

Language and Representation with *ōgi* and *uchiwa* Fans: Considering “Applied Knowledge” in the Early Modern Period

SUZUKI Ken’ichi

Translated by Jeffrey KNOTT

1. Introduction

The arrival of spring is heralded by the aroma of the plum blossom, or perhaps by the call of the warbler, or the wind that melts the ice. The river Asukagawa serves as symbol for the transience of things. Thus it is that elements of the natural world, and when enshrined as stock “poem-pillows” (*utamakura*) also many place-names, are found to bear particular standardized meanings. In some cases, such a phenomenon can also be observed with regards to items of human manufacture. Let mention of a certain class of item come to recall associations with some concrete event in particular—with repetition of the association, over time it finds itself a fixed feature on mental maps of “knowledge” shared by large numbers of people. In this paper I will explore the nature of this process through the example of two kinds of traditional Japanese fan: the accordion-folding *ōgi* 扇 fan, and the flat, round-shaped *uchiwa* 団扇 fan.

First, I will summarize in brief the general understanding as regards *ōgi* and *uchiwa* fans. The *ōgi* is a type of fan original to Japan, one developed during the Heian period. At the end of the Heian period it spread to China, where in the Song era the *zhedieshan* 摺疊扇 (or *tangshan* 唐扇) appeared. There are two kinds of *ōgi* fan, the *hi-ōgi* 檜扇 (“cypress-fan”) made with slats of wood, and the *kōmori-ōgi* 蝙蝠扇 (“bat-fan”; also *kawabori-ōgi*) made with paper. By the early modern period, it had spread in use to the population at large, giving rise to travelling peddlers of *ōgi* fans and their backing paper.

In contrast, the *uchiwa* fan can be traced back to ancient China, where indeed the very character for “fan” designated one of the *uchiwa* type. What today we would call an *uchiwa* is also described in the Han-dynasty “Poem on a Bamboo Fan” (*Zhusan-shi* 竹扇詩) by Ban Gu 班固 (32–82). The *uchiwa* type further spread to the Korean peninsula, where it was known as a “pine-fan” (*songseon* 松扇).

It arrived in Japan, however, from mainland China. In the early modern period, a variation known as the “Edo *uchima*” became popular, and some people even made their living as *uchima*-peddlers.

Such an account can also be found in *Katei kidan* 過庭紀談 (pub. Tenpō 天保 5/1834) by Hara Sōkei 原雙桂 (1718–1767):

凡ソ扇ト云ヒ、扇子ト云ハ、皆団扇ノコトナリ。今本邦ニテ扇ト云モノハ、本邦ニテ造リ始メシモノニテ、中国ニハ元来無キモノナリ。中国へハ宋ノ時始メテ本邦ヨリ渡リシト云フ、明ノ永樂以後ハ本邦ヨリ渡リシコト、毎度タシカニ見ユ。本邦ニテ今云フ扇ノコトハ、アノ方ニテ摺疊扇トモ、帖扇トモ、撒扇トモ云。団扇ハアノ方ニ古来ヨリ有リシ物ニテ、篲トモ、便面トモ云フハ、皆団扇ノコトナリ。

As a rule, when it comes to fans, the word *sensu* 扇子 always refers to the *uchima* type. What today in Japan we call an *ōgi* was first made in this country, and did not originally exist in China. It is said to have first crossed over from Japan to China during the Song period, and from the Yongle 永樂 era [1403–24] of the Ming period onwards, we certainly see it crossing over from Japan again and again. What we now call *ōgi* here in Japan, is over there called *zhedieshan* 摺疊扇 or *tieshan* 帖扇 or *sashan* 撒扇. *Uchima*, on the other hand, have been present over there since ancient times, so that words such as *sha* 篲 or *bianmian* 便面 all refer to *uchima*.¹

Furthermore, in the “Clothing and Other Handheld Items” (*fuku gangu* 服玩具) section found in vol. 26 of the encyclopedic *Wakan sansai zue* 和漢三才図会 (preface pub. date: Shōtoku 正徳 2/1712) the image under the entry for *ōgi* shows a *kōmori-ōgi* (Figure 1), with *hi-ōgi* and *uchima* appearing under separate entries (Figure 2).

What both *ōgi* and *uchima* can be said to have in common is the property of artificially producing a small space of coolness, and thereby manifesting a bit of the natural world in the midst of daily life. This property moreover shares something fundamental in common with what I have argued² is a certain “nature-in-daily life” function, uniquely characteristic of the early modern period, to be found in items such as insect cages (*mushiko* 虫籠), firefly baskets (*hotaru kago* 螢籠), flower vases (*kabin* 花瓶), and goldfish bowls (*kingyo-bachi* 金魚鉢).

What, then, is the difference between these two types of fan? If forced to compare, the *ōgi* would likely be found the more elegant, and the *uchima* the more commonplace of the two. One might also note the *ōgi* fan’s broader range of usage, brandished now to cries of “*appare*” (“Bravo!”), serving now as tray to pass someone an item, and so on. By folding in various ways, *ōgi* can also change their shape. But this is a matter I will return to in the conclusion.

2. Various Artistic Expansions

Before heading into the main argument, however, let us look at two examples

¹ Text in *Katei kidan*, *Ōo hitsugo*, *Kagai manroku* 過庭紀談・嚶々筆語・花街漫録, *dai 1-ki*, vol. 5 of *Nihon zuihitsu taisei* 日本隨筆大成 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1975), p. 30.

² Suzuki Ken’ichi 鈴木健一, *Edo shiika no kukan* 江戸詩歌の空間 (Tokyo: Shinwasha, 1998).



Figure 1. The *ōgi* 扇. Illustration from *Wakan sansai zue* 和漢三才図会, comp. Terashima Ryōan 寺島良安, vol. 26, pub. Shōtoku 2/1712. (National Institute of Japanese Literature, Ukai Bunko).
<https://doi.org/10.20730/200018257>

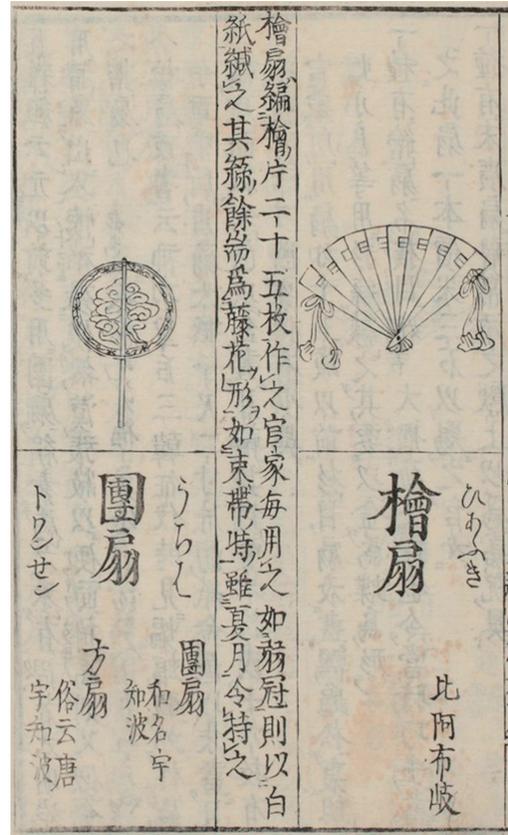


Figure 2. Ibid. Two types of fan, side-by-side: (L) *uchiva* 團扇 and (R) *bi-ōgi* 檜扇.
<https://doi.org/10.20730/200018257>

of literary works that make mention of *ōgi* and *uchiva* both.

First, a seven-character quatrain by Ishikawa Jōzan 石川丈山 (1583–1672) on the topic of “Mt. Fuji” 富士山:

仙客来遊雲外巔	Sage guests come to visit on peaks beyond the clouds;
神龍棲老洞中淵	Blue dragons dwell and grow old in pools within the caves;
雲如紈素煙如柄	Clouds spread a sheet of silk, smoke stands for a handle;
白扇倒懸東海天	A white fan hung upside-down, skies of the East Sea.

— Ishikawa Jōzan 石川丈山, *Fushōshū* 覆醬集 (pub. Kanbun 寛文 11/1671)³

³ Facsimile edition: *Shishū Nihon kanshi* 詩集日本漢詩, eds. Fujikawa Hideo 富士川英郎 et al. (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 1985), vol. 1, p. 9.

Here the first (“opening” *ki* 起) and second (“developing” *shō* 承) verses depict a mystery-laden natural world, while the third (“turning” *ten* 転) and fourth (“concluding” *ketsu* 結) verses compare that scene to everyday objects like the *ōgi* and *uchinwa* fans. The “handle” of the “turning” verse indicates the *uchinwa*, while the mountain-shape resemblance of the “concluding” verse suggests the *ōgi*. Some have seen in this a contradiction,⁴ but it is equally possible to view it as simply a witty way of describing Mt. Fuji that made free use of properties found in commonplace objects, such as *ōgi* and *uchinwa* fans.

I will also quote the *haibun* 俳文 piece “In Praise of the Nara *uchinwa*” (*Nara uchinwa san* 奈良団扇賛), by Yokoi Yayū 横井也有 (1702–1783), in full:

青によしならの帝の御時、いかなる叡慮にあづかりてか、此地の名産とはなれりけむ。世はたゞ其道の芸くはしからば、多能はなくてもあらまし。かれよ、かしこくも風を生ずる外は、たえて無能にして、一曲一かなでの間にもあはざれば、腰にたゞまれて公界にへつらふねぢけ心もなし。たゞ木の端と思ひすてたる雲水の生涯ならむ。さるは桐の箱の家をも求ず。ひさがもとの夕すゞみ、昼ねの枕に宿直して、人の心に秋風たてば、また来る夏をたのむとも見えず。物置の片隅に紙屑籠と相住して、鼠の足にけがさるれども、地紙をまくられて野ざらしとなる扇にはまさりなむ。我汝に心をゆるす。汝我に馴れて、はだか身の寝姿を、あなかしこ、人にかたる事なかれ。

Nara, glad of verdant earth!—it was in the reign of that Emperor also so named, it seems, that by some royal wisdom [the *uchinwa*] became a local specialty. In this world, know the art of your own trade through and through, and even a jack of very few trades gets by fine enough. That’s an *uchinwa* for you—for the wind that it makes all gratitude duly granted, its lack of talent otherwise is absolute, yet if not quite suitable for song or dance, it also doesn’t go out folded up at the waist, with a penchant for public flattery. People despise it as a mere slip of wood, with all the lifespan of a drifting cloud or water flowing by. But it never demands a housing case of fine paulownia! It cools you at night by the gourd-flowers, and stands pillow-vigil for your daytime nap. Yet even when people’s interest chills with autumn, it places not a single hope in the summer to come. It bunks in the back corner of the shelf with the wastebasket, and suffers the filth of treading rats. Yet for all that, it’s better than the *ōgi*, with its backing paper all peeled up, so painfully exposed. I open my heart to you, and you grow close to me, even naked and asleep . . . but no more!—it is not something to tell others about.

— Yokoi Yayū 横井也有, *Uzura-goromo* 鶉衣, vol. 1 (pub. Tenmei 天明 7/1787)⁵

Contrasting the *ōgi*-fan’s air of luxury with the down-to-earth Nara *uchinwa*, he characterizes the former as *waka*-like and refined, the latter as *haikai*-like and common, expressing for the latter the greater affinity.

⁴ Suzuki Ken’ichi, “Ishikawa Jōzan no Fuji-san shi wo yomu” 石川丈山の富士山詩を読む, *Tokaidō 53-tsugi wo yomu* 東海道五十三次を読む (Tokyo: Miyai Shoten, forthcoming).

⁵ Text in *Uzura-goromo* 鶉衣, ed. Horikiri Minoru 堀切実, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2011), p. 21.

3. The *ōgi* as Representing Japanese (*wa*) Literary “Knowledge”: Three Cases

[A] *The Tale of Genji*, “Evening Faces” Chapter: A Maidservant Offers a Perfumed *ōgi*-Fan

The fantastical love story that develops between Hikaru Genji and Yūgao—lit. “Evening Faces,” named after the *yūgao* 夕顔 flower (moonflower)—begins in the following way:

A pretty little girl in long, unlined yellow trousers of raw silk came out through a sliding door that seemed too good for the surroundings. Beckoning to the man [sent by Genji to pluck a moonflower, unknowingly, from her mistress’ gate], she handed him a heavily scented white fan.

“Put it on this. It isn’t much of a fan, but then it isn’t much of a flower either.”

Koremitsu, coming out of the gate [next door], passed it on [from the other man] to Genji.

—*The Tale of Genji*, “Evening Faces” (Yūgao 夕顔)⁶

The appearance in this scene of the *ōgi*-fan is a literary fact of quite considerable fame.

For widespread recognition of the *ōgi*-fan as a token signifying Hikaru Genji and Yūgao’s love affair, however, the literary “knowledge” necessary to that recognition had to first widely circulate. Towards this end of broader circulation—and creative application—there was need for a variety of channels beyond reading the above original text alone. There was need also for commentaries and digests, for manuals of *haikai* poetic associations—*tsukeaisho* 付合書 after the technical term for such associations, *tsukeai* 付合—and other written genres, as well as for treatments in painting and other forms of art. With repetition of this circulation and application, moreover, such literary “knowledge” gained in generic breadth, spanning a range of registers from the popular to the refined, a phenomenon particularly noticeable in poetry and *ukiyo-e*. Nor was this a one-way movement, going first from circulation to application later, for creative application of literary “knowledge” was itself an aid to the latter’s circulation, leading to a bi-directional dynamic in which both efforts mutually would reinforce each other.

To name a number of such circulation channels concretely, outside all printing and hand-copying of the original text, for commentaries, it goes without saying that Kitamura Kigin’s 北村季吟 (1624–1705) *Kogetsushō* 湖月抄 (pub. Enpō 延宝 1/1673) circulated particularly extensively. Among digests there was the *Osana Genji* おさな源氏 (pub. Kanbun 6/1666) of Hinaya Ryūho 雛屋立圃 (1595–1669), wherein the above scene, for example, is succinctly explained: “[Genji] was presented with a white, perfumed fan with a flower resting on it.”⁷

⁶ *The Tale of Genji*, tr. Edward G. Seidensticker (New York: Knopf, 1976), p. 58.

⁷ 白きあふぎのこがしたるに花ををきて参らせたり。Facsimile edition: *Osana Genji, Genji monogatari taii* おさな源氏・源氏物語大意, vol. 10 of *Genji monogatari shiryō ein shusei* 源氏物語資料影印集成, ed. Nakano Kōichi 中野幸一 (Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1990), p. 29.

As for *tsukeaisho*, we find in the collection *Haikai ruisenshū* 俳諧類船集 (preface pub. date: Enpō 5/1677)⁸ record of an association between “ōgi-fan” and “plucked *yūgao*”—in this case referring to the “evening faces” flower, and not Hikaru Genji’s lady whose name is taken from it. Among the educational genre of *teikinmono* 庭訓物 texts, the *Onna teikin Go-sho bunko* 女庭訓御所文庫 (pub. Meiwa 明和 4/1767) contains a diagram titled “Chart of *Genji* Perfumes” (*Genji-kō no zu* 源氏香乃図), within which an *ōgi*-fan is pictured with a *yūgao* flower upon it. One can also find the same visual composition in any of the series of illustrated *Genji* texts (introduced by Prof. Komachiya Teruhiko 小町谷照彦) whose pictures are said to be by Keisai Eisen 溪斎英泉 (1790–1848): *Genji monogatari 54-jō ezukushi* 源氏物語五十四帖絵尽 (pub. Bunka 文化 9/1812), *Gunka hyakunin issbu waka-en* 群花百人一首和歌蘭 (pub. Tenpō 7/1836), *Shūgyoku hyakunin issbu Ogura sbiori* 秀玉百人一首小倉栞 (pub. Tenpō 7/1836), or *Genji monogatari ezukushi taiishō* 源氏物語絵尽大意抄 (pub. Tenpō 8/1837; **Figure 3**). By contrast, in the section on “Lady Yūgao” (*Yūgao no ue* 夕顔上) in Kurosawa Okinamaro’s 黒沢翁満 (1795–1859) work *Genji hyakunin issbu* 源氏百人一首 (pub. Tenpō 10/1839), her pose is instead that of using an *ōgi*-fan to hide her face (**Figure 4**). Through all these various conduits, the close relationship between Yūgao’s love story and the *ōgi*-fan came to be one that more and more people recognized.

Yet how was this link put to use in application? In poetry (Japanese and Chinese) we see the following:

夕顔

- (1) 風のうへに咲くかともえて涼しきは扇にのせしゆふがほのはな

Topic: Evening Faces

Out of the wind it almost seems to blossom—Ah, the coolness
Served up in the fan-borne face of an evening flower!

—Matsunaga Teitoku 松永貞徳 (1571–1653),
Shōyūshū 道遊集 (pub. Enpō 5/1677)

源氏物語の夕貌巻のさまをかきたるに

- (2) タがほの露かけそめしことのはぞつひにあふぎのつまとなりぬる

Topic: Writing on the *Tale of Genji*’s “Evening Faces” Chapter

The evening flower’s words, that once did drop like dew-stains catching on the leaf—
At last alighting, married, be it but to the edge of a fan.

—Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730–1801), *Suzunoya-shū* 鈴屋集
(pub. Kansei 寛政 10/1798)

⁸ Facsimile edition: *Haikai ruisenshū* 俳諧類船集, vol. 1 of *Kinsei Bungei Sokan* 近世文藝叢刊 (Osaka: Han’an Noma Kōshin-Sensei Kakō Kinenkai, 1969), p. 400.

⁹ Komachiya Teruhiko 小町谷照彦, *E to arasuji de yomu Genji monogatari: Keisai Eisen Genji monogatari ezukushi taiishō* 絵とあらすじで読む源氏物語：溪斎英泉『源氏物語絵尽大意抄』 (Tokyo: Shintensha, 2007).



Figure 3. Yūgao 夕顔, depicted holding an *ōgi*-fan bearing the eponymous “evening faces” (*yūgao*) flower. Illustration from *Genji monogatari ezukushi taiishō* 源氏物語絵尽大意抄, illus. attr. Keisai Eisen 溪斎英泉, pub. Tenpō 8/1837. (National Institute of Japanese Literature, Hatsukari Bunko). <https://doi.org/10.20730/200003499>

- (3) 瓠花深巷見嬋娟 Through a gourd-flower deep in the alleys I met a
 一扇相思兩世緣 maiden fair;
 A single fan, love mutual, the bond between two lives.
 香燼芳空根不斷 Smoked with perfume, though scent be vain, the root
 itself breaks not;
 又抽柔蔓故纏綿 But putting forth another vine soft, tighter it winds
 ever still.



Figure 4. Lady Yūgao 夕顔上, here portrayed using a fan to hide her face. Illustration from *Genji hyakumin isshu* 源氏百人一首, Kurosawa Okinamaro 黒沢翁満, pub. Tenpō 10/1839. (Nara Women's University Academic Information Center). <https://doi.org/10.20730/100241606>

—Ema Saikō 江馬細香 (1787–1861), “On Reading the *Genji*”
(*Gengo wo yomu* 読源語)¹⁰

(4) 黄昏や扇をのする白ぼたん

The hour of dusk—when the fan is the one borne, by a white peony.

—Sonome 園女 (1664–1726), *Soga monogatari* 曾我物語
(pub. Kyōhō 享保 15/1730)

¹⁰ Composed in Bunsei 文政 12/1829. Text in *Shōmu ikō* 湘夢遺稿, vol. 2 (pub. Meiji 4/1871). Facsimile edition: *Shishū Nihon kanshi* (op. cit.), vol. 15, p. 162. Annotated edition: *Ema Saikō shishū: 'Shōmu ikō' (ge)* 江馬細香詩集『湘夢遺稿』下, ed. Kado Reiko 門玲子 (Kyūko Shoin, 1992), pp. 257–258. See also *Breeze through Bamboo: Kanshi of Ema Saikō*, tr. Hiroaki Sato (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), pp. 117, 215–216.

夕兒

- (5) タがほの花に扇をあてぬるはたそかれ時の垣のぞきかな

Topic: Evening Faces

Why did Yūgao have her fan there exactly where the flowers were?

Could it be that at twilight, she was having a hedge-peek herself?

—Ishida Mitoku 石田未得 (1587?–1669), *Gogin nagashū* 吾吟我集
(pub. c. Keian 慶安 2/1649?)

白扇子にかきつけ侍ける

- (6) しのびてもそれとやしろきさしあふぎこれ見つらめとゆふがほの花

Topic: Written on a White Fan

Furtive as you please, obvious as daylight a white fan held out like that;

How could Koremitsu—of course he would see her “evening flower.”

—Nakarai Bokuyō 半井卜養 (1607–1678), *Bokuyō kyōka shūi* 卜養狂歌拾遺
(pub. Kanbun 9/1669)

And these are but a sample of the various works produced.¹¹

The examples begin with two pieces of *waka*, the second of which contains a play on words around the homonyms “wife” (*tsuma* 妻) and “edge” (*tsuma* 榩) for a double-entendre difficult to translate (reproduced here in part with “married, be it but to the edge of a fan”). The third example, a poem in Chinese, draws more broadly upon the story of the *Tale of Genji*. The “single fan” is a sign of the marital bond, and even if that “perfume” proves to “be vain,” still “the root itself breaks not,” and yet “another vine” will be “put[] forth,” all of which is to convey that though Yūgao herself quickly dies, Hikaru Genji will later care for her orphaned child Tamakazura 玉鬘 (partially homophonous with *kazura* “vine”)—and in time feel romantically for her as well. The shorter fourth poem, in contrast, is a *haikai*-sequence *hokoku* 発句 (“starting verse” of a linked-verse sequence), in which the *yūgao* flower has become a white peony. The fifth and sixth poems are both *kyōka* 狂歌, the latter of which contains an additional pun relevant to the story, playing on the phrase *kore mitsurame*, which means both literally “he [=Hikaru Genji’s servant Koremitsu] must have seen it [=Yūgao’s flower],” while also containing concealed that servant’s own name: *kore mitsu(rame)*. To summarize in more generic terms, the “refined” (*ga* 雅) register of the first three examples—traditional *waka* and a poem in Chinese—is thus matched by the more “common” (*zoku* 俗) register of the latter three—*haikai* and *kyōka*, signaling the literary breadth of the link’s reception.

¹¹ Suzuki Ken’ichi, “Edo shūka ni okeru ‘Yūgao’ no maki sesshu” 江戸詩歌における「夕顔」巻撰取, in *Genji monogatari to sono kyōju kenkyū to shiryō* 源氏物語とその享受研究と資料, ed. Murasaki Shikibu Gakkai 紫式部学会 (Tokyo: Musashino Shoin, 2005).

This breadth extends even beyond the written word. In the field of painting, Suzuki Harunobu's 鈴木春信 (1725?–1770) *ukiyo-e* rendering of the scene is well-known, and in the collections of Tokyo National Museum there survives an Edo-period kimono treating the motif: an ornate *karabori* 唐織 robe bearing the images of Lady Yūgao and her fan.¹² Even in the fictional *Hyakka-chō mitate bonzō: judetsu mushikoe no toridori* 百化帖準擬本草：筆津虫音禽 (pub. Kansei 10/1798), a *kibyōshi* work by Santō Kyōden 山東京伝 (1761–1816) with illustrations by Kitao Shigemasa 北尾重政 (1739–1820), one can find a phrase like the following: “*Hi-ōgi* fans go with the *yūgao* flowers over on Fifth Avenue.”¹³ As such examples make clear, reception of the original association, as found in other forms of art and different styles of writing, was as varied as it was broad.

[B] *The Tale of the Heike*, “The Death of Atsumori”: Kumagai Naozane Taunts Atsumori with an *ōgi*

Found in volume 9 of *The Tale of the Heike* (*Heike monogatari* 平家物語), the moment in the “The Death of Atsumori” episode where Kumagai Naozane 熊谷直実 taunts his enemy, Taira no Atsumori 平敦盛, to halt his seaward flight and instead turn and fight him—“[Naozane] beckoned to [Atsumori] with his fan. . . . The warrior came back”¹⁴—is a justly famous literary scene of *ōgi* usage.

Alongside readings of the passage itself, through visual arts like painting and various other such channels, the single action of Naozane taunting Atsumori with an *ōgi*-fan came to be accepted as symbolizing the “Death of Atsumori” scene as a whole. Based on that common understanding it was taken up as material, as much in poetic allusions as in the playful punning of humor collections.

In painting, among the oldest treatments of the scene, as introduced by Prof. Kitamura Masayuki 北村昌幸,¹⁵ are (1) the late-Muromachi illustrated scroll *Ko-Atsumori emaki* 小敦盛絵巻 in the Waseda University Library,¹⁶ and (2) the early modern-period Tosa-school 土佐派 folding screen *Ichinotani kassen-zu byōbu* 一の谷合戦図屏風 at the Tokyo Fuji Art Museum.¹⁷ Both works are agreed

¹² Known under the title: 赤緑茶段青海波扇夕顔模様唐織. See *Genji no ishō* 源氏の意匠, eds. Akiyama Ken 秋山虔 et al. (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1998), p. 116.

¹³ 檜扇は五条あたりの夕顔の花に類し.

¹⁴ *The Tale of the Heike*, tr. Helen McCullough (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), p. 316.

¹⁵ Kitamura Masayuki 北村昌幸, “*Heike monogatari* no teisho” 『平家物語』の汀渚, in *Hamabe no bungakushi* 浜辺の文学史, ed. Suzuki Ken'ichi (Miyai Shoten, 2017).

¹⁶ *Ko-Atsumori emaki* 小敦盛絵巻, 2 rolls (Waseda University Library). Images made publically available: https://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/chi04/chi04_02084/index.html. Also. 360°, 3D images available: <https://www.waseda.jp/library/news/2016/08/31/1890/>.

¹⁷ *Ichinotani kassen-zu byōbu* 一の谷合戦図屏風, pair of screens, 6 panels each (Tokyo Fuji Art Museum). Images made publically available: https://www.fujibi.or.jp/our-collection/profile-of-works.html?work_id=3559.

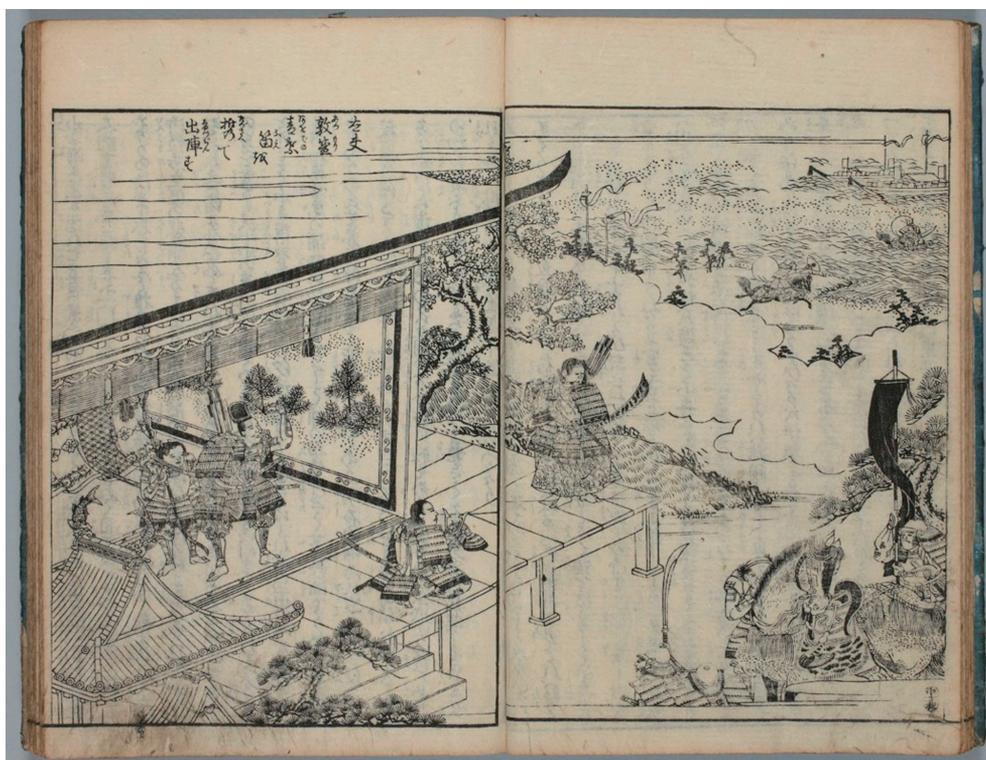


Figure 5. Right, background: Kumagai Naozane 熊谷直実 raises an *ōgi*-fan in challenge. Illustration from *Genpei seisuiki zue* 源平盛衰記図会, Akisato Ritō 秋里籬島, pub. Kansei 6/1794, vol. 5, “Kumagai Atsumori wo utsu narabi ni Heike no kindachi uchi-jini” 熊谷討敦盛并平家公達討死. (National Institute of Japanese Literature). <https://doi.org/10.20730/200016986>

in depicting Naozane on the shore, a fan in one hand, and Atsumori on horseback in the midst of the surf. The same is the case with the corresponding section in volume 5 (“Kumagai Atsumori wo utsu narabi ni Heike no kindachi uchi-jini” 熊谷討敦盛并平家公達討死) of the *Genpei seisuiki zue* 源平盛衰記図会 (pub. Kansei 6/1794), by Akisato Ritō 秋里籬島, with illustrations by Nishimura Chūwa 西村中和 and Oku Sadaakira 奥貞章 (?–1813) (**Figure 5**). In *ukiyo-e*, there exist at least three treatments of the scene, in works by Suzuki Harunobu, Utagawa Sadahide 歌川貞秀 (1807–1879), and Tsukioka Yoshitoshi 月岡芳年 (1839–1892), among which Yoshitoshi’s stands out in particular, for its boldness in visual composition. From an early-modern standpoint, works such as *Ko-Atsumori emaki* and *Ichinotani kassen-zu byōbu* are examples of literary “knowledge” as circulated, while the *Genpei seisuiki zue*, or paintings in the *ukiyo-e* genre, constitute examples of knowledge applied. Yet as discussed above, applications of “knowledge” also themselves circulate, and ultimately feed back into the new wave of applications to follow.

Let us look now at a late early-modern humor collection, the *Fukukitaru* 富久喜多留 (preface pub. date: Bunka 11/1814) by Tachikawa Ginba 立川銀馬, where under a section on puns (*jiguchi* 地口), he recounts a case of word-play involving the Genpei War being used to hawk soba noodles. Here I quote only the first half, underlining the puns:

摂津の国一の谷は、いにしへ、元暦の頃、源平戦場の跡とて、平家の公達、無官の大夫敦盛の墓とて、何人が建てけん、五輪の石碑残れり。今はその前並木の方に、海の面を見晴らしたる所に、蕎麦を商ふ者ありて、往来の旅人を日の丸の扇にて呼びかけ、「そばのあつもり、あがらんか、あんばひ義経」といふ。地口好きの江戸もの、これを聞いて喜び、「代銭いかほど」といへば、「あつもり十六才の時」といふ。

In Ichinotani in Settsu one finds a five-step stone pagoda, built by who knows who, some say in memory of the ancient battlefield there from the Genpei War in the Genryaku 元暦 era [1184–85], some say as a grave for the fallen lords of the Taira clan, or for the Rankless Official Atsumori. Nowadays, by the line of trees fronting that marker, at a spot with a good view on the sea, there is a man who sells soba noodles. As people pass by, this fellow beckons them with a rising-sun fan, shouting, “Atsumori soba! Come and get it! Specially cooked Yoshitsune-style!” People from Edo—great lovers of such puns—are just delighted to hear this, and when they ask how much it costs, the man replies, “When Atsumori was only sixteen . . .”

As we can see from this, the *ōgi* was itself a token used to recall the scene, even when that purpose was as fodder for humor.

For examples in poetry, from the collection *Haijū yanagidaru* 誹風柳多留 we have the *senryū* 川柳: “With the very fan that taunted, Kumagai now catches his falling hair” (*maneida ōgi Kumagai wa ke-uke ni shi*).¹⁸ And from a Bakumatsu-period *kanshi* collection we have the following by Arai Gyōmin 荒井堯民, in his *Honchō jinbutsu hyakuei* 本朝人物百咏 (preface pub. date: Ansei 安政 2/1855):

淡粧公子是平家	Lightly made-up, a lord's son, he was of the Taira clan;
単騎加鞭馳海涯	A lone rider, wielding the whip, he galloped into the surf.
開扇喚婦猛勇士	The fan opened, calling him back, that of the brave warrior;
可憐風力散春花	Mourn, have pity, when tempest's might scatters the flowers of spring!

—Arai Gyōmin 荒井堯民, “Taira no Atsumori” 平敦盛

Here the warrior Naozane is represented by “tempest’s might,” and Atsumori himself by “flowers of spring.” By putting the fan at its expressive center, however, the poem acts nonetheless to further that token’s development in reception of the Naozane/Atsumori episode as literary “knowledge.”

¹⁸ 招だ扇熊谷は毛請にし。 *Haijū yanagidaru* 誹風柳多留, vol. 97 (preface pub. date: Bunsei 10/1827). Text in *Haijū yanagidaru zenshū* 誹風柳多留全集, ed. Okada Hajime 岡田甫 (Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1976–1984), vol. 7, p. 282.

[C] *The Tale of the Heike*, “Nasu no Yoichi”: Wherein Yoichi Shoots the Target on an *ōgi*-Fan

There is one more scene in *The Tale of the Heike* for which a fan serves as an important token. The episode in question:

. . . there emerged from the cabin an elegant beautiful lady eighteen or nineteen years old, attired in a red divided skirt and five willow-combination white robes with green linings. She produced a pole surmounted by a red fan with a golden sun design, wedged it between the prow and the planking, and beckoned, facing the land. . . .

. . . [Yoichi] closed his eyes in silent prayer. “Hail, Great Bodhisattva Hachiman and ye gods of my province of Nikkō, Utsu-no-miya and Nasu Yuzen! Vouch-safe that I may hit the center of that fan. . . .” When he opened his eyes, the wind seemed somewhat gentler, and the fan looked easier to hit.

—*The Tale of the Heike*, vol. 11, “Nasu no Yoichi” (那須与一)¹⁹

This is the scene where (the Minamoto warrior) Nasu no Yoichi shoots and hits the target on an *ōgi*-fan.

Beyond reading the original text, recognition of the fan as a token signifying the “Nasu no Yoichi” episode was spread through a variety of channels, including commentaries and *haikai tsukeaisho*, as well as other forms of art like painting. Based on this shared understanding, it became material for writing poetry, in Chinese and in Japanese.

For commentaries, Nonomiya Sadamoto 野宮定基 (1669–1711) in his *Heike monogatari kōshō* 平家物語考証 (vol. 11) had this to say on the scene: “A ‘bat-fan’ with vermilion coloring added. This corresponds to the red of the rising sun. Nonetheless, depicting an image of the sun rising was doubtless not their purpose.”²⁰ *Haikai ruisenshū* also draws a connection between the “*ōgi*-fan” and the “boats of the Taira clan” (*Heike no fune* 平家の舟).²¹

There are many visual representations of the scene as well. In addition to an illustration from the *Heike monogatari* text published in Meireki 明暦 2/1656 (**Figure 6**), there is another in the *Ehon kojidan* 絵本故事談 (pub. Shōtoku 4/1714) illustrated by Tachibana Morikuni 橋守国 (1679–1748), and also a picture in the *Genpei seisuiki zue*. Among *ukiyo-e* paintings there exists a *mitate* presentation of the scene by Suzuki Harunobu.

How does the scene fare in poetry? The Bakumatsu-period collection *Yamato nishiki* やまとにしき by Takahashi Zanmu 高橋残夢 (1775–1851) contains the following verse:

射たりけむ扇のまとにかける日のかげのまばゆき業にも有かな

¹⁹ *The Tale of the Heike* (op. cit.), pp. 366, 368.

²⁰ Text in *Heike monogatari hyōchū*, *Heike monogatari kōshō* 平家物語標註・平家物語考証, *Nihon bungaku kochūshaku taisei*, *Heike monogatari kochūshaku taisei* 日本文学古註釈大成・平家物語古註釈大成 (Tokyo: Nihon Tosho Sentā, 1978), p. 680.

²¹ *Haikai ruisenshū* (op. cit.), p. 400.

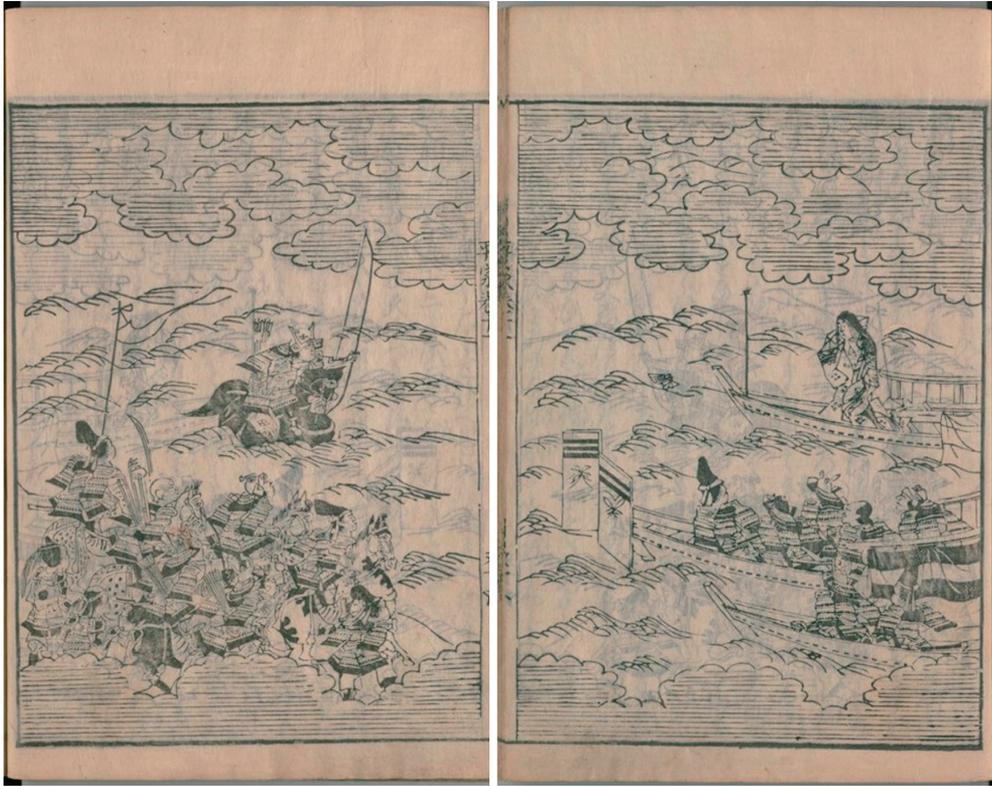


Figure 6. After (L) Nasu no Yoichi's shot, (R) the fan tumbles into the waves. Illustration from *Heike monogatari* 平家物語, vol. 11, "Nasu no Yoichi no koto" なすの与一の事, pub. Meireki 2/1656. (National Institute of Japanese Literature). <https://doi.org/10.11501/2567341>

The truly-shot fan-target marked by the sun—how blinding-bright
The shadow that was cast by the glory of that deed!

—Takahashi Zanmu 高橋残夢, *Yamato nishiki* やまとしき
(preface pub. date: Kaei 嘉永 2/1849)

The poem seeks to commemorate Yoichi's feat, praising his skill as something that shines, indeed with the light of that very sun painted to be the fan's target. Likewise in his *Honchō jinbutsu hyakuei*, Arai Gyōmin writes:

軍船官女遙如華	On the war-boat, court maidservant, far off a blossom she seemed.
辱敵計謀却相差	Enemy mocking, their plans and ploys turned now themselves to hinder,
一箭鳴弦飄扇的	A single shot the bowstring shrieked, and the fan's target tumbled;
源家勇士武人花	Minamoto in clan the hero, flower among men of war.

—Arai Gyōmin, "Nasu no Munetaka" 那須宗高

I end this section in quoting a famous passage from the *Nihon gaishi* 日本外史 (orig. preface date: Bunsei 文政 10/1827) of Rai Sanyō 頼山陽 (1781–1832), which can be said to have contributed to the episode’s circulation as a work of history, and to its literary application by expressing that same history in such exquisite language:

敵以一舟載美姫、挿扇子竿、植之舳、去陸五十歩、麾而請射。(中略) 宗高一発断扇轂、扇翻而墮。

The enemy bore a comely maiden midships and she, setting atop a rod a fan full-splayed, planted this now in the bow, and with the ship fifty paces offshore, issued a challenge to shoot it. . . . Munetaka rent the fan’s very hub with a single shot, and the fan tumbled and fell.²²

[D] Other Representations Connected to *ōgi*

Above, examining one case from the *Tale of Genji*, and two cases from *The Tale of the Heike*, we saw the *ōgi*-fan functioning as token within Japanese literary works of the highest rank, observing many examples also of it being circulated and creatively put to use as an item of Japanese (*wa*) literary “knowledge.” From these, it can be concluded that the *ōgi*-fan has in general a character of elevated refinement. As an aside, I briefly note below two further examples of *ōgi* thus functioning as a literary token.

First, in the work *Shingaku hayaōmegusa* 心学早染艸 (pub. Kansei 2/1790), by Santō Kyōden with illustrations by Kitao Masayoshi 北尾政美, there is a scene portraying a battle between the proverbial “good side” (*zendama* 善玉) and “bad side” (*akudama* 悪玉), wherein it is figures on the “bad side” who are seen brandishing the *ōgi*-fan, with the purpose of rousing evil thoughts. This iconography of the “bad side” wielding the *ōgi* was moreover passed down afterwards as something of a stock portrayal.²³

Another example is a pictorial representation featuring Taira no Kiyomori 平清盛 using the *ōgi*-fan to beckon the very sunset to stop, for construction purposes related to Itsukushima Shrine 厳島神社—an image which begins to appear more frequently from the later early-modern period onward.

[E] The *ōgi*-Fan in Early-Modern Life

As discussed above, the basis upon which all representations of literary “knowledge” linked to the *ōgi*-fan rested was the universal quotidian use of that object in early-modern domestic environments.

Already early on in the early modern period, with this *baikai*—

²² Text in Rai Sanyō 頼山陽, *Kōkoku Nihon gaishi* 校刻日本外史 (preface pub. date: Tenpō 15/1844), vol. 3.

²³ Sekihara Aya 関原彩, “*Shingaku hayaōmegusa zendama/akudama no eikyō*: Kansei kara Bunka/Bunsei made” 『心学早染草』 善玉悪玉の影響：寛政から文化・文政まで, *Gakushūin daigaku Kokugo kokubun gakkaiishi* 学習院大学国語国文学会誌 58 (2015).

涼しさも末ひろごりの扇かな

Coolness—another thing that unfolds round and outwards, just like its fan.
—Matsunaga Teitoku, *Enoko shū* 犬子集 (pub. Kan'ei 寛永 10/1633)

being the earliest example, the *ōgi*-fan begins to feature as a very frequent subject of early-modern poetry, both in Japanese and in Chinese. Combining eclectically as it did the more vulgar aspects of a presence always close to hand, together with its own more refined and elegant aspects, the fan was thus not merely a simple class of object, but a cultural entity unto itself.

4. The *uchiwa* as Representing Chinese (*kan*) Literary “Knowledge”: Two Cases

Next, I want to expand this examination to consider also the *uchiwa*-fan. I have not been able to discover for the *uchiwa* any examples of associated Japanese literary “knowledge” like those found with the *ōgi*-fan. What stands out instead are Chinese literary associations, of which the story of Lady Ban’s autumn fan can serve as a paradigmatic case. We begin by reviewing its details.

[A] Lady Ban’s Autumn Fan

In the Former Han period, during the reign of Emperor Cheng 成帝 (51–7 B.C.), a female poet known as Ban Jieyu 班婕妤 (c. 48–c. 6 B.C.) (Jp. Han Shōyo) composed the poem “Yuange xing” 怨歌行 (Song of Regret), later collected in volume 27 of the *Wen xuan* 文選:

新裂齊紈素 鮮潔如霜雪
裁成合歡扇 团团似明月
出入君懷袖 動搖微風發
常恐秋節至 涼飈奪炎熱
棄損篋笥中 恩情中道絕²⁴

If newly sheared, silk from the land of Qi
Is purest fresh, no less than frost or the snow.
Cut it to fit the pair-matched sides of a fan,
And round as round, it mirrors the full-bright moon.
Always in and out of my lord’s own garments’ arms,
It moves and sways to send up the slightest breeze.
Yet ever it fears, when days of autumn arrive,
Should the chill gales steal off all its heat and warmth,
Abandonment, in some box to lie away,
With tender love’s cord at midpoint for all time snapped.

Above all, she expresses here her fear of losing the emperor’s favor, comparing it to a fan being cast away into some box with the arrival of autumn. This truly

²⁴ Text in *Monzen* 文選 (pub. Kan’ei 2/1625), vol. 27. Annotated edition: *Monzen shihen* 文選詩篇, eds. Kawai Kōzō 川合康三 et al. (Iwanami Shoten, 2018), vol. 4, pp. 370–373.

famous story came to be widely recognized, not only through readings of the original text, but also through various other channels such as *haikai tsukeaisho*. Based on this shared understanding, it became material for writing poetry in Chinese and Japanese, or even prose *gesaku* 戯作.

Already in this poem from the *kanshi* collection *Chūka jakuboku shishō* 中華若木詩抄—

巧製齊紈宮様新	Expert cut, the silk of Qi renews the palace prospect;
高堂六月主恩頻	Tall towers in the Sixth Month, my lord's kindnesses frequent.
一朝秋至寵還断	Then one morning autumn comes, and his favor stops cold;
恨在西風不在人	Still my anger is with the west wind, and not with the man himself.

—Saiin 西胤 (1358–1422), “Autumn Fan” (*Shūsen* 秋扇)²⁵

we see reception of the trope, here moreover with a new interpretation, attributing the lady's loss of the emperor's love to the appearance of a new beauty.

Entering the early modern period, the association between “*ōgi*-fan” and “Lady Ban” (Hanjo) is recorded in the *Haikai ruisenshū*. To take a specific example in *haikai* poetry:

秋とならん契宇治茶の後むかし
をけるあふぎのしばしおなさけ

In autumn things fade, yesterday's fresh-cut promise today's Uji tea: *Seasons Past*—
As of a fan cast aside, kindness, just for a while!

—Sōin 宗因 (1605–1682), *Sōin dokugin koi haikai hyakuin* 宗因独吟恋俳諧百韻,
“Hana de sōrō” 花で候²⁶

Here the connection is used to convey: “Being like a fan cast aside in autumn myself, give me at least a little while's kindness!”²⁷ There are also poems such as —

つくづくと絵を見る秋の扇哉

How much more closely one looks over the painting of an autumn fan!
—Shōshun 小春, *Arano* 阿羅野 (preface pub. date: Genroku 元禄 2/1689)

among many others, attesting to the frequency with which cases of this autumn fan concept are encountered.

²⁵ Text in 中華若木詩抄 *Chūka jakuboku shishō* (pub. Kan'ei 10/1633), vol. 1. Annotated edition: *Chūka jakuboku shishō, Yunoyama renkushō* 中華若木詩抄・湯山聯句鈔, vol. 53 of *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 新日本古典文学大系 (Iwanami Shoten, 1995), pp. 4–5.

²⁶ For text see: Fukasawa Shinji 深沢真二 and Fukasawa Noriko 深沢了子, “Sōin dokugin koi haikai hyakuin ‘Hana de sōrō’ no maki chūshaku” 宗因独吟恋俳諧百韻「花で候」巻注釈, *Kamigata bungai kenkyū* 上方文藝研究 15 (2018).

²⁷ This interpretation follows the commentary in Fukasawa and Fukasawa 2018 (v. s.).

A picture under the title “Lady Ban’s Fan” (Hanjo no ōgi はん女の扇) is included in *Kyōbun takara-awase no ki* 狂文宝合記 (pub. Tenmei 3/1783). The fan as depicted there, however, is clearly an *ōgi*, betraying an interpretation in Japanese terms. Indeed, quite likely in the story’s *haikai* reception as well, it was not the *uchiva* being envisioned, but again the *ōgi*—a reflection, in a sense, of just how far the story itself had been “Japanified.”

[B] “Little Fan Swats Firefly”

To better understand such representations of *uchiva*-borne Chinese literary “knowledge,” let us look at one more example, this time one considerably less famous than Lady Ban’s fan in autumn. We will consider the development of the poetic tag “Little Fan Swats Firefly” (Ch. *xiaoshan pu ying* 小扇撲螢). (Having already discussed this case in depth elsewhere,²⁸ here I will limit myself to the argument’s main points).

We begin with a quatrain-stanza “Palace Poem” (Ch. *gongci* 宮詞) by Wang Jian 王建 (847–918), anthologized in *Santishi* 三体詩 (Jp. *Santaishi* or *Santeishi*):

銀燭秋光冷画屏	Silver candle, autumn light, cold against the painted screens;
輕羅小扇撲流螢	Lightly silk-paned, her little fan swats a passing firefly.
玉階夜色涼如水	Stairs of cut jade, night’s tableau, like the water’s touch icy-chill;
臥看牽牛織女星	Lying she looks at Cowherd above, and at Weaver, always waiting. ²⁹

The explanation here for the little fan’s firefly-swatting would seem to lie in the palace maiden taking out on the firefly her own anger at failing to gain the emperor’s favor (the interpretation of the commentary *Santaishi Soin shō* 三体詩素隱抄³⁰). As a poetic tag, recognition of “Little Fan Swats Firefly” gradually expanded, not only through readings of this original text, but also thus through vernacular commentaries (*shōmono* 抄物), or through collections of verse in Chinese such as *Lianzhu shige* 聯珠詩格 and *Shiren yuxie* 詩人玉屑, among a number of other channels. By the middle of the early modern period, in non-court-style *waka* the tag saw itself reframed to fit a type of scene far closer to actual life in Japan: the popular pastime of “firefly hunting.” Such reframing is an excellent example of what this article means by “application” of literary “knowledge.”

²⁸ Suzuki Ken’ichi, *Kinsei tōshō kadan no kenkyū* 近世堂上歌壇の研究 (Kyūko Shoin, 1996), pp. 211–215.

²⁹ Text in *Zōchū Token zekku santaishibō* 増註唐賢絶句三体詩法 (pub. Meireki 3/1657), part 1 (*jō*) of vol. 1.

³⁰ Facsimile edition: *Santaishi Soin shō* 三体詩素隱抄, 2 vols., ed. Nakada Norio 中田祝夫 (Tokyo: Benseisha, 1977).

To illustrate I quote below *waka* by the poets Ozawa Roan 小沢蘆庵 (1723–1801), Ban Kōkei 伴蒿蹊 (1733–1806), and Kamo no Suetaka 賀茂季鷹 (1754–1841):

小扇撲蛍

うなゐらがきそふ扇を打ちやめてあがるほたるを悔しとぞみる

Topic: Little Fan Swats Firefly

All the children, trying to outswat each other, stopped and held their fans—
Watching now with bitterness as the firefly escaped.

—Ozawa Roan 小沢蘆庵, *Rokujo eisō* 六帖詠草 (pub. Bunka 8/1811)³¹

蛍

うなゐ子がまねく扇にはかられて空ゆく蛍袖にとまれり

Topic: Fireflies

The child had him—persuaded down with her fan—so thoroughly tricked,
The sky-going firefly parked himself right on her sleeve.

—Ban Kōkei 伴蒿蹊, *Kanden eisō* 閑田詠草 (pub. Bunsei 1/1818)

たをや女の扇もて蛍をおふ所

少女子が扇の風に靡きつゝなか／＼高く行くほたるかな

Topic: Maiden Chasing Firefly with an *ōgi*-Fan

The little maiden with her fan sends up a wind that quite entices,
Yet how remarkably high the firefly steers his course!

—Kamo no Suetaka 賀茂季鷹, *Unkin'ō kashū* 雲錦翁家集
(pub. Tenpō 2/1831)

Here we have examined two cases of Chinese literary “knowledge,” this time revolving instead around the *uchiva*-fan. To put the matter differently, as regards Japanese literary “knowledge” the *uchiva* seems not to possess any function. In such a light, compared to the *ōgi*-fan, the *uchiva* can be characterized more clearly as low and “vulgar.”

By artistic practices of the medieval period, stereotype painting-topics of Chinese (*kan*) association were to be painted on *uchiva*-shaped fan-paper. In this sense too, the *uchiva* is, culturally-speaking, “Chinese.” This Chinese character in turn connects the *uchiva* to the sphere of *kyō* (i.e. as of *kyōka*, or “mad” poetry). This then leads back again to the “vulgar” realm, the world to which it seems, ultimately, the *uchiva* firmly belongs.

[C] The Acceptance of Chinese Elements within Elements Japanese

The everyday familiarity providing the necessary basis for such a reception of

³¹ Poem 477. Annotated edition: *Rokujo eisō* 六帖詠草, ed. Suzuki Jun 鈴木淳, in vol. 70 of *Waka bungaku taikai* 和歌文学大系 (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 2013), p. 99.

the *uchiva* along Chinese lines was derived, without doubt, from the place of the *uchiva* fan in quotidian usage. In summertime scenes of enjoying a moment's cool, the figures depicted are shown holding *uchiva* in their hands. The image of the fan-seller in Suzuki Harunobu's "Kasamori O-sen to uchiwa-uri" 笠森お仙と団扇売り, for instance, is particularly well-known. Poems such as the following—

涼しさを進上申すあふぎかな

Ah, for the fan, so humbly does it offer up the gift of coolness!

—Ryūho 立圃, *Sora-tsubute* 空つぶて (pub. Keian 2/1649)

寝て居ても団扇のうごく親心

Sleeping or awake, the fan never fails to move—a parent's love.

—*Haifu yanagidaru* 誹風柳多留³²

うちは

をりをりにあふぐも夢のうちはかな身に来る風も知らぬうたたね

Topic: *uchiva*-fan

From time to time, looking up the fan finds me in dreamland again—

Its breeze hitting the body like a sudden gust of nap.

—Ōkuma Kotomichi 大隈言道 (1798–1868),
Sokeishū 草徑集 (pub. Bunkiyū 文久 4/1864)

also give evidence of this.

This is not to say, however, that cases of *uchiva* alluding to “knowledge” of a “Japanese” pedigree are entirely lacking. Let us note a few such examples.

First, there is the case of the battle-*uchiva* used in the wars of medieval Japan. One particularly famous episode involving such a fan took place at the Battle of Kawanakajima 川中島, where Takeda Shingen 武田信玄 (1521–1573) used his battle-fan to stop the blade of Uesugi Kenshin 上杉謙信 (1530–1578). This scene was among those included in the collection *Ehon kojidan*, illustrated by Tachibana Morikuni. As *Nihon gaishi* records it, “[Kenshin] raised his sword and struck. Shingen, with no time to draw his own sword, blocked this using the signal fan (*kisen* 麾扇) he had been holding. The fan broke.”³³ Nonetheless, such battle-use *uchiva* should probably be distinguished from the *uchiva* used in everyday life.

Also, in novels of the early modern period, the *uchiva* was famously what the God of Poverty (*Binbōgami* 貧乏神) held in his hand. Being a god of the winds, perhaps the *uchiva* was for stirring up the air. **Figure 7** is an illustration from Ihara Saikaku's 井原西鶴 (1642–1693) *Nippon eitaigura* 日本永代蔵 (pub. Jōkyō 貞享 5/1688), chapter 1 of volume 4, captioned “Tray from the Gods as a Sign of Prayer” (*inoru shirushi no kami no oshiki* 祈る印の神の折敷).

³² *Haifu yanagidaru*, vol. 1 (pub. Meiwa 2/1765). Text in *Haifu yanagidaru zenshū* (op. cit.), vol. 1, p. 18.

³³ 拳刀撃之信玄不暇拔刀以所持麾扇扞之扇折. *Kokoku Nihon gaishi* (op. cit.), vol. 11.

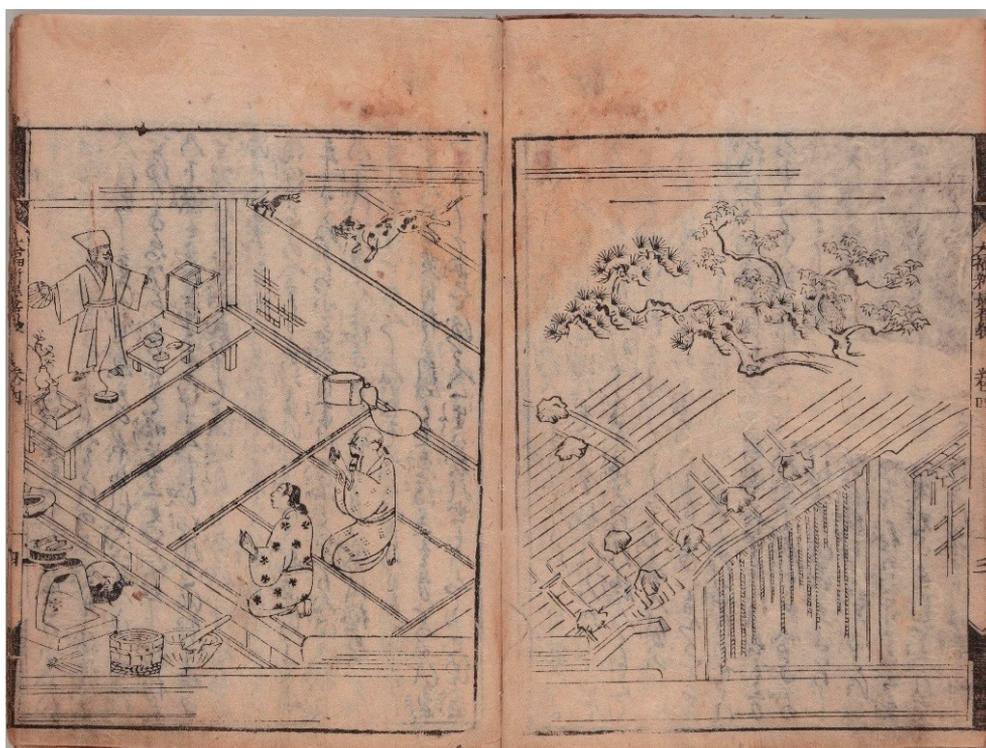


Figure 7. Upper Left: The God of Poverty holds an *uchiva* in the right hand. Illustration from Ihara Saikaku 井原西鶴, *Nippon eitaigura* 日本永代蔵, pub. Jōkyō 5/1688, ch. 1 of vol. 4, “Inoru shirushi no kami no oshiki” 祈る印の神の折敷. (National Institute of Japanese Literature, Kōjō Isao Bunko). <https://doi.org/10.20730/200015843>

All the same, such connections between the *uchiva*-fan and the God of Poverty or Tengu Demons are admittedly somewhat insubstantial as story-frames when compared to other examples like Yūgao’s *ōgi*, or the *ōgi* used by Naozane to taunt Atsumori, or the *ōgi* bullseye of Nasu no Yoichi, or Lady Ban seeing herself in the discarded fan of autumn.

5. Conclusion

As I explained at the beginning, not limited to an aesthetics of nature and named landscapes alone, unique literary resonances could also attach themselves to specific categories of object. Through the structure inherent to such literary “knowledge,” moreover, as these resonances circulated and spread in society, they became available for creative application.

By the early modern period, the conduits for such a process had attained a dazzling variety. Through the triumph of print culture, for example, not only could such “knowledge” be circulated more easily and widely than ever before, it was

also simply encountered more frequently. And with the rise also of a mass culture, one can observe a broadening in the traditional dyad-values of “refinement” (*ga*) and “vulgarity” (*zoku*). In contrast, ages up through the medieval period knew only a limited circulation based on manuscripts, and conduits for knowledge were far less dazzling in their variety. The refined and the vulgar, too, were as concepts more narrowly defined.

In this article, I have explored such phenomena through a concrete focus on specific objects: *ōgi* and *uchinwa* fans. Here at the end, I want to consider the issue more broadly from the standpoint of Sino-Japanese comparison.

As we have seen, despite the *ōgi*'s Japanese origins, and the contrastingly greater authority we expect the *uchinwa* to derive from its origins in China, we find that while resonances with Japanese literary “knowledge” exist for the *ōgi*, for the *uchinwa* such associations are rare. As a result, within Japan it is the *ōgi* that enjoys the greater air of refinement and luxury. The *uchinwa*, in contrast, is the more vulgar and commonplace. Yet what is responsible for causing this inversion of the usual hierarchy?

To begin with, the *ōgi* is found actually used in works like the *Tale of Genji*, acquiring thus a connection of historical depth to courtly aesthetics. And indeed, some reason for the inversion may lie merely in this: that before the *uchinwa* had a chance to make inroads aesthetically, the beauty of the *ōgi* had already taken root as a fixed idea.

It is also the case that as a matter of sheer functionality, the *ōgi* outdid the *uchinwa*. Not limited to mere unfolding and fanning, the *ōgi* also had a number of potential uses when folded up. The impression of freedom this gave, it is not unreasonable to imagine, might well have contributed to its association with the beautiful.³⁴

One might also see it this way: Alongside the traditional Japanese habit of imputing greater value to productions of Chinese origin, there has also existed among Japanese people a contrary impulse, attaching as much value to things from Japan as from China—if not indeed greater value—precisely because of their Japanese origin, attempting thereby to feel their own country superior.³⁵ Perhaps it is for this that people came to say that, compared to the *uchinwa*, the *ōgi* had the greater grace.

The reasons are in any case surely multiple, with no single one standing out. Because it is more than possible, moreover, to discover ample grace in the *uchinwa* as well, no clear-cut decisive difference between the two exists to be found. Indeed, especially as the people of early modern Japan steadily incorporated both types of fans into their everyday lives, the border between the two itself lost clarity.

As something, then, that characterizes the *ōgi* and the *uchinwa* both, one might say that the sense of an item for creating coolness in summer has ultimately prevailed all around.

³⁴ I am indebted to Prof. Matthias Hayek for this suggestion.

³⁵ Suzuki Ken'ichi, *Edo shūka-shi no kōzō* 江戸詩歌史の構想 (Iwanami Shoten, 2004), pp. 9–29.