Takakishi no sato; Nita no kōri/Misawa no sato, p. 229 l. 14-p. 230 and p. 251 l. 13-p. 253 l. 7
  - 4) Harima *fudoki*, Hanioka no sato, p. 93 l.11-p. 95 l. 8
  - 5) *Iyo no kuni Fudoki* (quoted in *Shaku Nihongi*), from “Yu no kōri,” p. 505 first paragraph
- a) Richard Torrance, “Ōnamochi: The Great God who Created All Under Heaven,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 46:2 (2019), pp. 277–317
  - b) Kimura Shigeo, “Fudoki to Kiki no Ōnamuchi” and Ui Takashi, “Ajisuki-takahiko,” *Fudoki no kami to shūkyōteki sekai* (Ōfū, 1997) pp. 64-67 and 83-87

12) 11 April **Urashimako (=Urashimatarō)**

- 1) *Nihon shoki* Yūryaku annal (22nd year, 7th month), NKBT p. 497 lines 2-4
- 2) *Tango no kuni fudoki* (as quoted in the *Shaku Nihongi*), pp. 473-479
- 3) *Man’yōshū* 9:1740-41

- a) Ibaraki Yoshiyuki, “*Tango no kuni fudoki* itsubun to sono zanketsu,” *Kokubungaku* (Gakutōsha) 54:7 (2009), pp. 52-61 (for reference, PDF of *Tango no fudoki zanketsu* is on Courseworks)
- b) Sakurai Mitsuru, “Mizunoe Urashimako o yomu uta,” in Itō and Inaoka, eds., *Man’yōshū o manabu* 5 (Yuhikaku, 1978), pp. 154-65

### 13) 18 April **Yamato Takeru**

- 1) Skim Yamato Takeru narratives from *Nihon shoki* (Keikō annal; Aston pp. 188-214) and *Kojiki* (Philippi pp. 228-254) (NKBT/SNKBZ scans also on Courseworks)
- 2) Izumo *fudoki*, Takerube no sato, p. 209 lines 7-15
- 3) Hitachi *fudoki*: Intro, p. 355 lines 9-17; Namekata district intro, p. 373 lines 5-15; Tagima no sato and Kitsu no sato, p. 385 l. 10-p. 387 l. 8; Akita no mura, p. 417 l. 6-p. 419 l. 1

a) David Bialock, “Royalizing the Realm and the Ritualization of Violence,” *Eccentric Spaces, Hidden Histories: Narrative, Ritual, and Royal Authority from The Chronicles of Japan to The Tale of the Heike* (Stanford University Press, 2007), pp. 111-142

b) Taniguchi Masahiro, “Hitachi no kuni fudoki Yamato Takeru Tennō no jidai ninshiki,” *Fudoki setsuwa no hyōgen sekai* (Kasama shoin, 2018), pp. 105-123

### 14) 25 April **Mt. Tsukuba and the Orgy of Song**

- 1) Hitachi *fudoki*, Tsukuwa no kōri, p. 359 l. 14-p. 363 l. 12; Warawa no matsubara, p. 398 last line-p. 401 l. 5)
- 2) Takahashi no Mushimaro’s Tsukuba poems: MYS 9:1757-58 & 1759-60

a) Saigō Nobutsuna, “Ichi to utagaki,” *Kodai no koe* (expanded edition; Asahi shinbunsha, 1995 [originally published 1980]), pp. 4-34

b) Asami Tōru, “Tsukubayama ni noborite kagai o suru uta,” in *Seminā Man’yō no kajin to saku hin* vol. 7 (2001), pp. 246-258

FINAL PAPER DUE by end of day on **MONDAY 15 MAY**; electronic version as attachment to email.

#### Sources (editions, translations, and references):

For the *fudoki*, our standard edition is the 1997 Shōgakkan *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* (SNKBZ) edition (PDF available on Courseworks, and also on Japan Knowledge). The old Iwanami *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* (NKBT) edition (1958) is still worth consulting (in part because it has a different selection of *itsubun*), as is the much more recent Kadokawa shoten paperback (2 vols., 2015); both are on reserve in Starr Library. There are other modern collected editions (such as the 1969 Tōyō bunko volume, an annotated *gendaigoyaku*, also on Japan Knowledge), but there are also individual commentaries of great importance. Two we will consult this semester are Matsumoto Naoki’s *Izumo no kuni fudoki chūshaku* (Shintensha 2007) and the Jōdai bunken o yomu kai *Fudoki itsubun chūshaku* (Kanrin shobō, 2001), both of which are also on reserve. There is an English translation of the five ‘old *fudoki*’ by Michiko Aoki (*Records of Wind and Earth*, 1997) but it should be consulted with caution. As assigned in the schedule above, there is also a partial translation of the Hitachi *fudoki* by Mark Funke (*Monumenta Nipponica*, 1994) and a complete, heavily annotated translation of the Harima *fudoki* by Edwina Palmer (Brill, 2016).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Since 2009, Anders Carlqvist has serialized at least five sections of an annotated translation of the Izumo *fudoki* in *Izumo kodaishi kenkyū*, but unfortunately Starr doesn’t hold this journal and there is no online availability. Profs. Kaneoka and Lurie are preparing a selected volume of annotated *fudoki* translations, tentatively entitled *Local Legends of Ancient Japan: A Fudoki Reader*.

For the *Kojiki*, consult the 1997 SNKBZ edition (available on Japan Knowledge). The best extended commentary is still Motoori Norinaga's *Kojikiden* (completed in 1798 and best consulted in vols. 9-12 of the Chikuma shobō *Motoori Norinaga zenshū* [1968-1974]), but Kurano Kenji's *Kojiki zenchūshaku* (Sanseidō, 1973-1980) and Saigō Nobutsuna's *Kojiki chūshaku* (Heibonsha, 1975-1989) are also valuable. Kokugakuin University has an online "Kojiki viewer" with an extensive in-progress commentary that will eventually be completely translated into English.<sup>2</sup> The *Kojiki* itself has been translated into English half a dozen times. The recent rendition by Gustav Heldt (Columbia, 2014) is innovative and rewarding, but for the purposes of this class the one to consult is Donald Philippi's version (University of Tokyo Press, 1969; recently reissued at an exorbitant price by Princeton University Press), which encapsulates in its copious notes much of the best mid-20th century Japanese scholarship on that text.

For the *Nihon shoki* the most useful complete edition is the 1994-1995 Iwanami bunko paperback edition, which is a corrected re-typesetting of the 1965-67 NKBT edition. This can be consulted along with the more recent SNKBZ edition (available on Japan Knowledge), which is also complete, but the most comprehensive modern edition is the in-progress *Shin'shaku zen'yaku Nihon shoki* (Kōdansha, 2021-). The first modern commentary is still valuable: Iida Takesato's 1902 *Nihon shoki tsūshaku* (which ideally should be consulted along with the major Edo commentaries, the *Nihon shoki tsūshō* and *Shoki shikkai*). The only published English version is W. G. Aston's 1896 *Nihongi*, but students should be aware that a new translation is being prepared by their *senpai* Prof. Matthieu Felt (University of Florida).

For the *Man'yōshū* the 1994-1996 SNKBZ edition (on Japan Knowledge) is standard; it should be consulted alongside the 1999-2003 Iwanami *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* (SNKBT; Maruzen eBook Library version available through CLIO; revised version now available as an Iwanami bunko paperback). Among a number of recent commentaries the most influential is probably Itō Haku's *Man'yōshū shakuchū* (1995-1999), but Omodaka Hisataka's *Man'yōshū chūshaku* (1957-1970) remains an essential resource. Edwin Cranston's *Waka Anthology Volume One: The Gem-Glistening Cup* (1993) contains translations of just under a third of the *Man'yōshū*; the first five books are translated by Ian Hideo Levy in *The Ten Thousand Leaves* (1991).

Valuable references include the *Nihon koten bungaku daijiten*, *Kokushi daijiten* (on Japan Knowledge, minus illustrations), *Nihon kokugo daijiten* (on Japan Knowledge), *Jidaibetsu Kokugo daijiten: Jōdai-hen*, *Nihon shinwa jiten*, *Jōdai bungaku kenkyū jiten*, *Jōdai setsuwa jiten*. Students should familiarize themselves with all of these works, especially the first four. Reference works specific to the *fudoki* include: *Kodai fudoki no jiten* (Tōkyōdō shuppan, 2018); *Fudoki tanbō jiten* (Tōkyōdō shuppan, 2006); *Ko-fudoki narabi ni fudoki itsubun goku sakuin* (Izumi shoin, 1999), all of which are on reserve in Starr. There is also a specialist journal: *Fudoki kenkyū*, published since 1985; Starr library holdings are uneven, but become more reliable from about fifteen years ago.

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<sup>2</sup> <http://kojiki.kokugakuin.ac.jp/>

## APPENDIX: INDEX OF TSUCHIGUMO IN FUDOKI

FUDOKI	ITSUBUN SOURCE	COUNTY	LOCAL TOPONYM	SNKBZ page*	NKBT page*	風土記逸文注釈 page
豊後		日田郡	石井郷	286	358	
豊後		日田郡	五馬山	288	360	
豊後		直入郡	祢疑野	292	362	
豊後		直入郡	蹶石野	292	362	
豊後		直入郡	宮処野	292	364	
豊後		大野郡	海石榴市・血田	294	364	
豊後		大野郡	網磯野	294	364	
豊後		速見郡		300	368	
肥前				310	378	
肥前		佐嘉郡		326	392	
肥前		小城郡		326	392	
肥前		松浦郡	賀周里	332	396	
肥前		松浦郡	大家嶋	334	398	
肥前		松浦郡	直嘉郷	334	400	
肥前		杵嶋郡	嬢子山	338	402	
肥前		藤津郡	能美郷	340	402	
肥前		彼杵郡		342	404	
肥前		彼杵郡	浮穴郷	344	406	
肥前		彼杵郡	周賀郷	344	408	
常陸		茨城郡		366	46	
常陸		久慈郡	薩都里	410	84	
逸・摂津	『釈日本紀』9 (神武)			437	427	80
逸・陸奥	伴信友『古風土記逸文』*		八槻郷	468-469	463	283
逸・越後	『釈日本紀』10 (景行)			472	466	303
逸・肥後	『釈日本紀』10 (景行)			553	520	719
逸・日向	『万葉集註釈』10 (釈紀8)**		知鋪郷	558	524	773

\*大善院旧記 (now lost)

\*原文 location

\*原文 location

\*\*MYS 20:4465 (神代紀下)