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**Journal of Asian
Humanities at
Kyushu University**

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Journal of Asian Humanities at Kyushu University

VOLUME 5, SPRING 2020

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Journal of Asian Humanities at Kyushu University

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Registers of Reception: Audience and Affiliation in an Early Modern Shingon Ritual Performance

MATTHEW HAYES

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Performance reception has widened as a category of study in the humanities to include textuality, cognition, and corporeality. These aspects have become vital to considerations of performance, especially in studies of religious transmission. Two complementary Buddhist liturgies, *Ceremonial Lecture [on the Merits of] Relic Offerings* (*Shari kuyō shiki*) and *Hymn on Relics in Japanese* (*Shari himitsu wasan*), both written by the medieval Shingon monk Kakuban (1095–1143), offer opportunities to contribute to these widening views of reception in ritual contexts. This article argues that doctrinal apprehension emerged in at least two registers during the delivery of these liturgies before varied audiences at the Kyoto temple Chishakuin. It explores their ritual content and performance and shows how alternative modes of reception emerged within the

same ritual sequence during the early modern period (1603–1868).

While Buddha relics anchored both of these liturgies and maintained a cohesive field of devotion during sequential performances, semantic and rhetorical modulations of their ritual content widened the range of reception. Through examinations of motifs of relic devotion, the pedagogical potential of *kōshiki* commentarial literature, and coincident devotional practices at Chishakuin, this study reveals an array of performative and textual engagements with Kakuban's works that spanned both lay and clerical communities. Ultimately, this article seeks to blur the scholarly boundaries that tend to divide lay and clerical ritual practice.

Tracing Yamashinadera

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Kōfukuji Temple in Nara was arguably one of premodern Japan's most influential monastic centers. Founded in the beginning of the Nara period by the illustrious Fujiwara no Fuhito (659–720), the temple grew into a large complex throughout the Heian period and exerted important religious, cultural, and economic influence well into the fourteenth century. In addition, the temple hosted one of premodern Japan's main rituals, the Yuima-e or Vimalakīrti Assembly. This article reconsiders the temple's origins described in various sources and suggests an alternative version of the temple's seventh-century origins in its two precursors, Yamashinadera and Umayasakadera. The narrative of these two temples is closely connected with the early beginnings of the Fujiwara clan and more specifically with the courtier who stands at the origins of this family: Nakatomi no Kamatari (614–669). A different reading of the temple's origins moves us away from the seventh century and instead urges us to focus on the middle of the eighth century when the temple and its clan sought to reinforce their acquired legitimacy.

Authenticity, Preservation, and Transnational Space: Comparing Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre

MARIKO AZUMA

INDEPENDENT RESEARCHER

This essay discusses the problem of “authenticity” both on a theoretical and a practical level through a close comparison of two examples of Chinese rural architecture that have been repurposed: Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre. Yin Yu Tang was transferred from its original location in the Huizhou Region to the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, MA (USA). Yang's compound, known today as the Linden Centre, still stands at its original site in Xizhou, Yunnan Province, but has been transformed into an American-run boutique hotel and destination for culturally invested tourists. Based on an art historical approach that is

informed by the social sciences, museum studies, and tourism studies, the author argues that both Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre use recontextualization to cultivate an authenticity found within the framework of display. Both structures share similar histories of recontextualization and provide the contemporary visitor a chance to escape from reality to experience the past, the foreign, and the endangered. However, the two examples also provide insight into current tendencies of preservation efforts as well as the future of this endeavor must increasingly consider the intersections of space, time, and display. Considering the two architectural ensembles in their past, present, and future incarnations, the author argues for a multifaceted, long-term approach to heritage preservation that moves beyond simplistic appeals to the illusory ideal of authenticity.

The Production of the Healing Buddha at Kokusenji and Its Relationship to Hachiman Faith

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This article explores the links between a little-known statue of the Healing Buddha (Yakushi nyorai) at Kokusenji, an ancient temple in northern Kyushu, to one of the most celebrated early ninth-century statues of the same divinity at Jingoji in Kyoto. On the basis of the clear similarities in their appearances, the author traces the complex, heretofore unexplored political, economic, and religious connections between institutions in northern Kyushu and the capital. An understanding of the vital role of the Kanzeonji Lecturer, a post occupied at a critical juncture by the Shingon monk Eun, and early projects to copy the Buddhist canon are demonstrated as key to establishing the link that allowed knowledge of the Jingoji statue to reach northern Kyushu. An additional prime factor aiding this transmission was faith in Hachiman, a native deity deeply associated with both the imperial court and Buddhism. Pervading the northern Kyushu area, such a syncretic belief system served as a prerequisite for ties between the two regions.

Sage Ladies, Devoted Brides: The *Kara monogatari* as a Manual for Women's Correct Behavior?

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The *Kara monogatari*, compiled by Fujiwara no Shigenori (1135–1187), is a collection of twenty-seven secular anecdotes from Chinese literary and historical sources, written in the vernacular of the time, and traditionally classified in the *setsuwa* genre. However, considering its influence on the production of vernacular literary and practical knowledge manuals in the following Kamakura period (1185–1333), it is possible to rethink the work as a primer. The text exhibits several features that indicate a female audience. For example, many of the stories promote Confucian virtues, mainly those regarding the correct behavior of women, such as fidelity, wisdom, and forbearance. Furthermore, the rhetorical style is typical of post-*Genji monogatari* novels, which circulated especially among women. And lastly, the Buddhist flavor in some of the anecdotes connects them with the *kana* literary vogue and in turn with the Buddhist worldview that dominated the late Heian period (794–1185). Taken together, these features suggest the collection might well have been composed for mid-ranking court women. While modern literary scholars have conventionally assumed that in the twelfth century women no longer read or studied Chinese, *Kara monogatari* provides important evidence to the contrary.

REVIEWS

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EXHIBITION/BOOK REVIEW BY ALISON J. MILLER

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Max Ward. *Thought Crime: Ideology and State Power in Interwar Japan. Duke University Press, 2019.*

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KYUSHU AND ASIA

Effluvia of the Foreign: Olfactory Experiences in Nagasaki during the Tokugawa Period

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This article employs smell to examine Japanese encounters with others late in the early-modern period. In the past scholars have approached this topic primarily from an ocularcentric point of view by identifying outward appearance, such as facial hair and ornaments, as the crucial component of Japanese constructions of otherness. In order to move beyond this visual emphasis, this article instead features olfactory experiences, especially those related to Japanese encounters with meat-eating as practiced by Westerners. Focusing on the city of Nagasaki, the article demonstrates how smells associated with foreigners and their dietary practices served as a powerful vehicle through which Japanese configured themselves against foreignness.

Registers of Reception: Audience and Affiliation in an Early Modern Shingon Ritual Performance

MATTHEW HAYES

Introduction

The Shingon 真言 (literally “True Word” or “Mantra”) school of Buddhism faced a crisis during the first few years of the Meiji era (1868–1912). In the wake of government mandates that severed lay affiliations with temples and anti-Buddhist movements that sought to “abolish Buddhism and destroy Śākyamuni” (*haibutsu kishaku* 廃仏毀釈), Shingon clerics fought to reconstitute their lay following. One approach to rebuilding this following emerged through an engaged proselytization that took place within ritual forums. Within the Chisan 智山 branch especially, ritual became one means of exposing laity to core doctrinal tenets through the chanting of Shingon verses and simplified explanations of Buddhist sutras. Clerics emphasized the crucial accessibility of de-elevated ceremonial content in reinvigorating relationships with the lay population.

Approximately ten years after the Meiji government dissolved the economic foundation that had long supported Buddhist temples of all sectarian divisions, Hattori Bankai 服部鏝海 (1846–1909), a Shingon scholar-monk from Wakayama Prefecture, composed a step-by-step explanation of lay-oriented ceremonies

of accessible import.¹ On the function and purpose of two Japanese hymns (*wasan* 和讃) written by the medieval Shingon monk Kakuban 覺鑊 (1095–1143), one of which focuses on the assurance of a pacified mind (*anjin* 安心), he writes:

As for the meaning of the teachings of the secret True Word, they are extremely profound and subtle, and it is for this reason that necessarily clarifying [the teachings] for those of shallow wisdom is not easy. As for the difficulty and misapprehension of [the tenet of] *anjin* among our male and female lay companions, Tōji’s abbot and great teacher Sanjū Nishijōzen [1844–1888] has lamented this. For the sake of quickly comprehending the tenets

I am grateful to Eric Tojimbara for his insight on early versions of this manuscript. I would also like to thank the editors of *JAH-Q* and an anonymous reviewer for their thoughtful and constructive remarks.

¹ Hattori’s explanations would later form the basis for the *Chisan gongyō shiki* 智山勤行式, a modern collection of ceremonies implemented by the Chisan branch in 1982 and now performed regularly at the Kyoto temple Chishakuin 智積院. The liturgies discussed in this article are no longer performed at Chishakuin. While several liturgical explanations circulated during the early Meiji period, Hattori’s appears to have been more comprehensive in scope than most. For more on this text and its later iterations, see Sasaki, “Kinsei ni okeru ‘Zaika gongyō hōsoku.’”

of the secret tradition among male and female lay companions, he designates, based on the general meaning of the ritual commentaries, both the *Shingon anjin wasan* and *Kōmyō Shingon wasan*....

祕密眞言の教意ハ、甚深微妙にして、淺智の者ハ曉むべきこと容易ならざるが故に。在家男女の輩に至てハ、安心領解せんこと尤易ならざるを以て、東寺一ノ長者三條西乘禪教正大に之を歎きいひ。在家男女の輩をして、早く密宗の宗意を領解することを得せしめんが為に經軌の旨趣に基づきて、眞言安心と光明眞言との...²

Hattori's comments reflect both a growing concern over lay accessibility to Shingon teachings and the suitability of *wasan* in meeting those concerns.³ During the early Meiji period, the performance of *wasan* constituted one route toward rebuilding the lay religious community within the Shingon school due, in large part, to the genre's accessibility and simplicity before a lay audience.

While Hattori's injunction to leverage *wasan* in order to clarify core doctrinal tenets addressed a Meiji-era

sectarian crisis of dwindling lay followers, Shingon clerics deployed similar tactics during earlier periods of relative comfort. This article reveals a continuous initiative to use ritual as a proselytizing forum for laity that stretched back to at least the Tokugawa era (1603–1868), during which Buddhist sectarian affiliation was a legal requirement. What follows is a comparative survey of two complementary liturgical performances that offered, on their own terms, access to core doctrinal tenets within the Chisan branch of Shingon Buddhism. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century performances of *Ceremonial Lecture on [the Merits of] Relic Offerings* (*Shari kuyō shiki* 舍利供養式; hereafter *Shari kōshiki*) and *Secret Hymn on Relics in Japanese* (*Shari himitsu wasan* 舍利秘密和讃; hereafter *Shari wasan*), both written by Kakuban, provided alternative forums for doctrinal apprehension and devotional engagement during the same ritual sequence at Chishakuin 智積院.⁴ While Buddha relics thematically anchored both of these liturgies and maintained a cohesive field of devotion during sequential performances, semantic and rhetorical modulations of their ritual language varied the targets of reception between lay and clerical audiences. The *Shari kōshiki* appeals to clerical imperatives to practice later became a scholarly focus of its principal exegete, Gahō 我寶 (1239–1317), and therefore finds its clerical audience in an upper register of reception. The *Shari wasan*, in its emphasis on lay-oriented practice and in its appeal to the active intervention of the Buddha's great compassion (*daihi* 大悲), finds its lay audience in a lower register of reception.

Performances of these liturgies at Chishakuin reveal that long before concerns over Meiji-era directives, Shingon clerics used *wasan* as a complementary and accessible ritual alternative for lay understanding. As a temple focused on karmic elimination (*metsuzai* 滅罪) rather than funerary services, Chishakuin became a site of ritual performance that met the soteriological concerns of its parishioners and, in the process, conveyed core Shingon doctrine through these two registers, or distinct levels of social, linguistic, and performative apprehensions of doctrinal knowledge. Above all, early

2 *Shingon shū zaiki gongyō hōsoku waga* 眞言宗在家勤行法則和解, pp. 13–14. Hattori does not name Kakuban as the author in this work, but Akatsuka Yūdō gives an overview of these *wasan* among others written by Kakuban in "Kōgyō Daishi wasan ni tsuite," pp. 61–63, and even mentions Hattori's injunction.

3 The remainder of Hattori's injunction appears as follows: This being the case, although any two *wasan* [can be performed] among the morning and evening services each day, in necessarily chanting one of these [above two examples] one can take command of their essential points and this ought to be the way of correctly understanding the tenet of *anjin*. This is most essential. Moreover, the lineage of these chanted [*wasan*] brings together the self-origination and the virtue of the five buddhas. If we consider the five notes on the pentatonic scale, the merits of directly voicing the syllables as reality are illuminated by chanting these *wasan*, and for those who lack knowledge, a mind laid to rest on the bed of insight into the same bodily form shared between the *tathāgatas* of five wisdoms, Mahāvairocana, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, Amoghasiddhi, and Śākyamuni, is attained. Consequently, belief in this secret meaning and chants [of these *wasan*] will therefore increasingly extend one's merit to the brink. For especially this reason, we exceed this and meet the conditions and causes that made [these] *wasan*.

兩和讃を示しむしとなれば日日朝暮勤行の砌にハ、兩和讃の中何なりども、其一を必唱へて、其旨趣を領知して、宗意安心を誤らざる様に致さるべきこと。尤肝要なり。且唱ふる所の譜ハ、自然と五佛の徳に契ひたる。宮商角徵羽の五音なれば、此和讃を唱ふる直聲字即實相の功徳に照らされて、知らず識らず大日阿闍寶生彌陀釋迦の五智の如來と同體の覺悟の床に安住することを得らる。因てからる秘旨あることを信して、唱ふれば、功徳ますます邊際なり。故にことに之を去るして、和讃を製しむし所の縁由を迷ること。

4 *Kōshiki* are a sub-category of a much larger genre of Japanese Buddhist chants (*shōmyō* 声明). They praise the merits of a central object of devotion, which may take the form of a buddha, bodhisattva, Buddhist text, founder figure, or other object. *Wasan* are devotional hymns typically composed in a 7–5 metered pattern and, like *kōshiki*, usually take a central object of devotion as their focus.

modern performances of Kakuban's liturgies complicate our view of Shingon Buddhist ritual practice as socially partitioned insofar as they demonstrate the range with which ritual performance can communicate to and across varied groups of observers.

Reception and Understanding in Religious Ritual

This study builds on recent examinations of the relationship between ritual performance, textual production, and social partitions not only in Buddhist studies but also in medieval Christian studies. In his work on eighth-century sutra copying, Bryan Lowe reveals how such practices enjoined otherwise disparate classes and social groups and challenges our conception of Heian-era (794–1185) textual practices as imperially centered. In doing so, he shows not only how ritualized engagements with texts cut across varied groups of Buddhists, but also how copyists engaged in world-building by leveraging the fluidity of liturgical genre.⁵ Asuka Sango, whose work illuminates the bilateral production of knowledge among clerics during the imperial assembly of ritual offerings [to the *Sutra of Golden Light*] (*Misai-e* 御齋會) in the Heian era, argues that bodies of knowledge were not only produced and preserved by the clergy, but that this knowledge was later refined within the context of ritual debate.⁶ Her study highlights the connectivity between sectarian identity and doctrinal positions in a ritual context and, ultimately, how clerics negotiated these positions in the face of sectarian challenges to orthodoxy.⁷ Abe Yasurō has suggested that ritual performers, commentators, and audience members each contributed to a matrix of production that grew out of medieval religious texts and that this production influenced the course of preaching (*shōdō* 唱導) during later centuries.⁸ Similarly, Komine Kazuaki understands dharma assemblies as sites of religious literary

production that influenced the development of subsidiary liturgical genres, which include *kōshiki*.⁹ As each of these studies suggests, liturgical understanding can run bidirectionally between otherwise disparate social groups, and modes of Buddhist liturgical reception can range as widely as the rituals themselves.

In recent years, scholars of medieval Christianity have effectively given shape to the relationship between aural apprehension and meaning-making. In her study of female literacy in late medieval England, Katherine Zeiman argues that, through the body, lay women were able to perform liturgies that were otherwise unintelligible to them.¹⁰ She explores several fourteenth-century treatises on the expectations of liturgical mastery among female laity and argues for what she calls an embodied “liturgical literacy,” or a mode of liturgical understanding from outside of the realm of discursivity and the intellect. The parameters of this literacy were not specified by those in places of literary or religious power, but instead depended on the inherent skills of the listener, namely musical, phonetic, mnemonic, and others grounded in the body. In stark distinction to the parameters defined by “grammatical culture,” in which cultural elites take linguistic knowledge, especially grammar, as the central pole of understanding through oral communication, this type of literacy apprehends through visceral—as opposed to intellectual or affective—experience.¹¹ Zeiman's study has opened new routes to exploring the interplay between ritual knowledge, performance, textual practices, and the role of the audience insofar as she takes seriously the role of corporeality in closing the perceived epistemological gaps that divide lay and clerical categories of religious belonging.

Similar to the case of women in late medieval England, the literate activities of contemporaneous lay Buddhists are rather difficult to assess. Kuroda Hideo has suggested connections between the rise of late-Kamakura village documents and the proliferation of Buddhist temples as sites of literacy training. He concludes that basic training at these temple sites allowed some village leaders greater command over administrative tasks and their documentation.¹² This medieval

5 Lowe, *Ritualized Writing*.

6 Sango, *The Halo of Golden Light*.

7 Beyond studies of Japan, Justin McDaniel has shown how, in modern Buddhist practice in Thailand, religious narratives operate meaningfully across social strata and that, critically, Thai Buddhist liturgy operates in the same way: ritual content is dynamic, fluid, public, and runs the spectrum of religious purpose across both lay and clerical communities. McDaniel, *Lovelorn Ghost*, pp. 121–60.

8 Abe, *Chūsei Nihon no shūkyō*, pp. 15–16.

9 Komine, *Chūsei hō'e bungei ron*, pp. i–viii.

10 Zeiman, “Reading, Singing, and Understanding.”

11 For more on grammatical culture, see Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture*, pp. 1–22.

12 See Kuroda, “Sengoku/Shokuhō-ki,” p. 302.

trend, also attested in the work of Richard Rubinger, continued in narrow form through the early Tokugawa years, whereby temples offered loose instruction in basic reading and writing to small cross-sections of the populace.¹³ Even later, more standardized curricula found at mid- and late-Tokugawa temple schools (*terakoya* 寺子屋) were largely delivered to novice monks, elite members of the samurai class, or to children of the wealthy. Very few townspeople, perhaps only those who required training tied to their livelihoods, accessed Buddhist education at these temples. Even then, popular literacy and its attendant disciplines (counting, history, and geography) generally comprised this type of education.

Regarding Buddhist material, therefore, it becomes challenging to make strong claims about the process of apprehension among laity. While Kakuban composed his *Shari kōshiki* in a Sino-Japanese hybrid style (*wakan konkōbun* 和漢混交文), clerics read it aloud in colloquial Japanese. Likewise, he originally composed his *Shari wasan* in colloquial Japanese for recitation. These linguistic features suggest an intended apprehension of the ritual language among attendees, though it does not necessarily suggest a comprehension of the ritual content. Yet, if we take as a general rubric Zeiman's emphasis on the body as a site of lay reception, as well as Hattori Bankai's attention to vocalization as a religious act grounded in the body for early-Meiji Buddhists, we can see how somatic impression lies at the core of ritual performance.¹⁴ All manner of sights, sounds, scents,

and tactility indeed emerge during ritual performance and, in this way, offer inroads to sensual apprehension.¹⁵ These ever-present sensual processes are vital for knowledge acquisition since they are the frontlines between oneself and the material world.¹⁶

Michaela Mross, while recognizing that most *kōshiki* were not composed for the express purpose of lay participation, has nonetheless shown degrees of participation among laity during performances of the *Shiza kōshiki* 四座講式, written by Myōe 明恵 (1173–1232), which was comprised of performances of four isolated *kōshiki*, including his own version of the *Shari kōshiki*, related to the Buddha's final passing.¹⁷ Mross concludes that while communal chanting ensured a lay participation in medieval performances of *kōshiki*, by the early modern period lay participation had essentially disappeared among Shingon performances. Most of the vocalization was performed by clergy while lay audiences listened.¹⁸ The implications of Mross's study are critical for the arguments here in at least two ways. First, they suggest that clergy had developed other means of

13 See Rubinger, *Popular Literacy in Early Modern Japan*, pp. 35–37.

14 In his exploration of "the archive" as a site of historical endurance, whereby statements are granted historical existence within a specific ruleset defined by the parameters of language, Foucault describes the construction of an epistemological substratum that guides both present and future historical positions. See Foucault, *Archeology of Knowledge*, pp. 41–63. Tyrus Miller argues for an extension of Foucault's model to ritual acts, during which speech repetition, bodily performance, and the presence of witnesses give shape to a sense event within theatrical time, the speech of which "may function as simulacra, affecting bodies, creating the turbulence of passion, projecting hypothetical experiences, generating phantasms, rising into appearance and passing into nothingness." See Miller, "Situation and Event," pp. 80–85. Ritual spaces therefore allow for the active and sustained production of meaning and understanding based, though not exclusively, on sensual apprehension. In a broader sense, David Morgan argues for the primacy of materiality in the initial experience of religious apprehension and suggests that such experience necessarily derives from physical symbols and corporeal sensation. See Morgan, *Religion and Material Culture*, pp. 5–9.

15 Considering the near-constant presence of burning incense during liturgical performance, scent was undoubtedly also at work during the ritual performances discussed in this article, though not, I would argue, as effective in communicating discursive knowledge regarding the content of a liturgy. According to Dan Sperber, who has written extensively on the relationship between knowledge and experience, scent has a wide and powerful "evocational field" to which individuals assign recollections and memories. Often, though, the recollections are more symbolically meaningful than the scent itself and, therefore, misdirect in the process of understanding. See Sperber, *Rethinking Symbolism*, pp. 15–23.

16 This is true from a Buddhist perspective, which emphasizes the primacy of causal process—physiological, ontological, epistemological, ethical, and so forth. According to Harvey Whitehouse, this is also true from a cognitive and evolutionary perspective; see Whitehouse, *Modes of Religiosity*, pp. 87–105. His theory of "doctrinal modes of religiosity" helps to bridge the gulf between ritual action and knowledge acquisition. He describes the transmission of knowledge during ritual acts, whereby high-frequency, low-arousal rituals tend to set the stage for the codification of an authoritative canon, the homogenization of a regional tradition, or the standardization of teachings and practices because of the collective reliance on ritual leaders skilled in routinized oration, dramatism, and systems of transmission. The religious knowledge transmitted during ritual, Whitehouse says, in following the early models of Stanley Tambiah, is highly motivating insofar as it is upheld as an authoritative truth that legitimizes collective understandings of social history. See Tambiah, *Culture, Thought, and Social Action*.

17 James Ford has also argued for degrees of lay participation within performances of *kōshiki* authored by Jōkei 貞慶 (1155–1213). Ford, "Competing with Amida."

18 Mross, "Vocalizing the Lament," pp. 122–23.

engaging lay attendees during the performance of *kōshiki* by the early modern period, and while laity may not have joined in the communal chanting that had so often occurred during medieval performances, their presence during early modern performances was impelled by other factors. Second, her arguments leave open the possibility that we may also consider listening a form of participation.

Since the liturgical content of both the *Shari kōshiki* and *Shari wasan* is largely transmitted through oral communication, I posit aural reception in ritual spaces as the primary mode of participation during performance at Chishakuin. It is impossible to determine with precision which aspects of doctrinal content were transmitted during the performance of the *Shari kōshiki* and *Shari wasan*. And while some scholars have criticized ritual language as lacking any communicative power, one must recognize that language—although not exclusively—is one primary means of action that drives a ritual forward; language forms the core content of a liturgy, but it can also cue and pattern the structure of the ritual sequence itself.¹⁹ Even in instances where ritual language is disguised or deliberately misused, language is inherently communicative and performative. As Pascal Boyer describes in his work on tradition and meaning-making, ritual speech emerges through changes to linguistic morphology, consistent use of metaphorical repertoires, and the inclusion of foreign vocabularies meant to either widen or narrow meaning.²⁰ In the present exploration of the *Shari kōshiki* and *Shari wasan*, which clerics performed in sequence usually in the small Founder's Hall (Kaisandō 開山堂) or larger Lecture Hall (Kōdō 講堂), I argue on the premise that the oral delivery of these rituals in varied spaces maintained a forum for reception among laity and clerics at Chishakuin.²¹

19 On this criticism, see Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, pp. 84–85, and Wuthnow, *Meaning and Moral Order*, pp. 140–44.

20 Boyer, *Tradition as Truth and Communication*, pp. 79–82.

21 The erection of Chishakuin's original Founder's Hall began under the tenure of the temple's fourth abbot, Genju 元壽 (1575–1648), through modest donations made by followers. Land was granted in the southern Chishakuin precinct in 1665, on which expansions to the Founder's Hall began in 1667. This new expansion forms the basis of what stands at Chishakuin today, now referred to as the Mitsugondō 密嚴堂, and measures 122 square meters. See *Chishakuin shi* 智積院史, p. 158. Most of the Reception Hall was lost to fire in 1681, though the north gate was saved and used in the reconstruction of the building in 1685. Since ancient times, this hall has also been used for ritualized doctrinal debates (*rongi* 論議), and for this reason is also referred to as the Lecture

Transmission, Accessibility, and Kakuban's Liturgies

Early modern performances of the *Shari kōshiki* and *Shari wasan* were the result of a complex process of textual curation that developed during prior centuries. Below I survey the composition of these liturgies, situate them in the narrow context of Kakuban's textual lineage, and finally discuss their relationship to their respective liturgical genres.

Akatsuka Yūdō has traced the development of the various forms of the *Shari kōshiki* through the writings of Raiyu 頼瑜 (1226–1304), perhaps the most important figure in the formation of the Shingi Shingon 新義真言 school as it developed after Kakuban.²² Akatsuka surveys a section on the *Shari kōshiki* in Raiyu's best-known work, *Assorted Notes on Questions and Answers Concerning the True and Conventional (Shinzoku zakki mondō shō* 眞俗雜記問答鈔), titled "On the Matter of the Mitsugon'in [Manuscript of] *Shari kōshiki*" (*Mitsugon'in Shari kōshiki ji* 密嚴院舍利講式事), wherein he describes two textual lines of the *Shari kōshiki* that grew out of terminological and structural differences created by later compilers. Raiyu cites the oral transmission (*kuden* 口傳) of Kyōō'in 教王院, a temple of the Buzan branch (*Buzanha* 豐山派) located west of Kyoto, as the initial source of these lines of production and presents several critical points of inquiry regarding discrepancies between alternate versions of the *Shari kōshiki*.²³ The alternate versions of certain sections within the

Hall. Today's Lecture Hall measures approximately 645 square meters. See *Chizan yōkō* 智山瑤光, plate 4.

22 Akatsuka, "Kakuban no 'Shari kōshiki' o megutte."

23 For example, Raiyu claims that in the original manuscript the second and fourth sections of the liturgy surround praise to Tosotsu 兜率 (Sk. Tuṣita) and to the *Dhāraṇī of the Seal on the Casket of the Secret Whole-body Relic of the Essence of All Tathāgatas (Issai nyorai shin himitsu zenshin shari hōkyōin darani kyō* 一切如來心祕密全身舍利寶篋印陀羅尼經), respectively. This manuscript is presently held at Mitsugon'in 密嚴院 on Mount Kōya. In the *Complete Collection [of the Works of] Kakuban (Kōgyō Daishi zenshū* 興教大師全集), however, an alternate version of section two is rendered as praise for the secretly adorned Pure Land (*Mitsugon jōdo* 密嚴淨土) and, in the same section, praise for its highest joy (*gokuraku* 極樂). Likewise, an alternate version of section four appears as praise for the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra (Dainichikyō* 大日經) and, in the same section, praise for stupas (*sotoba* 率塔婆). See Akatsuka, "Kakuban no 'Shari kōshiki' o megutte," pp. 32 and 34. Interestingly, section four also includes praise to the *Dhāraṇī*, as in the Mitsugon'in manuscript above, though it was composed on the reverse side (*uragaki* 裏書) of the original manuscript. Both versions of these sections appear side-by-side in modern prints of the *Shari kōshiki*.

liturgy Raiyu describes were originally separate writings produced by Kakuban and added to this liturgy by later scholar-monks during the early process of compilation and reflect the will and whim of these later compilers.

The implications of Raiyu's discernment between the two versions of the *Shari kōshiki* bear on the present arguments in at least two ways. First, it suggests that widely-read versions of the liturgy, namely those now found in modern print versions of the *Complete Collection [of the Works of] Kakuban (Kōgyō Daishi zenshū 興教大師全集)*, were the product of a curatorial process; the liturgy became part of a compilation based on conscious choices made by latter-day monks who had access to the two versions of the text. Critically, this "standard" version differs in content from Kakuban's original manuscript, now held by Mitsugon'in on Mount Kōya, the very mountain from which he was driven in 1141. Second, the presence of these two versions during the medieval period means that commentators also had to select their target texts and therefore contributed in their own conscious ways to the broader discourse surrounding relic power and worship in the medieval period. While I discuss the potential implications of commentarial choice in greater detail below, we can provisionally surmise that the *Shari kōshiki* enjoyed fairly wide use in the context of clerical study at Chishakuin during later centuries due to the circulation of several versions.

Kakuban composed the *Shari kōshiki* and *Shari wasan* as complementary liturgies and Suzuki Sanai has best treated them as such by identifying several corresponding passages. He describes *wasan* generally as a response to a rise in lecture-based liturgical practices, of which *kōshiki* are a part, and the slow rise of mass religious propagation.²⁴ Similarly, Tsukudo Reikan has suggested that the medieval period brought several changes to religious perceptions and concerns among audiences.²⁵ An increase in religious services oriented toward popular audiences (*minshū* 民衆) and the reductive qualities (*kakōteki seishitsu* 下降的性質) of such services, dually influenced by a rise of popular music and faith-based belief systems, flavored the composition of not only *kōshiki* of the time, composed by a bevy of influential religious figures such as Myōe, Shinran 親鸞 (1173–1262), and Jōkei 貞慶 (1155–1213), but

also of *wasan*. There are clear historical indications that new modes of accessibility began to pervade liturgical practice within the Shingon school during the Kamakura period (1185–1333) and, judging by the continued performance of both *kōshiki* and *wasan* across Buddhist schools through the early modern period and into the present day, these modes continue to hold value for lay and clerical ritual attendees.

There are constraints inherent to the *wasan* genre that require consideration in this appraisal of rhetorical and semantic style. Primarily, the structure of *wasan* typically follows a 7–5 syllabic meter, common to Japanese poetry, across four-line stanzas.²⁶ This means that, in some cases, *wasan* authors may deploy certain isolated terms or turns of phrase in partial fulfillment of this structural requirement. While it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine whether or not Kakuban consciously used certain turns of phrase due, wholly or in part, to the metered constraints of the *wasan* genre in his composition of the *Shari wasan*, this possibility does not alter the fact that *wasan* are thematically and linguistically de-elevated works of praise. In other words, as a genre of praise delivered before audiences of all backgrounds, and as Itō Masahiro has shown, *wasan*, by definition, took the form of easy-to-understand songs of praise.²⁷ While we can only examine the content of Kakuban's *Shari wasan* and judge the nature of reception through various corroborative materials below, the connection between the *Shari wasan* and *Shari kōshiki* suggests that the easy-to-understand portions of the *Shari wasan* were indeed meant to be easily understood. Kakuban's *wasan*, whether despite or due to the constraints of the genre, provided a rhetorically and semantically simplified version of his *Shari kōshiki*.

Below, I build on Suzuki's assertions surrounding the close relationship between the *Shari kōshiki* and *Shari wasan* by exploring at least two registers of reception inherent to both the textual and performative expressions of these liturgies. I show how rhetorical and semantic modulations of the ritual language in the *Shari wasan* expressed doctrinal tenets on a register attuned to lay practices and concerns. This mode of

26 Nakamura, *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, 1467a.

27 Itō explains how from the Heian period the usage of the term *wasan* became opposed to the elevated language in Chinese poetics (*kansan* 漢讚) and, by these means, *wasan* became associated with a relaxed syllabary (*yawarakana* 和らかな) for easy apprehension. See Itō, "Nihon bukkyō ni okeru wasan no yakuwari," pp. 800–801.

24 See Suzuki, "Kakuban saku no kōshiki," p. 115.

25 See Tsukudo, "Kōshiki no rekishiteki kōsatsu," pp. 7–15.

apprehension allowed laity access to core facets of Shingon doctrine geared, in an upper register of reception, to a clerical agenda in the *Shari kōshiki*. I then contextualize these modes of reception among the social, spatial, and calendrical aspects of the performance of both liturgies at Chishakuin. Finally, I trace even later scholarly interactions with the *Shari kōshiki* among clerics at the temple.

Rhetorical Variance

Rhetorical variance, which I define as variations in logical complexity inherent to shared terms across each liturgy, provides a good, initial measure of the differences inherent to the *Shari kōshiki* and *Shari wasan*. In his *Shari kōshiki*, Kakuban follows major liturgical trends of esoteric relic worship in Japan by addressing the function of relics as vessels of the Buddha's great compassion and the potential reward for devotion directed toward them.²⁸ Kakuban describes this function of relics in ascending levels of descriptive flourish and begins simply in the *Pronouncement of Intention* (*hyōbyaku* 表白). This *Pronouncement*, which both forecasts the liturgical content to follow and frames the liturgy in broad devotional terms, lays out several basic statements surrounding the nature of relics, the Buddha, and the devotee:

In accordance with the innate desires [of each of you], [He] benefits living beings without bound. As a result, until having saved everyone, his Great Compassion does not rest and still lodges in His relics. Thus, in taking refuge [in His relics], one will necessarily cross over the ocean of three existences. In producing offerings [to them], one will certainly advance to the summit of four virtues [of enlightenment].²⁹

28 Asano Shōko, who has traced the thematic origins of this liturgy, suggests that the text may have been directly influenced by the *Secret Ceremony on Dhātu [Relics]* (*Dato hishiki* 駄都祕式), written by Kūkai 空海 (774–835), in which he describes the nonduality between Mahāvairocana and relics as a feature that allows for the receipt of benefits in the living world. See Asano, “Shari kōshiki shōko,” pp. 110–11. For Kūkai's *Dato hishiki*, see *Kōbō Daishi zen-shū*, vol. 14, p. 250.

29 *Kōshiki dētabēsu*, text no. 40, lines 17–19.

隨其性欲、利生無邊。遂乃化緣已盡雖示減度、大悲不休、尚留舍利。適致歸依、必渡三有之海、纔興供養、定登四德之峯。

Several themes correspond with those in the sixth verse of Kakuban's *Shari wasan*:

Even though the teaching of his career-long mission has ended, and [he has] returned to the metropolis of four virtues [of enlightenment], [His] Great Compassion and skillful techniques do not stop, but yet still lodge within relics.³⁰

一代化儀事終て
四徳の都に皈れども
大悲方便止ずして
舍利を留め置き給う

In the greater context of each liturgy, these verses address slightly different concerns. The short passage from the *Shari kōshiki* privileges the actions of the practitioner, who traverses the “peak of four virtues” after producing offerings to relics.³¹ In the *Shari wasan*, however, there is no mention of the actions of the practitioner. Instead, it is the Buddha who returns to the “city of four virtues” in the process of his final enlightenment (*nyūmetsu* 入滅). Yet his skillful techniques (*hōben* 方便), proffered through great compassion, remain lodged in relics. That is, Kakuban also includes here the means through which this compassion operates within the living world, and the means so often associated with the bodily form (*shikishin* 色身) of the Buddha, Śākyamuni.

The *Shari wasan* verse highlights an immediate access to great compassion through relics by appealing to the efficacy of the bodily form of the Buddha and his relics in the living world despite the perception of the

30 *Kōgyō Daishi senjutsushū*, vol. 2, p. 51.

31 As Ui Hakuju describes, the four virtues (*shitoku* 四徳) appear in detail in the *Nirvana sutra*, which itself traces the time leading up to the passing of the Buddha. The four virtues include permanence or eternity (*jōtoku* 常德), joy (*rautoku* 樂徳), self-sovereignty (*gatoku* 我徳), and purity (*jōtoku* 淨徳). The Buddha urges others to foster these epistemological ideals in order to combat nihilistic views brought on by misunderstandings of emptiness. See Ui, *Bukkyō jiten*, p. 417. In this way, proper understanding becomes part and parcel of the Buddhist soteriological experience, and this quality is itself inherent to relics; the four virtues and the relics that symbolize the Buddha's embodiment of them are both symbols of proper epistemological understanding.

Buddha's absence; the Buddha has returned to the "city of four virtues" and yet his corporeal fragments remain in the world as a source of great compassion. This verse emphasizes the skillful activities of the Buddha that, implicitly, enliven a faith and devotion among those seeking to access his great compassion.³² The *Shari kōshiki* builds on this by adding injunctions to devotional practices meant to meet soteriological concerns.

Other passages more precisely reveal how Kakuban's embellished descriptions in the *Shari kōshiki* continue to highlight soteriologically contingent practices. On the issue of descriptive embellishment, Asano Shōko describes that in addition to the meritorious benefits reaped through the performance of the *Shari kōshiki*, another purpose of the liturgy was to add descriptive and narrative power to the episode of the Buddha's final enlightenment, or the annihilation of his bodily form in the world. In contrast to the de-elevated characteristics we find in the *Shari wasan*, Asano highlights the complexity of not only Kakuban's *Shari kōshiki*, but also versions written by other clerics, as concurrent with the complex social features of relic belief (*shari shinkō* 舍利信仰) during Japan's medieval era.³³ That is, narrative flourish within *kōshiki* became one means of reflecting the growing faith surrounding relic power across both lay and clerical groups.

Kakuban expresses the depth and complexity of relic worship through embellished language in his *Shari kōshiki*:

Thus, the expounder of the True Word, the Great Sun Tathāgata, emerges from the supreme city of dharma bliss, courses through the gate of mutual empowerment, confers the jeweled carriage of spiritual penetration, and leads the confused to his Golden Site. In the end, he leaves relics among people and gods, and tours and proselytizes among the *dharma* realm. [By these means] the reverent

will bound over deluded attachment in a single thought-moment. The faithful will verify [their own] Buddha cognition in their ordinary body.³⁴

是故眞言教主大日如來出法樂之都、趣加持之門、授神通之寶輅、導迷情於金場。遂即留舍利於人天、施化度於法界。仰者、一念超三劫、信者、凡身證佛智。

Here, Kakuban embellishes his articulation of the traversal of Mahāvairocana into the living world. These descriptions culminate with two acute references to the rewards of a practitioner's devotion: overcoming attachment and attaining buddhahood in one's ordinary body. In chapter 9 of another of his works, *Esoteric Commentary on the Mantras of the Five Elements and Nine Seed-Syllables* (*Gorin kuji myō himitsushaku* 五輪九字明祕密釋), Kakuban attests to these soteriological rewards as particularly tuned to the program of practice among clerics.³⁵ Nowhere in chapter 9 of his *Esoteric Commentary* does he claim a relationship between lay practice and the attainment of buddhahood in one's very body (*sokushin jōbutsu* 即身成佛). While he makes general claims for the primacy of faith and the efficacy of faith-based techniques in effecting enlightenment elsewhere in his works, the deliberate mention of present-body buddhahood in his *Shari kōshiki* connotes practices related to that particular soteriological goal.

This potential appeal to clerical concerns in this passage sharpens when read alongside corresponding verses from the *Shari wasan* that highlight the reward of merit, here in the seventh verse:

32 In prior scholarship on the primacy of faith and devotion in the *Shari kōshiki*, I show how the liturgy's principle exegete, Gahō, interpreted Kakuban's injunctions to practitioners to maintain a devotional relationship with relics. Part of Gahō's interpretation involves parsing key terms such as refuge (*kie* 歸依), which he explains as related to faith and as an appropriate counter to the disorder (*fun'un* 紛紜) of existence in the three realms (*Shari kuyō shiki shō* 舍利供養式鈔, leaf 12). For more on the motifs of faith and devotion in Kakuban's *Shari kōshiki* and Gahō's commentary, see Hayes, "Faith, Devotion, and Doctrinal Knowledge," pp. 32-42.

33 See Asano, "Shari kōshiki shōkō," pp. 109-10.

34 *Kōshiki dētabēsu*, text no. 40, lines 53-57.

35 For example, on the topic of attaining buddhahood in one's very body, Kakuban describes sets of practices meant for clerics of faculties tuned to Mahāyāna teachings (*daiki* 大機) or those tuned to mainstream (i.e., non-Mahāyāna) Buddhist teachings (*shōki* 小機). He delineates these faculties even further by sharpness and dullness (*ridon* 利鈍). He then furnishes among these four categories a range of appropriate practices—entering [through contemplation] the *dharma* realm essence (*nyū hokkai taishō* 入法界體性), contemplation of the seed syllable A (*aji kan* 字觀), and the gradual passage through the sixteen great bodhisattva stages (*shidai ni oite jūroku dai bosatsu no i o heru* 次第經於十六大菩薩位), among others—that can effect buddhahood in one's very body. In other words, despite his delineation of faculties among practitioners, the practices best suited for attaining buddhahood in one's body are those that are cultivated through proper initiation and clerical training. T 2514, 21c03-22a16.

[As for] companions who make offerings to and
take refuge in [relics]
[They receive] the immeasurable blessings of
meritorious virtue.
As for those who make offerings to the birth body
[i.e., Śākyamuni],
Complete and perfect awakening is promised.³⁶

供養帰依の輩は
福德果報量りなし
生身供養為る人と
正等なりとぞ説給う

In the above verse, Kakuban draws a clear causal relationship, in two parallel couplets, between the act of giving offerings and the receipt of meritorious reward. He continues in this same vein in the following verse, but makes a soteriological pivot in the final couplet:

If one produces offerings on but one occasion,
It will result in rebirth into the Heavens or liberation.
If one contemplates the numerous genuine meanings,
[Achieving] buddhahood in this very body will be
possible.³⁷

一度供養を興ずれば
生天解脱の因となる
数々実義を觀ずれば
即身成仏難からず

The first three couplets across both verses communicate the direct relationship between offerings and meritorious reward in simple terms. Companions (*tomogara* 輩) receive meritorious virtue through making offerings and taking refuge in relics, while those who make offerings to the living body (*shōshin* 生身; i.e., Śākyamuni's relics) receive similar benefits. In slight divergence from this pattern, Kakuban then describes a single offering as cause of rebirth in the Heavens.³⁸ In full pivot, his final couplet describes the ease of realiz-

ing buddhahood in one's very body as a direct result of contemplative practice. Here, he positions buddhahood in parallel with long-established goals of seed-syllable (*shūji* 種子) contemplation outlined by Kūkai 空海 in his seminal works, especially *The Meaning of the Syllable 'Hūm* (*Unjigi* 吽字義).³⁹ Thus, in distinction, the prior couplets highlight not only the practice of offerings, one of the penultimate lay-oriented practices, but also merit-making, the operative force in the lay soteriological program.

While the final mention of buddhahood in one's very body indicates the ideal culmination of clerical practice and indeed complicates our reading, it is preceded by the rhetorical weight of sequential mentions of offering practices and their processes of merit-making. We must thus keep in mind that Kakuban composed the *Shari wasan* as a complement to the *Shari kōshiki*, which already orients itself toward clergy. As easy-to-understand hymns of praise delivered to a spectrum of attendees, the *Shari wasan* largely draws upon the major motifs of the *Shari kōshiki*, though alters its rhetorical complexity in order to de-emphasize the clerical imperatives to practice.

Semantic Variance

While the *Shari kōshiki* and *Shari wasan* differ rhetorically in their framing of the theme of potential blessings associated with relics, as well as how to access that potential, further pairings of passages highlight some of Kakuban's semantic strategies in representing the physical appearance of relics among human beings in different ways. I define these semantic variances as variations in the depth of meaning of similar or related terms across both liturgies. First, consider the following passage from the *Shari kōshiki*, which expresses both the visual and nondual features of Buddha relics:

The lotus body forged in Jambūnada gold is a charm of the dharma [body] Buddha in the syllable A, [their] snowy jade emits a lunar glow, [their] ornamental pattern is the allure of the body, the purity and indestructibility [of these two bodies] are nothing other than the meaning of the Womb [Maṇḍala], and [their] radiance and solidarity are

³⁶ *Kōgyō Daishi senjutsushū*, vol. 2, p. 51.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ While he does not delineate which, it is possible that he refers here to the Heaven of Merit Production (*Fukushō ten* 福生天) or Heaven of Extensive Rewards (*Kōka ten* 廣果天), one of the ascendant Heavens of the form realm, described in the *Discourse on the Stages of Contemplative Practice* (*Yuga shiji ron* 瑜伽師地論) as a destination attainable through repeated contemplative practice.

³⁹ See, for example, T 2430, 404b17-404c08.

nothing other than the meaning of the Diamond [Maṇḍala]. Though transformed, all four bodies are actually one.⁴⁰

檀金鍊蓮體、阿字法佛之姿、珂雪放月光、鏤文性
身之色、清淨不壞、即胎藏之義、光明堅固、即金
剛之意。縱局變化、既是四身隨一。

And sequential verses ten and eleven from the *Shari wasan* on the same topic:

Within the precious purple-gold lotus pedestal
The original-ground dharma body manifests itself.
The lunar glow of the white snowy jade washes
over the form of the round ocean self-nature body.

Because this body pervades everywhere,
the entire body and one iota of it do not differ.
Because of the constancy of the dharma of the
triple-world,
the birth body [of Śākyamuni] and [His] relics are
identical.⁴¹

紫磨金の蓮台に
本地法身相現じ
白珂雪の月光に
円海性仏色澄めり

遍一切処の身なれば
全体一粒ことならず
常恒三世の法なれば
生身舎利一つなり

While each passage from the two liturgies above communicates the basic visual qualities and ontological implications of buddha relics, Kakuban's inclusion of semantic differences allow them to operate in two different registers. First, in the *Shari kōshiki*, Kakuban uses a reference to Jambūnada to describe the rarity and exquisiteness of the gold akin to the Buddha's lotus body (i.e., relics). Beyond this equality between a fine mineral and Buddha relics, Jambūnada refers to the trees that line rivers running through Jambudvīpa, and the process of natural refinement of the gold within the riv-

er.⁴² In the *Shari wasan*, however, the quality of value equal to gold is expressed much more simply through a synonymous reference to a highly prized gold of a purple tinge (*shima ōgon* 紫磨黄金, here styled *shima gon* 紫磨金). This synonymous use does not carry the same referential and metaphorical weight as its mention of a specific Indian site and its narrative connotations in the *Shari kōshiki*.⁴³

Second, in the *Shari kōshiki*, Kakuban presents the nondual features of relics through nested homologies, whereby relics stand in as the aspect (*sugata* 姿), form (*shiki* 色), meaning (*gi* 義), and mind (*i* 意) for the absolute reality of the dharma body, which also includes, notably, the seed syllable *A* so often mentioned in the context of contemplative practice throughout the rest of the liturgy. Accordingly, these five homological manifestations are primordially singular. While Kakuban makes a similar culmination at the end of the passage in the *Shari wasan* by positing the singularity of Buddha relics, he does so without the use of layered meaning and homology. Instead, by way of conditional verb endings, he strikes a causal relationship between realities of corporeality, the constancy of the dharma, and the singularity of relics. In this latter case, the relics in the world appear much more substantive and pervasive, whereas their appearance in the *Shari kōshiki*, while also conceptually akin to reality itself, is rhetorically obscured to listeners through the use of layered homological references.

The rhetorical and semantic differences outlined above suggest an alternative register of reception for lay attendees. The concision of the *Shari wasan*, in its appeal to long-popularized (as of the medieval period) reductive qualities, forces out much of the intensely referential and metaphorical perspective otherwise adopted by Kakuban in his *Shari kōshiki*. By way of descriptive flourish, Kakuban illustrates the routes to effective clerical practice in the *Shari kōshiki*.

42 Nakamura, *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, 121c. This gold, according to the *Sūtra on Buddha Discourse on Buddha-Mother Precious Merit Storehouse Perfection of Wisdom* (*Busetsu butsumo shussan hōzō hannya haramitta kyō* 佛說佛母出生法藏般若波羅蜜多經) is also likened to the appearance of the Buddha among the myriad living beings of the world.

43 Nakamura describes this purple-tinged gold as the best among this class of mineral, and notes that the use of *suvarṇa* ("gold," "golden") in Sanskrit texts suggests that the glyph denoting the purple tinge was a later addition by translators. Nakamura, *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, p. 546b.

40 *Kōshiki dētabēsu*, text no. 40, lines 114–18.

41 *Kōgyō Daishi senjutsushū*, vol. 2, p. 51.

Performance at Chishakuin and Beyond

In resonance with Zeiman's model of "liturgical literacy" outlined above, the aural faculties of lay practitioners made possible a reception of the textual content of the *Shari wasan* not through an appeal to grammatical, metaphorical, or overtly referential modes of communication but through an appeal to literacy tied to the reductive qualities of ritual language. Critically, both late-medieval and early-modern historical records show that clerics performed the *Shari wasan* and *Shari kōshiki* in direct sequence of one another during important festival periods at several Shingon temples. Within this social context, clerics enacted these textual differences through performance.

The *Diary of Gien* (*Gien jugō nikki* 義演准后日記), for example, details the social and religious contexts surrounding the performance of these liturgies at Daigoji 醍醐寺, one of the head temples of Kogi Shingon 古義真言. Gien's accounts span from 1595 to 1602, across which there are at least twenty mentions of the *Shari kōshiki* performance.⁴⁴ In at least five of these mentions, Gien makes clear that performances occurred concurrently with *higan* 彼岸, a festival period during which Buddhists engage in ancestral veneration during the spring and autumnal equinoxes.

Scholarly interpretations of the ritualistic aspects of *higan* vary widely, though Uranishi Tsutomu suggests that *higan* emerged as a Buddhist custom whereby ancestral veneration and prayer for productive agricultural harvests coincided in ceremony during the spring and autumnal equinoxes.⁴⁵ Of early modern *higan* ceremonies, Nam-lin Hur points out that lay patrons of practically all Buddhist traditions gathered to chant the Buddha's name, and that temples also offered special sessions for preaching and sermonizing.⁴⁶ Temples thus saw an influx of laypeople with the intent of observing or engaging in some manner of Buddhist service.⁴⁷

While many of Gien's entries account for single

performances on a single day, one entry stands out for its duration. From the third through the eighth day of the second month of 1602, Daigoji clergy performed the *Shari kōshiki* on a variety of successive occasions. We also find mention of the performance of the *Shari wasan*, here styled *Relic Hymn* (*Dato san* 駄都讚), directly following the performance of Kakuban's *Shari kōshiki*.⁴⁸ If we take a wide view of this ritual calendar, Gien's accounts paint a vivid picture of equinoctial performance and attendance at Daigoji: clergy and laity comingled during the events of *higan* and bore witness to the performance of the *Shari wasan*, which immediately followed the performance of the *Shari kōshiki*. In this way, the grouping of these performances underscores how audience composition emerged in step with performances of rhetorically and semantically variant liturgies at Daigoji during the early seventeenth century.

We find similar performances during later years within the Shingi Shingon school at Chishakuin. Chishakuin's status of *metsuzai* temple is important in the following consideration of rituals conducted during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries because it communicates both the types of rituals most offered to patrons as well as the voluntary basis on which patrons witnessed them. As opposed to funerary patrons (*sōshiki danna* 葬式檀那 or *sōshiki danka* 葬式檀家), for whom funerary and memorial rites were delivered by clerics of an affiliated temple, prayer patrons (*metsuzai danna* 滅罪檀那, lit. "karmic elimination patron," often styled 滅罪旦那) witnessed rituals focused on the receipt of this-worldly benefits (*genze riyaku* 現世利益), including protection from disaster and malady, prosperity, and longevity.⁴⁹ These patrons remained connected to the temple through voluntary

44 See *Gien jugō nikki*, vol. 1, pp. 3-5.

45 See Uranishi, "Higan'e," pp. 66-67. Nakamura, *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, 1121a-b, similarly suggests that while the predominant purpose of *higan* assemblies was ancestral veneration, it also allowed for respite from the toil of daily work.

46 See Hur, *Death and Social Order*, p. 189.

47 Earlier accounts, such as those of Mansai 滿濟 (1378-1435; *Mansai jugō nikki* 滿濟准后日記, vol. 1, pp. 341, 395), also composed at Daigoji, situate the *Shari kōshiki* performance amid additional ritual contexts such as New Year's celebrations, Buddhist lectures, celebrations for the Buddha's birthday, and chanting.

48 *Gien jugō nikki*, vol. 1, p. 68; vol. 2, p. 4. Steven Trenson details the medieval development of relic rites (*dato hō* 駄都法), which acted as liturgical templates for a variety of devotional rituals that take central objects of devotion. These objects ranged, as he says, from various buddhas and bodhisattvas, to texts and even grains of rice. See Trenson, "A Study on the Combination of the Deities," p. 119.

49 *Meiji shonen jiin meisaichō* 明治初年寺院明細帳 (p. 24, plate 52) gives a narrow sense of where Chishakuin stood in terms of *danna* 檀那 holdings in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. This record lists 110 *metsuzai danna* holdings still tied to Chishakuin during the early Meiji, a time during which the government had begun stripping affiliations in the name of decentralizing Buddhist power blocs amid temple networks.

affiliations.⁵⁰ In the case of Chishakuin, patrons actively sought out the benefits enacted by rituals, many of which, as described above, coincided with other socio-religious events hosted by Chishakuin.

History of Chishakuin (*Chishakuin shi* 智積院史) gives an account of the performance of the *Shari kōshiki* and *Shari wasan* that is rather similar to those of Gien.⁵¹ These accounts represent, more importantly, drastic changes to the liturgical program at the temple at the beginning of the eighteenth century. According to four activity records (*gyōji roku* 行事録) that span from 1751 to 1848, the ritual program at Chishakuin began to focus on ritual forms of a devotional and expiatory nature, namely through the performance of the *Mantra of Light* (*Kōmyō shingon* 光明眞言), which offered witnesses potential longevity along with the removal of karmic hindrances and illnesses through the recitation of honorable names (*hōgō* 寶號) of buddhas and bodhisattvas and dedications of merit (*ekō* 廻向).⁵² This liturgical development indicates a movement toward a ritual program with target audiences oriented toward the benefits of a *metsuzai* temple. Moreover, this movement also falls in line with Hattori Bankai's above injunction to include the *Kōmyō Shingon wasan* as part of a renewal effort to combat dwindling lay followers within the Shingon school more generally.

A year-round calendar built from a composite of these four activity records accounts for this new liturgical orientation. During the second month, Chishakuin offered the performance of the *Jōraku-e* 常樂會, a broader ritual sequence focused on devotional chanting and during which clerics sequentially performed the *Shari kōshiki*, *Shari wasan*, and *Verse [Paying Homage to] Relics* (*Shari raimon* 舍利礼文).⁵³

During the fourth month, clerics performed the *Shari kōshiki* during assemblies for the Buddha's birthday (*Butsu tanjō-e* 佛誕生會). Both of these events

began with offerings made before the image of Śākyamuni at the north altar of the Reception Hall. Clerics delivered the *Shari kōshiki* again during the seventh month, and accounts make specific mention of patchwork robes (*sōgyari* 僧伽梨) donned for the express purpose of large, public gatherings of the entire religious community.⁵⁴ This final account makes also makes specific mention of the accompaniment of a range of karmically expiatory ceremonies mentioned above.⁵⁵

The architectural, liturgical, and calendrical details that emerge in Chishakuin's own early modern history indicate that clerics delivered the *Shari kōshiki* and *Shari wasan* during socially-inclusive events similar to that of *higan* at Daigōji, which brought laity and clerics together in devotional spaces across the temple precincts. Events such as the *Jōraku-e* and *Butsu tanjō-e* drew religious adherents to Chishakuin in order to express devotion through ceremony and, at the same time, receive the benefits from several expiatory ritual forms. The aural experience of these ceremonies in the varied ritual spaces of the Founder's Hall and the Lecture Hall became one mode of reception for laity; they could hear, through vocalization of a modulated ritual language, of the centrality of relics in effecting the Buddha's great compassion in the world. Clerics, in vocalizing such content, expressed their devotion in the same ritual context.

The *Shari kōshiki* and Clerical Learning

The medieval Shingon exegete Gahō is the chief commentator on Kakuban's *Shari kōshiki* and completed his commentary, titled *Shari kuyō shiki shō*, sometime between the years 1294 and 1309. Both its content and early modern reproductions at the hands of Kakugen 覺眼 (1643–1722), the eleventh abbot of Chishakuin, provide further suggestion that the *Shari kōshiki* was tuned for clerical concerns. Kakugen's lead role in educational reform during the very year of the reproduction of this commentary highlights his attention to Kakuban's liturgy as a text of scholastic potential in the context of monastic education.

In the late seventeenth century, Chishakuin issued major changes to curricula at Shingū Shingon monastic

50 See Ambros, "Clerical Demographics in the Edo-Meiji Transition," pp. 86–87.

51 See *Chishakuin shi*, pp. 385–86.

52 The four activity records are *Hōreki nenchū gyōji* 寶曆年中行事, *An'ei nenchū gyōji* 安永年中行事, *Kyōwa ganryō nenchū gyōji roku* 享和岸寮年中行事録, and *Kaei Chisan nenchū gyōji* 嘉永智山年中行事 (*Chishakuin shi*, p. 392).

53 The *Shari raimon* is a short verse extolling the virtue of the Buddha Śākyamuni and the continued presence of that virtue in relics. The authorship of this verse remains unclear, though many scholars attribute it to either Amoghavajra (705–774), Yixing 一行 (683–727), or Śubhakarasiṃha (637–735). See Ishikawa, "Shari raimon ni tsuite," pp. 650–51.

54 See Nakamura, *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, 874c.

55 See *Chishakuin shi*, pp. 386–92.

schools (*danrin* 談林). The monk Ryūkō 隆光 (1649–1724), who at the time was head of the Buzan temple Murōji 室生寺, chronicled the sweep of new changes to systems of Buddhist learning at Shingon temples. One major change was the ritual and educational integration of the *Hōon kō* 報恩講, a twice-yearly liturgy commemorating the teachings of Kakuban, into Shingon *danrin* curricula.⁵⁶ With this change, monks were expected to prepare for the performance of the *Hōon kō* through study, and to participate in the ritual, itself punctuated by bouts of intense study. Later in Ryūkō's same chronicle, he describes the *Hōon kō* as involving training in vocal chanting (*shōmyō* 声明), esoteric rituals (*jissō* 事相), Siddham (*Shittan* 悉曇), non-Buddhist texts (*kaiten* 外典), and other topics.⁵⁷ This overall re-systematization of Shingon *danrin* curricula meant a reinforcement of foundational Buddhist learning through the integration of an educational liturgy centered on the discourse of Kakuban.

Chishakuin shi reveals both a conceptual and calendrical intimacy between the *Hōon kō*, Kakuban's *Shari kōshiki*, and Kakugen's efforts to publish Gahō's commentary in 1696.⁵⁸ First, it corroborates Ryūkō's account that Chishakuin was tasked with the management of the continuity of the teachings (*hōru shihai* 法流支配) across all Kanto-area *danrin*. As a head temple, this meant ample control over Shingon curricula well beyond the Kyoto region. Second, the accounts attest that in 1693, at the start of Yūgan's 宥鑾 (1624–1702) tenure as ninth abbot at Chishakuin, Kakugen left the temple to train for the specific rank of judge (*seigisha* 精義者). This rank would grant him power to set standard procedure for discourse and discussion of the essential teachings (*hōyō rondan* 法要論談) that stemmed from Chishakuin, especially in rituals meant for clerical advancement, such as the Denbō dai-e 傳法

大會. Kakugen was granted this title in 1696, making him, and his temple, major stewards of Shingon *danrin* curricula at the time. Kakugen's subsequent publication of Gahō's *Shari kōshiki shō* that very year meant that he had effectively published an exegetical work in direct complementarity with the new uniform requirements at *danrin* under Chishakuin's control and, moreover, one that highlights the discourse of Kakuban to which clerics directed their commemoration during the *Hōon kō*. Chishakuin attests to this ritual circularity in its own history, where we find the *Hōon kō* and the *Shari kōshiki*, two liturgies notable for their direct connections to Kakuban, carried out in calendrical sequence with one month and eight days of overlapping time.⁵⁹ This indicates the lasting impression of Kakugen as expositor in setting new standards of procedure that addressed changing curricular concerns.

In key areas across his two-fascicle commentary, Gahō seizes upon the scholarly potential in the *Shari kōshiki* by focusing on the etymology of the word *shari* and, through nested metaphor drawn from the work of Kūkai, themes of nonduality. Critically, he also stakes a claim in the very purpose of the *Shari kōshiki*, which is to highlight one of Kakuban's core doctrinal positions: the incorporation of faith into rigorous practice. Across the entire commentary, he deepens an otherwise complex presentation of Shingon relic worship by building upon the explanatory mechanisms within the liturgy: he meets metaphor with metaphor, cites extensively, and assumes of his reader a broad understanding of Buddhist doctrine. Engagements with the *Shari kōshiki* in this upper register of reception are further corroborated by visual clues within Kakugen's 1696 print, namely wide, upper margins (*jōran* 上欄) in place for note-taking. Meiji-era reprints of this commentary also contain ample symbolic scholia, an indication that Gahō's commentary was also used in even later forums of study.⁶⁰

56 The *Hōon kō* is performed across many Buddhist schools and generally expresses devotion and gratitude toward the Buddha or a founder figure for their dissemination of their teachings in the world. The Shingon Shingon *Hōon kō* (originally called *Kakuban kō* 覺鑾講) likely began in performance for Kakuban in 1344, according to the *Sukusō shū* 束草集, dated the same year. See Sakaki, "Shingon Shingon no rongi," p. 196. Clerics typically performed the *Hōon kō* twice yearly, during the summer and winter, through the end of the Edo period. After the start of the Meiji period, Shingon temples performed only the winter *Hōon kō* on a yearly basis. See Nakajima, "Takaosan Rakuō in no danrin saikō," pp. 151–52.

57 *Jissō* is used commonly in esoteric contexts to refer to ritual practice, as opposed to doctrinal study, or *kyōsō* 教相.

58 See *Chishakuin shi*, pp. 137–38, 404–405.

59 In a section titled "Various Dharma Assemblies" (*Sho hōe* 諸法會) the account details the ritual schedule from the first to the last month of 1761. That year, the summer *Hōon kō* began on the first day of the third month and ended on the sixteenth day of the fifth month. That same year, the performance of the *Shari kōshiki* began on the eighth day of the fourth month and ended on the eighth day of the seventh month. See *Chishakuin shi*, pp. 386–90.

60 The reprint in my possession contains symbolic scholia across twenty-six pages (eleven pages in the first volume and fifteen pages in the second volume).

Conclusion

The performance of *wasan* as communicative and proselytizing opportunities appears to have had precedent long before Hattori Bankai composed his injunction to “take command of their essential points” during the Meiji era. His encouragement to utilize *wasan* in public rituals in order to reconstitute the Shingon following would later become the foundation of liturgical schedules in the Chisan branch generally. This, above all, is a testament to Hattori’s keen eye in identifying *wasan* as an accessible genre for modern times.

While scholars have explored this accessibility in medieval contexts, the performance of Kakuban’s *Shari wasan* at Chishakuin gives us a glimpse of its utility centuries later, though before Hattori’s injunction to perform them. As for the *Shari kōshiki*, as evidenced by exegetical and editorial engagements at Chishakuin, it remained a liturgy of observable scholarly import long after its composition. The fact that the *Shari kōshiki* and *Shari wasan* were performed in direct sequence of one another indicates not only that the devotional aspects of the *kōshiki* and *wasan* genres allowed for such performative complementarity, but also that this devotion brought clerics and laity together within the same ritual space.

The content across these liturgies indicate that relic power and worship was common ground among their mixed audiences. With the development of the early modern system of temple affiliation, of which *metsuzai* temples like Chishakuin were a part, relics satisfied desires for blessings in the world. The ritual performances of the *Shari kōshiki* and *Shari wasan* cut through these mixed audiences and offered, on different registers, a forum to apprehend messages of the proximity of the Buddha’s body as a source of great compassion.

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Tracing Yamashinadera

MIKAËL BAUER

In Yamashina, a thatched hall
was built. Great Minister Fuhito was
fond of this hall and moved it to
the fields of Kasuga. Based on its
original name, it was called Yamashinadera.¹

Introduction

UPON exiting Nara Station and heading towards Nara park, visitors today can quickly discern the large five-storied Muromachi-period pagoda of the temple Kōfukuji 興福寺. Although most tourists might be distracted by the freely roaming deer and be on their way to the nearby monumental Tōdaiji 東大寺, this pagoda, the recently reconstructed Central Golden Hall (Chūkondō 中金堂), the museum, and the Northern Octagonal Hall (Hokuendō 北円堂) are reminders of Kōfukuji's rich and often tumultuous past.² Many remaining premodern documents and picture scrolls, such as the *Miracles of the Kasuga Deity* (*Kasuga gongen genki* 春日権現験記), attest to the importance that the temple complex once played as one of Japan's main religious, ritual, and economic centers. Founded

in the Nara period (710–794), the temple grew into a major landholder throughout the Heian (794–1185) and Kamakura (1185–1333) eras and, over the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it developed into a decentralized complex, consisting of “imperial cloisters” (*monzeki* 門跡), all with their own distinct lineages and administration. The position of abbot (*bettō* 別当) would come to alternate between the two most illustrious of these imperial cloisters, Ichijōin 一乗院 and Daijōin 大乘院, turning the monastery into a de facto dual form of governance. The temple became the center of the Japanese “Mind Only” school (Hossō 法相). When the monk Genbō 玄昉 (?–746) returned from China in 735, representing one of several transmissions of Mind Only Buddhism to Japan, over five thousand exoteric and esoteric texts were stored at Kōfukuji.³ Throughout the Heian period many, if not most, of the temple's monks were also ordained in esoteric lineages, and in this sense, the temple, its rituals, and lineages became illustrative of exo-esoteric Buddhism (*kenmitsu*

1 This passage is taken from the *Personal Record of the Pilgrimage to the Seven Great Temples* (*Shichi daiji junrei shiki* 七大寺巡礼私記) from 1140 as cited by Yabunaka, “Kōfukuji no zenshin,” p. 120. The author's translation is from *Shichidaiji nikki, Shichidaiji junrei shiki*, pp. 51–52.

2 The monastery's Central Golden Hall was reconstructed and completed in 2018. An opening ceremony was held on 7 October 2018. See for example coverage of the event in the *Asahi Shinbun* of that day, <https://www.asahi.com/articles/ASLB2551PLB2PLZU002.html>.

3 Abe, *The Weaving of Mantra*, pp. 151–52. Fukihara mentions Genbō as the fourth transmission of Mind Only Buddhism to Japan, representing Kōfukuji's “northern lineage.” Fukihara, *Nihon yuishiki shisō shi*, p. 176. The first transmission is ascribed to Dōshō 道昭 (629–700) from Gangōji who traveled to China in 653. Nagashima, “Kōfukuji no rekishi,” pp. 5–6.

bukkyō 顯密佛教), with many of its learned monks being exemplary of a Hossō-Shingon 法相真言 identity.⁴ Although the Kamakura period has often been portrayed as an age of change with the gradual rise of the Pure Land and the Zen schools, Kōfukuji (and many of the other older temples) remained a powerful religious and economic player until the early Ashikaga 足利 period (1392–1573). It was not until the large-scale confiscation of its landholdings by Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1536–1598) in 1585 that the temple's financial basis, many of its rituals, and its population would truly disappear. In 1717, the temple burned down almost completely, with only a few buildings being rebuilt.⁶ Kōfukuji's last properties were confiscated in 1871 and the temple's monastic lineage ceased to exist during the Meiji government's suppression of Buddhism.⁷ In 1881, however, a new priest from Kiyomizudera 清水寺, originally one of Kōfukuji's branch temples, took residence at what remained of its once grand head temple and at present, there are seven ordained monks who continue to reside at the temple. In addition, it seems that the recent reconstruction of the monumental Central Golden Hall has put the temple back on the map.

Some of the oldest documents or passages in the official histories related to the history of Kōfukuji or its rituals reveal an interesting designation in referring to the temple. Instead of directly mentioning the name Kōfukuji, the name Yamashinadera 山階寺 is often used. We see this phenomenon not only in Nara-period sources, for example in the *Shoku Nihongi* 続日本記 or the *Shōsōin monjo* 正倉院文書, but also in Heian- and Kamakura-period texts such as the famous *Tales from Times Now Past* (*Konjaku monogatari* 今昔物語

集), or the *Shichidaiji junrei shiki* quoted above.⁸ In addition, texts detailing participation in one of premodern Japan's major rituals, Kōfukuji's Yuima-e 維摩会 or Vimalakīrti Assembly, at times refer to the temple's monks as belonging to Yamashinadera. The *Combined Record of the Three Assemblies* (*San'e jōichiki* 三会定一記), a list of monks who attained the position of lecturer (*kōshi* 講師) in the Yuima-e, the Misai-e 御齋会, and the Saishō-e 最勝会 rituals, also often prefers to mention the name Yamashinadera over Kōfukuji.⁹ The second recorded session of the Vimalakīrti Assembly in *San'e jōichiki* adds an additional name to refer to Kōfukuji. In this entry it is written that this session was carried out by the monk Chihō 知寶 (n.d.) in Keiun 慶雲 5 (708), after the ritual had been discontinued for forty-eight years since the first recorded session of the fourth year of Sovereign Saimei's 齊明天皇 (594–661) reign (658). The source adds that after these forty-eight years, "it was ordered that the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* should be lectured upon at Umayasakadera." "Umayasakadera" here refers to Kōfukuji as well, since the ritual took place in Wadō 和銅 5 (712), after the temple's official founding.¹⁰ In other words, the temple Kōfukuji is often referred to by two other names, Yamashinadera or Umayasakadera. As we will see below, these two temples are considered the direct predecessor and points of origin of the later Kōfukuji.

In this article I will provide a concise overview of the accounts of Kōfukuji's origins involving Yamashinadera and Umayasakadera and problematize the traditional account that the temple indeed had these two precursors and was moved twice to its current location. I will suggest an alternative explanation for the occurrence of these two temples and suggest that they were rather a creation of the eighth century, after the founding of Kōfukuji in the new capital Heijōkyō 平城京. I will point out that the creation of a point of origin was necessary to provide Kōfukuji with the necessary status and legitimacy as one of the state's Great Temples (*ōdera* 大寺).

4 Kojima no Shinkō 子島眞興 (934–1004) or Chūzan 仲算 (935–976) are examples of Heian-period Kōfukuji monks whose writings reveal a strong Hossō-Shingon identity. See for example Tomabechi, "Heian-ki Kōfukuji." The terms "exoteric" and "esoteric" Buddhism refer to *kengyō* 顯教 and *mikkyō* 密教 respectively. The former in general refers to the Nara schools, whereas the latter refers to Shingon (or Tendai). After Kūkai 空海 (774–835), teachings from the Nara schools and Shingon integrated at the doctrinal, ritual, and institutional level. For a detailed description and definitions, see Abe, *The Weaving of Mantra*, pp. 10–11.

5 Tyler, *The Miracles of the Kasuga Deity*, pp. 87–89.

6 In 1717, the Central Golden Hall, the Lecture Hall (Kōdō 講堂), the Western Golden Hall (Saikondō 西金堂), and the Southern Octagonal Hall were all lost. Very limited reconstruction took place until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Kawasaki, "Kōfukuji no rekishiteki chigakuteki kankyō," p. 20.

7 Izumiya, *Kōfukuji*, pp. 209–10.

8 Miyai, *Ritsuryō kizoku*, p. 158; Yabunaka, "Kōfukuji no zenshin," pp. 120–21.

9 For example, the name occurs when referring to the abbot Shūen 修圓 as "Yamashinadera bettō" 山階寺別当. SJ, p. 291.

10 SJ, p. 289. The first session was supposedly carried out by the monk Fuliang 福亮 (n.d.) from Gangōji.

The Temple's "Prehistory"

Although Kōfukuji at its present location was founded at the beginning of the Nara period, its origins are said to predate the eighth century.¹¹ Basically, the temple and many works on Japanese Buddhism acknowledge that the temple's origins go back to two earlier temples, Yamashinadera and Umayasakadera, a narrative that can be found both in academic and popular accounts. In his introductory history *Kōfukuji*, Izumiya Yasuo starts his account of the temple with the name "Yamashinadera" and points out that this temple and Kōfukuji's precursor already was a Fujiwara clan temple (*Fujiwara uji no ujidera* 藤原氏寺).¹² Although much more detailed in his account, Nagashima Fukutarō also connected Kōfukuji with Yamashinadera in his earlier study. Today, the temple itself is quite clear about its illustrious origins (abridged):

In the eighth year of the reign of Emperor Tenji, Kagami no Okimi, consort of Nakatomi no Kamatari, founded a Buddhist chapel in Yamashina ... to pray for Kamatari's recovery from illness. In this temple, which came to be known as Yamashinadera, Kagami no Okimi enshrined a Shaka triad.... In the wake of the relocation of the capital as a result of the Jinshin Rebellion of 672, the temple was disassembled and moved to Umayasaka in Nara prefecture, where it was re-erected and named Umayasakadera. Shortly after the establishment of the Heijo Capital in 710, Yamashinadera relocated to its present location. The temple was now called Kōfukuji.¹³

The temple here is mainly echoing the narrative found in earlier mainstream overviews of Japanese Buddhist history, such as Tsuji Zennosuke's *Nihon bukkyō shi* which clearly states that Yamashinadera was founded by Kamatari, and even included a Golden Hall and housed a large Buddha triad.¹⁴

The foundational history of these two earlier temples coincides with the earliest developments of the Fujiwara family and the establishment of the Buddhist tradition in Japan. As stated by Kobayashi, these temples also follow three consecutive capitals: Yamashina is said to have been close to Ōtsu 大津, Umayasaka was located near Fujiwarakyō 藤原京, and finally Kōfukuji was constructed near the grounds of Kasuga as part of the Nara capital, Heijōkyō.¹⁵ In addition to Kōfukuji's foundational history, several Japanese and Western scholars have touched upon the relation between the patriarch of the Fujiwara family, Nakatomi no Kamatari 中臣鎌足 (614–669), and the foundation of the temple's main ritual, the Vimalakīrti Assembly.¹⁶

Although no comprehensive history of Kōfukuji exists in either English or Japanese, many scholars have addressed the temple's origins. In essence, all these works are more or less the same and accept a narrative found in the ninth-century *Kōfukuji Origin Chronicle* (*Kōfukuji engi* 興福寺縁起) composed by the courtier Fujiwara no Yoshiyo 藤原良世 (823–900).¹⁷ Composed two centuries after the alleged founding of the temples at Yamashina and Umayasaka, it seems that the text might have been based on an earlier account taken from the Nara-period *Origin Chronicle of the Buddhist Community* (*Garan engi* 伽藍縁起).¹⁸

After describing some of the basic events that led to the Taika 大化 reforms of 645, the ninth-century *Origin Chronicle* states that Nakatomi no Kamatari's wife Kagami no Ōkimi 鏡王女 (?–683) installed images of the Buddha, along with bodhisattva attendants and Celestial Kings, at their residence,¹⁹ which became Yamashinadera in 669. The same source details that this temple was moved to Umayasakadera in 672 where it was then renamed Umayasaka Temple.²⁰ It is this structure that was supposedly moved to the new capital of Heijōkyō by Fujiwara no Fuhito 藤原不比等 (659–720) at the beginning of the eighth century. No documents

11 Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjō, p. 8.

12 Izumiya, *Kōfukuji*, p. 13.

13 <http://www.kohfukuji.com/english.html#english01>.

14 Tsuji, *Nihon bukkyō shi*, p. 83. Kameda states that according to traditional accounts, Kōfukuji started from Yamashinadera and that its old name was Yamashinadera or Umayasakadera. Kameda, "Kōfukuji: Maboroshi," p. 43.

15 Kobayashi, *Kōfukuji sōkenki no kenkyū*, pp. 27–28. Ōhashi, "Heijō sento to kokka kanji no iten," p. 114.

16 See for example Takayama, *Chūsei Kōfukuji no yuima-e kenkyū*, pp. 63–64.

17 See for example Izumiya, *Kōfukuji*, p. 13; Grapard, *The Protocol of the Gods*, p. 49; Tyler, *The Miracles of the Kasuga Deity*, p. 68. The *Kōfukuji engi* text used here is published in DNBZ, vol. 119, pp. 320–26.

18 Miyai, *Ritsuryō kizoku*, p. 158.

19 KE, p. 320.

20 Ibid.

remain regarding the actual construction of the early temple but work must have started between 710 and the Yōrō 養老 years (717–724), dates that seem to be confirmed in the *Record of Kōfukuji* (*Kōfukuji ruki* 興福寺流記), a twelfth-century compilation of more than ten much older texts.²¹ Throughout the eighth century the temple complex gradually grew, with some of the earliest buildings being the Golden Hall (Kondō 金堂) of 714, the Octagonal Hall built in 721, the Eastern Golden Hall (Tōkondō 東金堂) from 726, and the Five-Storied Pagoda (Gojū no tō 五重塔) constructed in 730. Work continued till well into the Heian period, with the Southern Octagonal Hall (Nan'endō 南円堂) built in 813.²²

The account in Yoshiyo's *Origin Chronicle* is, however, not the oldest source available to us; the earliest sources on the temple's history can be found in the *Kōfukuji ruki*. We will return to this text in more detail below. What is striking is that the most famous eighth-century imperial history, the *Nihon shoki*, does not mention the temple's predecessors.²³ This is rather surprising, given Kōfukuji's later central position as the main Fujiwara temple in the political and religious spheres of the court.

Some of the earliest modern academic works on Kōfukuji's history, such as Nagashima Fukutarō's "Kōfukuji no rekishi," describe the temple's early history completely in the light of the *Origin Chronicle*. Although Nagashima points out the importance of the *Yamashina ruki*, he does clearly state that Kōfukuji's history predates Fuhito and goes back to Yamashinadera.²⁴ Nagashima's conclusions and acceptance of the *Origin Chronicle*'s narrative were taken in by most Western and later Japanese scholars. For example, Allan Grapard's *The Protocol of the Gods*, Susan Tyler's *The Cult of Kasuga Seen Through Its Art*, and Royall Tyler's *The Miracles of the Kasuga Deity* (all published around the same time in the early 1990s) all refer to the basic narrative accepted by Nagashima.²⁵ Several later Japa-

nese works such as Izumiya Yasuo's introductory *Kōfukuji* are no exception either and basically take over the account that the temple originates in, or is somehow linked with, Yamashinadera.²⁶ However, not everyone simply accepts this traditional narrative. In his work on the early Fujiwara, Miyai Yoshio raised doubts concerning the existence of Yamashinadera and Umayasakadera.²⁷ In addition, Kameda Hiroshi doubted whether the traditional account reflects historical truth, and he does so by referring to earlier scholarship by Fukuyama Toshio.²⁸ In his 1968 study *Nihon kenchiku shi kenkyū*, Fukuyama provided a short overview of Kōfukuji's early construction and starts with the traditional narrative of Yamashinadera and Umayasakadera. However, as he points out, no documents remain, no archaeological data are available, and no mention of these temples can be found in the *Nihon shoki*. For this reason, Fukuyama concluded, nothing can be stated about the form or even the existence of these temples.²⁹

In 1996, Oboroya Hisashi even stated that Yamashinadera's origin story was nothing but "folklore" (*denshō* 伝承).³⁰ More recent textual research, for example by Kobayashi Yūko, urges us to include a comparative analysis of the different parts of the *Kōfukuji ruki* to reassess Kōfukuji's origins and question the very historicity of the temple's precursors. I would argue that an inclusion of this analysis in addition to the archaeological record might help us arrive at an account different from the traditionally accepted "Yamashinadera-Umayasakadera-Kōfukuji" timeline.

Although Nagashima, and thus Tyler, mention other sources as well, the basic "Yamashinadera-Umayasakadera-Kōfukuji" pattern is followed. Grapard refers to the construction at Yamashina as "Yamashina Chapel." It is not clear what word "chapel" here refers to (and this is significant since in the primary sources several words are used to refer to whatever existed at Yamashina), but of importance to us is that Grapard rejects the possibility that this chapel could have housed statues of bodhisattvas and celestial kings (however, "chapels" usually do contain statues, so it is not clear what the word refers to). Grapard, *The Protocol of the Gods*, pp. 48–49.

21 Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjō, p. 8; Ōhashi, "Heijō sento to kokka kanji no iten," p. 115.

22 Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjō, p. 8; Kawasaki, "Kōfukuji no rekishiteki chigakuteki kanyō," p. 11.

23 This is also noted in Fukuyama, *Nihon kenchiku shi kenkyū*, p. 328.

24 Nagashima, "Kōfukuji no rekishi," pp. 1–2.

25 Tyler states literally: "Perhaps the best survey history of Kōfukuji is an article by Nagashima Fukutarō. What follows will often rely on that work." Tyler, *The Miracles of the Kasuga Deity*, p. 68.

26 Izumiya, *Kōfukuji*, pp. 14–15. The present Kōfukuji abbot, Tagawa Shun'ei 多川俊映, also describes the temple as originating in Yamashinadera. Tagawa, *Nara Kōfukuji, ayumi, oshie, hotoko*, pp. 14–15.

27 Miyai, *Ritsuryō kizoku*, pp. 160–61.

28 Kameda, "Kōfukuji: Maboroshi," p. 44. Ōhashi doubts the traditional account in a similar way. Ōhashi, "Heijō sento to kokka kanji no iten," p. 114.

29 Fukuyama, *Nihon kenchiku shi kenkyū*, pp. 327–28.

30 Quoted in Yabunaka, "Kōfukuji no zenshin," p. 120.

Beyond Fujiwara no Yoshiyo's Origin Chronicle

The largest source on the temple's early history is the *Kōfukuji ruki*, a collection of passages composed of more than ten older texts.³¹ Due to its rather erratic organization and repetition, the *ruki* is hard to follow and the origin of several parts of the text remains unknown. The main sources it draws from are the *Records of Old* (*Kyūki* 旧記), the *Record of the Jewelled Characters* (*Hōjiki* 宝字記), and the *Records of the Enryaku Years* (*Enryakuki* 延曆記), but in addition to these, at least nine other possible origin texts have been identified.³² Kobayashi Yūko has argued that the *Kōfukuji ruki* can be divided into three parts.³³ The first describes the temple's origins, dedication of Buddha statues, and the construction of some of its oldest buildings such as the Tōkondō or the Saikondō 西金堂.³⁴ The second is the *Records of Yamashina* (*Yamashina ruki* 山階流記) and contains a more detailed description of certain aspects of the early temple, drawing from some of the oldest passages of the *Hōjiki*, the *Enryakuki*, and the *Record of the Kōnin Years* (*Kōninki* 弘仁記).³⁵ Passages from the *Kyūki*, possibly the oldest *Kōfukuji* sources available to us, are also included in this part. Here we find the basic narrative that the temple was founded in Yamashina, moved to Umayasaka, and finally ended up in the new capital, Heijōkyō.³⁶ The text includes the name of the alleged author of this *Yamashina ruki*: Senshi 僊之 (n.d.),

an otherwise unknown monastic who probably was a *Kōfukuji* monk.³⁷ The third and last part of the *Kōfukuji ruki* is largely borrowed from the much later Heian-period *Abbreviated Record of Fusō* (*Fusō ryakki* 扶桑略記). First, it clarifies the connection between Kamatari and Prince Naka no Ōe 中大兄 (the later sovereign Tenji 天智天皇; 626–671), an aspect that was already included in the second part of the text, and then goes on to describe specific events that impacted the buildings and the monastic community.³⁸ It is unclear when these three parts were put together as one source, but most scholars seem to agree that the *Kōfukuji ruki* was compiled in the late Heian period by an unknown *Kōfukuji* monk.³⁹

The oldest part of the *Kōfukuji ruki*, the *Kyūki*, starts its account with the death of sovereign Jomei 舒明天皇 (593–641) and the subsequent rise to power of the Soga clan.⁴⁰ It mentions that Fujiwara Naidaijin Kamatari 藤原内大臣鎌足 (Great Minister of the Interior Kamatari) took a vow to construct a six-foot statue of the Buddha Śākyamuni. In other words, the beginning of the *Kyūki* starts its account of *Kōfukuji* by connecting the position of the Fujiwara patriarch Kamatari with the events that led up to the Taika reforms of 645, demonstrating that the temple's history and rise to power of the Fujiwara are thoroughly connected. This narrative can be found in other sources as well, such as the mid eighth-century *History of the Fujiwara House* (*Tōshi kaden* 藤氏家伝), in which Kamatari's line is constructed as inseparable from the line of sovereigns and the court.⁴¹

The order of events described in the *Kyūki* can be summarized as follows. First, after the Taika revolt of 645, Kamatari erects a statue of the historical Buddha, possibly an entire triad to which Four Heavenly

31 *Kōfukuji ruki*, in DNBZ, vol. 123, pp. 1–28.

32 Shibuya, "Kōfukuji ruki ni tsuite," p. 52. Other examples of sources included in the *Kōfukuji ruki* are the *Tenpyōki* 天平記, *Tenpyō zenki* 天平前記, *Tenpyō jūroku nenki* 天平十六年記, *Tenpyō ruki* 天平流記, and the *Kōninki* 弘仁記. Shibuya adds that especially the *Enryakuki* and *Hōjiki* are cited most often in the text, ninety-eight and sixty-eight times respectively. See also Kobayashi, *Kōfukuji sōkenki no kenkyū*, p. 54.

33 Kobayashi, *Kōfukuji sōkenki no kenkyū*, pp. 37–38.

34 KR, p. 1.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 4. Kobayashi, "Heijō kyō ni okeru Kōfukuji no zōei kaishi jiki," pp. 49–50. Nagashima also mentions these sources. Nagashima, "Kōfukuji no rekishi," pp. 1–2. Fukuyama also mainly relies on these oldest sections to refer to the temple's early construction. Fukuyama, *Nihon kenchiku shi kenkyū*, pp. 328–29.

36 As argued by Kobayashi, there are several debates arguing that the *Kyūki* is the older source. She notes, based on research by Shibuya, that in the *Kyūki* citations sovereign Genmyō 元明天皇 is referred to as Daijō Tennō 大上天皇, whereas parts of the *Hōjiki* refer to Genmyō as the "former" Daijō Tennō 先大上天皇. This clearly suggests that the former was composed during that sovereign's reign and the latter after. In addition, based on this reference to the sovereign, she suggests the *Kyūki* was composed between 715 and 723. Tanimoto Akira also identifies

the *Kyūki* as older, arguing that the *Hōjiki* is an elaboration based on the former. Kobayashi, *Kōfukuji sōkenki no kenkyū*, pp. 46–48.

37 *Ibid.*, p. 38.

38 KR, p. 20.

39 Kobayashi, *Kōfukuji sōkenki no kenkyū*, p. 38. Not everyone agrees on this dating. Shibuya Wakiko estimates that the text was compiled in the early Heian period. Shibuya, "Kōfukuji ruki ni tsuite," p. 54.

40 KR, p. 6.

41 Bauer, "The Chronicle of Kamatari," pp. 477–79. The story regarding Kamatari's vow is very similar to the *Kōninki*'s account of the events, a passage likewise included further on in the same *Kōfukuji ruki*. However, this latter source adds that Kamatari's vow consisted in constructing a statue in addition to Four Heavenly Kings.

Kings were added as well. Second, Kamatari falls ill and his consort Kagami no Ōkimi builds Yamashinadera. Third, this temple is moved to Umayasaka. Fourth, the building is reconstructed in the new capital, Heijōkyō, marking the beginning of Kōfukuji's monastic complex. This has become the commonly accepted early history of the temple and based on this account the following summarized timeline could be suggested:

- 645 Taika revolt involving Nakatomi no Kamatari and Imperial Prince Naka no Ōe
- 657 A "temple" (*shōja* 精舎) is built at Kamatari's mansion⁴²
- 658 A ceremony dedicated to the *Vimalakīrti Sutra* is held at this mansion
- 669 Yamashinadera is founded following Kamatari's illness
- 673 Yamashinadera is moved and renamed Umayasakadera
- 710 Umayasakadera is moved to the new capital near the area of the Kasuga Shrine and renamed Kōfukuji⁴³

Although the narrative and sequence of events described above seems clear enough at first, several aspects of the text and the terminology urge us to rethink this rather idealized description of Kōfukuji's origins. Below, we will focus on the following elements. First, in the passages of the *Kyūki*, the "temple" is not referred to as *dera* but as *hōden* 宝殿 (Jewelled Hall). The same can be said for the parts of the *Hōjiki* where the term Shin'in 眞院 (Hall of Truth) instead of *dera* can be found.⁴⁴ As mentioned by Yabunaka, this term might indicate that whatever the construction was, it was not considered a *dera*.⁴⁵ This latter term is also used in the later *Kōfukuji Origin Chronicle* when referring to the temple's earlier phase. Second, the time frame in between the different stages of the temple's development is very tight, urging us to take into consideration the number of years it typically took to construct temple buildings: was it possible to do so? In addition, why were none of these buildings included in one of the imperial histories? And finally, is there any archaeological record to back up the existence of these "temples"?

Were Kōfukuji's Precursors "Dera"?

The *Kyūki* formulates the foundation of *Yamashinadera* as follows:

In the tenth month of winter in the eighth year since the enthronement of Tenji, the Great Minister of the Interior (Kamatari) was bedridden and felt ill. His consort Kagami no Ōkimi declared: "I respectfully request to build a temple (*garan* 伽藍) and enshrine a statue of the Buddha." The Great Minister did not allow it and she stated it again three times. Finally, he agreed. Then, in Yamashina, she started the construction of a Jewelled Hall (*hōden*). When the sacred palanquin was moved south [i.e., the capital was moved], it was relocated to Umayasaka. In the third year of Wadō of the heavenly Sovereign Genmei, following the wish of the people, the capital was fixed in Heijō. The Great Minister of State (*daijō daijin* 太政大臣), who had inherited the determination [from his father Kamatari], heard of the hallowed grounds of Kasuga and built there the temple (*garan*) of Kōfuku.⁴⁶

This version reveals two important elements. First, the building is not referred to as a *dera* 寺 but a *dono* 殿 or "hall." Second, whatever its size might have been, it apparently must have been large enough to house statues.

Another section of the *Kōfukuji ruki*, taken from the *Hōjiki*, provides the following similar account:

In the tenth month of winter the Great Minister of the Interior became ill and fell into a coma. For seven days he was not well. His consort Kagami no Ōkimi declared: "I wish to build a temple (*garan*) and dedicate a statue." The Great Minister refused until she had asked three times and then he allowed it. Following this, she established a Hall of Truth (Shin'in) in Yamashina. This would become Yamashinadera.⁴⁷

42 Miyai, *Ritsuryō kizoku*, p. 161.

43 KR, p. 6. See also Kameda, "Kōfukuji: Maboroshi," p. 44.

44 Miyai, *Ritsuryō kizoku*, p. 160; KE, p. 320; Kameda, "Kōfukuji: Maboroshi," p. 44; Kobayashi, *Kōfukuji sōkenki no kenkyū*, p. 14.

45 Yabunaka, "Kōfukuji no zenshin," p. 120.

46 Kobayashi, *Kōfukuji sōkenki no kenkyū*, pp. 46-47; KR, p. 6; Tanimoto, "Kōfukuji ruki' no kisoteki kenkyū," pp. 91-92. The Great Minister here mentioned is Fujiwara no Fuhito; author's translation. Yabunaka "Kōfukuji no zenshin," p. 120.

47 KR, p. 7, author's translation. Yabunaka, "Kōfukuji no zenshin," pp. 120-21. Tanimoto, "Kōfukuji ruki' no kisoteki kenkyū," p. 92.

In other words, both passages mention Kamatari's illness and the decisive role played by the patriarch's wife in the construction of Kōfukuji's precursor.

Although this text states further on that this later became Yamashinadera, without adding a specific year, it is clear that the first building is referred to as an *in* 院. This is significant since there was an important institutional difference between a *dono* or *in* on the one hand and a *dera* on the other.⁴⁸ As mentioned in the *Nihon shoki*, Kōfukuji did not receive the official status of *dera* until Yōro 養老 2 (720) when the sovereign, Genshō (元正天皇; 680–748), created the position of *Zō kōfukuji butsudenshi* 造興福寺佛殿司 in the wake of Fujiwara no Fuhito's death.⁴⁹ This appears to be the earliest extant application of the term *dera* to refer to Kōfukuji. In the first and also earliest part of the *Kōfukuji ruki*, the term *dera* is avoided, but the latter (and later) part of the Tenpyō 天平 era of the text suddenly utilizes the term frequently. Not only does this exemplify the nature of the text as a composite of parts from various eras (an earlier and a later part), it also demonstrates that the temple was referred to in different ways throughout its early period. The parts that do utilize *dera* were likely written after 720 when the temple had already received an official, public status. It has been argued by Kobayashi Yūko that not only did the original *Kyūki* form the basis for the accounts of the *Hōjiki* but also that the former originally consisted of an earlier and a later part written by two different people, an assertion she made on the basis of stylistic change between two parts.⁵⁰ In addition to the style, however, the latter part of the *Kyūki* is where we find the term *dera*

to refer to Kōfukuji's predecessors. As stated above, this might be because this latter part was composed when the temple had already received the official designation *dera*.

The imperial history *Shoku Nihongi* mentions in an entry for the year 797 a system referred to as the "Four Great Temples" (*shi daiji* 四大寺).⁵¹ However, this is not the earliest occurrence in the *Shoku Nihongi* of Kōfukuji as a *dera*. There are no less than seven earlier examples in the same source showing that Kōfukuji was referred to as an official temple. It is mentioned for the first time as such in 720, and in 735 (Tenpyō 7) and 745, Kōfukuji is referred to as one of the Four Temples (*shi ji* 四寺), along with Daianji 大安寺, Yakushiji 薬師寺, and Gangōji 元興寺.⁵² In 749 (Tenpyō Shōhō 天平勝宝 1), the temple is included in the list of the Five Great Temples (*go daiji* 大五寺), comprising of the original four plus Tōdaiji.⁵³ It is in the relation between this group of officially recognized temples and the construction of the new capital from 710 that we might find an alternative explanation for Kōfukuji's origins. The Four Great temples of 735 located in and around Heijōkyō share an important feature, or at least three of them clearly do: all official temples had clear origins. Gangōji goes back to the famous Asukadera 飛鳥寺 and the latter's high position in the seventh century justified its transfer.⁵⁴ Daianji had Kudara Ōdera 百濟大寺 as its predecessor, and Yakushiji near Heijōkyō was based on a temple with the same name near the prior capital, Fujiwarakyō. In other words, all three temples had a clear, verifiable ancestor, providing them and their patrons with the necessary legitimacy. But what about Kōfukuji, the temple whose status and rituals would in time eclipse the other three from the latter half of the Nara period?

Nagashima also mentions this passage and notes the resemblance between the *Hōjiki* and the *Origin Chronicle*. Nagashima, "Kōfukuji no rekishi," p. 1. The following passage of the same source is also quoted by Fukuyama to describe when the temple was moved to Kasuga at a later stage. Fukuyama, *Nihon kenchiku shi kenkyū*, p. 328.

48 In relation to Asukadera 飛鳥寺, Akiko Walley mentions the following passage from the *Nihon shoki* from 594: "To construct a Buddhist Hall for the glory of the heavenly sovereign. These are called 'temples.'" Walley, *Constructing the Dharma King*, p. 116. The term in the *Nihon shoki* used for "Buddhist Hall" is *busssha* 佛舎 and for "temple" is *dera* 寺, showing there was an institutional difference between the two. *Nihon shoki*, Suiko 推古 2 (594).2.1.

49 Miyai, *Ritsuryō kizoku*, p. 164.

50 Kobayashi points out that both the *Kyūki* and the *Hōjiki* are written in four-character sentences (*yojiku* 四字句). However, based on stylistic differences, she states that the former and the latter part of the *Kyūki* must have been composed by two different authors. Kobayashi, *Kōfukuji sōkenki no kenkyū*, p. 48.

Challenging the Timeline

The latter half of the seventh century saw a veritable surge in temple construction, differing in status and adherence or patronage. For example, Prince Shōtoku's original Ikarugadera 斑鳩寺 coincides with the earliest stage of Japan's temple construction, but so would have Kagami no Ōkimi's Yamashinadera, built from

51 McCallum, *The Four Great Temples*, p. 2.

52 Kobayashi, *Kōfukuji sōkenki no kenkyū*, pp. 25–26.

53 *Ibid.*, p. 26.

54 McCallum, *The Four Great Temples*, p. 253.

669. And what would have been the nature of Kagami no Ōkimi's site of worship, constructed at Kamatari's mansion in 657?⁵⁵ Here, we could draw a parallel with the examples of Soga no Iname's 蘇我稻目 (?–570) house temple from 552 or Soga no Umako's 蘇我馬子 (?–626) from 584.⁵⁶ These were small adjacent buildings for the purpose of venerating an image of the Buddha. Wouldn't Yamashinadera have been very similar to these cases? At first sight it might, but a closer look at the motivation to construct Ikarugadera, or for Soga no Umako to add a modest construction to his mansion, reveals that perhaps there was a significant difference.

As revealed by the narrative described in several sources mentioned above, Kamatari's illness and prayers for his recovery are depicted as the main reason for Yamashinadera's construction. This means that the reason for this temple's existence (and ultimately also for the later Kōfukuji) has to be situated within the Fujiwara clan, turning the temple into a private matter. This is intrinsically different from the founding reasons of many other official temples. For example, the *Nihon shoki's* accounts of Soga no Umako's Hōkōji 法興寺 (Asukadera), predecessor of the later Gangōji of 588, or Prince Shōtoku's Shitennōji 四天王寺 from 593, seem to suggest a clear emphasis on strengthening the court through the construction of these temples.⁵⁷ In other words, in the case of these temples, there seems to have been a state-protecting function, while Yamashinadera's original reason for existing was a private matter: the strengthening of Kamatari's position within the Fujiwara. This "private aspect" might explain the absence of any information regarding Yamashinadera's creation in the *Nihon shoki*: whatever the temple at Yamashina looked like (and whatever its size), it was not an official temple and therefore not mentioned in the official history. This element seems also to be supported by the Yuima-e's origin story. Just like the temple, this ritual is described as having been founded when Kamatari fell

ill.⁵⁸ In time, it was fixed at Kōfukuji and held on the tenth day of the tenth month, the commemorative day of the patriarch.⁵⁹ In other words, both the temple and its main ritual are rooted in a private Fujiwara matter.⁶⁰ In time, Kōfukuji's main Buddhist services would not be services for the historical Buddha or the Hossō patriarch, Kuiji 窺基 (632–682): the grand ritual Yuima-e commemorated the patriarch and other rituals were also held to commemorate certain members of the Fujiwara. The Hokke-e 法華会 ritual in honor of Uchimarō 藤原内麻呂 (756–812) is a good example of this.⁶¹

The actual orders to build temples seem to have been recorded only if the temple was of importance to the state, in other words, if the temple fit the *Nihon shoki's* imperial and court-centered narrative. In this sense, the absence of orders, in addition to the omission of their origins in the official histories, has to be noted. However, from the construction of Heijōkyō onwards, Kōfukuji became an integral part of the new capital. The problem might have been that this grand monastery remained without an official point of origin. Gangōji, which would become, along with Kōfukuji, one of the two main Japanese Hossō branches in the eighth century, could trace its origins back to the illustrious Asukadera. Although precise construction records for most of Japan's temples are lacking, we are able to reconstruct a timeline for Asukadera. In 588, the space for the temple was cleared. Two years later, in 590, wood for the temple was prepared and in 592 the Buddha Hall was erected. The next year, in 593, relics were placed at the base of the pagoda, and by 596 the basic temple outline seems to have been finished.⁶² Two monks took residence there and by 605 a bronze statue was ordered. In 606 it was finished and placed in the temple's central hall.⁶³ Gangōji's example shows that the construction of

55 Yabunaka, "Kōfukuji no zenshin," pp. 121–22.

56 Kidder, *The Lucky Seventh*, p. 171.

57 Yabunaka, "Kōfukuji no zenshin," pp. 117–18. Ōhashi describes how Asukadera evolved from the Soga clan's private temple to an official temple after the clan's power was repressed under Shōtoku Taishi. Ōhashi, "Asukadera no sōritsu ni kansuru mondai," p. 10. Walley points out that "Asukadera was a project of the Yamato state" but mentions Katō Kenkichi's statement that this temple had a "dual nature," being on the one hand an *ujidera*, but on the other having a function that went beyond its own clan, the Soga. Walley, *Constructing the Dharma King*, p. 116.

58 Tyler, *The Cult of Kasuga Seen Through Its Art*, pp. 97–98.

59 Bauer, "The Yuima-e as Theater of the State," pp. 162–63. The SJ states that the ritual was allocated to Kōfukuji in Enryaku 延暦 20 (801); SJ, p. 290. Kobayashi, *Kōfukuji sōkenki no kenkyū*, p. 65.

60 The evolution of the Yuima-e falls outside the scope of this article, but of note is the description of the ritual's origins as formulated in an edict issued by Fujiwara no Nakamaro 藤原仲麻呂 (706–764) in 757 and contained in the *Shoku Nihongi*. Here, Nakamaro refers to the ritual as originating in Kamatari's residence. See for example Fukuyama, *Nihon kenchiku shi kenkyū*, p. 331.

61 Miyai, *Ritsuryō kizoku*, p. 179.

62 For a comparative timeline on the construction of Asukadera in relation with other temples built before 700, see Fukuyama, *Nihon kenchiku shi kenkyū*, p. 159.

63 Kidder, *The Lucky Seventh*, p. 172.

a full-fledged temple along with the instalment of an image of worship took at least four years and involved a large enterprise worthy of being recorded. However, did Kōfukuji, which like Gangōji would become one of the official Four Great Temples, have a predecessor worthy of having been recorded?

If Kōfukuji's predecessors Yamashinadera and Umayasakadera were indeed larger constructions rather than small sites of worship at a private residence, two problems seem to arise. First, there does not seem to have been enough time to actually build temples that would fit the profile of being an official temple's origin similar to Asukadera and Gangōji. Second, the alleged construction of Yamashinadera and Umayasakadera, in addition to the final move to the Nara capital, does not seem to correspond with two contemporaneous developments: the creation and abandonment of the Ōtsu (667–672) and Fujiwara (694–710) capitals, and the career of Kamatari's son Fuhito, one of the main architects of Heijōkyō. If the construction of Yamashinadera was indeed started in 669, then the temple was commissioned, built, and abandoned in merely three years. This would certainly be possible in the case of a small structure within Kamatari's residence, but for a temple with a basic layout this is not possible. As pointed out by Ōhashi, it took at least four years to complete a temple in the classical period and it seems that the alleged construction at Yamashina would have had three years maximum.⁶⁴ In other words, if there was a temple at Yamashina it cannot have been but a small construction.⁶⁵

The Problem of Location

As described above, the timeframe described in the primary sources casts doubt on Yamashinadera and Umayasakadera's very existence. Another problem, unfortunately often ignored in many overviews of Kōfukuji's origins, consists of the archaeological record. Not too far from the present-day Kintetsu Railway station Kashihara Jingū Mae in Nara Prefecture, lies at first sight an unassuming archaeological site. Here, in between some small fields and houses, a rectangular, elevated shape can be discerned, a site overgrown

with small bushes and trees. For some, this is considered the site of Umayasakadera, the place Yamashinadera was moved to and thus one of Kōfukuji's two predecessors. In reality, however, it is just one of several places that claim this honor and no conclusive evidence seems to exist to allocate the name Umayasakadera to any of these sites. The question remains: is there any archaeological evidence to support the timeline Yamashinadera–Umayasakadera–Kōfukuji? It is not my purpose here to provide a detailed analysis of the archaeological record, but to point out that no conclusive physical evidence exists regarding the location, or even the existence, of Kōfukuji's two precursors.

In the case of Yamashinadera, in 1919, Nishida Shinji identified archaeological remains (*ato* 跡) in Ōyake (Ōyake Haiji 大宅廢寺), Kyoto Prefecture, as the remains of Yamashinadera. Even today, in front of a local middle school, one can find a marker identifying the site as the Ōyake Haiji *ato* 大宅廢寺跡 or remains of Ōyake Temple. First excavated in 1917, several tiles were found and, based on these, another scholar, Umehara Suehara, decided in 1920 that this had to be the site of Yamashinadera.⁶⁶ However, as pointed out by Yabunaka, the recovered tiles seem to be those of an official temple while Yamashinadera, as described in the sources, must have been part of a private residence. Therefore, Yabunaka concludes, Ōyake Haiji cannot have been Yamashinadera.⁶⁷ In addition, Ōyake Haiji's site is fairly large and in 1958 the main contours of all the buildings was unearthed, with several buildings being identified as the Golden Hall, the Lecture Hall, a central gate, and monks' quarters.⁶⁸ It is unlikely that this compound could have been constructed in the short timeframe described above.

Three sites attracted attention as possibly being Umayasakadera: the Jōroku site (Jōroku iseki 丈六遺跡) and Uranbō Uran坊, both located to the south of the city of Fujiwarakyō, and finally Kumadera 久米寺. The actual date or even the year the temple moved from Yamashina to Umayasaka is not mentioned in the sources but supposedly took place after the Jinshin 壬申 wars (672) and the construction of the Kiyomihara Palace by Prince Ōama (the later sovereign Tenmu).⁶⁹ The Jōroku site was identified as Umayasakadera for the

64 As cited in Kobayashi, *Kōfukuji sōkenki no kenkyū*, p. 15. Ōhashi, "Asukadera no sōritsu ni kansuru mondai," p. 13.

65 Kobayashi, *Kōfukuji sōkenki no kenkyū*, p. 15.

66 Yabunaka, "Kōfukuji no zenshin," p. 126.

67 *Ibid.*, p. 131.

68 Kameda, "Kōfukuji: Maboroshi," p. 45.

69 *Ibid.*, p. 46.

first time in 1915, but in 1961 Suenaga Masao raised the possibility of it being the private mansion of Soga no Iruka 蘇我入鹿 (?–645) instead.⁷⁰ However, a few years later, in 1963, Oi Jujiro dismissed that theory and raised the possibility of the site being Umayasakadera. In any case, no clear consensus seems to have been reached regarding its identity. Not too far from this location we find the Uranbō site. In 1932 Yasui Yoshitarō identified it as Soga no Umako's residence but Fukiyama Toshio concluded it had to be Umayasakadera. No consensus was ever reached.⁷¹ As for the third possibility, during excavations at Kōfukuji, tiles from a temple called Kumedera were uncovered. When a temple was relocated, the tiles usually were moved along and reused. For example, at Yakushiji, excavations revealed that 75 percent of the unearthed tiles came from the original temple. Mori concluded that by this logic the Kumedera tiles found at Kōfukuji were reason enough to consider the possibility of Kumedera being Kōfukuji's precursor.⁷² However, as pointed out by Yabunaka, only eight percent of the tiles found at Kōfukuji could be identified as Kumedera's, a number significantly lower than the ones in Yakushiji's case. Also, since tiles from various temples were found at Kōfukuji, it might make more sense to conclude that materials from various locations were used or at least manufactured in the same area. In any case, the "evidence" for identifying Kumedera as Umayasakadera seems weak and once again no conclusive evidence supports the thesis that Kumedera originally was Umayasakadera.⁷³

Conclusion

The Heian-period *Fusō ryakki* describes how Nakatomi no Kamatari fell gravely ill in 656. Upon request, a Buddhist nun from Kudara recited a passage from the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra*, whereupon the courtier recovered from his illness.⁷⁴ Following this episode, Kamatari

constructed a site of worship where he started a ritual. This is said to have been the origin of Kōfukuji's grand Vimalakīrti Assembly and the site that he constructed formed the point of origin of the temple itself. Thus, the Nakatomi (the later Fujiwara), Kōfukuji, and the Vimalakīrti Assembly were forever unified in their origin.

When the new capital of Heijōkyō was constructed at the beginning of the eighth century, the Buddhist tradition had been around for roughly two centuries. Well-known passages from the *Nihon shoki* talk of the strife that ensued between the Nakatomi, the Mononobe, and the Soga clans about the acceptance of the Buddhist scrolls and the gilded statue donated by the monarch from Paekche. Not too long thereafter, temples and sites of worship were constructed, and by the eighth century Buddhism was thoroughly entrenched in the Japanese state. The construction of the new capital was therefore accompanied by the building of several official temples as well: Daianji, Yakushiji, Gangōji, and Kōfukuji, the so-called Four Great Temples. However, as pointed out above, there is one thing that set Kōfukuji apart from the other three temples: its point of origin, the enigmatic temple Yamashinadera. Indeed, Daianji could trace its origin back to Kudara Ōdera, Yakushiji to an older temple of the same name, and Gangōji had Asukadera as its ancestor. In Kōfukuji's case, later sources tell us that it had two predecessors: first there was Yamashinadera, then the temple was moved to Umayasaka, and finally it ended up at the new capital in close proximity to the hills of Kasuga. In general, this origin story was accepted by most Japanese and Western scholars dealing with developments from the seventh to the eighth century. However, I suggest that this narrative is problematic.

First of all, it is important to not just look at the *Kōfukuji Origin Chronicle*, but to include the *Kōfukuji ruki*, a text composed of several older texts that probably served as a source of inspiration for the *Kōfukuji Origin Chronicle*. As stated above, it is clear that the nature of the site of worship at Yamashina cannot be determined and that several terms were used to refer to whatever

70 Yabunaka, "Kōfukuji no zenshin," p. 133.

71 Kameda, "Kōfukuji: Maboroshi," p. 46.

72 Mentioned in Yabunaka, "Kōfukuji no zenshin," p. 134.

73 Kameda, "Kōfukuji: Maboroshi," p. 49.

74 This episode can also be found in the *Kōfukuji Origin Chronicle*: "The Prime Minister was overcome by illness. In order for him to recover, a meditation nun from Kudara named Hōmyō told the Prime Minister: 'I practice the Great Vehicle and there is a Sūtra called the Vimalakīrti in which a chapter on illness is included. I will read and recite it for you and maybe you will recover from

your illness.' Before she had even finished one chapter, the illness of the Prime Minister settled. At that time, the Prime Minister bowed his head, folded his hands and spoke: 'Continuous life cycles return in accordance with the teachings of the Great Vehicle. The meditation nun will become lecturer and lecture on the Vimalakīrti Sūtra incessantly for a period of three days.'" Bauer, "The Power of Ritual," p. 23; KE, pp. 321–22.

the building was. I would argue that if there was indeed a site of worship at Kamatari's residence, then it was a small, private structure and not a full-fledged *dera*. Second, and in relation to the first point, the timeline as laid out in the sources poses some problems. As suggested by other scholars such as Ōhashi Katsuaki, if the dates in the sources are correct, then there simply was not enough time to build an official temple.⁷⁵ It is of course still possible, and probably very likely, that a Buddhist altar existed at Kamatari's home, or that part of his mansion was converted into a site of worship, but this was not a larger building, let alone an official temple. There are similar examples of this practice of places of worship at private residences, such as Soga no Iname's mansion from 552, or the construction at Soga no Umako's house.⁷⁶ However, this practice is significantly different from building an official temple such as Asukadera. Finally, it has to be noted that these temples at Yamashina and Umayasaka have never been found: there is no archaeological record. There is no base and there are no tiles that would confirm their existence. Of course, the absence of these finds does not prove that the temples did not exist, but in addition to the other elements mentioned above it certainly adds more doubt to their historicity.

Then why does the story exist at all? It is clear that one should not start one's journey in 710 to understand Kōfukuji's origins. As mentioned above, the temple's beginnings are described as intrinsically linked with the foundation of the Fujiwara and both the earliest and later sources, despite containing many discrepancies, share important elements. It is clear from the textual sources that Kamatari is connected with some kind of ritual space connected to his private mansion, but the exact nature of this construction remains unclear and ultimately can never be fully answered. What can be established is that, if they existed, both Yamashina and Umayasaka must have been private in nature and only received their higher, public state status in the Nara period when their meaning coincided with Kōfukuji's. I suggest that the temple's prehistory had to be created. The person in charge of the construction of the new capital was Fujiwara no Fuhito and it is no exaggeration to state that the creation of Kōfukuji as part of the

new city was a reflection of his and the Fujiwara's established status at court.⁷⁷ I therefore argue that, despite the existence of the narrative, Kōfukuji's roots historically cannot be traced back to Kamatari and that the creation of the story involving Yamashina and Umayasakadera was part of a larger eighth-century process providing the temple and its clan with the necessary legitimacy. Pivotal in this process was the creation of a direct connection between the main Fujiwara of the eighth century and their patriarch, Nakatomi no Kamatari: it is in his figure that the origin of the clan, the temples, and its main ritual, the Yuima-e, converge. The narrative that Kamatari and his wife Kagami no Ōkimi constructed the temple, that it housed what would become one of premodern Japan's largest Buddhist rituals, and that this ritual site was eventually moved to the new capital designed by Fuhito, all contributed to legitimizing the Fujiwara's position in the Nara period. This process continued under successive Fujiwara courtiers and most notably under Fuhito's grandson Nakamaro who would ultimately be the one to finally provide a financial basis to the Yuima-e, and thus Kōfukuji, around 760. Kōfukuji was now one of the main temples at the capital and possessed a legitimate point of origin in Yamashina and Umayasaka.

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- KE *Kōfukuji engi* 興福寺縁起. DNBZ 119, pp. 320–26.
- KR *Kōfukuji ruki* 興福寺流記. DNBZ 123, pp. 1–28.
- SJ *San'e jōichiki* 三会定一記. DNBZ 123, pp. 289–431.

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75 Cited in Kobayashi, *Kōfukuji sōkenki no kenkyū*, p. 15.

76 Kidder, *The Lucky Seventh*, p. 171. Regarding the location and construction of a site of worship at Soga no Umako's residence, see Fukuyama, *Nihon kenchiku shi kenkyū*, pp. 229–30.

77 Ōhashi, "Heijō sento to kokka kanji no iten," p. 114.

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Authenticity, Preservation, and Transnational Space: Comparing Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre

MARIKO AZUMA

Introduction

THIS article examines theoretical and practical aspects of authenticity¹ and the built environment through a comparative case study of two architectural structures: Yin Yu Tang in Salem, MA (USA), and the Linden Centre in Xizhou, Yunnan Province (China). Yin Yu Tang is a two-story, sixteen-bedroom structure that was once home to the Huang merchant family in the Huizhou region of Southeast China.² It was built during the Qing dynasty (1644–1911) and housed generations of the Huang family for almost two hundred years until the mid-1980s.³ Between 1997 and

2003 the vacant house was dismantled, moved in its entirety to the US, reassembled, and finally opened to the public at the Peabody Essex Museum (PEM) under the supervision of the curator of Chinese Art and Culture at the time, Nancy Berliner.⁴

Further southwest from Yin Yu Tang's original location, and located in Yunnan Province, lies the Linden Centre.⁵ The Linden Centre is also a two-story structure that was originally home to a merchant family. However, this building became vacant not long after its construction in 1947. It was converted into a boutique hotel by entrepreneur Brian Linden and opened to the public in 2008.⁶ The Linden Centre offers visitors accommodation that focuses on its distinct setting and context.

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- 1 On the concept of "authenticity," see Botz-Bornstein, "Hyperreal Monuments of the Mind"; MacCannell, "Staged Authenticity"; and Phillips, *Exhibiting Authenticity*, p. 197.
- 2 Peabody Essex Museum, "Yin Yu Tang: A Chinese Home," <http://yinyutang.pem.org/house/base.html>. Yin Yu Tang 蔘餘堂 means "Hall of Abundant shelter"
- 3 Peabody Essex Museum, "Yin Yu Tang Historical Timeline," <http://yinyutang.pem.org/timeline.html>; PEM, "Yin Yu Tang: A Chinese Home."

- 4 Berliner, *Yin Yu Tang*; PEM, "Yin Yu Tang: A Chinese Home"; Rita Reif, "Auctions: Discovering China's Folk Art," *The New York Times*, 25 January 1987, <https://www.nytimes.com/1987/01/25/arts/auctions-discovering-china-s-folk-art.html>.
- 5 The Linden Centre, "Welcome to the Linden Centre," <http://www.linden-centre.com/>. The Linden Centre is also known as Xi Lin Yuan 喜林苑 in Mandarin, which translates to "Joyous Linden Park."
- 6 Ibid. See also "Our Team," <http://www.linden-centre.com/team/>; "Linden Gallery," <https://www.lindensgallery.com/>. Brian Linden and his wife Jeanee oversee the Linden Centre in Yunnan and operated until 2019 the Linden Gallery in Door County, Wisconsin, which featured antiques collected on their journeys through Asia.

▪ Method and Theory

This article argues that despite similarities in architectural origins, materials, symbolical significance, and layout, Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre display distinctly different interpretations of preservation and authenticity, which has led to their contemporary identities. Yin Yu Tang has been turned into one of the highlights of the PEM and is undoubtedly one of the most prized possessions of the collection, symbolizing the wider international relationships that the museum has to offer. In contrast, the Linden Centre provides a temporary safe haven for tourists traveling far from their homes and offers them a minority cultural experience. Both structures are no longer the permanent, private, and enclosed homes of generational families. Instead, they have become temporary, public, and porous spaces that are occupied, looked at, and observed by tourists.

As transformed artworks and architectural subjects, Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre have both conceptually and physically taken on new functions and identities. One became part of a museum collection, the other a “living museum.”⁷ I believe that sustainable, long-term preservation must understand and accommodate the conceptual, personal, and unattainable idea of authenticity—that is, the meaning of authenticity as unstable, expansive, and adaptive to its circumstances. Moreover, I argue that when appreciating authenticity obtained through protection or commodification like the Linden Centre and Yin Yu Tang one has to be always aware of the mechanisms of display that are inevitably at work. For example, despite the immersive “insider” experience represented by these two houses, the fantasy of an insider experience depends on the status of the visitor as a perpetual outsider. This is a result of working within the framework of display, which can easily be taken as an act of preservation that directly produces authenticity.

In both cases, the buildings have been altered simply by their re-contextualized and reinterpreted environments that prevent the possibility of an authentic, original experience ever being achieved. More importantly, long-term preservation of architecture enables the future development of the buildings through the creation of a new tradition. This is a distinguishing

characteristic of architectural preservation because it involves space, and space must address functions that define the past, the present, and the future of a building. This intersection of space, time, and display is where the complex possibilities and challenges of preservation become apparent.

I argue that Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre are examples of vernacular architecture that use re-contextualization to cultivate a new “authenticity” found within the framework of display. Although many of the intentions and efforts of preservation are sincere, a longer-lasting approach should aim instead to respectfully reuse the past to construct a future authenticity.

The strongest tie between Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre is their negotiation of preservation and authenticity. They both represent singular examples for the future preservation of vernacular architecture and offer a unique opportunity to examine methods of architectural preservation as well as the underlying limitations, assumptions, and tendencies within preservation.

Discussions with Brian Linden and Nancy Berliner revealed their differing approaches. Berliner approaches China primarily through academic endeavors while Linden has engaged in China through various business and education ventures within the hospitality sector. They are both Western educators of Chinese culture as well as beholders of disparate Orientalist perceptions and an “aesthetic eye” in relation to Chinese art, architecture, and rural culture.⁸ This article prioritizes the study of the architecture as experiential artworks over the study of the individuals involved in their projection.

Based on these primary encounters and various source materials, I argue that meaningful preservation must challenge traditional approaches to authenticity through the following three lenses. The first lens, entitled “The Past,” considers the transformation from space to place shared by Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre. I consider definitions of preservation and authenticity and how they have spurred the historical changes and contemporary identity of each site. The second lens, “The Present,” explores the impact of transnational and transcultural identity on the preservation and display of Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre, and discusses how each site communicates its past through

7 Linden Centre, “Our Vision,” <http://www.linden-centre.com/about/>.

8 Nochlin, “The Imaginary Orient.”

physical, sensory, and visual mechanisms. The last lens, “The Future,” considers the process of authentication as an ongoing and intentional construction of tradition at each site, and speculates about the visual and material future of placemaking at each site as related to issues of architectural heritage and preservation.

The Past

▪ Preservation and Authenticity

At the core of this analysis is the delicate intersection of authenticity and preservation. “Authenticity” refers to a sense of originality, accuracy, or truthfulness. The term has developed different uses in the fields of urban conservation and art history, leading to a vast amount of discussion and variation in the definition, ranging from scientific to humanistic approaches.⁹ The “Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China,” also known as the China Principles, were adopted in 2000 and issued by ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) China in 2002.¹⁰ This document defines a site as authentic if its preservation oc-

curs in accordance with international practices and if it possesses originality, or *zhenshi* (*xing*) 真實(性)—a character compound that combines meanings of “true” and “fact/reality.”¹¹

Another school of thought expressed in the 1995 definition of authenticity by Jukka Jokilehto and Paul Philippot for ICCROM (International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property) states it as “a measure of the truthfulness of the internal unity of the creative process and the physical realization of the work, and the effects of its passage through historical time,” which takes authenticity as inclusive of the changes that come with time.¹² At the International Congress, “Preserving Transcultural Heritage” in Lisbon (Portugal) in 2017, Jokilehto defined authenticity more specifically and conceptually as something dynamic rather than static: “The creative process that forms significance, where integrity contributes to this significance and specificity of cultural expression.”¹³ He highlights the fact that authenticity is not just a value judgment, but is dependent on particular contexts of who, where, and why authenticity is being discussed. For Jokilehto authenticity is therefore a value that is not only inherently found in a building, but is rather created, nurtured, and acted upon.¹⁴

In this article, I refer to the definition of authenticity that fuses identifiers of context, spirit of place, and the passage of time that are mentioned above.¹⁵ Rather than attempting to define what is authentic in Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre, I will discuss how authenticity is approached by the respective sites and stakeholders in a dynamic, shifting way.

9 Zancheti, Lira, and Piccolo, in “Judging the Authenticity of the City,” p. 163, base their discussion on UNESCO guidelines that state that authenticity in urban conservation is defined as a “measure of the degree with which the attributes of cultural heritage, form and design, materials and substance, use and function, traditions and techniques, location and setting, spirit and feeling, and other factors credibly bear witness to its significance.” Yujie Zhu states that the rise of postmodernism, poststructuralism, and constructivism has led authenticity to become a projection of one’s beliefs, context, ideology, and even imagination; see Zhu, “Cultural Effects of Authenticity,” p. 596. Existential authenticity is discussed as a characteristic that originates from identity, social relationships, and self-realization; see Rickly-Boyd, “Existential Authenticity: Place Matters,” and Jiang et al., “Authenticity.” For a dictionary definition of “authentic” see Oxford Living Dictionaries, <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/authentic>.

10 Weiler, “Aspects of Architectural Authenticity in Chinese Heritage Theme Parks,” p. 222. The China Principles are based on the Venice Charter of 1964 that states that monuments should be conserved not only as works of art but as historical evidence; see ICOMOS Venice Charter. J. Paul Getty Trust, “Cultural Heritage Policy Documents,” The Getty Conservation Institute, http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/research_resources/charters/charter12.html. China joined the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage in 1985, more than a decade after its adoption by UNESCO in 1972. The China Principles is a significant document based on the Law of the People’s Republic as well as the Venice Charter from 1964, indicating their awareness of both international practice and the nation’s legal requirements and

needs. Zhu, “Authenticity and Heritage Conservation in China,” p. 187.

11 Weiler, “Aspects of Architectural Authenticity,” p. 224.

12 See Jokilehto, “Paul Philippot (1925–2016);” ICCROM, last modified January 25, 2016, <https://www.iccrom.org/news/paul-philippot-1925-2016>; Phillips, *Exhibiting Authenticity*, p. 128.

13 Jokilehto, “Keynote Speaker Lecture: Questions of Authenticity Concerning Different Cultures and Preservation”; see also Jokilehto, *A History of Architectural Conservation*.

14 Weiler, “Aspects of Architectural Authenticity,” p. 224; see also Zhu, “Performing Heritage: Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism” p. 1496. Within the study of tourism, authenticity has been discussed at length using conceptual approaches such as objective, constructive, and existential authenticity. My research incorporates some of the various facets of authenticity, but ultimately focuses on how it is approached through display.

15 Key authors include Jukka Jokilehto, Katharina Weiler, and Yujie Zhu among others. Key terms are discussed in the ICOMOS Venice Charter 1964 and by the UNESCO World Heritage Centre.

Preservation, too, is a loaded term. It cannot be limited to the restoration or the reconstruction of a structure through a unified style unique to its original condition.¹⁶ I will be referring to the broad definition of preservation that is used interchangeably with conservation as something that safeguards and protects architectural heritage.¹⁷ As quoted by Philippot, preservation expresses the “modern way of maintaining living contact with cultural works of the past.”¹⁸ I believe the key term here is “living,” which places the future of the preserved object with the viewers and/or users of the object rather than completely stabilizing the object in a time capsule.¹⁹ Jokilehto furthermore connects preservation to authenticity, in that, “conservation is not only keeping the material, but also recognizing this spirit, this ‘non-physical’ essence and authenticity of the heritage, and its relation with the society,” highlighting the fact that preservation must consider both tangible and intangible characteristics and practices attached to a building’s history.²⁰ Within preservation, I am particularly interested in the process that combines the object’s tangible and intangible history, meaning, and material with subsequent actions of protection that ensure the longevity of the structure.

The relationship between authenticity and preservation is a complicated one. Preservation is what one would expect to be a prerequisite for authenticity, creat-

ing the most suitable situation for the genuine form of a structure to be experienced and savored by future generations. However, in any scenario where both terms are used, careful decision-making and oftentimes contradicting effects and results are involved. This raises questions of what exactly is intended with the preservation of vernacular architecture, and how authenticity ought to be placed within the discussion in a manner that does not undermine its meaning.

Alois Riegl’s classic essay presents this problematic relationship between preservation and authenticity by arguing for the expansion of values that guide preservation.²¹ Riegl insisted on understanding sites and artworks not through standards prescribed by established canons progressing toward artistic ideals, but through values that are interchanging and based on subjective perceptions and sensibilities of the viewer, thus going so far as to claim art history as the “history of perception.”²²

I believe that these subjective approaches are indicative of the need to understand architectural value and authenticity as a whole, and how artworks encapsulate not only materials and cultural history, but the effects, emotions, and personal connections that the object evokes within the contemporary viewer. This approach also sheds light on how a site’s value, qualities, and authenticity for subsequent preservation means working within distinct segments of time: the past, present, and the future. Objects were made in the past for a specific purpose and context that are always different from those in the present or the future.²³ This means that there are definitive and inevitable differences and changes in the understandings of authenticity and preservation that must be taken into consideration.²⁴ Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre must be viewed through a lens of authenticity and preservation that largely considers the site and location, as well as the malleable definitions that consider the viewer. Therefore, it is vital to understand a structure by asking the following questions: “What is being preserved?” and “Whose tradition, cul-

16 For more on the history of restoration and reconstruction, particularly Alois Riegl’s role in the discourse, see Lamprakos, “Riegl’s ‘Modern Cult of Monuments’ and the Problem of Value,” pp. 421-22; for further discussion on cultural differences in heritage discourse, see Zhu, “Cultural Effects of Authenticity,” p. 597. It is important to note that the definitions of both authenticity and preservation are extremely variable in their interpretations, resulting in different understandings between Western and Chinese ideology. The differences stem from not only historical narratives but also the different attitudes towards achieving the “enduring moment” and meaning of place.

17 ICOMOS, *The Nara Document on Authenticity* (1994). Appendix 2 defines conservation as “All the efforts designed to understand cultural heritage, know its history and meaning, ensure its material safeguard and, as required, its presentation, restoration and enhancement.” It furthermore notes that cultural heritage includes monuments, groups of buildings and sites of cultural value (defined in Article 4 of the World Heritage Convention); UNESCO World Heritage Committee, “Glossary of World Heritage Terms,” *UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*, 1996, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/gloss96.htm>.

18 Domicelj, “Authentic? Nara Revisited...,” p. 152.

19 For more on time capsule settings, see Phillips, *Exhibiting Authenticity*, p. 129.

20 Domicelj, “Authentic? Nara Revisited...,” p. 152.

21 Riegl, “The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Origin.”

22 Lamprakos, “Riegl’s ‘Modern Cult of Monuments’ and the Problem of Value,” p. 427. By understanding art history as a “history of perception,” Riegl focused on the dynamic relationship between the viewer, subject, and object (p. 422).

23 Summers, *Real Spaces*, p. 56.

24 Lamprakos, “Riegl’s ‘Modern Cult of Monuments’ and the Problem of Value,” p. 429.

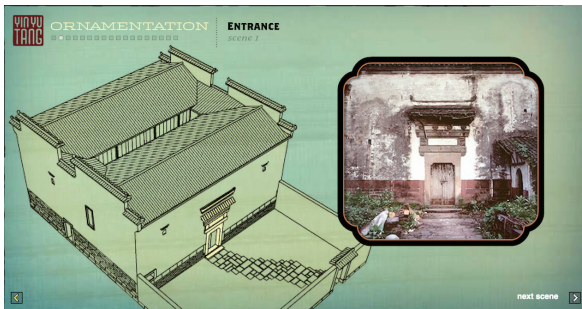


Figure 1. Axonometric plan of Yin Yu Tang (left) and photograph of main entrance of Yin Yu Tang in its original location (right). Second Story, 2002, "Ornamentation: Scene 1" of interactive website, *Yin Yu Tang: A Chinese Home*. Photograph by Cheng Shouqin. In the public domain.



Figure 2. Exterior of Yin Yu Tang at the PEM. The back side is visible from the outside of the PEM but the structure can only be entered from inside the PEM. Photograph by author.

ture, or history is being preserved?"²⁵ These contextual questions reveal the increasingly broad, fluid, and negotiable approaches to authenticity and preservation.

▪ Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre in the Contemporary Context

Yin Yu Tang represents the fortress-like architecture common to the Huizhou region of Southeast China (figures 1–2). Once the visitor enters the main exterior courtyard of the house, they are faced with a white plastered wall, embedded with two tiny windows on either

corner and a main entrance with brick and stone decorations placed above it. This exterior space is rather constricting and creates a sense of visual and physical separation and protection between those inside and those outside. One step past the wall and into the interior of the house presents a highly contrasting sense of warmth and detail created through an array of textures and colors. Aging stone floors, wooden lattice windows, floral European wallpaper, and dark wooden ceilings surround a small courtyard or sky well in the center of the house. This courtyard containing two fishponds provides light and air to the sixteen bedrooms of the two-story house, each of which is occupied by traces of the previous inhabitants' family history. Features of a more recent past are also visible through these traces, since the house was inhabited until the 1980s. Posters

²⁵ Low, "Cultural Conservation of Place," p. 71.



Figure 3. Bedroom in Yin Yu Tang decorated with imported European wallpaper in 1926 for an eldest son's marriage. PEM. Photograph by Dennis Helmar. Permission of Peabody Essex Museum.

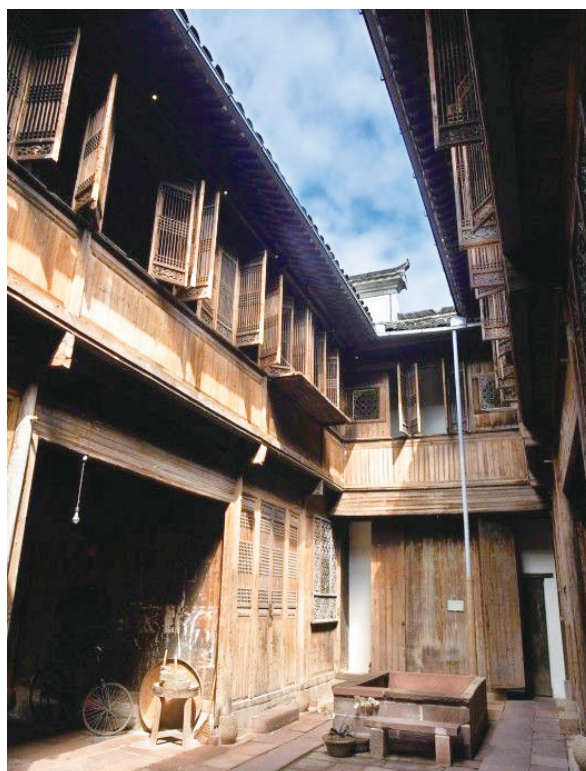


Figure 4. Courtyard or "sky well" of Yin Yu Tang. PEM. Photograph by Dennis Helmar. Permission of Peabody Essex Museum.



Figure 5. Figure 6. Reception hall, Yin Yu Tang, PEM. Photograph by Dennis Helmar. Permission of Peabody Essex Museum.

of Chairman Mao and a government-installed loud-speaker from the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) remain fixed to the walls, and these are juxtaposed with older and traditional aesthetics, such as stone column bases with floral designs and lattice windows with symbolic imagery of peace and harmony (figures 3–5).²⁶

This visually rich experience is made possible through a chain of events that brought Yin Yu Tang, which translates as Hall of Abundant Shelter, from China to its new foreign context. It was originally built to express the hopes of one male member of the Huang family who lived in the village of Huang Cun in the Huizhou region in present-day Anhui Province in Southeast China.²⁷ This region is known for its majestic landscape surrounded by the Huangshan Mountains, whose peaks loom over the rural village.

²⁶ PEM, *Yin Yu Tang House Audio Tour*.

²⁷ Berliner, *Yin Yu Tang*, p. 113.

Although the exact date is unknown, a son belonging to the twenty-eighth or twenty-ninth generation built the home around 1800 with the desire that it would one day shelter future descendants.²⁸ As he had hoped, the Huang family continued to grow as a wealthy merchant family and occupied the home for nearly two hundred years. However, in the mid-1980s, the growing desire and need to move to towns and larger cities ultimately led to the family's decision to put the home up for sale. Shortly after, in 1996, Nancy Berliner came upon the house amid transition. It was agreed that it would be moved to the PEM as a form of cultural exchange to protect and showcase the region's architecture. The entire house was carefully taken apart, shipped across the world, and rebuilt in its original configuration on the museum grounds, which is also home to twenty-three other historic homes.²⁹ In 2003, Yin Yu Tang was opened to the public in the courtyard of the PEM alongside an exhibition room that displays the history of the Huang family, the culture of Anhui Province, and information on contemporary life in the region that is known today as Huangshan municipality.

Yin Yu Tang's unique re-contextualization and preservation is comparable to the "period room" concept in many museums, featuring experiences that are meant to temporarily immerse the visitor in spaces belonging to another time period or culture. Period rooms often take a picture-box format by creating a physical and conceptual frame around a space. A set viewing point is allocated from which the visitor can peer into the recreated, three-walled "treasure casket" that is meant to carry the illusion of the space being extracted from a long-gone era or a vastly different foreign country.³⁰ This means that there are opportunities for the viewer to freely imagine and create connections between the visible objects and images present in the space with the people, relationships, and interactions that would have been present in the space. However, "period rooms" also inhibit certain interpretations by possibly displaying generalizations and preconceptions.³¹

Against this background, Yin Yu Tang is unique

28 PEM, "Yin Yu Tang Historical Timeline."

29 PEM, "Yin Yu Tang: A Chinese Home."

30 Harris, *Moving Rooms*, p. 6; Minneapolis Institute of Art, "What Are Period Rooms, Really?," <https://new.artsmia.org/stories/what-are-period-rooms-really/>. Examples of Chinese period rooms include the Astor Court and the adjoining Ming Reception Room at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, as well as the Wu Family Reception Hall and Scholar's Library and Study at the Minneapolis Institute of Art; for a brief discussion see Azuma, "Yin Yu Tang and the Effects of Re-contextualization on Vernacular Architecture."

31 For further discussion on the effects of this dynamic, see Phillips, *Exhibiting Authenticity*, p. 200.

in that it is not just a single room but an entire house that has actually been extracted and transported from its original location, creating a much more raw and immersive experience for the visitor who is able to walk into the house and up to the second floor. There are no museum labels, and so visitors learn about the house and its history through personal audio guides. However, Yin Yu Tang's presentation continues to be interpreted in the museum context, which includes stakeholders such as curators and visitors. In an earlier study I concluded that Yin Yu Tang is not representative of authentic local architecture but presents a valuable and communicative object in a foreign context that acts as a microcosm from the past, aiding in the ongoing dialogue between authenticity and preservation.³² The preservation of this work of traditional Chinese architecture in New England becomes even more distinct and complicated when compared to the preservation and maintenance of Chinese minority architecture within China, represented by the Linden Centre.

The Linden Centre, originally known as "Yang's compound" after the owner's family, is a residential complex built in 1947 in the village of Xizhou, Yunnan Province. Yunnan is a melting pot of rich culture and history because of its privileged location along trade routes between Southeast Asia, Central China, and Tibet.³³ It is also home to most of the fifty-six ethnic minorities in China.³⁴ Xizhou itself is known as the "Cradle of Bai Civilization."³⁵ The Bai are an ethnic minority with a 1,300-year history and are renowned for their wealth through business and cultural exchange. These cultural and geographic aspects have affected the architecture of the region, which is apparent throughout Xizhou, including the prominently established Linden Centre.

Unlike Yin Yu Tang's fortified, white walls, the Linden Centre has a soft, earth-toned exterior wall that spreads across an open rice field, creating an impressive and highly visible approach from afar (figure 6). The visitor enters the property through a narrow pathway that leads to an archway exquisitely covered with detailed woodwork, bracketing, and colorful imagery of

32 Azuma, "Yin Yu Tang and the Effects of Re-contextualization on Vernacular Architecture."

33 BBC, "Asia's Ancient Tea Horse Road," BBC Travel, <http://www.bbc.com/travel/story/20120830-asias-ancient-tea-horse-road>.

34 Fu and Steinhardt, *Chinese Architecture*, p. 5.

35 Berg, "Life with the Lindens," p. 49.

wealth and infinity in the typical Bai style.³⁶ The courtyard beyond visually complements the arch with similar detailed woodwork along the second-floor balcony, dark stone floors, and delicate carvings and paintings of animals, plants, and geometric figures placed throughout the structure. The Linden Centre is much larger than Yin Yu Tang, partially due to renovations, with three courtyards that encompass sixteen rooms along with other spaces utilized as a dining room, meeting room, children's room, office, library, and kitchen.³⁷ This organized layout adheres to its main function and identity as a boutique hotel (figures 7–11).

The original owner of the Linden Centre was a wealthy local entrepreneur, Yang Pin Xiang 杨品相 (1900–1975).³⁸ Not long after its construction, and throughout the Communist revolution and the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, Yang's compound was converted into a number of different things, including a military barracks, a hospital, and a kindergarten. Fortunately, it remained largely intact during these changes and in 2001, Yang's compound was designated a Nationally Protected Heritage Site.³⁹

In 2006, Brian Linden came to Xizhou and started negotiating with the local government to secure the rights to Yang's compound.⁴⁰ Once permission was given, Linden and his family spent another year renovating the building and converting it into a hotel. In October 2009, it was opened to the public as "the only



Figure 6. Exterior of the Linden Centre in Xizhou. Photograph by author.



Figure 7. Layout of the Linden Centre with three courtyards. The main entrance is to the north, and the back end of the structure faces southeast. "The Linden Centre: A Tour through Yang Pin Xiang's Home," the Linden Centre blog. Photograph by Xiao Long Ge. Permission of the Linden Centre.



Figure 8. The Linden Centre's archway of the first courtyard. Photograph by author. Permission of the Linden Centre.

36 Kitty Huang and Irene Wu, "The Linden Centre: A Tour Through Yang Pin Xiang's Home," trans. May Baverman, in The Linden Centre Blog, entry posted 30 May 2018, <https://thelindencentre.blog/2018/05/30/the-linden-centre-yang-ping-xiangs-home/>; Matt Xu, "The Linden Centre Tour," lecture given at the Linden Centre, Xizhou, 19 May 2017.

37 Huang and Wu, "The Linden Centre: A Tour Through Yang Pin Xiang's Home."

38 Ibid. Yang Pin Xiang operated a company that traded gold, foreign currency, and cotton yarn in places such as Hong Kong, Kunming, and Xiaguan, and was also actively involved in promoting his hometown through a magazine called *New Xizhou* during his time in Shanghai on business.

39 Ibid. This designation may also be indicative of an increasing awareness of the need to preserve not only in a global but a specifically Chinese context. Compare Weiler, "Aspects of Architectural Authenticity," p. 222.

40 James Fallows, "Village Dreamers," *The Atlantic*, last modified October 2009, <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2009/10/village-dreamers/307657/>. Through the 1990s, Linden and his wife also built their Asian arts antique business in Door County, Wisconsin, which operated from 1995 to 2019. Named the Linden Gallery, this space housed objects selected by the Lindens on their trips throughout Asia. See <https://www.lindensgallery.com>.



Figure 9. The Linden Centre's first courtyard facing the bar/café on the first floor and the office space on the second floor. Photograph by author. Permission of the Linden Centre.

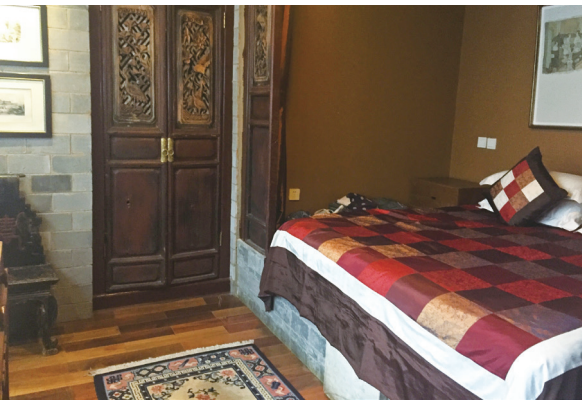


Figure 10. Interior of a guest room at the Linden Centre. Besides a TV, it includes all amenities one would expect from a western hotel. Photograph by author. Permission of the Linden Centre.



Figure 11. The dining area of the Linden Centre. Photograph by author. Permission of the Linden Centre.

nationally protected heritage site that offers guests an intimate look into the grandeur of China's past and ever-changing present."⁴¹ Today, the Linden Centre offers a variety of themed activities, tours, and education programs to promote the local culture, all within familiar and comfortable accommodation and amenities for the large number of Westerners who stay at the facility. The Linden Centre and its approach to preservation challenges other forms of preservation by taking in new traditions and meanings and reinterpreting them for visitors. For the Linden Centre, preservation can partially be seen as an act that uses the physical remnants and conceptual memories of past identity to create and stage Bai culture, prioritizing the new identity of the building over the old.

▪ The Transformation from Space to Place

Berliner has stated that architecture is an extremely relatable way to understand a culture because it provides a sense of social interaction within a real space.⁴² This phrase "real space" made me ponder what indicates a space as "real" physically and conceptually. Despite the different treatment that Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre have gone through, both have experienced change in a way that has transformed the respective identity of the building, its history, and its culture to an elevated status that viewers experience today. Fundamental for a full grasp of Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre as not only transformed artworks, but architectural forms of art that originally housed people, is the idea of space and place, a concept specific to architectural theory.

The spaces of each building define the building's identity. In other words, space gets interpreted by various users who often seek some form of authenticity, and that interpreted space becomes the identifier of architecture through preservation. The geographer Tim Cresswell defines space as an abstract concept that is a realm without meaning or attachment, i.e., a "fact of life."⁴³ This generic space becomes a "meaningful loca-

41 The quote is from an older version of the website, accessed 18 November 2017. "The Linden Centre," <http://www.lindencentre.com/thelindencentre/>; also see Berg, "Life with the Lindens"; Linden Centre, "Our Vision."

42 Berliner, interview with the author, 20 July 2015.

43 Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction*, p. 8.

tion” when attachments, memories, and relationships are developed within the space.⁴⁴ Places are therefore “repositories” for various interpersonal, community, and cultural relationships to develop and become attached to.⁴⁵

Since place is culturally, politically, and socially constructed, it naturally reflects the ideologies of specific groups of people along with constant change.⁴⁶ In other words, the connections between social groups and places are social relationships that change spatial arrangements.⁴⁷ This makes the story of place one that involves inclusion and exclusion, inside and outside, tension and connection, and the reconstruction and imagination of boundaries that come with change.⁴⁸ Moreover, this unstable push and pull dynamic of places make them sites of power struggles, displacement, and resistance, as well as sites that give a sense of meaning and significance to individuals, anchoring lives in dynamic social formations.⁴⁹ This leads to what Timothy Oakes calls the “terrain upon which individuals act in attempts to secure a meaningful sense of spatial identity.”⁵⁰

The spatial transformation from space to place spurred by the preservation of authenticity is not completely dependent on the new identity that the stakeholders bring in to preserve the buildings. It also involves recognizing the inherent value present in the building. As stated by Jokilehto, the heritage of a site is something that exists only when someone recognizes it as such.⁵¹ Just as with any change that must happen, preservation efforts cannot be started without the careful observation of such a need. There is the act of recognition that must occur, and the decision to protect the present value prior to spatial transformation. For Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre, place identity was present in the original contexts for specific individuals and groups such as the Huang family and the Yang family, respectively, who may have found their identity in their houses. But this place identity drastically changed with the recognition of value from outsiders and new stakeholders, such as Berliner and Linden, and led to a new place identity and fertile ground for what I argue is the development of a framework of display.

One of the first steps in the transformation of Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre following the identification of inherent value is a conceptual (and physical in the case of Yin Yu Tang) extraction from context. This renewed place identity is a necessary step, because both structures cater to an audience unfamiliar with the cultures of rural China. Han Li discusses how Yin Yu Tang’s re-contextualization in America keeps it an ordinary house of the Huang family, but simultaneously transforms it to take on new roles as a “cultural ambassador” representing the PEM’s understanding of village culture, the PEM’s cross-cultural relationships, and efforts at heritage preservation.⁵²

Similarly, the Linden Centre highlights its new role by exuberantly and proudly displaying the local culture to outside visitors as “majestic traditions and gracious people that are China!”⁵³ Linden emphasizes the Linden Centre’s vision to highlight the depth, richness, and delicate local culture threatened by increasing mass domestic tourism in China.⁵⁴ The Linden Centre provides

44 Ibid., p. 7. “Meaningful location” as identified by political geographer John Agnew includes the three main aspects of (1) location, which refers to the objective coordinates of the site on the Earth’s surface; (2) locale, which refers to the material setting and concrete form of the location; and (3) sense of place, which refers to the subjective and emotional attachment people have to the location.

45 Low and Altman have written about “place attachment” or the bonding of people to places and how it plays a role in “fostering individual, group, and cultural self-esteem, self-worth, and self-pride”; Low and Altman, “Place Attachment: A Conceptual Inquiry,” p. 7. Summers emphasizes the social relationships particular to spatial works of art by using the word “observer” instead of “viewer” when expressing individuals who visit and occupy sites. This distinguishes visual arts that are meant to be viewed and looked at. “Observer” indicates the sense of not only seeing the work but knowing and examining the work and its setting with appropriate acts and behavior. Summers, *Real Spaces*, p. 42.

46 Low, “Cultural Conservation of Place,” p. 67.

47 Summers, *Real Spaces*, p. 118.

48 Ibid., pp. 43, 56, 58. Summers continuously emphasizes the importance of spaces in relation to artworks. He asserts that all artworks were made for spaces and purposes that are different from that of the contemporary setting. Therefore “first spaces of use” are important to consider when learning about an artwork’s history (p. 56).

49 Feld and Basso, “Introduction,” pp. 5, 7.

50 Oakes, “Place and the Paradox of Modernity,” p. 526. Oakes examines the unstable character of place by presenting two main components of a place: meaningful identity and immediate agency, both of which create a site with meaningful action for the individual. See page 510 for more on Oakes’s discussion on what place is and what place is not. For more specific case studies, see Oakes, “Ethnic Tourism in Rural Guizhou.”

51 Jokilehto, “Keynote Speaker Lecture.”

52 Han, “‘Transplanting’ Yin Yu Tang to America,” p. 57.

53 The Linden Centre, “Welcome to the Linden Centre.”

54 Brian Linden, interview with the author, 17 May 2017, at the Linden Centre, Xihou Town, Dali City, Yunnan, China. It should be noted that Linden considers himself more of an educator rather than a hotelier, pointing to the distinct visitor experiences that the Linden Centre offers.

not simply a room for the night, but a place to experience and explore rural China.⁵⁵ This process of extracting and highlighting curates the site into a specific, personalized, and elevated place for the visitor.

Once Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre are experienced by visitors, place attachment that is created by personal associations produces a “patina of affection.”⁵⁶ For the museum visitor or tourist, both houses represent regional rural culture, but with the added layers of personal memories, experiences, and attachments. What they may have previously understood broadly as “China,” now becomes a distinct place that they can relate to conceptually and identify physically.⁵⁷ As the space is turned into a place, the buildings can then further develop into identities constructed and interpreted by the PEM or the Linden Centre team, as well as by the visitors to each site. All are considered stakeholders in the preservation process. This new place identity not only elevates the space from the ordinary to the extraordinary, but from a simple place to a “destination” with a sense of purpose, travel, and arrival.

Place and placemaking are critical, if not necessary, aspects of architecture. Christian Norberg-Schulz goes so far as to say, “the existential purpose of building (architecture) is therefore to make a site become a place, that is, to uncover the meanings potentially present in the given environment.”⁵⁸ Place involves “self-realization” where it is possible for various properties, uses, and interpretations to become uncovered and emphasized.⁵⁹ Placemaking is therefore a process that continues as long as the physical environment has the capacity to create attachments in the minds of visitors through creating and invoking memories and imagination.⁶⁰

For Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre, the display of authenticity has transformed the sites into curated and elevated places where visitors can identify, connect to, and learn about rural Chinese culture. How-

ever, once a space becomes a place and placemaking begins in earnest, it is easy for the new place identity to overpower other identities inherent in the building, thereby hindering and even derailing the possibilities for the site to create new traditions based on preserved “original” identities. Therefore, when it comes to long-term preservation, the historical layers of a site must be sorted and prioritized. The essential key here is the attachment of the visitor within the placemaking process. Is there attachment to the sense of authenticity (defined through specific interpretations like those of the PEM or the Linden Centre) being displayed or the sense of tradition being preserved? The following section further examines this question by discussing placemaking through transnational and transcultural identity, both of which indicate an increasingly global outlook.

The Present

▪ Placemaking and the Framework of Display

The transformation of the place identity of Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre has pushed both buildings into a new spotlight that presents them as radical approaches to preservation. Both represent an outsider’s vision of rural China that crosses national boundaries, while serving as “cultural ambassadors” that educate and entertain visitors in an accessible manner. This section explores the main difference between the preservation of the two buildings: while Yin Yu Tang focuses on protection, the Linden Centre focuses on forms of commodification. Ultimately, I argue that both of these approaches seek specific interpretations of authenticity through the framework of display.

▪ Communicating the Intangible at Yin Yu Tang

Yin Yu Tang primarily serves as a museum acquisition, albeit one that allows more intense interaction than many other objects in the collection.⁶¹ Preservation efforts in terms of extracting and highlighting have turned Yin Yu Tang into a new “place” to be ex-

55 The Linden Centre, “Welcome to the Linden Centre.” The website states that the Linden Centre is unlike an ordinary hotel, offering “direct access to timeless traditional communities.” <http://www.linden-centre.com>.

56 Low and Altman, “Place Attachment: A Conceptual Inquiry,” p. 2. Place attachment as a complex and multifaceted concept is defined as “the bonding of people to places” on social, psychological, and cultural levels; Fleming, *The Art of Placemaking*, p. 14.

57 Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction*, p. 7.

58 Norberg-Schulz, “The Phenomenon of Place (1976),” p. 422.

59 Ibid.

60 Fleming, *The Art of Placemaking*, p. 17.

61 PEM, “Daily Tours,” <https://www.pem.org/visit/daily-tours>. Visitors to the PEM who would like to see Yin Yu Tang must purchase a separate entrance ticket. These are limited daily to ensure protection of the house and an ideal visitor experience.

perienced by visitors at the PEM. In other words, it is a “meaningful location” with attachments, memories, and relationships intertwined in its make-up.⁶² As with many objects in the museum context, the house is no longer used in a conventional sense, and it is therefore no longer in danger of being demolished or renovated in an improper way. This raises questions regarding its identity as nonphysical, intangible culture. What has become of the traditions and expressions inherited from the past, such as knowledge, practices, and skills?⁶³ Is the intangible identity of Yin Yu Tang nurtured? Or is it simply presented like any other artwork in an encased museum context?

The intangible culture of the Huizhou region is shared at the PEM through events like the annual Lunar New Year celebration along with daily activities like the complimentary audio guides that accompany visitors through the home, and the videos in the exhibition space adjacent to Yin Yu Tang.⁶⁴ The audio guide explains the house’s context and uses, and also includes direct personal accounts from Huang family members as they recount memories of their childhood, along with atmospheric sounds of Huizhou, such as people chatting, going about daily activities, or chanting in the ancestral hall.⁶⁵ As long as one follows the cues and keeps listening to the audio guide, the encounter within Yin Yu Tang is engaging, educational, and easy to understand.

There are also three short films that play in a continuous loop titled *Yin Yu Tang: A Chinese Home*; *Guo Nian: Passage in to a New Year*; and *Guo Men: A Village Wedding*. These films include footage of traditional practices conducted in Huizhou such as a young couple’s wedding, customs surrounding the New Year, and the beam-raising ceremony, which is a significant event that ensures blessings for the future inhabitants of a new home. Activities practiced in Huizhou are embedded together with footage of Yin Yu Tang’s own

moments of cultural experience and identity, such as the beam-raising ceremony that the PEM conducted in 2002 when Yin Yu Tang was re-erected on the museum grounds.

▪ Communicating the Intangible at the Linden Centre

The Linden Centre, on the other hand, began with the preservation of the Yang compound and renovation of its dilapidated Bai-style architecture to make it a place of cultural interaction and conversation.⁶⁶ In contrast to Yin Yu Tang’s re-contextualization in America, the Linden Centre has the advantage of utilizing the raw stimuli of being in the context of Xizhou and, like Yin Yu Tang, the physical and tangible heritage serves to create its contemporary identity, which includes various intangible cultural experiences curated for the guest. The horse stables at the back of the original structure have been converted to a third courtyard to allow for additional guest rooms.⁶⁷ Other structural renovations mostly have to do with plumbing, electricity, and other needs for the comfort of visitors.⁶⁸ According to Linden, renovations are kept to a minimum so that changes can be easily reversed. The focus of the Linden Centre therefore involves protecting its original identity found in its tangible heritage, but also seeks to reach an interpreted authenticity experienced through all five senses.

The intangible cultural experiences that are offered to visitors at the Linden Centre include cuisine, culture, handicrafts, and outdoor activities. Visitors who stay at the Linden Centre are encouraged to book and purchase these activities to enhance their experience. Specific activities include Dumpling Class, Three Course Tea Ceremony, and a Zhoucheng Tie Dye class within the Linden Centre property, as well as photography, market, and hiking tours. These classes and excursions are led by trained staff, both local and non-local.

I participated in the Three Course Tea Ceremony activity, Xizhou Market Tour, Dali City Tour, and the Linden Centre Tour, all of which were accompanied by the same member of the staff, Xiaoyun Yang, except for the

62 Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction*, p. 7.

63 UNESCO World Heritage Committee, “What Is Intangible Cultural Heritage?” UNESCO includes expressions such as “oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts” in intangible cultural heritage. The fragile character of intangible heritage is simultaneously traditional, contemporary, representative, and community-based.

64 PEM, “Ladies as Lions,” <https://www.pem.org/blog/ladies-as-lions>.

65 PEM, *Yin Yu Tang House Audio Tour*.

66 Brian Linden, interview with author, 17 May 2017.

67 Huang and Wu, “The Linden Centre: A Tour through Yang Pin Xiang’s Home.”

68 Brian Linden, interview with author, 17 May 2017.



Figure 12. Xiaoyun Yang of the Linden Centre speaking about the new Linden Commons complex during the Xizhou Market Tour. Photograph by author. Permission of the Linden Centre.

Linden Centre Tour (figure 12). Yang, who is ethnically Bai, is originally from the nearby village of Nuodeng, went to university in Kunming, and later returned to the rural areas of Yunnan with an interest and sense of responsibility to preserve the local culture. Besides the Three Course Tea Ceremony activity, which was in the Linden Centre restaurant area, the two other activities were outside of the Linden Centre walls but were still very much within the guidance of the Linden Centre staff. Compared to the intangible cultural experiences that Yin Yu Tang offers at the PEM, which make the inactive into something active through the imagination, the experiences offered at the Linden Centre create a seamless personal narrative connected to the village of Xizhou. The intangible experiences seem to be a natural result of the surroundings of the Linden Centre and its Bai architecture instead of an indication of what is missing. The activities visitors experience are embedded into the surrounding environment, increasing the sense of experience in real time as well as authenticity.

▪ The Metaphor of the Frame

Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre's physical structure and aspects of its intangible culture are protected, controlled, and commodified through the framework of display. This metaphor of the frame is discussed by David Phillips as something that brackets experiences, and defines what is included and excluded while simultaneously "signaling the context that determines the meanings of whatever is included."⁶⁹ Just as a picture frame functions to distinguish the contents, framing as a metaphor transforms reality by consciously distancing and shifting it through physical and social signs. Performances, ceremonies, rehearsals, and other social activities that involve a degree of pretense are the most common framed situations. A frame indicates the presence of a viewer with a specific gaze and an awareness of certain expectations, behaviors, meanings, and assumptions within the frame, making it essential to understand what the frame is in order to understand the subject it is framing. Phillips mentions that, "The frame is first of all a sign that whatever is represented within it is not a transparent view of reality, but a keyed representation," or a simulated experience.⁷⁰

▪ The Reframing of Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre

Yin Yu Tang, as mentioned earlier, is a museum acquisition, physically placed in the center of the museum's courtyard. This means that the framework of Yin Yu Tang is the PEM. Museums are "displays of works of art, and at the same time displays about [museums], in which the works can play the role of illustrations to the argument of a book."⁷¹ Although Yin Yu Tang carries a valuable and unique past, it has nevertheless been extracted from its original framework of Huizhou and reframed and inserted within the story of the PEM and its endeavors. This museum frame sets Yin Yu Tang apart from other Chinese vernacular forms of architecture and therefore it remains trapped within the presentation.

This does not mean that Yin Yu Tang fails to offer a

⁶⁹ Phillips, *Exhibiting Authenticity*, p. 203.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 204, 206; see the same publication for more details on the complexities of the frame metaphor.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

valuable and unique experience for visitors. Its presentation indeed strives to reveal layers of the home's physical and cultural history, but ultimately what it most lacks becomes the most unique and noticeable part of its contemporary identity as a re-contextualized, protected, and foreign object in a museum. The framework of display at the PEM indicates not only the presence of viewers and their gaze, but also a simulative and even performative character that is embodied in the events, audio guide, and visual presentation of the house by the PEM. This simulative and performative character is the result of inserting a space into a museum and furthering its process of placemaking, while also protecting it and emphasizing its authenticity.

All three methods of learning about Yin Yu Tang—the audio guide, films, and a tour—provide a strong content-based encounter and a highly organized and scheduled approach to ensure timely, convenient, and protected experiences of the house. These approaches also create an immersive experience for visitors, who encounter a continuation of Yin Yu Tang's intangible history from Huizhou and the Huang family. Simultaneously, the various strategies of explaining the house attest to the absence of knowledge, practices, and social relationships that were attached to it in its former context. They point to what is missing, distant, foreign, separated, and no longer active in the tangible structure of Yin Yu Tang and its physical contents. Furniture, utensils, and other decorative objects and images are placed in positions that take on the appearance of being "just used" by inhabitants, but they are also absurdly stagnant and frozen in time from the 1980s.⁷²

Like other museum acquisitions and period rooms, the starting point of Yin Yu Tang is the tangible house, which signals the viewer to imagine and learn about the activities, relationships, sights, smells, and sounds that once occupied the place. The PEM has successfully recreated Yin Yu Tang as a new place within the museum, using it as a foundation and springboard to create a sense of authenticity for visitors. Because of the sheer uniqueness of an entire house being part of a museum collection, visitors easily digest and believe other characteristics of the house as part of the authentic identity of Yin Yu Tang. As Han Li discusses, the

PEM has transformed the house's identity from a single dwelling to a "matrix of living scholarship of Huizhou architectural, cultural, and social legacies."⁷³ Yin Yu Tang combines various time periods with both micro, or everyday, practices and macro, or socioeconomic, changes to create a "panoramic view" of "lived" history.⁷⁴ Yin Yu Tang's presentation brings the experience to a convenient proximity but ultimately signals that the visitor is merely a visitor. Authenticity is also an experience interpreted by both the giver and the receiver, and the identity of Yin Yu Tang is built on the idea of displaying the different, the new, the unique, the endangered, and the exotic. Viewers can replace all aspects of this identity with their own understanding of what is most authentic to them.

Yin Yu Tang accommodates a broader audience by elevating a singular story into an accessible narrative that interweaves multiple cultural, societal, and national threads. In some ways, visitors' expectations are shaped by the institution as a truthful representation of Huizhou architecture and culture, just as a museum painting by Picasso represents various artworks that he created throughout his artistic career. It is merely a glimpse or a slice of what represents an entire identity.

The Linden Centre attempts this same elevation of the singular by engulfing the visitor into a reframed version of the building's history and Xizhou culture. The visitor is invited to participate in a "profound cultural experience," and asked to "Come for the culture ... come for the adventure."⁷⁵ The Linden Centre exhibits a continuity that is believable and therefore accurate and authentic. The walls of a traditional museum may be torn down, but they are replaced by a wall that is camouflaged in its surroundings and curated to fit an experience that most visitors will have nothing to compare to.

As mentioned earlier, the metaphor of the frame is "a sign that whatever is represented within it is not a transparent view of reality, but a keyed representation," or a make-believe or simulated experience.⁷⁶ The Linden Centre builds on the identity of Yang's compound, but it has been reframed like Yin Yu Tang through the framework of display. However, the reframing of the Linden Centre is much more discreet and caters to

72 PEM, *Yin Yu Tang: A Chinese House*, Frequently Asked Questions, <http://yinyutang.pem.org/faqs.html>. Sixty to seventy percent of the objects are original to the house. The other objects all come from homes with similar histories in the same region.

73 Han, "'Transplanting' Yin Yu Tang to America," p. 59.

74 Ibid.

75 The Linden Centre, "Welcome to the Linden Centre."

76 Phillips, *Exhibiting Authenticity*, pp. 204, 206.

tourists, which raises the question of how the Linden Centre stages and performs authenticity.

▪ Authenticity to Be Gazed At: The Visuality of Sightseeing and Tourism

Oakes claims that place is an unstable terrain of modernity that is defined by paradox.⁷⁷ Upon this paradox, Oakes discusses authenticity as an abyss, an empty void that is obvious yet ignored through tourist experiences.⁷⁸ Yin Yu Tang manifests Oakes's paradox of authenticity by collapsing one site's past and present, distant and near, active and inactive, and the local and the global. But it concurrently emphasizes the original and truthful context of Huizhou that cannot be experienced and can only be simulated through recordings of surround sound and cycles of looped images. Daniel Knudsen, Jillian Rickly, and Elizabeth Vidon take a slightly different angle that more closely represents the type of authenticity sought by the Linden Centre. By focusing on humanity's sense of alienation, these authors claim that authenticity is the "self-rationalization that while one's life is missing all sorts of 'things,' they do exist elsewhere in other places/lifestyles/cultures."⁷⁹ In this reading authenticity is a fantasy that is the fulfillment of desired and imagined enjoyment. It involves a personal journey, a seeking and hoping for something more. When a visitor is transformed into the specific sub-category of a tourist, as at the Linden Centre, fantasy and performative displays combine to feed, emulate, and recreate the tourist as an actively participating consumer.⁸⁰

These views support the reframing of both Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre as seeking authenticity in tangible and intangible experiences. This also means that although there may be no velvet museum ropes placed throughout the spaces there is still a specific role and gaze designated for the visitor. At the Linden Centre, the visitor is more a participant who can interact with locals and play a role within an established and permanent place. This role is not only on the receive-

ing end of cultural experiences, but also on the giving end, which further strengthens the visitor's place attachment to the Linden Centre. In other words, it is the guests who ultimately experience and affirm the Linden Centre as an embodiment of the community's "cultural pride."⁸¹ The only thing expected of guests is their presence, which gives a sense of meaning and value to the Linden Centre. This role of the Linden Centre visitor contrasts with that of the Yin Yu Tang visitor who must deal with a multifaceted narrative of "lived" history and experience the here, the now, and the different at the same time.⁸²

Dean MacCannell writes, "Sightseeing is a kind of collective striving for a transcendence of the modern totality, a way of attempting to overcome the discontinuity of modernity, of incorporating its fragments into unified experience."⁸³ This mention of sightseeing clarifies the tourist context of the Linden Center within the framework of display as it immediately points to the viewing of a commodified object. Although there are many definitions regarding the business and marketing aspects of tourism, Jenny Chio defines tourism in rural China as a transformative experience for both tourists and hosts. Tourism involves sightseeing (or, in art historical terms, *visuality*), which includes the outward appearance of a place, human movement or mobility, and the various reasons and methods of travel.⁸⁴ It is a socially constructed experience that is built around the idea of "how to be seen."⁸⁵ As Chio asserts, tourism is not just about leisure or money, but rather about perspective, representation, and imagination.⁸⁶ At the Linden Centre, this is evident through the accentuation of its place identity as a "destination," which connotes what tourists seek: a place that offers exciting adventures and experiences that cannot be made at home. Notably, the leisure website Tripadvisor, a main portal to the Linden Centre for foreign tourists, describes the Linden Centre as "A destination, not a hotel" and as a

77 Oakes, "Place and the Paradox of Modernity," p. 510.

78 Oakes, "Get Real! On Being Yourself and Being a Tourist," p. 233.

79 Knudsen, Rickly, and Vidon, "The Fantasy of Authenticity: Touring with Lacan," p. 42.

80 *Ibid.*, p. 43. I use the term "tourist" as a sub-category of visitor that emphasizes the commercial and experience-based aspects.

81 Linden Centre, "Our Vision."

82 Han, "'Transplanting' Yin Yu Tang to America," p. 59.

83 MacCannell, *The Tourist*, p. 13.

84 Chio, *A Landscape of Travel*, p. xx.

85 *Ibid.*, p. xxvi. MacCannell also discusses this *visuality* of tourism and states that the rhetoric of tourism focuses on the relationships "between tourists and what they see." This includes phrases that emphasize the actuality, the present, and the reality of what tourists see, such as, "This is the very place the leader fell; the actual pen used to sign the law; this is the original manuscript etc." MacCannell, *The Tourist*, p. 14.

86 Chio, *A Landscape of Travel*, p. xvii.

“destination to savor.”⁸⁷ The replies of the Linden Centre to reviewers’ comments restate its identity as a destination created through a passion for cultural interactions.⁸⁸

During my stay at the Linden Centre, I observed other foreign visitors who appeared to enjoy the rich, raw culture of rural China in the village, while valuing the comfort and security of the Linden Centre as a home base. For many visitors, it is not just the village that is the destination of their voyage, but the specific experience of the village constructed by the Linden Centre.

Furthermore, the Linden Centre states that they challenge the conventional Chinese tourism model controlled solely by money. The Linden Centre believes that although they lack the modern amenities of other upscale hotels, “real travelers will decide to make it to our doorstep.”⁸⁹ The “destination” identity is what the Linden Centre desires, but it is simultaneously what most tourists also desire. Although the center may be going after certain kinds of tourists who are willing to go further out of their cultural comfort zones by trekking into rural China, they are nonetheless a hotel business that needs tourists in order to thrive. In “Life with the Lindens,” Linden himself says that “we are selling the romance of old China” by using a language of commodification found within the framework of display.⁹⁰

▪ Performative Authenticity in Tourism

Tourists motivated to see the unfiltered appearance of a different culture insert themselves in tourism’s social constructs and then return home content or sometimes oblivious about their obviously inauthentic experienc-

es.⁹¹ MacCannell discusses sightseeing as involving both tourists and tourist sites in creating a single, transcendent wholeness, while also celebrating the differences and uniqueness of sites and experiences.⁹²

Performative authenticity in both Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre stems from the social structure of tourism, as discussed by the sociologist Erving Goffman. In Goffman’s analysis, the front is a place for visitors and the back is a place for the host.⁹³ This clear separation of the front and back is sustained through mystification, which is inhabited by authenticity, which in turn generates a sense of reality.⁹⁴

MacCannell also mentions that it is only when a tourist penetrates into local life and participates in the lives of others that he or she can experience genuine culture.⁹⁵ This is where the Linden Centre becomes a fascinating place that appears to be an experience of the “back” sphere of Xizhou Village life. The architecture is contextual, many of the staff are locals, and the activities offered are intimate opportunities to personally engage with the local culture and its people.⁹⁶ Compared to many other tourist sites, including the Yan family compound, the Linden Centre asks visitors to be much more active and engaged.⁹⁷ They are not at the Linden Centre to simply see an attraction but to live in a tradition. If the Linden Centre’s visitors are so engaged, welcomed, and encouraged to participate, how is it that they are possibly placed within a performed and staged back sphere, within the framework of display that seeks authenticity?

91 MacCannell, *The Tourist*, p. 94.

92 Ibid., p. 13. MacCannell’s chapter titled “The Evolution of Modernity” presents his discovery that “sightseeing is a ritual performed to the differentiations of society.” The differences in each community function as attractions that can be discovered or reconstructed.

93 Ibid., p. 92.

94 Ibid., p. 93.

95 Ibid., p. 106.

96 Zhu, “Cultural Effects of Authenticity,” pp. 596–97. The Linden Centre plays on creating an experience that is authentic through embedding opportunities to have interpersonal interactions that have to do with individuality and identity. Along with this type of experience that can be referred to as “existential authenticity,” the Linden Centre also involves the performative approach which emphasizes the process of developing qualities of authenticity (p. 596).

97 The Yan family compound is a short walk from the Linden Centre in the market square of Xizhou. It is the former home of the wealthy Yan family and was built in the 1920s. It is preserved and presented as a museum that houses a collection of Bai decorative objects, paintings, and furniture. Visited by the author on 14 October 2016 and 16 May 2017.

87 Luo Kai, “A Destination, Not a Hotel,” review of The Linden Centre, TripAdvisor, last modified 8 November 2017, https://www.tripadvisor.com/Hotel_Review-g303781-d1421116-Reviews-The_Linden_Centre-Dali_Yunnan.html. Original emphases; Baywanderer, “Even Better than Expected,” review of The Linden Centre, TripAdvisor, last modified 31 May 2018, https://www.tripadvisor.com/Hotel_Review-g303781-d1421116-Reviews-The_Linden_Centre-Dali_Yunnan.html; “Media and Awards,” <http://www.linden-centre.com/news/>. The Linden Centre has also received consecutive travel awards including the TripAdvisor Traveler’s Choice Award from 2011–2019.

88 Luo, “A Destination, Not a Hotel.”

89 Ibid., response by Brian Linden to Luo’s review.

90 Berg, “Life with the Lindens,” p. 48.

MacCannell states that within a tourist setting, instances when a visitor peeks into the real back sphere by having an “experience” occur by accident.⁹⁸ During my stay at the Linden Centre, I participated in the offered cultural experiences, which are meant to give glimpses of the back sphere, but I also went on my own excursion outside of the hotel walls with no destination in mind. The moment I stepped outside of the Linden Centre, I came to the realization that I was on my own and no longer a participant in the Linden Centre narrative that was guided, shielded, and entertained by the Linden Centre’s curated activities.⁹⁹ Was I still within the broader tourist’s display framework? In other words, was I simply viewing a form of authenticity that was just slightly offstage but not in the back sphere? That may very well be the case, but nonetheless, the context of the Linden Centre is intentional, preorganized, pre-planned, and intended to be seen by consumers. However, unlike Yin Yu Tang, the display framework is less visible and much more delicate. This is evident through some degree of spontaneity included in the organized tours as they are intimate excursions that include interactions with outside events and locals, making every tour a slightly different experience. Visitors can also, at their own will, exit the framework to experience Xizhou outside of the Linden Centre’s display framework, which could still mean that remnants of the Linden Centre will consistently follow.

The experiences and atmosphere offered at both Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre are presented in a way that fulfills a sense of encountering the “extraordinary,” whether through re-contextualizing the building for preservation or re-contextualizing the visitor for commodification.¹⁰⁰ These ideas of authenticity lead them to embody fantasies that are important concepts filled with the desire to complete something beyond their reach.¹⁰¹ The fact that both Yin Yu Tang and the Lin-

den Centre are reframed so that activities and representations are curated especially for the visitor’s gaze and consumption places them within the framework of display. As Knudsen mentions, “The commodification of experience is central to tourism, as an industry in which the destination is the product that is crafted and marketed through the ‘experience economy.’”¹⁰² The experiences, especially at the Linden Centre, are practices of performative authenticity for both visitor and host.¹⁰³ As MacCannell confirms, the commodified experience functions in modern society as a means to an end that is the “immense accumulation of reflexive experiences which synthesize fiction and reality into a vast symbolism, a modern world.”¹⁰⁴ The intentional and the accidental, as well as the organic and the planned, all become blurred into one experience that makes the entire Linden Centre stay symbolic of an authentic exploration of Xizhou.

Museums are described as ritual sites that evoke a sense of “liminality” or the temporary mode of consciousness that sets one outside of everyday life.¹⁰⁵ I would argue that the framework of display has a similar effect. The Linden Centre website repeatedly assures and alerts the visitor that their stay will provide “an immersive experience into the rich, living communities of China’s countryside” and embody an “enlightened immersion into rural China.”¹⁰⁶ These mental preparations are comparable to an audience asked to be quiet and turn off all electronics in order to protect the “fourth wall,” or frame of display, from shattering in a theater. Furthermore, this liminal experience is linked to the guests who are invested in giving life to the hotel since it gives greater value to their own experience.¹⁰⁷ It is safe to say that what visitors are attracted to in Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre is the sense of displayed authenticity (defined through specific interpretations by the PEM or the Linden Centre) rather than preserved tradition. This is also connected to the idea of authenticity

98 MacCannell, *The Tourist*, p. 97.

99 On my own excursion in May 2017 I ran in to one of the Linden Centre staff by chance as she was casually chatting with her neighbors. Although I knew she was a local resident, it oddly felt like I was seeing a performer off stage, who lacked a tag with her name in English accompanied by the Linden Centre logo. Seeing a member of the community resting and relaxing in her neighborhood meant abandoning the Linden Centre filter and simultaneously putting myself in a much more conscious observer position.

100 Knudsen, Rickly, and Vidon, “The Fantasy of Authenticity,” pp. 35, 41.

101 *Ibid.*, p. 37.

102 *Ibid.*, p. 36.

103 Zhu, “Performing Heritage: Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism,” p. 1499. The experiences of performative authenticity involve the visitor within a relational sphere but, as Zhu mentions, it also makes them decentered “subjects” placed in what may be the staged back sphere.

104 MacCannell, *The Tourist*, p. 23.

105 Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals*, p. 11. See also Phillips, *Exhibiting Authenticity*, p. 215, on ritual and framing.

106 The Linden Centre, “Our Vision”; The Linden Centre, “Welcome to the Linden Centre.”

107 The Linden Centre. “Welcome to the Linden Centre.”

as something that is constantly in a state of becoming. It is always in process, fluid, and transformative. The dynamics of “becoming” authentic through display and performance leads us to the idea of authentication.¹⁰⁸

The Future

▪ Authentication and the Process of Becoming

As discussed above, the process of placemaking in Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre seeks authenticity through the material tangibility of the architecture, which in turn lends authority to the intangible culture they embody. For Yin Yu Tang, this authenticity manifests in protection, and for the Linden Centre, it manifests in commodification. Each manifestation of authenticity results in displays of the extraordinary, the exotic, and the genuine. This is linked to the concept of authentication, which instead of simply viewing authenticity as a set of fixed characteristics, connotes a social process in a constant state of flux.¹⁰⁹

This also sheds light on the power relations involved in authenticity. For both Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre, the “power of authentication” is given to a variety of stakeholders, including visitors and the larger heritage organizations.¹¹⁰ Ultimately, however, power starts with the creator of the new framework at each site, namely the PEM and Linden. Both sites have their own interpretations of authenticity, and this reveals the necessity for authenticity to be cultivated and built upon in order to remain effective. Ultimately, authentication helps shed light on the placemaking identities of Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre as processes that involve conscious actions by the stakeholders to develop these identities.

When Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre are viewed through authentication, they become places in progress that represent aspects of their original identities, and negotiate new standards and expectations. For Yin Yu Tang, expectations include committing to a clean, safe, and accessible educational environment that is in line with museum standards in the US.¹¹¹ For the

Linden Centre, expectations are in line with those for museums, but because it is a hotel, it must also provide a hands-on cultural experience that will keep visitors occupied, comfortable, and interested during their stay. The Linden Centre must also fulfill the expectations of the local Chinese government involved in supporting the Centre, which Brian Linden mentioned as challenging since his foreign roots bring attention to both successful and unsuccessful outcomes of operating a hotel that is also a heritage site.¹¹² The process of authentication reveals what is desired in touristic settings, which is a romanticized interest in what is natural, rural, and ethnic. Both sites must keep up to date with the most recent trends in tourist desires or else the framework of display that they thrive within will shatter and the discontinuity of reality will become evident and break the spell of authenticity.

Yujie Zhu asserts that authentication has three separate phases of construction: “spatial separation,” “emotional banishment,” and “value shifting.”¹¹³ Although he is speaking more about the authentication of sites formulated by global heritage agencies such as UNESCO and its advisory boards, the same phases are visible at Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre. For example, “spatial separation” is the clarification of spatial boundaries of the site through isolation and “museumification” to prepare the site and its objects as an exotic spectacle for display.¹¹⁴ This phase is clearly what Yin Yu Tang embodies as an isolated and re-contextualized house that is demarcated for visitors to experience. The Linden Centre’s “spatial separation” is more ambiguous, but it is similarly reframed as an object of consumption designed by a nonlocal for nonlocals. Instead of the *object* it is the *viewer* who becomes re-contextualized.

“Emotional banishment” refers to the validation given to the site such as objective evidence, laws, and judgments of authenticity, rather than the contextual practices and personal experiences related to the site. Both Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre actually engage in efforts to present social history, local community, and intangible culture related to each site, but as discussed before in “The Present,” they depend on

108 Zhu, “Performing Heritage,” p. 1498.

109 Zhu, “Cultural Effects of Authenticity,” p. 597.

110 *Ibid.*, p. 596.

111 Accessible here means easy to travel and navigate through but also in line with the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA)

guidelines. For more information on ADA guidelines, see Department of Justice, “Information and Technical Assistance on the Americans with Disabilities Act,” ADA.gov, https://www.ada.gov/2010_regs.htm.

112 Brian Linden, interview with author, 17 May 2017.

113 Zhu, “Cultural Effects of Authenticity,” pp. 603-604.

114 *Ibid.*

tangible evidence to provide a narrative that covers a number of aspects within Chinese culture. “Value shifting” refers to the label of “authenticity” or “authentic” given to a site that not only changes its economic value, but also the public view and moral judgment of a site. Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre fulfill this phase as they “value shift” from wealthy merchants’ homes to tourist sites with a fresh audience, elevated status, and contemporary function. These phases of authentication clarify that the placemaking purpose of Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre focuses on viewers in a continual process of consuming, discovering, and desiring the unattainable.

▪ The Creation of Tradition

The concept of tradition is an act of transmission that continues with a persisting central identity despite other changes.¹¹⁵ In this view, Yin Yu Tang’s process of authentication presents traditions as a recreated display of “pastness,” or a nostalgia for what has never been experienced before.¹¹⁶ Yin Yu Tang’s stable presentation is based on a lack of active or fluctuating changes in the uses and appearance of the house today. The Linden Centre is more active, and focuses its place identity on past traditions as well as developing traditions in the present and future as a boutique hotel.

Arguably, both Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre follow the definition of heritage as “not an inquiry into the past, but a celebration of it.”¹¹⁷ Yin Yu Tang may seem like an inquiry into the past as a museum exhibition, but it also carries a sense of celebrating the success of overcoming dangers it once faced before being rescued by the PEM. There is an underlying assumption that the PEM has already taken care of stabilizing endangered Huizhou culture in a safe museum environment, which gives Yin Yu Tang permission and credibility to stand with pride as an exemplary achievement. On the other hand, the Linden Centre focuses on creating something that can be built upon and continued for further gener-

ations as it continues its journey of presenting the Linden brand of radiating authenticity. There is a stronger sense of never-ending placemaking at the Linden Centre. Authentication is a core process at each site, formulating new identities within contemporary frames and functions of display.

▪ The Future of Placemaking

The preservation of a built environment requires incorporating past traditions with new traditions to maintain a site as useful and valuable for future contexts. However, the main challenge of preservation is balancing past and future identities. There must be both for a structure to sustain its history, while also sharing its legacy with future generations. Space is a distinguishing characteristic of architecture, one that indicates the past, the present, and the future functions of the building. It is essential to take into consideration how space has changed in terms of form and function. Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre, both of which were formerly used as residences placed within a specific family history, context, and narrative, have become a museum and a hotel respectively. They are run as part of larger organizations and businesses that depend on the gaze and participation of outsiders, which have become the main force fueling their contemporary identities. They are forms of art to be looked at, to be entered into temporarily, to be experienced as exotic yet comfortable, and to be exited smoothly and conveniently with neatly packaged memories free of responsibility or commitment to the site upon departure.

Tradition is created in each structure, but it is no longer the tradition of the local community and villagers. Rather, it is the tradition imagined and orchestrated by outsiders such as the staff at the PEM and Linden. Each leader in this creation of tradition intends to save the bounty of knowledge and culture contained within the structures, but the act of creating tradition is somewhat separated from the visitors. Although tourists play a part in creating the Yin Yu Tang or Linden Centre experience, they are mostly there to receive, to consume, and to leave. If anything, the visitors and locals in Xizhou or Huizhou have the key role to prove and give credit to the tangible authenticity of the structure and its performed aura of authenticity, contributing to pushing forth the process of authentication.

The preservation approaches of both Yin Yu Tang

115 Shils, *Tradition*, pp. 12, 14.

116 Weiler, “Aspects of Architectural Authenticity,” p. 219; Lowenthal, “The Past as a Theme Park”; Shils, *Tradition*, p. 13; MacCannell, *The Tourist*, p. 34. Tradition can also be discussed as a “position of servitude: Tradition is there to be recalled to satisfy nostalgic whims or to provide coloration or perhaps a sense of profundity for a modern theme” (MacCannell, p. 34).

117 Harrison, “What Is Heritage?,” p. 10.

and the Linden Center also reveal the existing qualms from different individuals involved in the projects. Bonnie Burnham, former president of the World Monuments Fund, worries that Yin Yu Tang's preservation approach "is a collector's instinct, not necessarily a preservationist's instinct."¹¹⁸ She emphasizes the physical extraction of Yin Yu Tang as a controversial approach to saving and protecting it. Additionally, John Waite, the project architect after Yin Yu Tang was dismantled, highlights the extenuating circumstances of similar houses in the region facing destruction.¹¹⁹ Some of the threats that concern Waite are the new hotels and tourist attractions in the area.¹²⁰

Interestingly, the Linden Centre is one such hotel that was not built as new, but rather renovated as a response to preserving the endangered buildings in the area and maintained through tourist revenue. Existing qualms about the Linden Centre mostly have to do with its function as a business. Although reviews of visitor experiences by both foreign and Chinese visitors are extremely positive, some locals and architecture experts have mentioned that the building is no longer a traditional Bai compound but a commoditized heritage site. Furthermore, there are questions about the vague association between the Linden team and government officials, who are oftentimes the force pushing historic houses into tourist sites.¹²¹ Many locals trust Linden and his leadership, but information regarding the funding, profits, and work allocation of the Linden Centre remain undisclosed.¹²²

Despite these criticisms, Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre each present a form of Chinese culture that carries on past identities and traditions, representing important examples of what Chinese vernacular architecture is like to a wider audience. Their presence instills a sense of security within an unstable reality, where ethnic heritage in vernacular architecture is oftentimes bound to fade away and therefore reveals a need to be protected and experienced if at all possible.

They each signal the hidden value found in architecture as well as the rising awareness of contemporary viewers who want opportunities to connect, participate, and see the culturally removed yet preserved relics of the past. This gives visitors access to a "transcendent consciousness" that creates a unified sense of place, despite the reality of placelessness that exists within disparate experiences.¹²³

Both Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre will have to be increasingly careful in how they look back to their roots in rural Chinese culture as they take on the assumed role of promoters of preservation and tourism in rural China. Tourist interest in rural villages is growing, leading to a nationwide increase in *minsu* 民宿, or family-owned inns. *Minsu* can provide a unique and educational experience for many visitors, but they are also becoming a business market where traditional vernacular architecture can become exploited.¹²⁴ It is important for the main stakeholders of each site to remember that Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre are examples of preserved heritage that can serve as signs to a rich culture, but they should not solely be seen as models to copy and follow.¹²⁵ The specific context, culture, needs, and abilities of the site and stakeholders requires careful consideration so that the transformation of houses to hotels or tourist destinations does not simply become a profession and temporary business endeavor targeting gullible tourists.¹²⁶

More importantly, both structures are singular ex-

118 Tracie Rozhon, "Moving House, With 2,000 Chinese Parts," *New York Times*, 2001.2.22, <http://www.nytimes.com/2001/02/22/garden/moving-house-with-2000-chinese-parts.html>.

119 Ibid.

120 Ibid.

121 Zhao, "China's Leading Historical and Cultural City," p. 110. The Linden Center is operated through a public-private partnership or PPP, which Zhao describes is more of a government-private nexus in which the local government does not represent the general public but has an extended partnership with Linden.

122 Ibid., p. 110.

123 MacCannell, *The Tourist*, pp. 13, 15. MacCannell states that "tourism and participation in the other modern alternatives to everyday life makes a place for unattached individuals in modern society" (p. 15).

124 CGTN (China Global Television Network), "The Rise of the *Minsu*," 43:56, YouTube video, posted by CGTN 14 July 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F1Cm2TfwzGs>.

125 CGTN, "The Rise of the *Minsu*."

126 Ibid. As discussed in the television program, in which Linden appears as a *minsu* operator, *minsu* in China are increasingly becoming a gateway to "rural revival" (43"), calling individuals back to the countryside to experience local culture. Linden mentions that *minsu* must not focus on the business of design and luxury but incorporate people with passion and skill, providing an experience specific to the culture. The Linden Centre does strive for all of these things, but the very fact that they are being considered a successful and perhaps leading model of the sustainable *minsu* business clashes with some ideas of preservation that do not solely depend on incoming revenue and attention. The popularity of *minsu* also explains the increase in hotels that are similar to the Linden Centre in the surrounding neighborhoods, many of which prioritize leisure and comfort more than the Linden Centre. See one example here: <http://www.skyvalleyhotel.com/home>.

amples that serve as signs for a greater need, that is the large-scale, long-term preservation of architecture built by and for a past that is quickly and quietly vanishing. In these cases, the framework of display will only be effective for so long. The framework of display thrives on being seen, and when the attention of visitors dries out, it will try to reinvent another level of authenticity to attract and contain its status as an object to be viewed. Although display certainly plays an important role in greater visibility, and hence awareness of preservation, it also poses dangerous pitfalls that can easily lead to a site being a commodity that solely keeps up with needs and desires that are ultimately artificial, hyperreal semblances of a culture.¹²⁷

Placemaking at Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre reveals that they are each seeking an ideal representation within the framework of display. Ultimately, new values and meanings are produced for consumption that makes authentication the tradition.¹²⁸ This article demonstrates that authenticity has a plethora of approaches, all of which point to its ultimate unattainability. It is a desired ideal, but like many ideals, constantly remains a figment of the imagination.

Conclusion

Yin Yu Tang at the PEM and the Linden Centre in Xizhou are two artworks and architectural subjects that have gone through profound transformations in function, impression, and meaning. They have both crossed over from being private sites to public sites, from permanently occupied places to temporarily occupied destinations, and from enclosed homes of generational families to porous attractions to be visited, looked at, learned from, consumed, and departed from. The knowledge available to visitors at each of these sites uses a method of attraction that breaks from conventional museum and hotel practices, as they encourage the visitor to not only observe, but to listen, move, and interact with the richness of the buildings and their cul-

tures. I have argued that the two houses illustrate the difficult intersection of preservation and authenticity, which uses re-contextualization as an essential and ultimately advantageous element to develop, attain, and cultivate an authenticity found within the framework of display. This has been demonstrated by focusing on the transformation of space to place, the placemaking of Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre through framing, and the consistently changing nature of authentication.

At times, authenticity is defined as genuine. At other times, it is the new, the immersive, or the exotic. At yet other times, it attempts to capture the identifiers of context, *genius loci*, and the passage of time.¹²⁹ The meaning of authenticity is constantly expanding and adapting to particular circumstances and viewers. Constant visibility leads to greater believability. Despite its ultimate unattainability, authenticity has an important function that reveals the universal desires of travelers and museum-goers as well as the core rationales that entire tourism industries revolve around. It acts as a powerful impetus to push forth placemaking at culturally significant sites. And when placemaking stabilizes, a sense of attachment, belonging, and anchoring can be attempted and satiated even if it is for a temporary period.

For Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre, re-contextualization serves to develop placemaking focused on an authenticity that also promotes preservation. Yin Yu Tang creates an awareness of the need for preservation due to an increase in tourism and the building of new hotels and attractions in rural villages like Huizhou. However, it creates this awareness through the physical removal of a building for display. This is a rather drastic move that does not directly yield to preservation in the wider context. In contrast, the Linden Centre has converted an existing structure for new uses, but it is also responding to rising tourism in the area. Each structure went through a process of exposing the site, then elevating its newly rescued status, and then unifying its past, present, and future. The outcome is a cultural product that may be attributed the double function of a sign and a ritual: a sign intended for raising awareness of the endangered Chinese vernacular architecture, and

127 Botz-Bornstein, "Hyperreal Monuments of the Mind," p. 7.

128 Phillips, *Exhibiting Authenticity*, p. 215. Phillips argues that liminal sites such as museums and television present the desire for a personal authenticity that refuses to compromise with the devices of daily social life. Contemporary society mistakes this yearning for authenticity with the authenticity of objects themselves which makes museums an ideal and significant site to fulfill these needs.

129 For more on *genius loci* ("spirit of the place") and its connections to concepts of "atmosphere" and "aura," see Petzet, "Genius Loci—The Spirit of Monuments and Sites," p. 63. See also Rickly-Boyd, "Authenticity & Aura."

a ritual that celebrates differences and juxtapositions.¹³⁰ This outcome is impactful and presents an innovative and imaginative model of architectural and cultural preservation, but one that is actually distant from the true lifestyle and reality of the culture.¹³¹ In other words, both buildings create preservation awareness, but are simultaneously fueled and funded by protection and commodification, a tension that is ever present in architectural preservation. Their traditions appear to present a history and experience that is clear and continuous, but actually offer a study of spatial transformation within transnational and transcultural encounters.¹³²

Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre present many comparative differences, including the promotion of an authenticity that masks either protection or commodification. A similarity that surfaces is the issue of localized authenticity creating commodification. By localized authenticity, I am referring to the connection that is created between the contemporary identities of Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre to their current surroundings. There is evidence of each site being deliberately chosen and consciously cultivated to connect to current environments and provoke certain responses. Yin Yu Tang was chosen partly due to the presence of other nineteenth- and twentieth-century homes exhibited by the PEM, which is a “pioneer in the acquisition, relocation, restoration, and interpretation of historic environments.”¹³³ With the accession of Yin Yu Tang, the PEM has achieved new heights in architectural preservation.

Linden similarly chose the Yang compound and Xizhou in Yunnan as a prime site and location due to its relatively solitary and rural environment that has not yet been invaded by waves of domestic and international tourists. It too has a history of being part of a network of trade through the ancient tea-horse road, which extended from southern Yunnan to Tibet, carrying tea, silk, and textiles from the late 1600s to the

mid-twentieth century.¹³⁴ Yang’s compound also presented the opportunity to create an unusual, far from mainstream experience of China through the focus on Bai culture.¹³⁵ By choosing a Bai-style structure, the Linden Centre anticipates tourism that desires an ethnic experience, resulting in a localized authenticity. Here, it is apparent that authenticity broadly captures identifiers that are not only unique and different, but local and vernacular. Just as the term “organic” may procure a sense of pure and local production, a site that has immediate connections to the surroundings and vernacular heritage procures a sense of truthfulness, when in reality, it may just be a glorified and manufactured version of reality.

I would like to end by emphasizing that preservation is an effort that must be approached through various ways instead of one set method. Yin Yu Tang creates the awareness of preservation to a foreign audience, yet does not directly affect long-term preservation, which is the creation of new traditions. The Linden Centre involves the creation of new traditions in the future through its expanding brand and by engaging activities with various partnerships, yet can easily evolve into a business venture. Both buildings will always carry the challenging dynamic of preservation and authenticity as well as protection and commodification. Referring to the reconstruction of cultural heritage sites after wartime destruction, Phillips recognizes that, “it is the relentless transience of things that makes the ones we do preserve so precious, but we can ultimately no more arrest the process than we can transcend our own deaths by having ourselves embalmed, or frozen.”¹³⁶

As Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre age with time, their mud walls, wooden ceilings, and stone floors have come in contact with various occupants and their needs, demands, and hopes. Spaces that once reflected the gazes of family members going about their daily

130 MacCannell, *The Tourist*, pp. 26–27.

131 Ibid., p. 32; Mike Ives, “From Outsiders to Innkeepers in China’s Sleepy Countryside,” *New York Times*, 13 August 2013, <https://www.nytimes.com/2013/08/14/business/global/in-chinas-countryside-travelers-find-foreigner-run-hotels.html>.

132 Upton, “The Tradition of Change,” p. 14. Upton discusses the need to bring more research away from the search for the authentic in vernacular architecture and landscape studies to the ambiguous, multiple, contested, and changing landscapes.

133 PEM, “Historic Houses,” <https://www.pem.org/visit/historic-houses>.

134 “Accommodation,” http://www.linden-centre.com/accommodation_area/xizhou-en; Mike Ives, “Following the Ancient Tea-Horse Road. Or at Least Trying,” *New York Times*, 25 July 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/25/travel/china-ancient-tea-horse-road.html>.

135 Sigley, “The Exemplary Foreigner: An Interview with Brian Linden,” *China Watch 2050* (blog), 12 May 2016, <http://www.chinawatch2050.com/the-exemplary-foreigner-an-interview-with-brian-linden/>; WildChina, “Interview: Brian Linden of the Linden Centre,” *Wild China* (blog), entry posted 23 August 2010, <https://www.wildchina.com/blog/2010/08/interview-brian-linden-of-the-linden-centre/>.

136 Phillips, *Exhibiting Authenticity*, p. 129.

lives with dreams for future generations to prosper and multiply have been replaced with multilayered hopes aligned with an increasingly transnational and global outlook for more opportunities to connect, travel, and understand differences. The authenticity that is created clearly fulfills the contemporary needs of the stakeholders, while only partially pointing to future needs of the buildings as they are busy thriving within the frame of display. Today, the spaces reflect the observant and awed gaze of the visitor, the careful collector, the ambitious explorer, and the curious seeker always in search of what is fresh and what is old. Authenticity is perhaps an essential element in the placefinding journey that all of humanity can relate to, with the glimpses and mirages of its true form just enough to continue desiring. Yin Yu Tang and the Linden Centre illustrate the complexity of preservation and serve as a point of departure in examining the future landscape of heritage preservation on a global scale.

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The Production of the Healing Buddha at Kokusenji and Its Relationship to Hachiman Faith

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TRANSLATED BY MICHAEL E. JAMENTZ

Preface

A statue depicting the Healing Buddha (Jp. Yakushi nyorai 薬師如来; Sk. Bhaiṣajyaguru) at Kokusenji 谷川寺, a temple in the city of Yame 八女, Fukuoka Prefecture, is one of the oldest extant statues in northern Kyushu (figures 1–4, 6, 9, 10, 13, 18, and 19). The standing figure, henceforth generally referred to as the Kokusenji statue,¹ can be dated to the first century of the Heian period (794–1185) based on its sculptural configuration and style. Recent studies have made clear that statue types of northern Kyushu, the region of Japan located closest to continental Asia, differed from those that de-

This article is a slightly adapted translation of Miyata, “Kokusenji, Yakushi nyorai ryūzō,” including revisions made by the author for publication here. Permission to publish and adapt was given by the author and original publisher. Additional notes have been added by the translator. Footnote numbers from the original appear in brackets at the end of the notes, e.g., [n1].

- ¹ [Translator’s note] Art historical conventions used in identifying and referring to Buddhist sculpture differ significantly in Japanese- and English-language scholarship. As is standard practice in Japanese scholarship, the author of the original article always distinguishes whether a statue is standing (*ryūzō* 立像) or seated (*zazō* 座像) and specifies the status of the divinity, whether a buddha (*nyorai* 如来), bodhisattva (*bosatsu* 菩薩), or deva (*ten* 天). As such distinctions are often dispensed with in Western scholarship, they are sometimes omitted herein.



Figure 1. Yakushi. Early 9th c., Heian period. Wood with polychrome. H 96.5 cm. Kokusenji, Fukuoka Prefecture, with the permission of the temple. From *de arte* 34, frontispiece. All figures in this article are reproduced with permission from *de arte*.

veloped elsewhere, and some scholars have attempted to place the Kokusenji statue within the stylistic context of other works from the region.²

Another reason for the ongoing attention given the Kokusenji statue is its close resemblance to the renowned statue of the Healing Buddha at Jingoji 神護寺, Kyoto, an early ninth-century work considered representative of early Heian-period statues carved from a single block of wood (*ichiboku chōzō* 一木彫像), more commonly called *ichibokuzukuri* 一木造り, a term also describing the technique. Elsewhere I have focused on the background of numerous Buddhist statues in northern Kyushu that display a combination of both regional styles and the principal style of the capital area. One of these articles dealt chiefly with the monks who were appointed to the post of Kanzeonji Lecturer (*Kanzeonji kōji* 觀世音寺講師), a position that can be traced back to the Kaidan'in 戒壇院 at Tōdaiji 東大寺, and I noted that these *kōji* were placed in charge of all monks and temples in the provinces of Saikaidō 西海道 (present-day Kyushu and nearby islands).³ I believe it is possible to elaborate on this earlier research by applying it to the study of the circumstances behind the production of the Kokusenji statue. Moreover, as recent studies have provided us with a new understanding of the Jingoji statue from the viewpoint of the syncretic faith in Shinto and Buddhist deities (*shinbutsu shūgō* 神仏習合), this perspective must also be addressed.⁴ Elucidating the circumstances behind the production of the Kokusenji statue will not only clarify specific reasons for the acceptance of the central style of the capital area in northern Kyushu but is also likely to provide useful observations concerning the production of syncretic Shinto-Buddhist sculpture promoted by the Kanzeonji Lecturer.

The argument presented in this study, which is based on the points noted above, proceeds as follows. I first examine the style of the Kokusenji statue and assert that the statue appears to date to the first half of the ninth century, the early Heian period. Second, I focus

on the project to transcribe the entire Buddhist canon (*issaikyō shosha jigyo* 一切經書写事業), led by the Kanzeonji Lecturer Eun 惠運 (798–869), and hypothesize that this massive sutra-copying project, which was devised to bring the Hachiman deity 八幡神 from Jinganji 神願寺 to Jingoji,⁵ provided the impetus that allowed knowledge of the appearance of the Jingoji statue to reach Kanzeonji 觀世音寺. Lastly, I touch on the possibility that the Yame area, the site of Kokusenji, may have been controlled by Usa Hachimangū 宇佐八幡宮 and administered by Dazaifu 大宰府 from the Nara period onward. I conclude by hypothesizing that knowledge of the appearance of the Jingoji statue may have been brought from Kanzeonji to Kokusenji, and that knowledge of the statue's appearance led to the production of the Kokusenji statue.

An Overview of the Statue and Kokusenji in Yame

After Fukuoka Prefecture designated the Kokusenji statue a prefectural Cultural Property (*shitei bunkazai* 指定文化財) in 1993, research on the statue was begun at Kyushu University.⁶ Kusui Takashi then argued for the statue's importance.⁷ Detailed descriptions of the statue also appeared in *Chikugo Yame Kokusenji* 筑後八女谷川寺, a volume edited by the Kyushu Historical Museum (Kyūshū Rekishi Shiriyōkan 九州歴史資料館).⁸ Descriptions of the statue likewise appeared in a number of illustrated exhibition catalogues.⁹

2 The following scholars have addressed the issue of the special characteristics of the sculpture of northern Kyushu: Igata, "Sōsetsu Fukuoka no shinbutsu no sekai"; Sueyoshi, "Kyūshū"; Sueyoshi, "Fukuoka." Igata has dealt specifically with Kokusenji in Igata, "Gozusan Kokusenji no butsumō." [n1 and n2]

3 See Miyata, "Kanzeonji ni okeru kōji to zōzō: Heian jidai zenki o chūshin ni." [n3]

4 See Maruyama, "Shoki shinzō chōkoku no kenkyū"; Sarai, "Jingoji Yakushi nyoraizō no shiteki kōsatsu." [n4]

5 [Translator's note] The precise relationship between Jinganji and Jingoji, about which there is much scholarly debate, is addressed below in the section titled "Buddhist Sculptural Forms in Northern Kyushu in Relation to Kanzeonji and Jingoji." The character of faith in the Hachiman deity is taken up in the conclusion, but several basic points regarding that faith should be noted here: first, faith in this *kami* seems to have arisen in the Usa region of northern Kyushu prior to the establishment of the eighth-century Japanese state located in Nara; second, by the eighth century, Hachiman was associated with the rulers of the central state as an ancestral deity; and third, Hachiman was considered a bodhisattva, a Buddhist divinity and protector of that faith, from the same century onward.

6 See Kikutake et al., "Tachibana-machi Kokusenji chōsa." [n5]

7 Kusui, "Chikugo Kokusenji." [n6]

8 Kyūshū Rekishi Shiriyōkan, *Chikugo Yame Kokusenji*. [n7]

9 See, for example, Kūkai to Kyūshū no Mihotoke Ten Jikkō Iinkai, *Kūkai to Kyūshū no mihotoke*; Kyūshū Rekishi Shiriyōkan, *Fukuoka no shinbutsu*; and Kyūshū Rekishi Shiriyōkan, *Yame no meihō*. [n8]

The discussion by Kokushō Tomoko in the *Chikugo Yame Kokusenji* volume is undoubtedly the most complete study of the statue to date, describing in addition to basic information on the Kokusenji statue the special characteristics of its sculptural form and the date of its production.¹⁰ Although there is little to be added to her discussion, I wish to summarize her findings and include new knowledge gained in preparation for this article.¹¹

The following charts highlight the distinguishing characteristics of the Kokusenji statue. Sections 1–3 of table 1 confirm the buddhalogical status of the statue as

that of a buddha (*nyorai* 如来) and adumbrate the special characteristics of the carving that allow it to be dated and placed within a specific geographic context. Section 4, describing the clothing, is crucial in documenting the uncanny resemblance of the statue to that at Jingoji. Section 5 on the pose, on the other hand, is vital in demonstrating an important difference to the Jingoji statue. The last sections (6–8) describe in detail the current state and physical appearance of the statue, and identify later restorations, thereby permitting us to visualize how the statue must have originally appeared.

Table 1. Major Characteristics of the Kokusenji Statue

1. Height: 96.5 cm; height to the hairline (<i>hassaikō</i> 髮際高), a traditional measure of the height of statues, 86.5 cm	
2. Characteristic features of a buddha of particular relevance to descriptions herein	2.1. Large semihemispherical cranial protuberance (<i>nikkei</i> 肉髻; Sk. <i>uṣṇīṣa</i>) (figure 2) 2.2. Now-lost spiral “snail-shell” knots of hair (<i>rahotsu</i> 螺髮) (figure 3) 2.3. Now-lost curl of hair in the middle of the forehead that radiates light (<i>byakugōsō</i> 白毫相)
3. Selected features of the statue’s carving	3.1. Eye sockets 3.2. Oblong unpierced earlobes (<i>jida kanjō fukan</i> 耳朵環狀不貫) 3.3. No openings for the nostrils or ear holes 3.4. Nostrils represented by small protuberances 3.5. Vertical groove between the nose and upper lip 3.6. Mouth with pursed lips 3.6a. V-shaped bulge at the center of the upper lip 3.7. Contours of the chin 3.8. Three grooves around the neck (the <i>sandōsō</i> 三道相, one of the thirty-two characteristics of a buddha) 3.9. Chest and midsection each represented by a protruding bulge 3.10. Concave curve of the spine clearly rendered (figure 4)

¹⁰ Kokushō, “Kokusenji no Yakushi nyorai ryūzō.” [n9]

¹¹ The research was conducted in June 2017 by the author, along with Nagata Yasushi 永田寧 (of the Yameshi Bunka Shinkōka 八女市文化振興課), Igata Susumu 井形進 and Hino Ayako 日野綾子 (of

the Kyushu Historical Museum), and Nakagawa Maho 中川満帆 (of Kyushu University). [n10]

4. Clothing	<p>4.1. Skirt-like undergarment (<i>kun</i> 裙)</p> <p>4.2. Shoulder-covering undergarment (<i>fugen'e</i> 覆肩衣)</p> <p>4.2a. Not tucked into the formal outer robe on the right side, as is generally the case in other statues</p> <p>4.3. Formal outer robe (<i>daie</i> 大衣) completely covering only the left shoulder, leaving the right shoulder partially exposed (<i>hentan uken</i> 偏袒右肩)¹²</p> <p>4.3a. Robe crosses over the left chest and shoulder and covers the entire back; a portion hangs slightly over the right shoulder and wraps around the right side, from where the upper edge is folded back twice. After crossing the midsection, the robe is flung back over the left shoulder so as to cover the upper left arm. (Although the first layer of the main robe appears on the left forearm, this portion does not conform to any rational representation of the clothing.)</p>
5. Pose	<p>5.1. Faces straight forward</p> <p>5.2. Right hand bent at an acute angle with the palm facing outward, left hand lowered with the palm facing upward and holding a medicine jar (<i>yakko</i> 藥壺)</p> <p>5.3. Stands upright with the feet aligned</p>
6. Material and Sculptural Composition	<p>6.1. Wood, probably <i>kaya</i> 榿 (<i>torreya nucifera</i> or Japanese nutmeg)</p> <p>6.2. Carved from a single block with the exception of the wrists and hands</p> <p>6.3. Eyes carved directly into the surface of the wood in the technique known as <i>chōgan</i> 彫眼, in general use throughout most of the Heian period</p> <p>6.4. Central core of the tree evident on the lower portion of the back of the statue</p> <p>6.5. Not hollowed in the <i>uchiguri</i> 内刳 method in which wood from the interior of the torso and sometimes the head and torso of a statue is removed to prevent cracking</p> <p>6.6. The lotus seed pod portion (<i>rennikubu</i> 蓮肉部) of the dais, apparently from the same block of wood as the head and body, reduced from its larger form to a peg-like tenon (figure 6)</p>
7. Coloring	<p>7.1. Very dark, nearly black</p> <p>7.2. Entire surface displays a reddish-brown tint</p> <p>7.3. Red pigment remains on the lips and at the edges of the eyes; white pigment on the whites of the eyes, and <i>sumi</i> 墨 ink on the eyeballs</p>
8. Later Restorations	<p>8.1. Wrists, hands, and the medicine jar from later restorations</p> <p>8.2. Area from the third to fifth toe of the left foot a later addition</p> <p>8.3. Pedestal (<i>daiza</i> 台座) and halo-like mandorla (<i>kōhai</i> 光背) are not original</p> <p>8.4. Shell of both ears, earlobes, and the main robe on the back to waist formed with <i>kokuso</i> 木屎 (paste made from wood dust mixed with lacquer, <i>urushi</i> 漆)</p>

¹² [Translator's note] There is some inconsistency among scholars regarding to the terminology used to describe the garments worn by Buddhist divinities and monks. The key terms here are *fugen'e* (also *fukē'e*), literally "shoulder-covering garment," which refers to an undergarment, and *daie* (also *taie*), the most formal, outermost robe of the three robes (*san'e*, also *sanne* 三衣), prescribed for a Buddhist monk. Often made of nine panels, the formal robe is also referred to as a *kesa*, which is often translated as "surplice" in English. Note, however, that *kesa* is also used on occasion for the other two varieties of priestly robes. For a lucid overview of the complex issue of the proper terminology for Buddhist robes, see Yoshimura, *Butsuzō no chakui to sōi no kenkyū*, particularly the first chapter.



Figure 2. Yakushi, back view. Early 9th c., Heian period. Wood. H 96.5 cm. Kokusenji, Fukuoka Prefecture, with the permission of the temple. From *de arte* 34, p. 6, fig. 1.



Figure 3. Yakushi, right view. Kokusenji, Fukuoka Prefecture, with the permission of the temple. From *de arte* 34, p. 6, fig. 2.



Figure 4. Yakushi, left view. Kokusenji, Fukuoka Prefecture, with the permission of the temple. From *de arte* 34, p. 6, fig. 3.

Kokusenji is located in the Yame region on a gentle hill called Tsujinoyama 辻の山 that forms the border between Fukuoka and Oita prefectures on the southern side of the middle reaches of the Yabegawa 矢部川, a river that runs westward from the mountain called Shakadake 釈迦岳.¹³ Although the historical significance of the immediate Kokusenji area is unclear, it is of note that the Yame region was situated near the borders of the ancient provinces of Chikugo 筑後 and Bungo 豊後 as well as on the border between Chikugo and Higo 肥後 (between modern Saga and Kumamoto prefectures).¹⁴

In addition, if one travels east from Kokusenji along the Yabegawa, one encounters Yametsuhime Jinja 八女津媛神社 with its massive *iwakura* 磐座, a sacred rock outcropping associated with the shrine's female tutelary deity, Yametsuhime 八女津媛. Yametsuhime is

mentioned in the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (*Chronicles of Japan*, 720), which explains that the placename Yame is derived from the deity.¹⁵

Under the *ritsuryō* 律令制 system of government, the Yame region was incorporated into the jurisdiction of Kamizuma no kōri 上妻郡 (also read Kōzuma no kōri) and Shimotsuma no kōri 下妻郡, districts within the province of Chikugo. The *Register of the Gods of Chikugo Province* (*Chikugo kokunai jinmei chō* 筑後国内神名帳), which has a colophon dated Tenkei 天慶 7 (944), mentions two female gods, Kami Yame tsu megami 上八目津女神 and Shimo Yame tsu megami 下八目津女神.¹⁶ The existence of a pair of upper (*kami* 上) and lower (*shimo* 下) gods suggests that the god enshrined at the *iwakura* on the mountain was brought down from the summit, and it also hints at the possibility that the cult of Yametsuhime spread widely over the plain that included Kokusenji.

13 For descriptions of the geology and history of Yame and Kokusenji, the author has consulted Kyūshū Rekishi Shiryōkan, *Chikugo Yame Kokusenji*; Kadokawa *Nihon chimei daijiten*; and Heibonsha Chihō Shiryō Sentā, *Fukuoka-ken no chimei*. [n11]

14 Igata, "Gozusankokusenji no butszō," p. 61. [n12]

15 *Nihon shoki*, Keikō tennō 景行天皇 18.7.7, KST vol. 1, p. 209. [n13]

16 Kurumeshishi Hensan linkai, *Kurumeshishi*, vol. 7, *Kodai*, pp. 23-32. [n14]



Figure 5. View of the city of Yame from Tsuji no Oka, 17 June 2017. Photograph by the author. From *de arte* 34, p. 8, fig. 4.

To the north of Kokusenji, across the Yabegawa, are located the Yame tumuli (*kofungun* 古墳群); they spread along the hills that form a strip of land extending east and west for about ten kilometers. At the center of these tumuli is the Iwatoyama Kofun 岩戸山古墳 that is said to be the tomb of Tsukushi no kimi Iwai 筑紫君磐井, who led a revolt in 527 known as the Iwai no Ran 磐井の乱, the largest instance of warfare during the Kofun period (ca. 3rd–7th c.). Given the excavation of what appear to be Korean gold ear accessories from the Eighth Tomb at Mount Tateyama (Tateyamasan Hachigōfun 立山山八号墳, which was built around the same time as Iwatoyama Kofun), Matsukawa Hirokazu claims that Tsukushi no kimi likely maintained his own diplomatic channels across the Ariake Sea 有明海.¹⁷

Regarding the history of Kokusenji, some early modern gazetteers (*chishi* 地誌), such as *Chikugo chikan* 筑後地鑑 and *Dazai kannai shi* 太宰管内志, as well as the temple's own tales of origins (*engi* 縁起),¹⁸ which are assumed to have been compiled around 1881 (Meiji 14), recount that Kokusenji was established by Gyōki 行基 (668–749) in Jinki 神亀 5 (728) and rebuilt by Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝 (1147–1199) in Kenkyū 建久 5 (1194). Considering the lack of historical sources that can be traced back to medieval times, however, it is difficult to regard these accounts as accurate; historical records that would directly describe the background of the creation of the Kokusenji statue are completely absent.

Nevertheless, it has been ascertained that the Yame area, where Kokusenji is located, was not only the home of an ancient *gōzoku* 豪族, a powerful local clan, but also an important hub for land and sea transportation as well as a region thoroughly dominated by the cult of Yametsuhime, enshrined there at her massive *iwakura*.

Given that scattered atop Tsujinoyama are a number of tombstones that probably date from the early modern period or later, and that from the summit the entire downtown area of Yame can be seen (figure 5), it is easy to imagine how this mountain came to function from ancient times as a place of worship and prayer.

We can presume that these geological and historical factors were latent causes leading to the production of the Kokusenji statue, one of the oldest and rarest wood-carved images in Kyushu.

The Date of Production and Special Characteristics of the Sculptural Form

In this section, I would first like to discuss the statue's style and the date of its production in light of previous research. The entire statue, with the exception of both wrists and hands, was carved from a single block of coniferous wood, probably *kaya*, without employing the *uchiguri* method of hollowing out the statue. It is thought that the *rennikubu*, the core of the lotus flower, which served as the dais would have been carved from the same block of wood as the head and body (figure 6). This is indicative of an older mode of production common to statues made from a single block of wood during the early Heian period. It has been pointed out that because the surface was tinted reddish brown, there is a possibility that the statue was a *danzō* 檀像, a statue made in imitation of those carved from ox-head sandalwood (*gozu sendan* 牛頭梅檀).¹⁹

Viewed from the front, the most striking feature of this statue is the size of the head in relation to the body. The statue appears broad considering its height, and overall it presents a rather squat appearance. And when viewed from the side, both the head and body of the figure are strikingly thick in appearance. This is especially evident in the emphasis on the contours seen in the modeling of the flesh of the chest, midsection, and legs.

17 Matsukawa, "Sōron Yame no meihō." [n15]

18 Kyūshū Rekishi Shiryōkan, *Chikugo Yame Kokusenji*. [n16]

19 Igata, "Gozusan Kokusenji no butszō," p. 64; Kokushō, "Kokusenji no Yakushi nyorai ryūzō," p. 35. [n17]



Figure 6. Yakushi, base. Kokusenji, Fukuoka Prefecture, with the permission of the temple. From *de arte* 34, p. 9, fig. 5.

These features are prominent characteristics of works from the early Heian period, but as demonstrated by Fujioka Yutaka, a new trend appeared in the capital region (Kinai 畿内) during the Jōwa 承和 era (834–848) as each part of the body became less clearly articulated and sculptors tried to contain the whole body within an encompassing silhouette.²⁰ Although Fujioka's observation, which has been associated with developments in the capital area, cannot be applied uncritically to works in northern Kyushu, if we compare the standing figure of a buddha from Ukidake Jinja 浮嶽神社 (figure 7), made around the middle of the ninth century, with that from Kanzeonji (figure 8), probably made in the first half of the tenth century, the latter clearly shows less articulation of each body part.

Thus, although it may be useful to recognize that the trend to capture the whole body within a larger outline grew stronger among the sculptures of the northern area of Kyushu during the early Heian period, the Kokusenji statue displays characteristics common to an earlier period before this trend began to dominate.

The sculpture's taut pose with protruding head thrust forward and anterior pelvic tilt leaving the lower back slightly arched is common to those of other standing sculptures produced in northern Kyushu during the early Heian period, such as the standing Buddha at Ukidake Jinja, but the Kokusenji statue shows a greater curvature when compared with the others as is evident in a comparison of the figures. This characteristic, combined with the representation of the deeply carved musculature of the back, gives the entire work a sense of latent power (figure 9).

²⁰ Fujioka, "Yōshiki kara mita Shin Yakushiji Yakushi nyoraizō," p. 47. [n18]



Figure 7. Buddha (*nyorai*), right view. Mid 9th c., Heian period. Wood. H 180.2 cm. Ukidake Jinja, Fukuoka Prefecture. From *de arte* 34, p. 9, fig. 6.

Figure 8. Yakushi, right view. First half of the 10th c., Heian period. Wood. H 167.3 cm. Kanzeonji, Fukuoka Prefecture. From *de arte* 34, p. 9, fig. 7.

In considering the representation of the face, one notes the statue has a thick head of hair covering its scalp and a high bowl-shaped *uṣṇīṣa* atop it (figure 2). There are clear signs that it once had large knots of spiraling "snail-shell" hair (*rahotsu* 螺髮) that have all been lost (figure 3). The appearance of the head in its original form must have been considerably more impressive than at present (figure 10).

The relatively small facial features concentrated in the lower half of the face, the outline of which is nearly circular, are a unique characteristic, evoking the charm of a child's face. Nevertheless, as previous studies have pointed out, this facial expression fundamentally exhibits a certain stern severity.²¹ The upward-tilted eyes and the clearly carved eye sockets, as well as the curled upper lip, are expressions of a stately restraint called *shingen* 森嚴, which is common among sculptures of the early Heian period.

²¹ Kokushō, "Kokusenji no Yakushi nyorai ryūzō," p. 35. [n19]

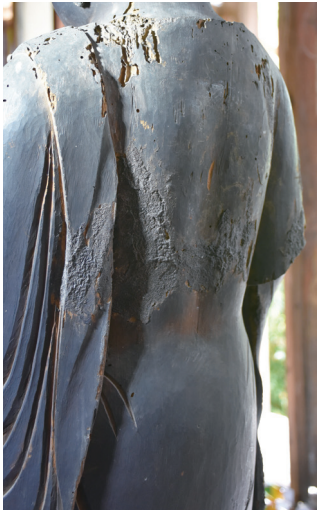


Figure 9. Yakushi, detail. Kokusenji, Fukuoka Prefecture, with the permission of the temple. From *de arte* 34, p. 9, fig. 8.



Figure 10. Yakushi, detail. Kokusenji, Fukuoka Prefecture, with the permission of the temple. From *de arte* 34, p. 10, fig. 9.

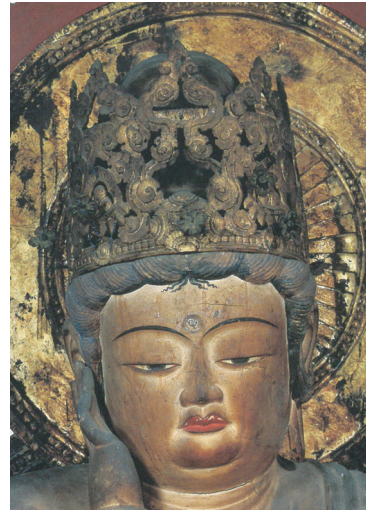


Figure 11. Nyoirin Kannon, detail. 825–850, Heian period. Wood. H 109.4 cm. Kanshinji, Osaka Prefecture. From *de arte* 34, p. 10, fig. 10.



Figure 12. Hōkai Kokūzō, detail (from the Five Great Kokūzō). 825–850, Heian period. Wood and polychrome. H 100.9 cm. Jingoji, Kyoto. From *de arte* 34, p. 10, fig. 11.



Figure 13. Yakushi, detail. Kokusenji, Fukuoka Prefecture, with the permission of the temple. From *de arte* 34, p. 11, fig. 12.

Features that have been pointed out in earlier research, such as the firm round face, long narrow eyes, small nose and mouth, and the taut modeling of the flesh on the jowls, are common elements in early Shingon esoteric (*Shingon mikkyō* 真言密教) statues made during the second quarter of the ninth century, such as the seated figure of Nyoirin Kannon 如意輪觀音坐像

(Sk. Cintāmaṇi-cakra Avalokiteśvara) at Kanshinji 觀心寺 (figure 11) and the five seated figures known as the Godai Kokūzō 五大虚空藏菩薩坐像 (Sk. Ākāśagarbha) at Jingoji (figure 12).²² In addition, the V-shaped bulge at the center of the upper lip is a common feature often seen in works from this period.

The manner of dress seen here includes a basic shoulder-covering undergarment (*fugenè*) that is worn in a style exposing the right shoulder (*hentan uken*). The upper portion of the main outer robe (*daie*) covering the midsection is clearly shown as layered; after being wrapped around the right side, the top edge is folded back twice (figure 13).

This manner of wearing the main robe in the *hentan uken* style with the upper edge folded back twice is often found in works produced during the

ninth century, such as the standing figure traditionally identified as Nichira 日羅 at Tachibanadera 橋寺 (figure 14) and the standing Jizō 地藏菩薩 (Sk. Kṣitigarbha) at Akishinodera 秋篠寺 (figure 15); however,

²² *Ibid.*, p. 36. [n20]



Figure 14. Traditionally identified as Nichira, detail. 9th c., Heian period. Wood. H 145.7 cm. Tachibanadera, Nara Prefecture. From *de arte* 34, p. 11, fig. 13.



Figure 15. Jizō, detail. 9th c., Heian period. Wood. H 96.7 cm. Akishinodera, Nara. From *de arte* 34, p. 11, fig. 14.



Figure 16. Miroku, left view. First half of the 9th c., Heian period. Wood. H 39 cm. Tōdaiji, Nara. From *de arte* 34, p. 12, fig. 15.



Figure 17. Buddha (*nyorai*), right view. First half of the 9th c., Heian period. Wood. H 95 cm. Kongōshin'in, Kyoto. From *de arte* 34, p. 12, fig. 16.

this characteristic element almost completely disappeared after the tenth century. This change seems to be related to the shift away from the rippling (so called “wave-buffed”) pattern and complexly folded edges of the robe, both common during the early Heian period, toward a more orderly and restrained representation of clothing from the end of the ninth century onward, as seen on the seated statue of Amida Buddha (Sk. Amitābha) 阿弥陀如 at Ninnaji 仁和寺 and the seated statue of Amida 阿弥陀如 at Seiryōji 清凉寺.

A notable feature related to the representation of clothing is the “wind-blown effect” (*fūdō hyōgen* 風動表現) on the clothing of the Kokusenji statue.²³ Viewed from the side, the hems of the sleeves appear to be inflated and blown backward, as if struck head-on by the force of the wind. This kind of representation can also be seen in other statues such as the seated form of Miroku 弥勒仏 (Sk. Maitreya) at Tōdaiji (figure 16) and the standing statue of a Buddha at Kongōshin'in 金剛心院 (figure 17), which were made during the first half of the ninth century.

However, the Kokusenji statue differs from these examples produced in the Kinai capital region whose dynamism was enhanced by a forward-leaning pose coupled with the wind-blown effect. In contrast, the Kokusenji statue curves backward, giving the impression that it has been bent by the wind (figure 4). Thus it cannot be said that the wind-blown effect contributes to any sense of movement here. Although this difference indicates a gap in the levels of skill between the sculptors of the Kinai region and those in northern Kyushu, the attempt to represent the wind-blown effect on the clothing of the Kokusenji statue can surely be seen as illustrating popular trends taking place around the first half of the ninth century.

23 Matsuda, “Heian shoki chōso no seiritsu.” [n21]



Figure 18. Yakushi, detail. Kokusenji, Fukuoka Prefecture, with the permission of the temple. From *de arte* 34, p. 13, fig. 17.



Figure 19. Yakushi, detail. Kokusenji, Fukuoka Prefecture, with the permission of the temple. From *de arte* 34, p. 13, fig. 18.

One of the characteristics of the representation of the *emon* 衣文, the pattern of the creases and folds of the robes of the Kokusenji statue, is the use of numerous shallow incised lines (*inkokusen* 陰刻線). Compared with the many sculptures produced during the early Heian period that skillfully depict three-dimensionality and evoke a feeling of movement in the robes by employing various carving techniques such as the *honpashiki* 翻波式, a style in which the drapery folds resemble rolling waves with alternating sharp and rounded crests, the Kokusenji statue, especially on the front, goes no further than very plain and simple carving. Nevertheless, it can be surmised, as explained below, that the representation of the drapery folds achieved chiefly by the shallow incised lines was deliberately employed to faithfully reproduce a work that served as its model.

In fact, it is the delicate blade cuts of the carving between the drapery folds on the sides of the statue, which resemble the modeling of fine clay (*sodo* 塑土), that demonstrate the sculptor's true skill. This manner of representation effectively shows the texture and movement of the robes (figure 18). Although it is difficult to find examples of this carving technique in Kinai, a study by Mizuno Keizaburō demonstrating that

sculptors working in wood imitated the expressiveness of molded clay (*nenso* 捻塑) from the Enryaku 延暦 (782–806) through the Jōwa era is relevant when considering the date of the Kokusenji statue.²⁴

Additionally, as has previously been noted both by Igata and Kokushō, the hem of the formal outer robe, *daie*, draped over the left arm, is sharply pointed, a V-shaped pattern is repeated on the hanging sleeves, and a vertical ridge connects the apexes of these V shapes (figure 19). This type of representation is often seen in works produced in the early Heian period in northern Kyushu, such as the standing

Buddha statues at Ukidake Jinja and Kanzeonji.²⁵

Each of the techniques and types of representation mentioned above are characteristic of the early Heian period: the carving of the entire statue, including the lotus core, from a single block of wood; the thick body with highly articulated modeling; and the robe worn with the right shoulder exposed and edge folded back twice rarely appear on works produced from the tenth century onward. As previous studies have indicated, we can surely conclude that this statue was made in the ninth century. When this opinion is combined with a consideration of the facial features and the wind-blown effect, this statue can confidently be dated to the first half of the ninth century.

Regarding the origins of the sculptor who produced the Kokusenji statue, the expression of the V-shaped pattern of the left sleeve provides a hint. Because this type of sculptural expression is a unique, local style limited to northern Kyushu during the early Heian period, this statue must undoubtedly have been made in this

24 Mizuno, "Murōji kondō honzonzō to Heian shoki mokuchōzō no tenkai." [n22]

25 Igata, "Gozusan Kokusenji no butszō," pp. 63–64; Kokushō, "Kokusenji no Yakushi nyorai ryūzō," p. 37. [n23]

area. However, when compared to the statue at Uki-dake Jinja, which exhibits the same local style but also demonstrates more advanced carving techniques, such as the *honpashiki* alternating wave pattern, the Kokusenji statue shows a less refined and somewhat artless quality due to the sculptor's lack of technical skill.

If this discrepancy is due to the backgrounds of the sculptors, it is reasonable to assume that the Uki-dake Jinja sculpture was made by a sculptor from Kinai, while a local sculptor would have carved the Kokusenji statue. Even if we were to attribute this statue to a local artisan, there would still be various complicating factors to consider. Judging from the close relationship between this statue and Kanzeonji, discussed below, the sculptor of this statue is likely to have been active in the environs of Dazaifu.

Based on the above, we can conclude that the Kokusenji statue was made during the first half of the ninth century in northern Kyushu by a local sculptor. Moreover, what has drawn the attention of previous scholarship besides the statue's age is its close resemblance to the famous standing figure of the Healing Buddha at Jingoji, which is considered representative of early Heian-period sculpture. The next section is devoted to a discussion of this issue.

Similarities with the Standing Healing Buddha at Jingoji

The similarities between the Kokusenji and Jingoji statues have drawn attention for some time, and the following section reaffirms them in light of the views of conservator and art historian Kokushō Tomoko.²⁶

Some of the most obvious similarities between the Kokusenji and Jingoji statues are the overall proportions, the Y-shaped pattern of the folds of the robe, and the U-shaped expression of the drapery between the legs, which emphasizes the distended thighs, and the unnatural disjuncture of the drapery patterns of the main robe over the midsection and on the thighs (figure 20). The disjuncture between such *emon* patterns is an extremely rare feature, visible only on these two statues.

The representation of the *fugenè* on the Kokusenji statue must not be overlooked. It is generally the case



Figure 20. Statue of Yakushi. Early 9th c., Heian period. Wood. H 170.6 cm. Jingoji, Kyoto. From *de arte* 34, p. 14, fig. 19.

that works produced during the early Heian period show the *fugenè* draped over the right shoulder and tucked into the formal robe on the right side, but the garments on both the Kokusenji and Jingoji statues hang downward inside the upper right arm and are not tucked in. There is, however, a difference between the two in that a shawl-like *ōhi* 横披 hangs over the Jingoji statue's right forearm,²⁷ while the equivalent role is played by the broad *fugenè* of the Kokusenji statue.

²⁶ Kokushō, "Kokusenji no Yakushi nyorai ryūzō." [n24]

²⁷ Asai, "Jingoji, Yakushi sanzonzō o megutte (III)," p. 4; Asai, "Jingoji, Yakushi nyoraizō (saku hin kaisetsu)." [n25]

What is truly remarkable is that both these statues share the nearly unprecedented style in which these garments are not tucked into the formal outer robe.

Considering these similarities, it is highly probable that the Kokusenji statue was made with knowledge of the Jingoji statue. As the examination in the previous section has revealed, the Kokusenji statue must have been made in northern Kyushu by a local sculptor. This sculptor would probably have had no opportunity to see the actual Jingoji statue. How then would he have known how to emulate the style and proportions? Before addressing this issue, I wish to call attention to the differences in representation of the drapery patterns between the Kokusenji and Jingoji statues. If we compare the two statues, we see the arrangement of *emon* lines is quite similar. However, the folds of the robes of the Kokusenji statue are depicted with shallow carving using the grooved *inkokusen*, while the folds of the Jingoji statue have sharply raised ridges created by carving in high relief (*yōkokusen* 陽刻線). In other words, the statues employ contrasting techniques of either raised or grooved (*in'yō* 陰陽) drapery folds. But, as shown above, the representation of the drapery folds produced with the grooved *inkoku* lines is concentrated on the front of the Kokusenji statue, while the sides show carving of a different character with a gentler, more relaxed feel.

Based on the points addressed above, and as demonstrated in earlier studies,²⁸ there is ample room for speculation that knowledge of the Jingoji statue obtained through visual information may have been utilized in producing the Kokusenji statue. In short, it is likely that the frontal view was the result of the sculptor's earnest attempt to duplicate an image of the Jingoji statue that he had seen. His mode of expression relied chiefly on the grooved *inkokusen*, but for other parts, he relied in contrast on his own basic skills and sense of sculptural form, as on the sides of the statue, where the results resemble works made of molded clay.

These two statues also show remarkable differences in terms of their mudras, symbolic hand gestures also known as *insō* 印相. It must be noted that the Kokusenji statue forms an ordinary mudra, with its right hand raised and the left hand lowered, while the Jingoji statue bends both arms upward in front of its chest. The Kokusenji statue probably employs

a mudra that differs from that of the Jingoji statue because it followed more faithfully some canonical exemplar. The views of Igata Susumu are helpful in this regard.²⁹ Igata argued that the Kokusenji statue adopts the mudra of four Yakushi statues (no longer extant) said to have been carved by Saichō 最澄 (767–822) at Kamadosanji 竈門山寺, a temple on Mt. Kamado 竈門山, Dazaifu, in Enryaku 22 (803) when he awaited repairs for his ship before setting off on the voyage to China as a member of the embassy to the Tang court (*kentōshi* 遣唐使). According to one source, each was a six *shaku* 尺 (roughly 180 centimeters) *danzō* (sandalwood-style) statue of the Healing Buddha. Saichō is said to have made the four Yakushi images as part of his supplication for safe passage. Careful study is still needed in regard to the mudra of this statue due to discrepancies in interpretations found in books detailing ritual practice (*jisō* 事相) involving Yakushi,³⁰ but there is a distinct possibility that the *danzō* Healing Buddhas carved by Saichō had a canonical character in northern Kyushu and that their influence may have been similar to, or even more powerful than that of, the Jingoji statue. Another possibility is that the pose of the Kokusenji statue with one hand raised and the other lowered was simply the most common at this time, and the mudra used for the Healing Buddha may have simply conformed to popular practice, while still relying on the Jingoji statue as the basic model.

In either case, the Kokusenji statue must have been created with knowledge of the appearance of the Jingoji statue. If this assumption is accepted, we must consider the following: How was knowledge of the Jingoji statue obtained in northern Kyushu? And what environment permitted this transfer of knowledge? An attempt to answer these questions is made in the next section.

Buddhist Sculptural Forms in Northern Kyushu in Relation to Kanzeonji and Jingoji

The previous section analyzed the sculptural form of the Kokusenji statue and demonstrated the following points:

29 Igata, "Gozusan Kokusenji no butszū," p. 64. [n27]

30 For example, the *Kakuzenshō* 覺禪鈔 describes this mudra as the right hand forming Semuiin 施無畏印 with the left hand at the chest and holding a wish-fulfilling jewel (*hōin* 宝珠). TZ zuzō vol. 4, pp. 438–39. [n28]

28 Kokushō, "Kokusenji no Yakushi nyorai ryūzō," p. 37. [n26]

1. It dates to the early Heian period, and probably to the first half of the ninth century.
2. It is thought to have been produced in northern Kyushu because it incorporates local styles.
3. Due to the two sculptures' remarkable resemblance, the sculptor must have had access to visual knowledge of the Jingoji statue.

The second and third points in particular indicate the coexistence of elements of both the local and the central style of the capital area as a principal characteristic of the production of this statue, as has been repeatedly noted above. However, this kind of coexistence of styles can be seen to a certain degree in most statues in northern Kyushu produced during the first half of the ninth century.³¹ Therefore, an overview of the sculptural composition of Buddhist sculpture in northern Kyushu, of which the Kokusenji statue is only one example, is needed before addressing this statue specifically.

In conducting this overview, the roles of Dazaifu and Kanzeonji must be examined. Dazaifu was a political institution that ruled over all the provinces of the Saikaidō, literally the Western Sea Circuit. Described in the early ninth century as being “neither a capital nor a province, but occupying a unique intermediate place” (*kyō ni arazu koku ni arazu chūkan ni kokyo su* 非_レ京非_レ国中間孤居),³² Dazaifu functioned as a large-scale regional government office (*kanga* 官衙) whose operations were analogous to those of the central government under the *ritsuryō* system. Kanzeonji provided religious backing for the Dazaifu's rule. The definitive difference between Kanzeonji and other temples in the region is that the regulations of the *Engishiki* 延喜式 stipulated that the “*kōdokushi* of Kanzeonji in Dazaifu should supervise the governance of all the *kōji* and *do-kushi* of the provinces within its jurisdiction” (*oyoso Dazai Kannonji kōdokushi wa kannai shokoku kōdokushi no mōsu tokoro no matsurigoto o yochi su* 凡太(ママ) 宰觀音寺講読師者、預_レ知管内諸国講読師所_レ申之政_レ).³³

Kōdokushi 講読師 is a collective term indicating the Lecturers and Readers (*dokushi* 読師) who were re-

gional monk-officials (*sōkan* 僧官) dispatched to each province by the central government in order to administer the Buddhist services within their jurisdiction. In the case of the Dazaifu jurisdiction, the Kanzeonji *kōdokushi* were appointed to administer all the provincial *kōdokushi*. As the role of the Kanzeonji Reader is unclear due to a paucity of historical records, the considerations in the following section will apply only to the Kanzeonji Lecturer.

The post of Kanzeonji Lecturer is said to be the successor of that of the Precept Master (*kaishi* 戒師), which was created in Tenpyō Hōji 天平宝字 5 (761) when the Kaidan'in was established at Kanzeonji. The Kanzeonji Lecturer first appears in historical sources in Kōnin 弘仁 11 (820).³⁴ These sources confirm that the Kanzeonji Lecturer gradually increased his influence during the first half of the ninth century while strengthening cooperation among the provincial temples (*kokubunji* 国分寺) and the government-endowed temples called *jōgakuji* 定額寺 in Saikaidō. It is thus thought that the office of the Kanzeonji Lecturer, as the general supervisor of Buddhist services conducted in Saikaidō (as stipulated in the *Engishiki*), would have been established during this period.

Another significant characteristic of the Kanzeonji Lecturer that cannot be overlooked is the fact that the origins of the post can be traced back to the Kinai region. It is known that the post of Lecturer was also established at Shimotsuke Yakushiji 下野薬師寺 in Kashō 嘉祥 1 (848).³⁵ On that occasion the post was described as being the

equivalent to that at Daizaifu Kannonji,³⁶ and is to be selected from the Ten Masters of the Ordination Platform (*kaidan jisshi* 戒壇十師) who are adept at practice and equipped with knowledge; and upon recommendation of the company of monks, is to be appointed Lecturer and to additionally be an esoteric master (Jp. *ajari*; Sk. Ācārya) who confers the precepts (*jukai no ajari ni naru* 授戒之阿闍梨).

31 Miyata, “Kanzeonji ni okeru kōji to zōzō.” Hereafter some parts of the discussion on Kanzeonji overlap with this essay, but the author reiterates those parts in order to develop the argument. [n29]

32 *Ruijū sandaikyaku* 6, Kugegoto, Daijōkanpu 太政官符 dated Jōwa 5 (838).6.21, KST vol. 25, p. 266. [n30]

33 *Engishiki* 21, Genbaryō, KST vol. 26, p. 540. [n31]

34 *Heian ibun* 4900, Kōnin 11 (820).3.4, vol. 10, p. 3801. [n32]

35 [Translator's note] Yakushiji in Shimotsuke Province (modern-day Tochigi Prefecture) was designated one of only three temples in Japan where monks could be ordained.

36 [Translator's note] Kannonji is an alternative name for Kanzeonji.

准大宰府觀音寺、簡摺戒壇十師之中智行具足、為衆所推者、充任講師、便為授戒之阿闍梨³⁷

In other words, the Shimotsuke Yakushiji followed Kanzeonji's precedent in choosing a Lecturer from the Ten Masters of the Ordination Platform. Earlier studies have pointed out that the Ten Masters of the Ordination Platform were identical to the Ten Masters (*jisshi* 十師) at Tōdaiji Kaidan'in.³⁸ Thus, the post of Kanzeonji Lecturer was derived from that of the Precept Master at the Kaidan'in of Tōdaiji.

Based on the above, it can be surmised that the Kanzeonji Lecturer had significant influence on the establishment of sculptural works in northern Kyushu that display the coexistence of both the local and central style of the capital area styles. This conclusion is likely applicable to the Kokusenji statue. Thus, when examining the accomplishments of the Kanzeonji Lecturer again from the viewpoint of the relationship between Kanzeonji and Jingoji, one is struck by the fascinating example of the project to transcribe the complete set of the Buddhist canon led by the monk Eun.

Eun was from Tōdaiji, and had studied under Jitsue 実惠 (?–847), one of the leading disciples of Kūkai 空海 (774–835). Eun had gone to China in Jōwa 9 (842), and when he returned to Japan in Jōwa 14 (847), he brought with him many ritual manuals (*giki* 儀軌), sutras, and treatises (*kyōron* 經論), and images of buddhas, bodhisattvas, and the patriarchs, as well as mandalas (*mandara* 曼荼羅). Eun is also celebrated as one of eight Japanese monks who went to China (Nittō Hakke 入唐八家), as are Saichō and Kūkai.

The following passage from the *Anshōji Ledger of Assets* (*Anshōji shizaichō* 安祥寺資財帳) (henceforth, Source 1) indicates that Eun, who was seen as the founder (*kaiki* 開基) of Anshōji, was involved in the sutra-copying project as Kanzeonji Lecturer:³⁹

An edict had quickly been issued [ordering him] to examine the copying and collating of the Buddhist canon in Bandō [Eastern Region], which

had taken more than four years to complete. In the tenth year of the Tenchō 天長 era, an imperial edict was issued hailing [him] as the Kanzeonji [Kanzeonji] Lecturer and also the Lecturer of Chikuzen Province in Chinzei. As the leader of the monks of Kyushu and the two islands, he, Eun, should not be permitted to decline being specially appointed to manage the matter of copying the canon and should be compelled to do his duty.

忽然有勅、檢校写一切經於坂東、歷四年強功畢、天長十年、奉勅、被拜鎮西府觀音寺講師兼筑前國講師、以為九國二嶋之僧統、特勾下当写大藏經之事、惠運固辭不許、強赴任所

Source 1 explains that after Eun had spent four years editing a transcription of a complete set of the Buddhist canon (*issaikyō* 一切經) in Bandō, he was designated both Kanzeonji Lecturer and Lecturer of Chikuzen Province (*Chikuzen no kuni kōshi* 筑前國講師) in Kyushu by imperial order (*chokumei* 勅命) in Tenchō 10 (833). He had first declined the positions, but eventually accepted them, and was placed in charge of the monks in the Saikaidō region, with a special charge of copying the Buddhist canon (*daizōkyō* 大藏經). The following entry from the *Shoku Nihon kōki* 續日本後紀 (hereafter Source 2) for the 28th day of the 10th month of Tenchō 10 is closely related to this sutra-copying project:⁴⁰

In accord with the oracle produced by Hachiman Daibosatsu in the years of the Keiun 慶雲 era, Dazaifu was ordered to have the entire Buddhist canon copied during the years of the Tenchō era and to have it kept at Mirokuji and now it is further ordered to copy another set of the canon to be kept at Jingoji.

緣景雲之年八幡大菩薩所告、至天長年中、仰大宰府写得一切經、至是便安置弥勒寺、今更復令写一切經置之神護寺上

Thus, the court ordered that in accordance with the oracle of the Hachiman deity issued during the years of the Jingō Keiun 神護景雲 era (767–770), Dazaifu was to have the complete Buddhist canon copied in the

37 Dazaifu Kannonji ni jun ji, kaidanjisshi no naka no chigyō gusoku nishite shu no tameni osu tokoro no mono o kantakushi, kōji ni junnin shi sunawachi jukai no ajari to nasu. Rujū sandaikyaku 3, Shokoku kōtōji, Kashō 1 (848).11.3, KST vol. 25, p. 130. [n33]

38 Okano, "Tsukushi Kanzeonji no jūin kikō" p. 33. [n34]

39 [Translator's note] *Anshōji shizaichō*, pp. 10–11, 92.

40 [Translator's note] *Shoku Nihon kōki* vol. 2, KST 3, p. 17.

Tenchō era (824–834) and preserved at Mirokuji 弥勒寺, the shrine-temple (*jingūji* 神宮寺) of Usa Hachimangū in modern-day Oita Prefecture. It also ordered that another set of the canon should also be copied and kept at Jingoji. The close relationship between the Buddhist canon with which Eun was involved as the Kanzeonji Lecturer (Source 1) and kept at Mirokuji, and the second Buddhist canon ordered copied and placed at Jingoji (Source 2) was noted as early as 1971 in a study of transcriptions of the Buddhist canon by Horiike Shunpō.⁴¹ Moreover, a recent study by Kawajiri Akio has confirmed that the contents of these two canons match one another.⁴² Therefore, it is clear that during the Tenchō era there was a relationship among Dazaifu, Kanzeonji, and Jingoji via the canon-copying project. The following argument is a more detailed study of this canon-copying project drawing on and amplifying the results of these earlier studies.

Note first that the phrase “In accordance with the oracle produced by Hachiman Daibosatsu in the years of the Keiun era” (*Keiun no toshi Hachiman daibosatsu no tsugeru tokoro ni yorite* 縁景雲之年八幡大菩薩所告) in Source 2 is critically important. This records that the project was carried out on the basis of an oracle issued by the Hachiman deity during the Jingo Keiun era. This obviously relates to the “Incident of the Oracle of Hachimangū in Usa” (Usa Hachimangū shintaku jiken 宇佐八幡宮信託事件),⁴³ when the powerful monk Dōkyō 道鏡 (700–772) attempted to succeed to the royal rank (*kōi* 皇位) and Wake no Kiyomaro 和氣清麻呂 (733–799) was sent to Usa Hachimangū, where he received Hachiman’s oracle declaring that Dōkyō should not be allowed to become emperor. The following is an account of that famous episode from the *Ruijū kokushi* 類從国史 (*Classified National History*, 892), henceforth Source 3, that describes the content of the oracle issued at that time:⁴⁴

[The heavenly sovereign Junna, in the first year of Tenchō (824) ... designated that] Takaodera was to be made a *jōgakuji* temple, and the ordinands, scripture, and ritual practices were determined. Governor of Kawachi, Wake no Matsuna 和氣真綱 (783–846) of the Senior Fifth Rank Lower Grade, and Junior Clerk of the Board of Censors, Wake no Nakayo 和氣仲世 (784–852) of the Junior Fifth Rank, Lower Grade, are subjects who heed (the adage) “what fathers prepare, sons complete,” and this is called great filial piety, and their contributions to the public good are called the epitome of loyalty. In considering matters of loyalty and filial piety, who would fail to conform to their example? Long ago during the [Jingo] Keiun era, the monk Dōkyō, employing flattery and deception, rose to the pinnacle of power, disgracefully usurping the title of Dharma King (Hōō 法王). He harbored pretensions and evilly appealed to the assembled gods and made league with the treacherous Tachibana. The Hachiman, Great God (Ōmikami), was pained by the fragility of the heavenly succession and greatly resented this ruffian’s ascendancy. The warriors of the god sharpened their spears, but the demons fought continuously for many years. They were numerous, and we were few: the wicked were strong and the righteous weak. Bemoaning the threat to its own majesty, the Great God called on the miraculous powers of the Buddhas for protection. Then, entering the dream of [Empress Shōtoku] (713–770; r. as Shōtoku 称徳 764–770), (the god) requested an envoy. There was an imperial order issued by [Shōtoku] to assemble her noble subjects so that the Minister of Popular Affairs Kiyomaro of the Junior Third Rank appeared before the throne and [she] told him of the dream. In regard to abdicating the heavenly position to Dōkyō, [Shōtoku] ordered this be addressed to the Great God, and Kiyomaro was summoned to carry this appeal to Usa Jingu. At that time, the Great God issued an oracle, stating, “There are various gods great and minor, who are unlike in their preferences. Good gods dislike licentious rites, and greedy gods [like to] receive improper offerings; I, who exalt the imperial lineage, will aid the state (if you) copy the entire Buddhist canon and produce a Buddhist image, recite ten thousand scrolls of the Saishōkyō, and build a temple. [These actions]

41 Especially p. 128 in his “Heian jidai no issaikyō shokyō to Hōryūji issaikyō” 平安時代の一切経書写と法隆寺一切経 in Horiike, *Nanto bukkyōshi no kenkyū* (ge), pp. 119–81. [n35]

42 According to Kawajiri, the *Jingoji godaidō issaikyō mokuroku* 神護寺五大堂一切経目録 at Kōyasan Daigaku Library corresponds to the catalogue of the canon supervised by Eun. Kawajiri, “Jingoji godaidō issaikyō mokuroku’ no seikaku.” [n36]

43 Fukuyama Toshio has previously indicated that the sutra-copying project is related to the Dōkyō shrine oracle incident. Fukuyama, “Shoki tendai shingon jūin no kenchiku,” pp. 29–30. [n37]

44 *Ruijū kokushi* 180, Tenchō 1 (824).9.27, KST vol. 6, pp. 259–60. [n38]

will eliminate evil in a day, solidifying the sacred altars for eternity. You [Kiyomaro] must heed these words and not fail to deliver them.” Kiyomaro vowed before the Great God, “After the state has become peaceful, I will certainly report this to the next emperor who will fulfill this sacred vow (*jin-gan*). Even if this costs (me my) life and my bones are ground to dust, I will not mistake these sacred words.” Returning to the capital, [Kiyomaro] reported these words (to the throne). But the time was not right and [Kiyomaro] met with ill fortune, being imprisoned and exiled to the wilds. Fortunately, by grace of the sacred power, he returned to the imperial capital. And during the reign of Go-tahara Tennō 後田原天皇 [Emperor Kōnin 光仁, r. 770–781] in the eleventh year of the Hōki 宝龜 era [780] he repeatedly reported this matter (to the throne). The emperor was astounded and personally drew up a royal proclamation, but before it could be implemented, he abdicated his position. Then in Ten’ō 天応 2 [782] [Kiyomaro] again reported the matter to the former emperor Kashiwara [Emperor Kanmu 桓武, 737–806; r. 781–806], who immediately took the earlier proclamation and had it promulgated throughout the land. Finally, in the Enryaku era [782–806], a private temple was built, and it was called Jinganji. The emperor [Kanmu], in celebration of [Kiyomaro’s] previous meritorious deeds, made Jinganji an endowed temple (*jōgakuji*). Now the ground where this temple is located has been defiled and should not be the site of a sacred altar. We [Wake no Matsuna and Nakayo] humbly implore that it be replaced by Takaodera and (the new temple) also be made a *jōgakuji*. It will then be named Jingo Kokuso Shingonji. Through the power of its one Buddhist icon and the great benevolence of the Taizō (Womb World) and the Kongōkai (Diamond World) (mandalas), twenty-seven monks versed in Shingon (mantras) will be appointed to practice the Three Mysteries in perpetuity for the benefit of the nation. If there is a vacancy among these monks, a practicing monk should be selected to fill it. In addition, twenty-seven novice monks of righteous fidelity should be selected to conduct a ritual reading of the *Sutra to Protect the Sovereign*

of the Nation (*Shugo kokkai ōkyō* 守護国界王經)⁴⁵ and also scriptures to calm the winds and rains and ensure the ripening of the five grains, which will be conducted day and night so the sound of their voices will be unceasing. Seven years later, after having received the newly tonsured monks, first, the great vow of Great God will be fulfilled, and second, calamities will be eliminated from the nation. [The emperor] ordered that in each year of his reign a novice should be tonsured (at the temple) and that twenty *chō* of paddy fields in the province of Bizen should be awarded for two generations as merit fields, thus completing the temple. And if the sacred vow is thus fulfilled, this benefice will be extended further for two generations, and the rest in accord with the request.⁴⁶ (Underlined emphasis added by the author)

This is the central government directive issued by the Great Council of State (*daijōkanpu* 太政官符) in response to a plea that Jinganji, which had been built during the Enryaku era and which was later named a *jōgakuji* (endowed temple),⁴⁷ be replaced by Takaodera 高雄寺 (Takaosanji 高雄山寺) because the topography of Jinganji was defiled (*chisei oe* 地勢汚穢). The request was granted, giving Takaodera the status of *jōgakuji* and renaming it Jingokokuso Shingonji 神護国祚真言寺—the official name of Jingoji—which was to serve in perpetuity as a place of practice (*dōjō* 道場) for the Shingon faith.

The first half of this source recounts the history of Jinganji, the forerunner of Jingoji. The underlined part is highlighted because it explains that the Hachiman oracle directed Kiyomaro to produce a set of the entire Buddhist canon, a Buddhist icon (*butsuzō* 仏像), and to build a temple. Kiyomaro responded by vowing to

45 The more common title is *Shugo kokkai shū darani kyō* 守護国界主陀羅尼經.

46 [Translator’s note] This is a modified version of the translation by Suzuki, “The Founding of Jingoji,” pp. 130–31 in Suzuki, *Medicine Master Buddha*. See the appendix at the end of this article for the original *kanbun* text of Source 3.

47 [Translator’s note] There is no scholarly consensus on the exact benefits that would accrue to a temple by being designated a *jōgakuji*, and the meaning of the term *jōgakuji* itself is uncertain. One important point agreed on by nearly all historians is that the designation gave a private institution state recognition, thereby elevating its status. For a lucid discussion of the issue regarding Jinganji/Jingoji, see the first chapter (pp. 5–35) of Nakano and Kasuya, *Bukkyō bijutsu o manabu*.

the Hachiman deity that he would definitely fulfill this sacred vow (*jingan* 神願). It was due to the reception of this oracle that Jinganji was built during the Enryaku era, but the canon-copying project was finally completed only later in Tenchō 10 (833).

Then, as can be seen in Source 2, two sets of the canon were completed based on the Hachiman oracle. One of them was finished prior to Tenchō 10 and enshrined at Mirokuji in Usa. When the copying of the second set was started, Eun had already been designated Kanzeonji Lecturer. But the question of who took charge of copying the first set remains unanswered. The following discussion attempts to examine this issue in detail.

On the 19th day of the 5th month of Tenchō 6 (829), ten monks conducted a ritual reading (*tendoku* 転読) of the complete canon at Mirokuji in Usa,⁴⁸ and thus the transcription of the first set of the canon must have been completed prior to Tenchō 6. The monk Kōhō 光豊 (n.d.) was then the Kanzeonji Lecturer. The first appearance of Kōhō in historical sources is on the 28th day of the 2nd month of Tenchō 5 (828). His request made as Kanzeonji Lecturer for the revitalization of the monks of the provincial temple and its approval are recorded.⁴⁹

In addition, Kanzeonji Lecturer Kōhō and Mirokuji Lecturer Kōe 光恵 (n.d.) jointly submitted the following three-article petition (*sankajō* 三箇条), which was also approved, regarding Usa Mirokuji in Tenchō 7 (830):

- 1) *Nenbundosha* 年分度者, the annual cohort of ordinands at the temple, should be chosen from those who have lived at Usa Mirokuji for at least three years and the Lecturer and Shrine Administrator (*gūji* 官司) shall choose them by testing the candidates' proficiency at sutra-chanting (*dokyō* 読経).⁵⁰
- 2) Tax collected from sustenance households (*fūbutsu* 封物), used to support Usa Hachimangū, should be used for the alms (*fuse* 布施) and robes (*hōfuku* 法服) provided to the Lecturer and

Reader at Mirokuji in Usa at New Year (*shōgatsu* 正月), the summer study retreat (*ango* 安居), and on other occasions.⁵¹

3) Six of the twenty-four shrine workers (*jinpu shichō* 神封仕丁) should serve Usa Mirokuji.⁵²

Article 1 was aimed at improving the quality of those who would become monks at the temple, while articles 2 and 3 tried to stabilize the economic basis of Usa Mirokuji. The enshrining of the canon in the previous year, Tenchō 6, likely expedited the revamping of the temple's organization. Additionally, a *chōbun* 牒文, an official document exchanged between government offices, states that Usa Mirokuji did not originally have a Lecturer or a Reader, and that they were designated by two central government directives issued on the 1st day of the 2nd month and on the 10th day of the 5th month of Tenchō 6.⁵³ Kōhō seems likely to have been involved in the establishment of the post of Mirokuji Lecturer, and it can be surmised that he had great influence on the events related to the enshrining of the canon. Given these circumstances, it is reasonable to conclude that Kōhō led the project to transcribe the first canon.

Although Kōhō stepped down from the post of Kanzeonji Lecturer to make way for Eun when the second sutra-copying project began, he later returned to this position. In Jōwa 2 (835), two years after the copying of the second set of the Buddhist canon in Tenchō 10, his name appears on a record as Kanzeonji Lecturer.⁵⁴ By that year at the latest, the second canon-copying project must have been completed, and Eun seems to have resigned his post at that time. Eun had become Kanzeonji Lecturer only for this project, as he is described as "specially appointed to manage the matter of copying the Buddhist canon" (*tada daizōkyō o utsusu [no] koto o kōtō su* 特勾当写大藏经之事).⁵⁵ Just after Eun became Kanzeonji Lecturer in the first year of the Jōwa era, his spiritual master Jitsue was designated abbot (*bettō* 别当) of Jingoji.⁵⁶ Thus, it is highly likely that Jitsue was involved in the canon-copying project,

48 *Ruijū kokushi* 180, Tenchō 1 (824).9.27, KST vol. 6, pp. 259–60. [n39]

49 *Ruijū sandaikyaku* 3, Tenchō 5 (828).2.28, KST vol. 25, p. 114. [n40]

50 *Ruijū sandaikyaku* 3, Tenchō 7 (830).7.11, KST vol. 25, p. 135. [n41]

51 *Ruijū sandaikyaku* 2, Tenchō 7 (830).7.11, KST vol. 25, p. 94. [n42]

52 *Ruijū sandaikyaku* 3, Jōgakuji no koto, Tenchō 7 (830).7.11, KST vol. 25, pp. 119–20. [n43]

53 *Ruijū sandaikyaku* 3, Shokoku kōdokushi goto, KST vol. 25, p. 94. [n44]

54 *Ruijū sandaikyaku* 3, Jōwa 2 (835).8.15, KST vol. 25, p. 120. [n45]

55 [Translator's note] *Anshōji shizaichō*, pp. 10–11, 92.

56 *Tōji chōja bunin* 1, Jōwa 14 (847), ZZGS vol. 2, p. 468. [n46]

as well as the appointment of Eun.⁵⁷ Considering that Wake no Nakayo and other donors (*dan'otsu* 檀越) of Jingoji consigned the temple to Kūkai,⁵⁸ Kūkai himself may have had some influence on the canon-copying project.

Nevertheless, the different standpoints of Kōhō, whose background was in the former capital of Nara, and Eun, who was associated with Kūkai's Shingon tradition, must be carefully considered. In particular, the extent to which Kūkai was involved in the appointment of Kōhō to the post of Kanzeonji Lecturer is unclear. A series of articles by Abe Ryūichi about the relationship between Kūkai and the temples of the former capital is useful in assessing this problem.⁵⁹ In his discussion of this issue, Abe emphasized the role of the Nara temples in determining that Kūkai's esoteric Buddhism was quickly accepted as orthodoxy. In support of his argument, Abe specifically introduces an event from Kōnin 7 (816) when Gonsō 勤操 (754–827) and his disciples from Daianji 大安寺 visited Takaosanji to receive the esoteric consecration (*kanjō* 灌頂) from Kūkai.⁶⁰ Abe also points to Kūkai's building of the Kanjōdō 灌頂堂 at Tōdaiji in Kōnin 13 (822).⁶¹

Particularly important in our focus on the relationship with the Kanzeonji Lecturer is the latter example of the building of the Kanjōdō. This is apparent in the central government directive of the first year of the Kashō era (848), which stipulated that the Lecturer at Shimotsuke Yakushiji was to be the equal of that at Kanzeonji and that both the Lecturer at Shimotsuke Yakushiji and Kanzeonji are described therein as “Ajari who administer the precepts” (*jukai no ajari* 授戒之阿闍梨).⁶² The act of building the Kanjōdō is thus understood as having been devised to consolidate the functions of Buddhist ordination at Tōdaiji by combining the traditional ordination (*jukai* 受戒) system employed there, inherited from Ganjin, with the *kanjō*, the *jukai* system of esoteric Buddhism, which Kūkai had learned in Tang

China.⁶³ The phrase “Ajari who administers the precepts” indicates that the Lecturers at both temples had themselves received the *kanjō*. Kōhō may have been one of the monks who received the *kanjō* from Kūkai, and this relationship might in fact have been the reason for his appointment as Kanzeonji Lecturer.

The discussion above has securely established that the canon-copying project at Kanzeonji carried out during the Tenchō era was based on the Hachiman oracle. But what requires additional attention here is the fact that the Hachiman deity requested the building of temple grounds (*garan* 伽藍) as well as the production of the Buddhist canon and an icon. As mentioned above, Jinganji (later Jingoji) was built as a result of this request. There has been a long-standing debate whether the extant Healing Buddha at Jingoji was originally installed in Takaosanji, the earlier name of Jingoji, or at Jinganji.

The results of recent studies demonstrate that it is highly probable that the Jingoji statue was originally installed in Jinganji and that it was produced in order to fulfill the Hachiman oracle.⁶⁴ If that is indeed the case, it is easy to imagine that when the canon-copying project was carried out at Kanzeonji, the Jingoji statue, whose creation was likewise based on the oracle of Hachiman, would have attracted renewed attention. Key to this argument is the hypothesis that this resulted in an image of the Jingoji statue being brought to Kanzeonji via Eun, and that this eventually led to the creation of the Kokusenji statue.

As was noted, two sets of the Buddhist canon were made during the Tenchō era. One set was enshrined at Usa's Mirokuji and the other was dedicated at Jingoji. At the risk of reiterating the point, it was the Hachiman deity's oracle that had instructed Kiyomaro to produce the canon, statue, and a temple. If he were to fulfill this oracle straightforwardly, it seems that it would have been sufficient to enshrine one set of the canon at Jinganji (later Jingoji), which was built at Hachiman's request. Why then were two sets of the canon produced?⁶⁵

57 Kawajiri, “Jingoji godaidō issaikyō mokuroku' no seikaku,” p. 46. [n47]

58 *Jingoji ryakki*. [n48]

59 Abe, “Kūkai to Nanto bukkyō saikō”; Abe, “Nara-ki no mikkyō no saikentō”; Abe, “Tennō no seiken kōtai to kanjō girei.” [n49]

60 Abe, “Kūkai to Nanto bukkyō saikō,” p. 277. Abe cites “Kozō sōjō Gonsō daitoku eisan narabi ni jo,” p. 542. [n50]

61 Abe, “Kūkai to Nanto bukkyō saikō,” p. 278. Abe cites *Ruijū sandaikyaku* 2, Jōwa 3 (836). 5.9, KST vol. 25, p. 68. [n51]

62 *Ruijū sandaikyaku* 3, Kashō 1 (848).11.3, KST vol. 25, p. 130. [n52]

63 Abe, “Kūkai to Nanto bukkyō saikō,” p. 278. [n53]

64 Sarai, “Jingoji Yakushi nyoraizō no shiteki kōsatsu,” pp. 122–24. [n54]

65 Sarai also has argued this point. She asserts that “in order to fulfill the Hachiman deity's request, the one transcribed canon at Mirokuji temple would have been sufficient and there would have been no need to make two transcriptions.” She infers that “the impetus for having the *issaikyō* enshrined at Jingoji was

In considering this question, it is particularly significant that the Hachiman deity was invited to Iwashimizu 石清水 in the Heian capital from Usa in Jōgan 貞觀 2 (860). According to the *Iwashimizu senza ryaku engi* 石清水遷座略縁起 (Abbreviated tales of karmic origins of the transfer of the god to Iwashimizu, 995), the monk Gyōkyō 行教 from Daianji was chosen as the imperial envoy (*chokushi* 勅使) to Usagū 宇佐宮, the shrines of Usa, in Tennan 天安 2 (858), and he left for Usa in the following year (Tennan 3).⁶⁶ At the same time, a project at Mirokuji to transcribe the Buddhist canon was underway led by the monks Anshū 安宗 (813–887) and En'en 延遠 (n.d.), who were both Dentō daihosshii 伝燈大法師位 (the third of the nine priestly ranks).

This example clearly shows that when Hachiman was invited to Iwashimizu, the canon-copying project was being carried out at Mirokuji, the shrine-temple of Usa Hachimangū. As can be seen in Source 2, Jinganji was merged with Takaosanji, and the temple then became Jingoji in the first year of the Tenchō era. It must have been at that time that the set of the Buddhist canon was enshrined at Usa Mirokuji so that Hachiman, who had been invited to Jinganji, would be transferred to Jingoji instead.⁶⁷

That the project to transcribe the complete set of Buddhist scripture, which was led by the Kanzeonji Lecturer Eun, could have been the impetus behind the image of the Jingoji statue being brought to Kanzeonji, and that this image could have become a source for the Kokusenji statue, seem a natural conclusion based on the above. But even if this hypothesis is accepted, the question why the Kokusenji statue was created remains unanswered. An effective way to address the question is to explore the relationship between Yame, home of Kokusenji Temple, and the cult of Hachiman (*Hachiman shinkō* 八幡信仰). The next section will discuss this relationship.

Worship of Hachiman and Kokusenji Temple in Yame

The argument in the previous section hypothesized that the canon-copying project, which was led by the Kanzeonji Lecturer Eun and based on the oracle of Hachiman, may have triggered the creation of the Kokusenji statue that closely resembles the Jingoji statue. Therefore, in considering the background of the statue's creation, an exploration of the relationship between Kokusenji and the worship of Hachiman would be productive, and we find that previous scholarship on this issue is, in fact, instructive. It was Kusui Takashi, for example, who determined that the territory of Kōzumashō 上妻莊, an estate controlled by the Kitain 喜多院, a sub-temple of Mirokuji in Usa, included a swath of land south of the present-day city of Yame where Kokusenji is located.⁶⁸

The Kitain was built during the Kankō 寛弘 era (1004–1012) at Mirokuji at the request of the regent's house (*sekkanke* 摂関家), the Northern House of the Fujiwara clan that produced sons who could be appointed to the regental posts of Sesshō 摂政 or Kanpaku 関白.⁶⁹ It is said that the Mirokuji Lecturer Genmei 元明 (n.d.) and Fujiwara no Michinaga 藤原道長 (966–1028), who strongly supported Genmei, were involved in the establishment of this sub-temple. It is also assumed that the territory of the Kitain was instituted by these two men.⁷⁰ The Kōzumashō estate must therefore have been established after the Kankō era, when the Kitain was built, and any relationship between Kokusenji and Usa Mirokuji in the Tenpyō 天平 era, when the Kokusenji statue was created, cannot be clarified by reference to this later relationship.

Of greater relevance is a theory put forth by Nakayama Shigeki that provides circumstantial evidence of a relationship between Kokusenji and Usa Mirokuji prior to the establishment of the Kitain.⁷¹ Nakayama proposes that some *fuko* (封戸), sustenance households

due to the view that a transcription of the *issaikyō* based on Hachiman's oracle should naturally be kept at Jingoji." Sarai, "Jingoji Yakushi nyoraizō no shiteki kōsatsu," pp. 123–24. [n55]

66 *Usa jingū-shi shiryōhen* 2, pp. 148, 173. [n56]

67 The sutra-copying project was probably carried out at Kanzeonji because Usa Mirokuji did not have an *issaikyō* from which to copy. When the *issaikyō* sutra was later copied at Usa Mirokuji during the Jōgan era, the sutras dedicated during the Tenchō era would have been used as the source texts. [n57]

68 Kusui, "Chikugo Kokusenji." Regarding the presumed location of the Kōzumashō estate, I consulted Matsuzaki, "Kōzumashō no seiritsu to tenkai." [n58]

69 *Kamakura ibun* 9161, Bun'ei 文永 1 (1264).9.23, vol. 12, p. 368. [n59]

70 Iinuma Kenji has repeatedly made this claim. See Iinuma, "Hachiman Usagū to Hachiman Iwashimizugū no tōgō," pp. 188–89; Iinuma, "Kenmon toshite no Hachimangūji no seiritsu," p. 98. [n60]

71 Nakayama, "Usa Hachimangū fuko to iden no saikentō." [n61]

whose taxes were allotted to courtiers, shrines, and temples, and *iden* (位田), fields assigned to those of the fifth rank or above, had been allotted to the Usagū, the shrines at Usa. These lands were later transformed into estates (*shōen* 莊園) that became Mirokuji territory. Before making a detailed consideration of Nakayama's theory, a firm understanding of the *fuko* and *iden* of the Usagū is necessary. The *fuko* and *iden* of Usagū can be subdivided into the Hachiman portion and the Himegami 比咩神 portion. In essence, they were rewards for the divine help of the gods in the year following the creation of the Great Buddha (*daibutsu* 大仏) at Tōdaiji in Tenpyō Shōhō 天平勝宝 2 (750).⁷²

The *Hachiman Usagū Go-Shinryō Ōkagami* 八幡宇佐宮御神領大鏡 (Great Mirror of the Divine Territory of the Hachiman Shrine at Usa), abbreviated *Usa Ōkagami* 宇佐大鏡, details the Usagū territories (*shoryō* 所領) in medieval times and indicates that the estate called Jūkagō-Sankashō 十箇郷三箇庄 was based on *fuko* of the Himegami portion.⁷³ This example makes clear that some *fuko* of the Usagū were transformed into the territory of the Usagū estates in medieval times.⁷⁴

Care must be taken, however, because only the Himegami portion of the households is described as the source of *shoryō* in *Usa Ōkagami*. Nothing indicates that the Hachiman portion became Usagū estate territory in medieval times.

Nakayama harbors doubts about this discrepancy between the Himegami and Hachiman portions, and focuses on the Great Council of State directive of the 11th day of the 12th month of Enryaku 17 (798) in which the *fuko* and *iden* of the Usagū were incorporated into the Official Storehouses of Dazaifu (Dazaifuko 太宰府庫) as “assets to build a shrine temple” (*zōjingūjiryō* 造神宮寺料).⁷⁵ Prior to this directive, all *fuko* and *iden* of the Usagū had been returned to the court (*chōtei* 朝廷) in Tenpyō Shōhō 7 (755).⁷⁶ Nevertheless, the Himegami

portion was reallocated to the Usagū in Tenpyō Jingo 天平神護 2 (766).⁷⁷ Working from this knowledge, Nakayama hypothesized that it was the Hachiman portion of the *fuko* and *iden* that was allocated “for the building of a shrine temple” and later made into a *shōen* that became Mirokuji territory.

According to Nakayama's theory, the Kōzumashō, the estate where Kokusenji was located, also originated from the Hachiman portion of the *fuko* and *iden*. In that case, we can conclude that Kokusenji had already established a relationship with the worship of Hachiman by the Tenchō era, when the Kokusenji statue was produced. However, the *fuko* and *iden* of the Usagū have a complicated history due to various changes in political circumstances over time. In addition, the process that led to their becoming Usagū territory during the medieval period is still unclear because of the paucity of historical sources. Thus, it must be admitted that Nakayama's theory is no more than a surmise based on circumstantial evidence.

Nevertheless, because there are insufficient grounds to completely reject Nakayama's theory, it remains at present one of the most influential hypotheses.⁷⁸ When making the assumption that the area around Kokusenji was once the Hachiman portion of the *fuko* and *iden*, the three-article petition submitted by Kōhō and Kōe in 830 (Tenchō 7) deserves renewed attention. Although I have addressed them above, the most significant points, 2 and 3, bear repeating here:

- 2) Tax collected from sustenance households (*fūbutsu*) and alms (*fuse*) made to Usa Hachiman should be used for the priestly robes (*hōfuku*) of the Lecturer and Reader of Usa Mirokuji for the New Year (*shōgatsu*), the rainy-season retreat (*ango*), and other occasions.⁷⁹

72 *Shoku Nihongi*, Tenpyō Shōhō 2 (750).2.29, KST vol. 2, p. 209. [n62]

73 Ōita-ken Shiryō Kankōkai, vol. 24 of *Ōita-ken shiryō*, part 1, Usa Hachimangū monjo 1, pp. 120-58. [n63]

74 Nishitani, “Chiiki kenmon kara mita shōen kōryō sei no keisei.” [n64]

75 *Shinshō kyakuchokufushō*, Jinpu 神封, Enryaku 17 (798).12.11/21?, KST vol. 27, p. 8. [n65]

76 *Shoku Nihongi*, Tenpyō Shōhō 7 (755).3.28, KST vol. 2, p. 223. One year prior to this record, in the 11th month of Tenpyō Shōhō 6 (754), the Yakushiji monk Gyōshin 行信 (n.d.) as well as Ōga no Tamaro 大神多麻呂 (n.d.) and Ōga no Morime 大神杜女 (n.d.) from Usa Hachimangū shrine were exiled because it was said

that they had plotted together to curse their enemies; *Shoku Nihongi*, Tenpyō Shōhō 6 (754).11.24 and 11.27, KST vol. 2, p. 222. The return of *fuko* and *iden* may have been related to this incident. [n66]

77 *Shoku Nihongi*, Tenpyō Jingo (766) 2.4.11/12, KST vol. 2, p. 331. [n67]

78 Nishitani mentions that although this assumption is based on circumstantial evidence, it is highly likely the Hachiman portion became the source of Usa Mirokuji territory. Nishitani, “Chiiki kenmon kara mita shōen kōryō sei no keisei,” p. 154. [n68]

79 *Ruijū sandaikyaku* 3, Shokoku kōdokushi goto, Tenchō 7 (830).7.11, KST vol. 2, p. 94. [n69]

3) Six of twenty-four shrine workers (*jinpu shichō*) should serve Usa Mirokuji.⁸⁰

As previously mentioned, these articles may have been devised to strengthen the organization of Usa Mirokuji at the time of the *tendoku* ceremony involving the ritual reading of the canon. Because the Hachiman portion of the *fuko* was employed to support the economic foundations of Mirokuji, this surely indicates the possibility of its later transformation into Mirokuji territory. As seen above, after the *fuko* and *iden* of the Usagū were returned to the court, they were placed under the administration of Dazaifu. On the basis of these findings, it is highly probable that the image of the Jingoji statue brought to Kanzeonji, which had been prompted by the canon-copying project, was then transmitted to the *fuko* and *iden* of the Usagū. In that case, the Kokusenji statue can surely be regarded as one example of such a transfer.

Conclusion

This article has concentrated on the statue of the Healing Buddha at Kokusenji in Yame and offered the hypothesis that the statue likely dates to the first half of the ninth century, and further, that it was made by a local sculptor who was active in the Dazaifu area. The article then posited the possibility that knowledge of the statue of the Healing Buddha at Jingoji was conveyed in the form of an image via Kanzeonji, and this transfer of visual knowledge resulted in the close resemblance between the Kokusenji and Jingoji statues. In support of this hypothesis, I have focused specifically on the canon-copying project led by the Kanzeonji lecturer Eun during the Tenchō era and demonstrated how this event triggered the connection between Kanzeonji and Jingoji. This massive sutra-copying project was based on the oracle of Hachiman issued at the time of the event known as the Incident of the Usa Hachiman Oracle. Considering these factors together, I have contended that because the canon-copying project was based on the oracle issued by the Hachiman deity at the time of that incident, renewed attention was placed on the Healing Buddha at Jingoji, which had been built as a result of the same

oracle, and that an image of the Jingoji statue was then transmitted to Kanzeonji. Lastly, because the southern area of Yame, the location of Kokusenji, had been the Hachiman portion of the *fuko* and *iden* since the Nara period and Dazaifu administered this area, I hypothesized that the image of the Jingoji statue was first transmitted to Kanzeonji as a result of the canon-copying project, then later conveyed to Kokusenji.

Although difficult to prove, the rise of Hachiman worship in both Kinai and the northern Kyushu area as well as their mutual influence on one another's development may well have had great significance as underlying factors in the creation of the Kokusenji statue. In place of a definitive conclusion at this point, I wish instead to consider the prospects for addressing the issue of the upsurge in faith in Hachiman in forthcoming research.

The Hachiman deity displayed multiple characteristics, being seen as a god of war (*gunshin* 軍神), a god who protects the state (*chingokokkashin* 鎮護国家神), and as an imperial ancestor god (*kōsoshin* 皇祖神) but, in terms of the ninth century with which this study is concerned, Hachiman as imperial ancestor is the most significant of these identities. The idea of Hachiman as imperial ancestor can be traced back to the Oracle Incident in which Hachiman influenced the imperial succession, but the definitive factor was the identification of Hachiman with the legendary Emperor Ōjin 応神天皇 (trad. r. 270–310) that took place during the reign of Kanmu.⁸¹ As a result, Hachiman was frequently summoned to insure the legitimacy of the imperial succession, such as during the Kusuko Incident (Kusuko no hen 葦子の変), which stemmed from a conflict between Emperor Saga 嵯峨天皇 (786–842; r. 809–823) and Emperor Heizei 平城天皇 (773–824; r. 806–809), when Tōji Chinju Hachimangū 東寺鎮守八幡宮 was founded.⁸² Another example is the enthronement of the youthful Emperor Seiwa 清和天皇 (850–881; r. 858–876), when the god was invited to the newly built Iwashimizu Hachimangū, just south of the Heian capital.⁸³

As noted above, the massive sutra-copying project for the Buddhist canon seems to have been devised in

80 *Ruijū sandaikyaku* 3, Jōgakuji no koto, Tenchō 7 (830).7.11, KST vol. 25, pp. 119–20. [n70]

81 Hasebe, "Hachiman daibosatsu seiritsu no zentei: Kōtō no tankan to Hachimanshin no tensei," pp. 61–62. [n71]

82 Takahashi, "Tōji Hachiman san shinzō no seisaku haikai ni kansuru kōsatsu." [n72]

83 Yoshie, "Iwashimizu Hachimangūji sōshi no shūhen." [n73]

order to invite (or transfer) Hachiman from Jinganji when Jingoji was established. We should probably accept the supposition of Kawajiri Akio that because the statues and the building of the Godaidō 五大堂 at Jingoji were built at the behest of Emperor Junna 淳和天皇 (786–840; r. 823–833), the canon-copying project was also likely done upon his request.⁸⁴ If we exercise our imagination a little further, we can envisage that the merger of Jinganji and Takaodera to become Jingoji in the first year of the Tenchō era (824) signified a guarantee of the legitimacy of Emperor Junna's succession in the previous year, Kōnin 14 (823).

Based on his demonstration that the statues of the Five Great Wisdom Kings (Godai Myōō 五大明王像) sponsored by Emperor Junna for the Godaidō and the seated statues of the Five Space Repository bodhisattvas (Godai Kokūzōbosatsu 五大虚空藏菩薩) sponsored by Emperor Ninmyō 仁明天皇 (810–850; r. 833–850) for the pagoda were likely based on knowledge gained from images with which Kūkai and Emperor Saga were involved, Sasaki Moritoshi made clear that “copies of iconography” (*zuzō utsushi* 図像うつし) had special significance in validating the imperial succession from Saga, to Junna and Ninmyō.⁸⁵ Another notable aspect of Sasaki's theory is the possibility that Kūkai influenced the merger of Jinganji and Takaosaji to become Jingoji, as well as the designation of the statue of the Healing Buddha of Jinganji as the chief object of worship (*honzon* 本尊) at Jingoji.⁸⁶

Working from these suppositions, we must conclude that the creation of the Kokusenji statue had more significance than simply its link to the rise of the worship of Hachiman. In short, the statue of the Healing Buddha, whose transfer from Jinganji to Jingoji was inspired by the enthronement of Emperor Junna, played an even more powerful role than heretofore imagined, functioning to insure the legitimacy of the imperial succession. It is thus easy to conceive that from the time of its creation, the Kokusenji statue would have been expected to perform a function similar to that of the Jingoji statue. The fact that Eun was appointed by imperial order (*choku* 勅) to head the canon-copying project as Kanzeonji Lecturer also buttresses this supposition.

Coincidentally, another notable achievement of Eun as Kanzeonji Lecturer was the trade he carried out with Silla 新羅 merchants.⁸⁷ According to the *Anshōji Ledger of Assets*, the Kanzeonji Lecturer Eun employed alms (*fuse*) from National Lectures on the Sutras (*kokka kōkyō* 国家講經) to purchase Buddhist ritual implements (*butsugu* 仏具) from Silla merchants, and when he later established Anshōji 安祥寺, he donated these ritual implements to the temple. Although the exact meaning of the term “National Lectures on the Sutras” is not clear, Eun certainly received some financial support from the government for them. Also, the fact that Eun, in the position of Kanzeonji Lecturer, donated goods derived from the trade to Anshōji, which had not yet been completed at the time, cannot be ignored. Anshōji was established and developed with the support of Fujiwara no Nobuko 藤原順子 (809–871), an official consort (*nyōgo* 女御) of Emperor Ninmyō. Eun had thus built up close relationships with people around the emperor. It is quite natural that Eun, Jitsue—who had chosen Eun to be Kanzeonji Lecturer—and Kūkai focused on the Hachiman deity as a sacred imperial ancestor.

In considering instead the Hachiman deity from the viewpoint of Dazaifu and Kanzeonji, it is noteworthy that the rise of the worship of Hachiman and the strengthening of the Kanzeonji Lecturer's control within his jurisdiction had developed in concert. The canon-copying project led by Eun examined here symbolizes this mutual development. It can be anticipated that the rise of faith in Hachiman would have led to further development of *shinbutsu shūgō*, the ideology of the unity of native and Buddhist deities, in the provinces of the Saikaidō. As recent studies have clearly demonstrated, *shinbutsu shūgō* was a strategy to restructure the context of the national order, interpreting various local gods as good spirits who protected the dharma (*gohōzenshin* 護法善神).⁸⁸ One example seen in northern Kyushu is the case of Fujiwara no Hirotsugu 藤原広嗣 (d. 740), who was once feared as a vengeful spirit, but whose character was transformed so that he became a guardian deity of safe voyages.⁸⁹

84 Kawajiri, “Jingoji godaidō issaikyō mokuroku’ no seikaku,” p. 41. [n74]

85 Sasaki, “Jingoji godai kokūzō bosatsu zazō saikō,” pp. 85–86. [n75]

86 *Ibid.*, pp. 84–85. [n76]

87 *Anshōji shizaichō*, p. 43, 109. [n77]

88 Inamoto, “Shinbutsu shūgō no ronri to zōzō: Indo, Chūgoku kara Nihon e,” p. 226. [n78]

89 Sueyoshi, “Kyūshū,” pp. 10–13; Sueyoshi, “Fukuoka,” pp. 33–36. [n79]

For the Kanzeonji Lecturer who was deeply tied to the development of the concept of the unity of native and Buddhist deities, popular faith in the Hachiman deity, who was understood as having quickly become a believer in Buddhism and a leader of other gods, would have been most welcome. With the rise of the worship of Hachiman in the circles around the emperor, the Kanzeonji Lecturer deepened cooperation with Usa, the seat of Hachiman faith. The actions of the Kanzeo-

nji Lecturer can be seen as an attempt to transform the local gods into tutelary deities (*gohōshin* 護法神) and to incorporate these gods into the system of control centered around Kanzeonji. Without the Kanzeonji Lecturer, who had close ties to the central government as well as strong influence on the provinces within his jurisdiction, the sculptural form of the Kokusenji statue that blended both the central style of the capital area and local styles could not have been created.

Table 2. Chronology of Related Events⁹⁰

Year	Day and Month	Kanzeonji Lecturer	Events
Tenpyō Shōhō 2 (750)	29th day, 2nd month	n/a	800 <i>fuko</i> and 80 <i>iden</i> allotted to Usa Hachiman of the First Rank, as an additional 380 <i>fuko</i> added to the original 420, and 30 new <i>iden</i> added to the original 50; additionally, 600 <i>fuko</i> and 60 <i>iden</i> awarded to Second-rank Himegami-shin (<i>Shoku Nihongi</i>)
Tenpyō Shōhō 7 (755)	28th day, 3rd month	n/a	Oracle of Usa Hachiman proclaims that 1,400 <i>fuko</i> and 140 <i>iden</i> are not needed, and they are returned to the court; however, the original <i>shinden</i> are ordered to be retained (<i>Shoku Nihongi</i>)
Tenpyō Jingo 2 (768)	11th day, 4th month	n/a	6,000 <i>shinpu</i> households are bestowed on Himegami-shin (<i>Shoku Nihongi</i>)
Jingo Keiun 3 (769)	25th day, 9th month	n/a	Wake no Kiyomaro conveys the oracle of Usa Hachiman, and is exiled to Ōsumi Province (<i>Shoku Nihongi</i>)
Enryaku 12 (793)	circa this year	n/a	In response to the oracle of Usa Hachiman, Wake no Kiyomaro builds Jinganji (<i>Ruijū kokushi</i>)
Enryaku 17 (798)	21st day, 12th month	n/a	After this date, Usa Hachiman Daibosatsu and Himegami-shin transfer 1,410 <i>fuko</i> and 140 <i>iden</i> to government coffers at Dazaifu (<i>Shinshō kyakukan fushō</i>)
Kōnin 10 (820)	4th day, 3rd month	unknown	Dazaifu sends an order to Kanzeonji stating that the Kanzeonji Lecturer is to lead the Shitennōji Keka rite hereafter (<i>Heian ibun</i>)
Tenchō 1 (824)	27th day, 9th month	unknown	Takaosanji is elevated to <i>jōgakuji</i> status and renamed Jingokoku-soshingonji (abbreviated Jingoji) (<i>Ruijū kokushi</i>) and a Standing Healing Buddha was received by the temple
Tenchō 2 (825)	28th day, 2nd month	Kōhō	Dazaifu's petition, which was based on a written request from Kanzeonji Lecturer Kōhō, asking that five of the twenty monks over sixty years of age who had been appointed to serve at provincial temples should be replaced with newly tonsured monks who are over twenty-five years of age, is approved (<i>Ruijū sandaikyaku</i>)
Tenchō 6 (829)	19th day, 5th month	Kōhō	10 monks are ordered to perform a <i>tendoku</i> ritual reading of the Buddhist canon at Mirokuji in Usa (<i>Nihon kiryaku</i>)
	same year	Kōhō	Wake no Nakayo and others award Jingoji to Kūkai (<i>Jingoji ryakki</i>)

90 For the "Events" listed in the table, I consulted Shigematsu, *Dazaifu kodai shi nenpyō*; Asai, *Nara jidai II: Tōdaiji, Shōsōin to Kōfukuji*; and Itō, *Heian jidai I: Mikkyōjin kara Byōdōin e*.

Tenchō 7 (830)	11th day, 7th month	Kōhō	Kōhō, the Kanzeonji Lecturer, and Kōe, the Usa Mirokuji Lecturer, make a three-article petition that is approved; the petition requested that the annual cohort of ordinands (<i>nenbundosha</i>) be selected from those who had resided at the temples for over three years and that the Lecturer and Shrine Administrator test them on sutra-recitation (<i>Ruijū sandaikyaku</i> 2); that the <i>fubutsu</i> from Usa Hachiman-shin sustenance households be applied to alms and robes of the monks during New Year's and the summer retreat and that six of the twenty-four shrine workers be put in service to the temples (<i>Ruijū sandaikyaku</i> 3); and the petition revealed that the Lecturer and Reader from the temples were first appointed in two central government directives from the 1st day of the 2nd month and the 10th day of the 5th month of Tenchō 6
Tenchō 8 (831)	7th day, 3rd month	Kōhō	Kanzeonji lecturer Kōhō was ordered by Dazaifu to distribute 500 kernels of <i>shari</i> to the <i>kokubunji</i> and <i>jōgakuji</i> temples within its jurisdiction (<i>Nihon kiryaku</i>)
Tenchō 10 (833)	26th day, 10th month same year	Eun	Dazaifu is ordered to have the Buddhist canon copied in accordance with the oracle of Hachiman-shin in the Keiun era and to keep it at Mirokuji, and another set is to be copied and kept at Jingoji (<i>Shoku Nihon kōki</i>)
		Eun	Eun was appointed Kanzeonji Lecturer and Lecturer for Chikuzen Province specially to oversee the copying of the Buddhist canon (<i>Tōji chōja bunin</i>)
Jōwa 1 (834)	this year	Eun	Eun appointed the abbot of Jingoji (<i>Tōji chōja bunin</i>)
Jōwa 2 (835)	25th day, 8th month	Kōhō	Kanzeonji lecturer Kōhō petitions for five monks to be appointed to Miroku Chishikji 弥勒知識寺 in Matsura no kōri 松浦郡, Hizen Province; Dazaifu forwards the request to the Great Council of State of the central government (Daijōkan 太政官), which approves it (<i>Ruijū sandaikyaku</i>)
Jōwa 9 (842)	5th day, 5th month	Eun?	Eun resigns posts of Lecturer at Kanzeonji and Chikuzen in preparation for a voyage to Tang China (<i>Anshōji shizaichō</i>)
Jōwa 14 (847)	28th day, 11th month	unknown	On his return from Tang, Ennin 円仁 (794–864) sojourns at Daisenji 大山寺 from this day until the 3rd day of the 12th month, during which time he conducts a <i>tendoku</i> ritual reading before Hachiman Daibosatsu, Kawara Myōjin 香春明神, Kamado no Ōkami 竈門大神, Sumiyoshi no Ōkami 住吉大神, Kashii Myōjin 香椎明神, Chikuzen Myōjin 筑前明神, and Matsura Shōni no Kumo 松浦少二の雲 (<i>Nittō guhō junrei kōki</i> 入唐求法巡礼行記 by Ennin 円仁)
Kashō 1 (848)	8th month	unknown	Eun establishes Anshōji (<i>Anshōji shizaichō</i>)
	3rd day, 11th month	unknown	Shimotsuke Province 下野国 petitions that Yakushiji in Shimotsuke be recognized as the equal of Kanzeonji and that a monk be appointed to the post of Lecturer; the petition is recognized (<i>Shoku Nihon kōki</i> , <i>Ruijū sandaikyaku</i>)
Jōgan 1 (859)	8th month	unknown	Based on an appeal by Gyōkyō 行教 (n.d.), a Hōden hall is constructed at Iwashimizu Otokoyama 石清水男山 in Kyoto in order to invite Hachiman from Usa (<i>Iwashimizu Hachimangū Gokokuji ryakki</i>)

Continued study of the intricate circumstances behind the production of the Kokusenji statue is necessary, but the existence of a statue that was the product of complexly interwoven motives in both Kinai and Dazaifu offers a perspective that will be useful in considering the history of the subsequent creation of other Buddhist statues in northern Kyushu.

Appendix: Source 3

以_二高雄寺_一、為_二定額_一、并定_二得度經業等_一、正五位下行河内守和氣朝臣真綱、從五位下彈正少弼和氣朝臣仲世等言、臣聞、父構子終、謂_二之大孝_一、當_レ公獻_レ可、謂_二之至忠、惟忠惟孝、不_レ可_レ不_レ順者也、昔景雲年中、僧道鏡、以_二佞邪之資_一、登_二玄扈之上_一、辱僭_二法王之号_一、遂懷_二窺覷之心_一、偏_二邪幣御群神_一、行_二權橋御佞党_一、爰八幡大神、痛_二天嗣之傾弱_一、憂_二狼奴之將_レ興、神兵尖_レ鋒、鬼戰連_レ年、彼衆我寡、邪強正弱、大神歎_二自威之難_レ當、仰_二仏力之奇護_一、乃入_二御夢_一、請_二使者_一、有_レ勅、追_二引臣等故考從三位民部卿清麻呂、面宣_二御夢之事_一、仍以_二天位讓_二道鏡_一事_上、令_レ言_二大神_一、清麻呂奉_二詔旨_一、向_二宇佐神宮_一、于_レ時大神託宣、夫神有_二大少_一、好惡不_レ同、善神惡_二淫祀_一、貪神受_二邪幣_一、我為_二紹隆皇緒_一、扶_二濟國家_一、寫_二造一切經及仏_一、誦_二最勝王經一万卷_一、建_二一伽藍_一、除_二凶逆於一旦_一、固_二社稷於万代_一、汝承_二此言_一莫_レ有_二遺失_一、清麻呂對_二大神_一誓云、國家平定之後、必奏_二後帝_一奉_レ果_二神願_一、粉骨殞命、不_レ錯_二神言_一、還奏_二此言_一、遭_二時不遇_一、身降_二刑獄_一遂配_二荒隅_一、幸蒙_二神力_一、再入_二帝都_一、後田原天皇、寶龜十一年、敷_二奏此事_一、天皇感嘆、親製詔書、未_レ行之間、遇_二讓位之事_一、天応二年又奏之、柏原先帝、即以_二前詔_一、普布_二告天下_一、至_二延曆年中_一、私建_二伽藍_一、名曰_二神願寺_一天皇追嘉_二先功_一、以_二神願寺_一為_二定額寺_一、今此寺地勢汚穢、不_レ宜_二壇場_一、伏望、相_二替高雄寺_一、以為_二定額_一、名曰_二神護国祚真言寺_一、仏像一依_二大悲胎藏及金剛界等_一、簡_二解_二真言_一僧二七人_上、永為_二國家_一修_二行三密法門_一、其僧有_レ闕、拏_二有_二道行_一僧_上補_レ之、又簡_二貞操沙弥二七人_一、令_レ轉_二誦守護国界王經及調和風雨成熟五穀經等_一、晝夜更代、不_レ斷_二其声_一、七年之後、預_二得度_一、一則果_二大神之大願_一、二則除_二國家之災難_一者、勅、一代之間、每年聽_レ度_二一人_一、又備前国水田廿町、賜_二伝_二二世_一、為_二功田_一者、入_二彼寺_一充、果_二神願_一者、更延_二二世_一、自余依_レ請

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▪ Abbreviations Used

- KST *Shintei zōho kokushi taikai* 新訂増補国史大系. 66 vols. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1929–1964.
 T *zuzō* *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō zuzō* 大正新修大藏經圖像. 12 vols. Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1933–1935.
 ZZGS *Zokuzoku gunsho ruijū* 続々群書類従. 16 vols. Kokusho Kankōkai, 1906–1909.

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Sage Ladies, Devoted Brides: The *Kara monogatari* as a Manual for Women's Correct Behavior?

MARIA CHIARA MIGLIORE

IN recent decades, scholars have sought to highlight the importance of Japanese works written in Chinese, which traditionally were marginalized and treated independently from what was considered Japanese literature. More recently, the Western academy has succeeded in overcoming the long-standing *wa-kan* 和漢 dichotomy that has prevailed in analyses of Japanese literature.¹ As has been pointed out, Chinese writing endured as the core of literacy in Heian Japan (794–1185), where *kanbun* 漢文 was the main medium of the learned not only at court but also at the periphery,² while it is also evident that Japanese authors wrote their own literature through and against Chinese literary precedents.³ The irreducible hybridity of the *wa-kan*

cultural system is today accepted and understood as a self-contained tradition, a rich cultural sphere drawing on Japanese personal, political, ethical, religious, and cultural identity obtained after a process of inclusion, omission, or rejection of Chinese cultural elements.⁴

This *wa-kan* cultural system, which initially belonged primarily to the aristocratic elite, spread to the military classes through a process of popularization and through the use of the Japanese language. At the beginning of the Kamakura period (1185–1333), we find the shogunate's administrative elite engaged in the reading of Chinese didactic texts offering political, cultural, and literary arguments, which they translated into Japanese to help the spread of the *wa-kan* cultural system to the newly emerging samurai class. However, the first example of the popularization of *wa-kan* culture can be found earlier, at the end of Heian period, in the form of a text called the *Kara monogatari* 唐物語 (Chinese Tales).

This collection of secular anecdotes from Chinese literary and historical sources is not simply a translation of some of the most famous Chinese tales, but sheds light on the precise process through which Chinese texts were made available to larger audiences, as

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1 The term *wa-kan* (literally "Japan and China") has been traditionally used by Japanese scholars to oppose the "extraneous" Chinese to the "indigenous" Japanese. However, the expression, which has been in use since the Heian period, at that time did not mean an opposition but rather a juxtaposition, a combination of two styles of writing expressing one literary culture, formed through the continuous appropriation and negotiation of Chinese and Japanese elements. Considered in this sense, "Sino-Japanese literature" could be a useful translation.

2 Smits, "The Way of the Literati."

3 Denecke, *Classical World Literatures*.

4 For an overview of the debate on the *wa-kan* issue, see Persiani, "China as Self, China as Other."

Chinese sources were manipulated in order to bring the stories closer to the aesthetic tastes of the author's readership. In this article, I will first discuss the genre of the *Kara monogatari*; traditionally, it has been considered a collection of *setsuwa* 説話 (anecdotes), but considering the importance of its didactic aims and its influence on the production of vernacular literary and practical knowledge manuals in the subsequent Kamakura period, I suggest that it can be considered a primer. The *Kara monogatari* is primarily occupied with the promotion of Confucian virtues, mainly those regarding the correct behavior of women, such as fidelity, wisdom, and forbearance. Love stories also play an important role: here again a didactic aim can be observed, as love is described as a hindrance to spiritual elevation. One of the stories, for example, even criticizes Daoist beliefs and reconfigures the Chinese original which emphasizes the value of renunciation, instead presenting love as a despicable obstacle to rebirth in the Pure Land. The content of the stories, the rhetorical style typical of post-*Genji monogatari* 源氏物語 (The Tale of Genji, early eleventh century) novels, the Buddhist flavor in some of the anecdotes keeping with the *kana* literary vogue, and the Buddhist worldview that dominated the late Heian period—these are all features that lead me to speculate that the collection might well have been composed for female audiences, who scholars have supposed were no longer able to read or study Chinese.

The *Kara monogatari* and the Question of Its Genre

In 1954, while the scholar Ōta Shōjirō was examining the *Sōka shoshi* 桑華書誌 (Chinese and Japanese Bibliographic Notes, 1704–1723) written by bibliophile Maeda Tsunanori 前田綱紀 (1643–1724), he came across an ancient book catalogue. It was identified as a copy of a list of the books belonging to Prince Shukaku 守覚 (1150–1202), dating from the period from 1151 to 1187. The prince was the son of the sovereign, Goshirakawa 後白河 (1127–1192), and was living as a monk at the Ninna 仁和 monastery of Kyoto. This catalogue, which Ōta called *Koseki kasho mokuroku* 古蹟歌書目録 (Ancient Manuscript Catalogue of Works on Japanese Poetry), contains the following note: “*Kara mo-*

nogatari, one book, author: Shigenori.”⁵ This discovery put an end to the debate on the attribution and therefore the dating of the *Kara monogatari*, a work that had been reproduced in numerous handwritten and printed copies but could not be dated due to the lack of clues in the copies themselves or in other contemporary or later works.⁶

Scholars agree on the authorship of Fujiwara no Shigenori 藤原成範 (1135–1187), a poet and official, also known as the Middle Councilor of the Cherry Orchard District (*Sakuramachi chūnagon* 桜町中納言) because of his fondness for cherry trees, large quantities of which he planted in his garden.

Shigenori hailed from an illustrious literary family. His grandfather, Fujiwara no Sanekane 藤原実兼 (1085–1112), is said to have edited the *Gōdānshō* 江談抄 (The Ōe Conversations, between 1104 and 1111?). His father, Fujiwara no Michinori 藤原通憲 (1106?–1159), rose rapidly during the reign of Goshirakawa and was famous for his erudition and as an author of historical works. Michinori owned a library containing almost two hundred Chinese works, as attested by the *Tsūken nyūdō zōsho mokuroku* 通建入道藏書目録 (Catalogue of the Works in Fujiwara no Michinori's Library, end of the twelfth century?) which, despite its incomplete

5 漢物語一帖成範作. Ōta, “‘Sōka shoshi’ shosai ‘Koseki kasho mokuroku,’” p. 175.

6 The word *kara*, which from the third to sixth centuries denoted the southern part of the Korean Peninsula and later the continent as a whole, was represented by a number of Chinese characters: 伽羅 (phonetically), 韓, 唐, and 漢. It is commonly thought that the catalogue found by Ōta refers to the *Kara monogatari* discussed here. The *Kara monogatari* manuscripts sometimes have the title written in *hiragana* (か) and sometimes with the graph 唐, which by the late Heian period had become the most commonly used Chinese character to denote China. The oldest manuscript bears the title *Mōgyū waka* 蒙求和歌 (Japanese Poems on the *Meng qiu*, 1204), an erroneous reference (for more on this work, see below). The translations given in this article are based on this handwritten copy, considered by Ikeda to be the text closest to the original. It is called the *Sonkeikakubon* 尊經閣本, because it belongs to the Maeda family's Sonkeikaku Library in Tokyo. It dates back to the end of the Kamakura period and was perhaps made by Prince Takayoshi 尊良 (1310?–1336?), son of the sovereign Godaigo 後醍醐 (1288–1339). See Ikeda, *Nitchū hikaku bungaku no kiso kenkyū*, pp. 44–46. In addition to the family of texts that sprang from this copy, Ikeda found two others, which he called B and C; but neither present significant differences with respect to the *Sonkeikakubon*. See Fujiwara no Shigenori, *Kōhon Kara monogatari*. The terms *kara monogatari* 唐物語 (Chinese tales) or *kara monogatari e* 唐物語絵 (Chinese illustrated tales), which frequently appear in works from the late Heian period, refer more generally to Chinese anecdotes and legends also widely known in Japan from ancient times.

transmission, is still the oldest existing catalogue of a private library in Japan.

Shigenori was not as famous as his father, but carried on the family tradition, making an even more prestigious career for himself: at his death he was a councilor and held the senior second rank (*shōnii* 正二位) at court. Given the scarcity of other information concerning his life and work, it is impossible to establish with certainty either the date of *Kara monogatari*'s composition, its purpose, or the type of readers Shigenori was writing for. However, we can venture some hypotheses based on the content of the work. It is a collection of twenty-seven anecdotes from the Chinese tradition, written in the vernacular of the time, with each anecdote accompanied by one or more *waka* 和歌. The stories are of varying lengths and concern both real and legendary Chinese figures from the most distant past up to the Tang period (618–907). Given the anecdotal and didactic character of the work, the presence of a closing judgment in some stories, and the appearance of the term *mukashi* 昔 (“the past”) at the opening of each tale, it has been classified as belonging to the anecdotal genre.

Collections of anecdotes were especially popular in the second half of the twelfth century. Beginning with *Konjaku monogatari* 今昔物語集 (Tales of Times Now Past, twelfth century), there was a proliferation of homiletic and didactic collections based on Buddhist religious propaganda. This followed a tradition that began in the Nara period with *Nihon ryōiki* 日本靈異記 (Supernatural and Extraordinary Chronicles of Japan, between 810 and 824) and then continued into the Heian period with the *Sanbōe kotoba* 三宝絵詞 (The Three Jewels, Illustrated, 984), in which some of the *Nihon ryōiki* anecdotes were translated and adapted.

At least two of these medieval collections, the *Konjaku monogatari* and the lesser-known *Uchigikishū* 打聞集 (Collection of Stories Heard, 1134?), contain entire books dedicated to stories originally written in Chinese and translated into Japanese. Whereas these translations were made in a religious context, the *Kara monogatari* is the first example of a translation from Chinese into Japanese of stories from the Confucian tradition, a secular domain unconnected with Buddhism. There are homiletic comments included in some anecdotes (for example, in anecdotes 18 and 27), but they were added by Shigenori and are not part of the original stories.

While the formal structure of *setsuwa* does not leave

space for the inclusion of *waka*, this is not the case with the *Kara monogatari*. This aspect would therefore appear to bring the work closer to *uta monogatari* 歌物語 (poetic stories) such as the *Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語 (Tales of Ise, tenth century) or the *Yamato monogatari* 大和物語 (Tales of Yamato, tenth century). Nevertheless, as Midorikawa points out, unlike in the *uta monogatari*, most of the *waka* found in the *Kara monogatari* are not recited by the protagonists of the stories; rather, they express the feelings of Shigenori himself.⁷

One of the major poetic genres of the medieval period consisted of *waka* about ancient Chinese figures or historical events (*kankojidai* 漢故事題). The most significant work in this vein is the *Kankoji waka shū* 漢故事和歌集 (Anthology of Japanese Poems Associated with Chinese Tales, Muromachi period), a collection of seventy poems divided into thirty-six subjects (or *dai* 題), all about figures from Chinese antiquity. Its content is largely the same as that of *Kara monogatari*, suggesting a link between the work and collections of poetry on specific themes of the medieval period.⁸

While Midorikawa proposes defining *Kara monogatari* as consisting of “anecdotes translated from Chinese” (*hon'yaku shōsetsu* 翻訳小説, probably referring to the Chinese *xiao shuo* 小說),⁹ Ikeda speaks of a “collection of *monogatari* translated from Chinese having the form of poetic stories” (*uta monogatari no katachi o toru hon'yaku monogatari* 歌物語の形をとる翻訳物語集).¹⁰ Ultimately, however, the *Kara monogatari* cannot be clearly classified as belonging to a specific genre.

The *Kara monogatari* is not only difficult to classify but also complex to interpret. Attempts to understand its structure according to the principles of progression and association, which would make it similar to *uta monogatari*, or even on the basis of a “circular” construction, which would make it similar to some collections of *setsuwa*,¹¹ are doomed to failure. Furthermore, the hypothesis put forward by Kobayashi, which unsuccessfully tries to order the stories based on the principle

7 Midorikawa, *Kara monogatari*, p. 536.

8 Mimura, “Kankojidai waka kara mita chūsei ruidai shū no keifu.”

9 Midorikawa, *Kara monogatari*, p. 540.

10 Ikeda, *Nitchū hikaku bungaku no kiso kenkyū*, p. 17.

11 Geddes, *Kara monogatari: Tales of China*, pp. 26–44. This is the only translation of the *Kara monogatari* in the English language. An Italian translation is in Migliore, *Kara monogatari: Racconti cinesi*.

of the author's compassion (*nasake* 情) for all human feeling or conduct, is not convincing.¹²

Even if the question of genre remains unanswered, it is possible to establish the text's audience with some degree of certainty by considering the ethical value of the stories, whose strong didactic aim can be understood as an attempt to model women's behavior according to Confucian virtues.

Didactic Translations: The *Kara monogatari* as a Primer

In the first half of the ninth century, the works of the Chinese poet Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846) reached Japan and were so influential that scholars tend to divide Japanese poetic output into two phases: before and after Bai Juyi.¹³ Of the twenty-seven stories contained in the *Kara monogatari*, six are rewritings of the works of Bai Juyi; moreover, they represent the most successful anecdotes from a literary point of view. These are Bai Juyi's most famous and quoted works in Japanese literature, and they include the *Song of the Lute* (Pipa xing 琵琶行, anecdote 2); the poem about Lady Li (Li furen 李夫人, anecdote 15); and lastly the *Song of Everlasting Regret* (Chang hen ge 長恨歌, anecdote 18), which narrates the romance between Yang Guifei 楊貴妃 (719–756) and Tang Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (685–762). This is the central and most substantial episode in the collection and is even considered a *monogatari* in its own right, as there are handwritten and printed copies that contain only this anecdote. (For a list of anecdotes and their sources, see table 1.)

The other anecdotes are taken from numerous and varied sources. Some sources are historical, such as *Shi ji* 史記 (Records of the Great Historian, second century BCE) by Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145?–86? BCE) and the annals of the Jin and Han dynasties, while others are collections of anecdotes that had been circulating in Japan since the Nara period, including some lost in China. These anecdotes contain characters, legends, and famous proverbs known to all and are among the most frequently quoted in Chinese and Japanese literature; they were studied at the State Academy (*daigakuryō* 大學寮) and in private institutes, and were the subject of cultured, playful conversation. Ultimately they became iconic, forming a tradition that continued through the nineteenth century. They are so famous that they have essentially become stereotypes: as Richard Bowring

points out, they are “a sort of Fuji and geishas in reverse.”¹⁴

Ten of are also found in the *Meng qiu* 蒙求 (Inquiries of the Ignorant, 746),¹⁵ the well-known manual dedicated to teaching children Chinese, attributed to an author of the Tang period, Li Han 李瀚, who seemingly flourished in the Tianbao era (742–756). The work contains 592 anecdotes set out in parallel verses of four characters per anecdote. Each verse contains the name of a historical or mythical personage dating from antiquity up to the sixth century. Thus, the *Meng qiu* was not only a means of teaching the Chinese language, but it also provided some information about history and culture: we might say that the work represents a sort of encyclopedia of Chinese civilization. Li Han also added some commentary to the text as an essential aid to understanding the anecdotes. The extreme regularity of the verses (which also rhyme) makes for easy memorization, which is the key to the success of the manual, a success that would soon spread beyond Chinese borders.

We do not know exactly when the *Meng qiu* came to Japan. It is first mentioned in a Japanese text in an entry of *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* 日本三代実録 (Veritable Record of Three Reigns of Japan, 901), which reports that on the twenty-fifth day of the eighth month of the year 878, Prince Sadayasu 貞保親王 (870–924), the eight-year-old son of Seiwa Tennō 清和天皇 (850–881), began his studies of it.¹⁶ The work was a teaching instrument of primary importance not only for the princes, but also for the offspring of aristocratic families. Knowledge of Chinese language and culture was considered a fundamental part of the curriculum of any good state official, as a proverb popular in the Heian period reminds us:

The Kangakuin¹⁷ sparrows chirp the *Meng qiu*.¹⁸

14 Bowring, “Review,” p. 586.

15 The expression *meng qiu* is taken from the *Yijing* 易經 (The Classic of Changes, probably written between the Spring and Autumn period [771–476 BCE] and the Warring States period [403–221 BCE]): “It is not I who seek the uncultivated; it is the uncultivated who seek me.” Much later, Xu Ziguang 徐子光, a literary figure active in the twelfth century, wrote an excellent commentary that became so popular as to eclipse the previous ones. It is not known when Xu Ziguang's commentary reached Japan, but the oldest copy dates to 1239. The *Meng qiu* with Xu's commentary continued to be widely used throughout the Edo period and even during the Meiji era.

16 皇弟貞保親王於飛鳥舍初讀蒙求. *Nihon sandai jitsuroku*, p. 499.

17 The Kangakuin was the Institute of Higher Studies founded by Fujiwara no Fuyutsugu 藤原冬嗣 (775–826) in 812 for the education of Fujiwara family scions.

18 勸学院の雀は蒙求をさえずる. The proverb is preserved, for example, in the *Hōbutsushū* 宝物集 (Collection of Treasures, ca. 1180) anecdote collection. See Taira no Yasuyori, *Hōbutsushū*, p. 54.

12 *Kara monogatari zenshaku*, pp. 308–17.

13 Konishi, *A History of Japanese Literature*, pp. 150–55.

Table 1. List of *Kara monogatari*'s twenty-seven anecdotes, their sources, and their corresponding entries in *Meng qiu*. The asterisks in the righthand column designate anecdotes that tell a different story than those in the *Kara monogatari*, despite the presence of the same characters.

<i>Kara monogatari</i>	Source	<i>Meng qiu</i>
1. Wang Ziyou and Dai Andao	<i>Shishuo xinyu</i> 世說新語	子猶尋戴
2. <i>The Pipa Song</i>	<i>Pipa xing</i> 琵琶行 (Bai Juyi)	
3. Jia's wife	<i>Zuo zhuan</i> 左傳	賈氏如阜
4. Meng Guang, Liang Hong's wife	<i>Hou Han shu</i> 後漢書	孟光荆釵 *
5. Sima Xiangru and his wife Zuo Wenjun	<i>Shi ji</i> 史記	文君当爐 相如題柱
6. Luzhu	<i>Jin shu</i> 晉書	綠珠墮樓
7. Song Yu	<i>Dengtuzi haosefu</i> 登徒子好色賦	
8. Mianmian, wife of minister Zhang	<i>Yanzilou sanshou bing fu</i> 燕子樓三首並序 (Bai Juyi)	
9. Zhang Wencheng and the Empress Zetian		
10. Deyan and his wife Dame Chen	<i>Ben shi shi</i> 本事詩	
11. Xiao Shi and Longyu	<i>Lie xian zhuan</i> 列仙傳	簫史鳳台
12. The wife who turned into a stone	<i>You ming lu</i> 幽明錄	
13. Ehuang and Nuhing, wives of Emperor Shun	<i>Bo wu zi</i> 博物志	
14. <i>The Concubines of the Mausoleum</i>	<i>Ling yuan qie</i> 陵園妾 (Bai Juyi)	
15. <i>His Lady Li</i>	<i>Li furen</i> 李夫人 (Bai Juyi)	
16. The Queen Mother of the West	<i>Bo wu zhi</i> 博物志	
17. The Four Sages of Mount Shang and Empress Lü	<i>Han shu</i> 漢書	許由一瓢 *
18. <i>The Song of Everlasting Regret</i>	<i>Chang hen ge</i> 長恨歌 (Bai Juyi)	
19. Zhu Maichen's wife	<i>Shi ji</i> 史記	買妻恥醜
20. The orphan of Zhao family	<i>Shi ji</i> 史記	
21. Lord of Pingyuan	<i>Shi ji</i> 史記	趙勝謝璧
22. King Zhuang of Chu	<i>Shuo yuan</i> 說苑	楚莊絕纓
23. Xun Shuang's daughter	<i>Hou Han shu</i> 後漢書	
24. <i>The White-Haired Woman of the Shangyang Palace</i>	<i>Shangyang baifa ren</i> 上陽白髮人 (Bai Juyi)	
25. Wang Zhaojun	<i>Xijing zaji</i> 西京雜記	
26. Pan Anren	<i>Jin shu</i> 晉書	岳湛連璧
27. The two women and the white dog		

The *Kara monogatari* and the *Meng qiu* not only have stories in common, but anecdotes 21 and 22 appear in the same order in both works. This has led Kawaguchi Hisao to hypothesize that in writing the *Kara monogatari* Shigenori based it not on the original sources but on the *Meng qiu* or other collections containing the same anecdotes.¹⁹ However, this has not been confirmed by Kawaguchi, or by Ikeda in his extensive and detailed study of the sources of the *Kara monogatari*.²⁰ It is therefore plausible that Shigenori knew the content of the *Meng qiu* by heart and that he had studied the commentary in vogue in his day. It is in any case clear that he relied on such well-known episodes and characters that their appearance in other sources should come as no surprise.

It is also plausible that the *Kara monogatari* influenced not only the anthology *Kankoji waka shū* (mentioned above) but also the production of teaching manuals written in Japanese, namely the three works by Minamoto no Mitsuyuki 源光行 (1163–1244) composed in 1204 and probably dedicated to Minamoto no Sanetomo 源実朝 (1192–1219), who had become the shogun during the previous year. These are the *Mōgyū waka* 蒙求和歌 (Japanese Poems on the *Meng qiu*), the *Hyakuei waka* 百詠和歌 (Japanese Poems on *Baiershi yong*), and the lost *Gafu waka* 楽府和歌 (Japanese Poems on *Yuefu*).

Despite being a member of the Minamoto family, Mitsuyuki was above all a man of letters. Having been a pupil of Fujiwara no Shunzei 藤原俊成 (1114–1204), he became famous for his studies on the *Genji monogatari*; he spent his time between the Heian capital and the new city of Kamakura, where he pursued a career in the shogunate. As he writes in his preface to the *Mōgyū waka*, as one who has always loved stories and anecdotes, he aims to present them in Japanese so that they may be of use in instructing young people.²¹ Mitsuyuki chooses 150 anecdotes and classifies them into categories, following the practice for poetry anthologies by presenting them in fourteen books. The Chinese verse of four syllables is followed by a commentary in Japanese based on the Chinese commentaries and ends with a *waka* of the author's own composition. Mitsuyuki's idea is not only to

teach Chinese culture through Japanese translations of the anecdotes in the *Meng qiu*, but also to create a manual of poetic composition: he likely intended to provide a guide that would popularize the intellectual pleasure of composing poetry.²² Mitsuyuki does the same in the *Hyakuei waka*, commenting in Japanese on the work of the Tang poet Li Jiao 李嶠 (644–713), the *Baiershi yong* 百二十詠 (The One-Hundred-and-Twenty Songs), an anthology of poets divided by subject like an encyclopedia and used as a textbook by aristocratic children starting in the Heian period.²³

It may be assumed that the third work, which has not been preserved, was organized in the same way and contained a commentary on Bai Juyi's *New Ballads* (*Xin yuefu* 新樂府) plus a *waka* for each ballad.²⁴ Mitsuyuki made an enormous contribution to the popularity of classical Chinese culture, which until then had been the province of the aristocratic elite in the capital, by spreading it to the warrior class and providing children of samurai with a set of works that met a variety of needs: knowledge of the Chinese language, knowledge of Chinese culture through anecdotes, and the knowledge and skills necessary to write verse in Chinese and Japanese. In short, thanks to Mitsuyuki, we can speak of the first-wave spread of the *wa-kan* cultural system beyond the palaces of the nobles and the capital.

Based on the prose-and-poetry structure of these two manuals, their inherent purpose of didacticism, and precise textual evidence, Ikeda identified the *Kara monogatari* as a model on which Mitsuyuki might have based his texts. Ikeda further traced a genealogy of manuals that transmitted the *wa-kan* cultural system, beginning with the *Kara monogatari* and including the Muromachi-period *Kankoji wakashū*.²⁵ I agree with this hypothesis and would add one more fundamental element that connects the *Kara monogatari* with the others: their contents are centered on Confucian virtues.

Mitsuyuki was not the only one interested in producing manuals in Japanese. Following a request from the “nun-shōgun” Hōjō Masako 北条政子 (1157–1225),

19 Kawaguchi, *Heianchō Nihon kanbungakushi no kenkyū*, pp. 973–75.

20 Ikeda, *Nitchū hikaku bungaku no kiso kenkyū*, pp. 113–56, 441–66.

21 Minamoto no Mitsuyuki, *Mōgyū waka*, p. 74. For the translation of Mitsuyuki's *mana* and *kana* prefaces see Guest, “Primers, Commentaries, and Kanbun Literacy,” pp. 177–79.

22 Yanase, *Mōgyū waka, Hyakuei waka*, p. 416.

23 Despite the title, the *Hyakuei waka* contains 240 poems organized into 120 subjects (*dai*). The *Baiershi yong* is also one of the works lost in China (around the Yuan or Ming period) that has survived in Japan.

24 Bai Juyi's *New Ballads* consist of fifty allegorical poems that criticize social and political injustices. A complete English translation is in Gwither, “Bai Juyi and the New Yuefu Movement.”

25 Ikeda, *Nitchū hikaku bungaku no kiso kenkyū*.

writer Sugawara no Tamenaga 菅原為長 (1158–1246) edited a translation of the *Zhenguan zhengyao* 貞觀政要 (Essentials of Government of the Zhenguan Reign), the famous manual commissioned by the Tang Emperor Taizong 太宗 (597–649) that became a textbook for state officials both in China and abroad and remained well known in Japan from the Nara period onwards. A vernacular translation, entitled *Kana Jōgan seiyō* 仮名貞觀政要 (The *Zhenguan zhengyao* in Kana), was later published in 1647.

We see this kind of translation activity until the end of the thirteenth century, when Fujiwara no Shigenori 藤原茂範 (n.d.) wrote the *Kara kagami* 唐鏡 (The Mirror of China), a history of China from ancient times to the Tang period, based on a selection of Chinese historical sources which he fully and faithfully translated with no rhetorical embellishments or subjective considerations, respecting the content and style of the original texts. In this respect, the *Kara kagami* distances itself from the *Kara monogatari* and from the works of Mitsuyuki, proving to be not a didactic but a historical work.

In short, translation in medieval Japan ranged from literary to historical and political subjects. Although the production of Chinese texts had moved into a phase of stagnation by the end of the thirteenth century—which would incidentally serve as a prelude to a great rebirth during the Edo period—it was still perceived as the “tradition” *par excellence*, so much so that keeping it alive in Japanese was considered a necessity. As for the *Kara monogatari*, it can be regarded as one of the first examples of a translation of a Chinese text with a specifically didactic purpose: to transmit classic literary knowledge to female audiences.

Adaptation and Rewriting: Aesthetic Tastes and Buddhist Stances

In the 1930s, Yamagishi Tokuhei assessed the *Kara monogatari* as follows: “This work is a model of the art of the translator, who in this case has shown exceptional quality and skill.”²⁶ In reality, there are very few anecdotes in the *Kara monogatari* that one could truly consider “translated.” We shall see how Shigenori makes

26 He also claims that the author is unknown and places the work in the Kamakura period. Yamagishi, *Yamagishi Tokuhei shosaku shū*, p. 299.

fairly free use of his sources, cutting or adding narrative elements and even changing, in some cases, the original story. Take for example the second anecdote, whose source is the famous *Lute Song*, composed in 816 by Bai Juyi. The text is faithfully rendered by the translator, with the exception of the conclusion: in the translation, the poet’s decision to live alone and never return to the capital is different not only from the source text but also from Bai Juyi’s biography, which was well known at the time in Japan. This is a clear example of how Shigenori altered his sources in order to bring the protagonist closer to the aesthetic ideals of his readers.²⁷

The *Kara monogatari* provides another example of adaptation in anecdote 12, where Shigenori rewrites *ex novo* a story that takes its cue from a proverbial expression, that of the “rock that contemplates the husband” (*bōfuseki* 望夫石; Ch. *wang fu shi*). In the *Kara monogatari* the story reads as follows:

Long ago there lived a married couple. They were in the prime of life and had sworn to love each other deeply forever, but the man suddenly died. Grief-stricken, the woman came to think that life was no longer worth living. Many suitors competed for her affections, but she refused them all. As she listened to their proposals, all she had in her heart was the image of her husband, whom she did not forget even for a moment. In the end she died and her body turned to stone.²⁸

The source of this anecdote is the *You ming lu* 幽明錄 (Records of the Hidden and the Visible Worlds, Six Dynasties Period, 222–589), one of the most important collections of strange tales (*zhiguai* 志怪), an enduring genre of Chinese fiction.²⁹ Although the original

27 In the words of Kanda this represents a process of “medievalization” (*chūseika* 中世化) of Bai Juyi. Kanda, “Hikaku bungakuteki kenkyū,” p. 93. Ikeda sees it as an aristocratic rather than a medievalizing rewriting of the Chinese text. Ikeda, *Nitchū hikaku bungaku no kiso kenkyū*, p. 108. These opinions do not necessarily conflict, as they agree on a sort of assimilation of Bai Juyi into the Japanese cultural system.

28 昔、おとこ女あひすみけり。としなともさかりにてよろつ行くすゑのことまであさからす契つありふるに、この夫思のほかにはかなくなりけり。其後なみたにしつみであるにもあらずおほえけるを、我もわれもとねんころにいとみいふ人ありけれど、いかにもゆるさりけり。これをきくにつけてもなきかげをのみ心にかけつ時のまもわするひまなくて、つゐにいのちをうしなひてけり。そのかはねはいしになりける。Fujiwara no Shigenori, *Kōhon Kara monogatari*, p. 17.

29 Despite being traditionally attributed to Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403–444), the work is probably the result of a compilation of

has been lost, the stories it contained were taken up in numerous anthologies. This story appears in the fifth book of *Chu xue ji* 初学記 (Records for Initial Study, 728), an encyclopedia in thirty volumes divided by category, attributed to Xu Jian 徐堅 (659–729), and listed in *Nihonkoku genzaisho mokuroku* 日本国現在書目録 (Catalogue of Extant Texts in the Country of Japan, 891). This catalogue attests to the presence of the work in Japan by the ninth century:

The *You ming lu* ... moreover tells us that on a mountain north of Wuchang stands the “rock that contemplates the husband.” It has the shape of a person standing. It is said that long ago there lived a faithful bride. The husband was sent on service to a faraway and dangerous region. Taking her children, she climbed the mountain to watch him leave. As she gazed out at her husband, she turned to stone. This is the origin of the name.³⁰

The differences between the two stories are evident. The story in the *Kara monogatari* is certainly not a translation or a rewriting but rather a whole new story that takes its cue from an expression whose origin has been lost. Furthermore, we can see how the source has been transformed to fit the poetic stereotype typical of the *Kara monogatari* found in other anecdotes (such as nos. 6, 8, and 23)—that of the woman who prefers to die rather than marry another man.³¹

Similarly, anecdote 7 does not translate its Chinese source but rather simplifies it, resulting in a story that is almost meaningless. The anecdote is a rewriting of a *fu* 賦 (rhapsody) by Song Yu 宋玉 (c. 319–298 BCE),

one of the most famous poets of the Warring States period. In the *Kara monogatari*, Song Yu is a man of unparalleled beauty and extraordinary erudition. To the eastern side of his home lived a woman, also of unparalleled beauty, who made a commitment to make him fall in love with her. Day and night she would go to the eastern corner of the fence that separated their homes, but three years passed without him so much as glancing at her. Lovesick, she gave way to despair and never managed to meet him. Shigenori concludes:

Song Yu felt no attraction for her, perhaps? Was he perchance too refined to be overwhelmed by love? Or not? It is no easy task to understand the affairs of the heart.³²

The *fu* of Song Yu appears in the *Wen xuan* 文選 (Literary Anthology, first half of the sixth century) with the title *Dengtuzi haosefu* 登徒子好色賦 (Rhapsody of Lord Dengtu's Lust). It is a satirical piece, in which Song Yu defends himself from the accusation of lust levelled against him by Dengtu, a minister of the King of Chu. Dengtu advises the king not to take Song Yu with him to the women's rooms, as he is a handsome smooth talker. In reply, Song Yu tells the king that he has been ignoring his beautiful neighbor for three whole years, pointing out that Dengtu, on the other hand, has had five children together with his wife even though she is ugly.³³ The *Kara monogatari* version lacks Song Yu's witty comment, making the anecdote not only flat but almost meaningless.³⁴

The sources of two of the anecdotes from the collection (nos. 9 and 27) have not been identified and may come from an oral tradition widespread in the days of Shigenori. The first anecdote tells of the love between Zhang Wencheng 張文成 (courtesy name Zhang Zhuo 張鷟, 660–740?), a poet of the Tang period who is traditionally credited with writing the *You xian ku* 遊仙

works by several authors. Zhang, “A Textual History of Liu Yiqing's *You Ming Lu*.”

30 幽明録[略]又曰武昌北山有望夫石、状若人立、古伝云昔有貞婦、其夫從役、遠赴國難、携弱子錢送此山、立望夫而化為立石、因以為名焉。 *Chu xue ji*, <http://www.guoxue123.com/zhibu/0201/03cxj/004.htm>.

31 In Japanese literature, one example of a woman who sees her husband off on a perilous journey and waves to him from afar is found in *Man'yōshū* 萬葉集 (poems 868, 871–875, 883), where Maturasayo-hime bids farewell to her husband from afar as he sets out on a mission to the continent. *Man'yōshū*, pp. 60–63, 65. In *Hizen no kuni fudoki* 肥前国風土記 (Chronicles of Hizen Province, mid-eighth century), the toponym Matura is linked to the same tradition. See *Hizen no kuni fudoki*, p. 278. In neither case, however, is the woman transformed into a rock, nor are there any examples in other early texts. The first example of a wife turning to stone seems to be recorded in *Utsuho monogatari* 宇津保物語 (The Tale of the Hollow Tree, tenth century). See *Utsuho monogatari*, p. 74.

32 ゆかしからすはなかりけめと、あまり心のいうにて、人に物をおもはせんと思へりけるにや又さもやなかりけん、心のうちしりかたし。 Fujiwara no Shigenori, *Kōhon Kara monogatari*, p. 9.

33 Knechtges, *Wen Xuan, Or Selections of Refined Literature*, pp. 349–55.

34 The episode of the lady spurned for three years recurs in *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari* 浜松中納言物語 (The Story of the Second Hamamatsu Councilor, eleventh century), where it is attributed to Pan Yue, another character famous for his beauty and the protagonist of anecdote 26 of the *Kara monogatari*.

窟 (Visit to the Dwelling of the Immortals),³⁵ and Empress Wu Zhao 武曩, better known by her posthumous name Zetian 則天 (623–705). Consort of Tang Emperor Gaozhong 高宗 (628–683), she was the first and only woman in China to take the title of emperor (*di* 帝), having founded the Zhou dynasty (690–705). No Chinese source attests to an affair between the empress and the poet; the only other work that mentions it is Japanese, the *Hōbutsushū*, which is contemporary with the *Kara monogatari*. In this version of the story the liaison between Wu Zhao and the poet, who was said to have given her the *You xian ku* as a gift, is mentioned very briefly. This does not explain the origin of the information, which perhaps belonged to an oral tradition of the time and was taken up in both works.³⁶

The other anecdote for which no source has been found (no. 27) tells of two women who voluntarily renounce the world against their parents' wishes and form a sentimental attachment to a dog. The moral of the tale seems to be that, just as it is impossible to escape the mechanisms of karmic bonds, so too is love, in whatever form, a condition from which there is no escape. What emerges even more clearly in this anecdote is a need to demonstrate how love should be considered one of the obstacles to spiritual growth for those who fall prey to it.³⁷

It is evident that Shigenori has manipulated his sources in order to bring the stories closer to the aesthetic tastes of his readership. At this juncture, we cannot help wondering who his readers actually were. If we classify the *Kara monogatari* as belonging to the *setsuwa* genre, it must have been meant for educational purposes and could therefore have been a textbook for children.³⁸ Nevertheless, even setting aside the fact that the young aristocrats of the time studied Chinese and therefore did not need translations, what could an

anecdote like no. 27, for example, teach young people, concerned as it is with the sexual relationship between two young women and a dog?

Another hypothesis might be that Shinegori's ideal reader was female. Indeed, the vast majority of the tales in the *Kara monogatari* are love stories; the work appears to be a veritable catalogue of love matches with women as protagonists, be they empresses, ladies of the court, or the wives of *petits fonctionnaires*. Unlike men, by the end of the Heian period women (excluding queens and princesses, women who belonged to the highest ranks of the aristocracy) had no access to a Chinese education. It may therefore be assumed that all other women would have needed a "translation" into Japanese, which featured the addition of *waka*, a rhetorical style typical of post-*Genji monogatari* novels, and a Buddhist flavor (as demonstrated by some of the anecdotes, for example nos. 18 and 27). In this sense, we can understand the *Kara monogatari* as a primer addressed to mid-ranking court women.

On closer inspection, the *Kara monogatari* does not depict love as something positive. From a Confucian point of view it can be a calamity for the reign or a cause of disorder, in short a sentiment that brings only disaster and pain; and from the Buddhist point of view it prevents rebirth in the paradise of Amida. Several anecdotes are very explicit on this point, particularly no. 15, in which the death of the consort Li breaks the heart of Emperor Wu, who cannot bring himself to accept his loss. Furthermore, anecdote 18 tells of how Emperor Xuanzong's senseless love for Yang Guifei causes civil war and the death of countless people, leading to the woman's execution. And yet the emperor will not resign himself and resorts to the magical arts, just like Emperor Wu. Both emperors find themselves powerless in the face of the separation caused by death. The inconsolable Xuanzong dies only to be reincarnated again in this world, undergoing the eternal cycle of death and rebirth in order to be with his beloved. As Shigenori points out in the sermon that concludes the anecdote:

Only by renouncing the world and praying for salvation can we safely cross the sea of suffering and come to the land of infinite joy, the Pure Land.³⁹

35 An English translation can be found in Levy, *The Dwelling of Playful Goddesses*.

36 Kōda Rohan 幸田露伴 (1867–1947) tried to explain the lack of a Chinese source of reference as an error of mistaken identity committed by the author of the *Kara monogatari*: the person in question was probably not Zhang Wencheng but perhaps one of the two Zhang brothers, Zhang Yizhi 張易之 or Zhang Changzong 張昌宗, who were court officials at the time of Wu Zhao, or even their father Zhang Xingcheng 張行成, a favorite of the sovereign. *Kara monogatari zenshaku*, pp. 66–67. In any case, this is merely a matter of conjecture.

37 For more on this anecdote, see Migliore, "Motivi letterari persi e ritrovati in un aneddoto del *Kara monogatari*."

38 See, among others, Kinoshita, *Kara monogatari*; Keene, *Seeds in the Heart*, p. 582.

39 この世をいとひ、極楽をねがひ、くるしみをあつめたるうみをわたりて、樂をきはめたるくにいたらん事はうたかふへからす。Fujiwara no Shigenori, *Kōhon Kara monogatari*, p. 47.

And again, at the end of anecdote 27, in an attempt to explain how the two women could have become embroiled with a dog, Shigenori concludes:

We all think that we could never find ourselves in a situation like this, and yet, faced with the profundity of a love pact, neither the wise nor the fool can escape their fate.⁴⁰

This underlines that the only road to salvation is the renunciation of love. However, it is a negative feeling only if it binds us to the flesh: pure love is rewarded, as in the case of the two lovers in anecdote 11, musician Xiao Shi 簫史 and Lung Yu 弄玉, the daughter of the duke, who live immersed in art, far from the filth of the world, and fly together to Heaven.⁴¹

It is remarkable how similar this narrative is to those contained in Buddhist anecdotes produced in the late Heian and Kamakura periods, where love is seen as a deeply sinful practice but nonetheless arouses pathos. I am referring in particular to anecdotes contained in *Hosshinshū* 発心集 (Collection of Tales of Religious Awakening) by Kamo no Chōmei 鴨長明 (1155?-1216) and *Kankyō no tomo* 閑居友 (Companion in Solitude, 1222?) by the monk Keisei 慶政 (1189-1268), which deal with the theme of amorous love between men and women.⁴² The reshaping of secular anecdotes in a religious context reveals the contiguity of *Kara monogatari* to the religious and aesthetic ideals that dominated Heian and Kamakura writings, further corroborating the spread of a hybrid *wa-kan* culture.

Confucian Virtues: Devoted Wives, Foolish Ladies

The most common theme in the collection is that of devoted wives, who appear as protagonists in no fewer than eight anecdotes (nos. 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 13, 23).

Anecdote 4 tells of Liang Hong 梁鴻 (fl. 24-80)⁴³ and his wife Meng Guang 孟光. The *Kara monogatari* describes her as “an ugly woman like no other in the world” whereas the Chinese source, the *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (The History of the Later Han, 432) merely speaks of a strong woman, strong enough to lift a stone mortar, who appeared in public without makeup or ornaments. Indeed, Meng Guang eschews the frills that make women beautiful, preferring warm, comfortable clothes suited to life in the woods, just as her husband wishes. In the Chinese tradition their union is celebrated as an example of the perfect marriage.

In anecdote 5, Zhuo Wenjun 卓文君 (second century BCE), daughter of a wealthy merchant and poetess, married the jobless Sima Xiangru 司馬相如. Even though she was forced to lead a miserable life, she did not abandon her husband and remained faithful to him. This couple, too, was traditionally celebrated as an example of a perfect marriage in numerous Chinese sources.

Ehuang 娥皇 and Nüying 女英 (anecdote 13), the two brides of the legendary Emperor Shun 舜, weep tears of blood at his death.⁴⁴ In anecdote 10, a couple separate due to economic hardship. When they meet again, the woman is now the wife of a man of high social status, but she does not hesitate to leave him and return to her hometown to be with her first husband.⁴⁵ Mianmian 眇眇 (anecdote 8) remains faithful to her

43 Liang Hong embodies one of the most famous examples of a man of letters eschewing all contact with power, even rejecting an invitation from the emperor. In China, withdrawal from the world by men of letters was a common phenomenon from ancient times, especially among Daoist and Confucian thinkers, encompassing more than one ethical and political meaning, and expressing the concept that the hermitical life is the only means to protect one's moral integrity. See Berkowitz, *Patterns of Disengagement*, in particular pp. 106-12. Meng Guang's biography is also found in *Xu Lienü zhuan* 續列女伝 (Supplemental Biographies of Exemplary Women), the eighth and last book of *Lienü zhuan* (Biographies of Exemplary Women) by Liu Xiang, the oldest Chinese work dedicated exclusively to the moral education of women, which celebrates chaste and devout brides, upright widows, and loving mothers. This work would become the reference textbook for female education in China for the next two millennia. Kinney, *Exemplary Women of Early China*.

44 The source of the anecdote can be found in *Bo wu zi* 博物志 (Encyclopedic Treatise), attributed to Zhang Hua 張華 (232-300), a court official and poet of the Jin Dynasty. The work is listed in the *Nihonkoku genzaisho mokuroku*.

45 The source of the anecdote is the *Ben shi shi* 本事詩 (Poems and Their Origins, 886), compiled in the year 886 by Meng Qi 孟榮 (fl. 841-886); it is a collection of forty-one anecdotes, organized into categories, which explains the reasons for the composition of so many poems, almost all by poets from the Tang period.

40 いかはかりかは、このみちにいらしと思とりしかと、契のふかきにあひぬれは、かしこきもはかなきもさなからのかれかたき事にや。Fujiwara no Shigenori, *Kōhon Kara monogatari*, p. 69.

41 The source of the anecdote is the *Lie xian zhuan* 列仙伝 (Biographies of Immortals), a collection of seventy anecdotes about characters ranging from ancient times to the Han period. It is traditionally attributed to Liu Xiang 劉向 (77-76 BCE) but was certainly written later. See Kaltenmark, *Le Lie-sien Tchouan*. In Japan it is listed in the *Nihonkoku genzaisho mokuroku*.

42 For a discussion see Pandey, *Perfumed Sleeves and Tangled Hair*, in particular pp. 132-36.

husband's memory and dies twelve years later without remarrying. A young wife dies of grief after losing her husband, and her body turns into stone (anecdote 12, see above); Lüzhū 綠珠 chooses to leap from a tower rather than fall into the hands of her beloved's enemy (anecdote 6), while Xun Shuang's wife, forced by her parents to remarry after becoming a widow, hangs herself on the day of her wedding (anecdote 23). In quite the opposite sense, we find a negative example in the story of the wife of Zhu Maichen 朱買臣 (anecdote 19), who refuses to share a life of hardship with her husband and dies of shame when she discovers that he has become governor.

Furthermore, women who rely on beauty alone, which is of course ephemeral (as the ugly but wise Meng Guang of anecdote 4 well knew), and remain heedless of cultivating other virtues such as modesty or prudence, are punished by fate. This is what befell the lady confined in the mausoleum in the Palace of Shangyang (anecdote 14), a rewriting of an allegorical poem by Bai Juyi, the *Ling yuan qie* 陵園妾 (The Ladies of the Mausoleum), in which ladies banished from the court and left to age in a remote dwelling are none other than honest officials treated unjustly. Not only does this theme wholly disappear in the *Kara monogatari*, but also the narrative flow is not faithful to the original source: indeed, it is a rewriting that preserves only the poetic motif of the woman who has been separated from her affections and the places dear to her. We find exactly the same in anecdote 24, whose source is, again, a *yuefu* by Bai Juyi entitled *Shangyang baifa ren* 上陽白髮人 (The White-haired Lady of Shangyang) that denounces the sorry state of the ladies of the imperial harem while referring to neglected court officials. Here, also, the critical intent of the poet in the *Kara monogatari* disappears to leave room only for the description of the women's sad fate.

The story of Wang Zhaojun 王昭君 (anecdote 25), one of the most popular in the entire repertoire of Chinese legends, relates the tragic destiny of a court lady forced to leave her home and parents to spend a miserable life in the uncivilized Xiongnu 匈奴 land, her beauty and refined manners wasted on a husband unable to appreciate them. The *Kara monogatari* is utterly critical of Wang Zhaojun's behavior:

She did not guard against the wickedness that lurks in the hearts of men, but had trusted only

the transparency of a mirror that reflected her beauty.⁴⁶

In the *Kara monogatari* story, Wang Zhaojun is presented as lacking wisdom, since she is unable to protect herself from the improper behavior of others. She lacks virtue since she relies on her beauty alone.⁴⁷

Dismayed by her husband's ugliness, the wife of the capable Jia did not smile for three years, but she changed her mind when she saw his prowess as an archer and found Confucian wisdom after three years of unreasonable foolishness (anecdote 3).⁴⁸ The wife of the lord of Pingyuan 平原, who laughs at a crippled soldier and is executed for it (anecdote 21), is truly thoughtless.

On the contrary, the male protagonists are all outstanding in their indisputable virtues. They include highly refined and illustrious men of letters, like Wang Ziyou 王子猷 and his friends Dai Andao 戴安道, Bai Juyi, Song Yu and Pan Anren 潘安仁 (who were also famous for their beauty), and Zhang Wencheng, whose discretion sets him apart (anecdotes 1, 2, 7, 9, and 26 respectively). We also have an example of faithful ministers who make the supreme sacrifice to honor their lord (anecdote 20), not to mention wise ministers devoted to wise emperors, all models of true Confucian behavior (anecdotes 17 and 22).

As the above summary demonstrates, it is precisely virtue that constitutes the main theme of the whole collection—a Confucian virtue, of course, honoring the loyalty of the subject to the lord, the devotion of the bride to the groom, the subjection of children to parents; a virtue whereby sovereigns are compassionate, ministers are wise, and women are devoted wives and good mothers who prefer wisdom to ephemeral

46 この人はかみのかげのくもりなきをのみたのみて、ひとのころのにこれるをしらす。Fujiwara no Shigenori, *Kōhon Kara monogatari*, p. 65.

47 This same ethical judgement of Wang Zhaojun's foolish behavior is shared in *Konjaku monogatari*. For a more detailed discussion see Migliore, "Some Notes on Ō Shōkun Legend."

48 This anecdote appears for the first time in *Zuo zhuan* 左伝 (Memoires of Zuo), in the section on the twenty-eighth year of Duke Zhao (513). It is also included in the anonymous *Diaoyuji* 瑯玉集 (The Shining Jade Collection), a collection of anecdotes in fifteen books organized by subject, which seems to have been compiled around the beginning of the Tang period. It is one of several works lost in China but handed down in Japan, where there exists only one handwritten copy of books twelve and fourteen, dated 747, housed in Shinpukuji 真福寺 in Nagoya. The anecdote about Jia's wife ends with a note giving its source as the *Zuo zhuan*. We also find the story in *Mengqiu*. There are no substantial differences among the three versions or in the rendering of the *Kara monogatari*.

beauty. Buddhism also seems to be overshadowed by these themes, and emerges as no more than a hollow repetition of essential concepts, such as avoiding links with the things of this world, including an exaggerated love for women, and praying for rebirth in the paradise of the Pure Land.

A negative example stands out in the behavior of Emperor Wu in anecdote 16, in which the emperor shows himself to be too involved in the human world; frightened by the idea of death, and revealing in so doing his lack of wisdom, he tries to obtain the elixir of immortality. When he is visited by the goddess Xiwang mu 西王母, the Queen Mother of the West, he asks her, too, but receives a humiliating answer:

You are born in the human world, subject to birth, aging, sickness, and death. How could you ask me for the elixir of immortality? How foolish!⁴⁹

Shigenori then archly comments:

Words such as these, whether addressed to the Queen Mother of the West or to a dullard like me, do not seem worthy of a wise and holy emperor of past times.⁵⁰

Shigenori's harshness is striking not only because he makes fun of an emperor, caught in a moment of weakness that ill behooves the dignity of his role, but also because it is a clear criticism of Daoist beliefs which were part of a very long and highly respected tradition in China yet never really esteemed in Japan. Elsewhere in the anecdote, Dongfang Shuo 東方朔, the immortal exiled on Earth, even acts as a comic interlude: he hides under the floor but is immediately discovered by Xiwang mu. Lastly, the other Daoist immortal in the story is called Illusion (*maboroshi* 幻), which further emphasizes the inconsistency of Daoist beliefs.

A Daoist immortal called Illusion is also found in anecdote 18. He goes to the land of the immortals to meet Yang Guifei as a messenger between the two lovers. Yet, as Shigenori writes, "All that is in this world

is just a dream and an illusion."⁵¹ To follow the foolish Daoist illusions, which claim to prolong life or create bonds even after death (like the incense that evokes the spirit of the dead in anecdote 15),⁵² means to remain tied to this world of suffering and block one's entry to the Pure Land. While this comment seems quite heartfelt compared to the others of a religious nature that are scattered throughout the collection, given the strong Confucian strain dominating the whole compilation it still feels too much like a pious formula to be truly sincere. Only at the end of the Yang Guifei story (no. 18) can we find a passage recognizable as a sermon; elsewhere, at the end of anecdote 27, Shigenori suggests that the relationship between the women and the dog is the result of relationships fostered in past lives. It is true that Buddhist detachment from sensual love, and in general from the material world (as in the case of Emperor Wu), enables spiritual elevation, but the principal theme of the *Kara monogatari*, continuously and visibly traceable in all the stories, is the claim to Confucian virtues a woman should nurture.

Another strong note of criticism in the *Kara monogatari* has to do with some Chinese customs that Shigenori considers devoid of compassion, above all brutality that leads to the death of innocent people. The most touching case is that of the killing of Yang Guifei (anecdote 18), to which Shigenori adds the following comment:

Even the trees and herbs, which have no feelings, changed color; even the birds and wild animals, which do not know compassion, shed tears.⁵³

Again, in anecdote 21, Lord Pingyuan's favorite wife is put to death because she laughs at a crippled old soldier:

Sacrificing a beautiful woman for just one soldier, and a cripple to boot, is completely heartless. Yet this is not an isolated example. According to Chinese custom, not even an emperor opposes

49 生老病死の境界にむまれ給なから、いかてかふしのくすりをもとめさせ給へき。はかなき御心なり。Fujiwara no Shigenori, *Kōhon Kara monogatari*, p. 24.

50 西王母のみにあらず、かひなきおろかなる心にも、むかしのかしこきひしりの御門の御こと業とはおほえす。Fujiwara no Shigenori, *Kōhon Kara monogatari*, p. 24.

51 おほよその世はみなゆめまほろしのことし。Fujiwara no Shigenori, *Kōhon Kara monogatari*, p. 47.

52 Incense that brings back the dead (*fan hun xiang* 返魂香) only works for a few moments. This incense is only mentioned in two texts: the *Shizhou ji* 十洲記 (Chronicles of the Ten Continents) and the *Bo wu zi*. See Pregadio, *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, pp. 898-99.

53 物のあはれをしらぬ草木までも色かまり、なさけなきとりけたものさへ涙をなかせり。Fujiwara no Shigenori, *Kōhon Kara monogatari*, p. 38.

the wishes of one of his soldiers, even the most humble.⁵⁴

Criticism found in the *Kara monogatari* indicates a very precise stance. In these cases the author, albeit celebrating Confucian virtues, clearly distances himself from the Chinese tradition, making the point that such acts of barbarity would not have happened in Japan. As for Daoism, Shigenori refuses to celebrate the “great tradition” and proposes instead the Japanese “way,” which certainly preferences Buddhism, in terms of detachment from the human world and of compassion for all living beings. This amounts to a rejection of some of the “Chinese traditions” (*karakuni no narai* からくにのならひ),⁵⁵ confirming that the *wa-kan* cultural system did not take shape in an uncritical way.

Conclusion

In the hierarchy of classical Japanese literature, the *Kara monogatari* undoubtedly occupies a secondary position compared to other works that have enjoyed greater success and therefore greater attention from scholars. However, this work unequivocally reveals how far Chinese culture was inextricably linked to the process of the production of Japanese culture and the degree to which Chinese culture helped to enrich Japanese culture by becoming part of it.

In the same way, by including the most famous—and celebrated—Chinese stories in a form influenced by Japanese literary practices, Shigenori presents the notion that these stories are in fact part of the Japanese cultural heritage, despite having been expressed in Chinese until he created his text. For example, when Wang Zhiyou is asked why he returns without meeting his friend Dai Andao (anecdote 1), Wang answers with a *waka*. Spouses who meet again after a separation, ladies in the grip of loneliness, lovers suffering from the cruelty of separation, and Bai Juyi himself (!) all recite *waka*. Rewriting Chinese culture in Japanese only confirms the appropriation.

The most remarkable feature of the *Kara monoga-*

tari, however, is to be found in a common thread running through the anecdotes, that of feminine Confucian virtues: conjugal faithfulness, loyalty, and prudence. Empresses, ladies of the court, officials, and commoner wives all share the same concerns about correct Confucian behavior, the same acceptance of feminine virtues widely praised since the most ancient times. On the other hand, the author does not spare severe criticism toward those women who act thoughtlessly by, for example, behaving imprudently or relying only on their own beauty.

The fact that one or more elements that also belong to the Chinese tradition are rejected is not surprising as it confirms that cultural assimilation did not take place wholesale in an uncritical way, but rather through intense and vital intellectual activity that reached such a degree of maturity that it was possible to choose some elements and omit others. The unevenness of this process contributed to the wealth of Japanese literary heritage.

The *Kara monogatari* acts as a bridge between the Heian and Kamakura cultures and, like the *Mōgyū waka* and other educational works mentioned above, it played a role in the spread of culture from the aristocratic to the military class. It is therefore not surprising that it transmits Confucian values and at the same time is also imbued with the *monogatari*-like literary rhetoric that was so in vogue in the late Heian period as a consequence of the enormous success of *Genji monogatari*. The *Kara monogatari* is a synthesis of the two faces of the aristocratic culture of the period.

Of course, spreading culture to other social classes inevitably brings with it a certain trivialization, a flattening of the content. The most indicative example of this process is anecdote 7. Song Yu’s witticism, around which the original source hinges, disappears in the Japanese version, and in the conclusion of the anecdote one almost perceives the embarrassment of Shigenori himself, unable to explain why the man lets three years pass without taking any notice of his beautiful neighbor. Anecdote 4 is another example. Meng Guang simply becomes ugly and obliging, whereas in the original source she is a woman with a strong personality who rejects stereotypes and is prepared to wait for a husband worthy of her. The transformation of Bai Juyi’s personal story (anecdote 2) does not depend on a rewriting of the Chinese text in a medieval or aristocratic sense, as has been said, but is instead a trivialization designed to meet the literary and rhetorical tastes of the readers of

54 あしなへたるつかはれ人ひとりに、かほうつくしき人をかへけるも、いとなげなきしわざなりや。おほかたこれならず、からくにのならひにて、あやしきものふなれと、いひたちぬる事を、みかともそのころさしをは、やふらせ給はぬにや。 Fujiwara no Shigenori, *Kōhon Kara monogatari*, pp. 56-57.

55 Fujiwara no Shigenori, *Kōhon Kara monogatari*, pp. 12, 57.

the time. Lastly, when in anecdote 12 it becomes possible to create a new story from scratch to justify the use of a common expression whose origin has probably been lost, the author recycles the same old story of a woman languishing in pain who refuses all other suitors, preferring to become a rock. The original source is much more moving: here the woman becomes a rock so she can accompany her spouse with her gaze until he disappears over the horizon and ultimately has the privilege of seeing him return before anyone else could.

In Japan, the transition from an aristocratic society to a military one, far from the capital and the court, marked an important moment in the country's history. The *Kara monogatari* embodies this change, spreading culture through a process of inevitable simplification, but nonetheless still acting as a Confucian primer for women's correct behavior and facilitating the transmission of social, cultural, and literary knowledge to a broader audience.

Reference List

▪ Abbreviations Used

- KST *Shintei zōho kokushi taikai* 新訂増補国史大系. 66 vols. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1929–1964.
 NKBT *Nihon koten bungaku taikai* 日本古典文学大系. 102 vols. Iwanami Shoten, 1958–1968.
 SNKBT *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikai* 新日本古典文学大系. 100 vols. Iwanami Shoten, 1989–.
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The Life of Animals in Japanese Art. Exhibition.
National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. June 2,
2019–August 18, 2019.

Robert T. Singer and Kawai Masatomo, eds.,
with essays by Barbara R. Ambros, Tom Hare,
and Federico Marcon. *The Life of Animals*
in Japanese Art. Exhibition catalogue.
Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2019.

EXHIBITION/BOOK REVIEW BY ALISON J. MILLER

In the midst of the Anthropocene, when news on climate change informs us daily of the precipitous drop in animal populations around the world, it is easy to forget that humans once lived in closer contact with the natural world, and ascribed powers and significance to the creatures that lived within. Visitors to *The Life of Animals in Japanese Art*, were, by contrast, immersed in the marvelous world of flora and fauna that once enveloped humanity, and which inspired Japanese artistic production for millennia. Held at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., from 2 June to 18 August 2019, and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art from 22 September to 8 December 2019 (under the alternate title *Every Living Thing: Animals in Japanese Art*), the exhibition and accompanying catalogue present a plethora of representations of animals, real and imagined, and trace the theme in Japanese visual culture from the sixth century to the present day. The exhibition and catalogue were primarily successful in their aims, but the large scale of the show at the National Gallery of Art, which this review addresses, meant some missed opportunities for further connections between objects. Additionally, the catalogue and exhibition could have done more to engage in meaningful dialogue on relevant contemporary issues, for example, addressing our

current environmental crisis and its impacts on the animal world. Furthermore, a catalogue essay by an art historian was notably missing.

Starting with the juxtaposition of a sixth-century *haniwa* 埴輪, hollow earthenware ritual figures including, in this instance, dogs and a horse, standing opposite to Kusama Yayoi's 草間彌生 (1929–) green and pink spotted plastic canine sculpture *Sho-chan* (2013), the exhibition engaged visitors with whimsical objects in thoughtfully exhibited combinations (figure 1). As one progressed through the various rooms, large installations, such as a monumental wooden *Bishamonten* 毘沙門天 (1124), provided intriguing visual markers to entice people from one gallery to the next (figure 2), while exquisite smaller objects, such as Nagae Shizan's 長江司山 (1867–?) Satsuma ware, *Tea Bowl with Butterflies and Net* (late nineteenth–early twentieth century), gave one the opportunity for an intimate viewing experience. The close placement of the fourteenth-century *Deer Bearing Symbols of the Kasuga Deities* (figure 3) with Nawa Kōhei's 名和晃平 (1975–) *Pixcell-Bambi #14* (2015, figure 4) certainly created a striking opportunity to contrast the representation of four-legged creatures in differing contexts. However, this could have benefited from a deeper analysis of the reasons for the divin-



Figure 1. Installation shot, National Gallery of Art. Kusama Yayoi. Heisei Period, Megu-chan, 2014. H 31 ½ x W 18 ⅞ x D 39 ¾ in., Shochan, 2013. 26 ¾ x 11 x 34 ⅝ in., private collection, Cori and Tony Bates; and Toko-chan, 2013, 31 ½ x 18 ⅞ x 39 ¾ in., private collection, all fiberglass-reinforced plastic, paint. Hanuwa Horse, Kofun period, 6th c., earthenware. 47 ¾ x 45 ¾ x 16 ¼ in. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Gift of the David Bohnett Foundation, Lynda and Stewart Resnick, Camilla Chandler Frost, Victoria Jackson and William Guthy, and Laurie and Bill Benenson. Image courtesy of the National Gallery of Art.



Figure 2. Installation shot, National Gallery of Art. At left, Bishamon tenjin. 1124, Heian period. Wood. H 102 x W 44 ½ x D 39 in. Private collection. Image courtesy of the National Gallery of Art.



Figure 3. Deer Bearing Symbols of the Kasuga Deities. 14th c., Nanbokuchō era. Bronze, wood with pigments. H 42 ½. Hosomi Museum, Kyoto, Important Cultural Property. Image courtesy of the National Gallery of Art.

ity of these animals in Shinto or the artistic choice to use taxidermized creatures.

The concept of the exhibition, a survey of Japanese art history through the theme of animals, was engaging. Oftentimes, exhibitions covering a broad topic are derided as trivial or academically uninformed in concept, yet seeing such a wide-ranging span of media, with objects created for diverse reasons and spanning fifteen centuries of artistic production, provided the opportunity for comparisons and connections for both the expert and lay viewer. Sponsored by the Japan Foundation with contributions from a team of international curators and special consideration from the Tokyo National Museum, the exhibition included many works that are not often seen outside of Japan and notably included a significant number of works by previously overlooked women artists. Viewing these works together was quite enjoyable, and with the diverse objects included in the eight thematic sections, ranging from zodiac animals to the world of the samurai, religion to the world of leisure, there was something for everyone.



Figure 4. Nawa Kōhei, Pixcell-Bambi #14. 2015, Heisei period. Mixed media. H 24 ¼ x W 23 ¾ x D 23 ¾ in. Collection of Ms. Stefany Wang. Image courtesy of the National Gallery of Art.

Although the exhibition provided an overview of animals in Japanese art, it did not attempt to provide a reason for the significant place of animals in the visual culture of Japan. The catalogue editors link animals to their roles in Shinto and Buddhism, and posit that Japanese artistic production through time has conceived of nature in relation to humanity, placing the animal and plant worlds within nature, and in a “mutually beneficial symbiosis” (p. xvii) to humans. The editors further state that understanding this visual relationship between humans, flora, and fauna is the key to understanding Japanese art and is a feature that distinguishes the Japanese artistic worldview from that of China and Europe. These theoretical concepts could have been developed more. In their abbreviated form, these theories hint at essentialism, yet the editors are undoubtedly correct that animals, both real and fantastic, have a central place in Japanese visual culture. Further theoretical elaboration in the preface essays would have benefitted both the framework of the catalogue and the larger discipline of Japanese art history.

Within this framework, the exhibition included many exquisite objects that may otherwise not have fit into an exhibition with broad popularity. Works that are lesser known in the United States, such as Oka-



Figure 5. Utagawa Yoshitsuya, *Earth Spider*. Edo period, c. 1847–1852, triptych. Woodblock print. Left H 14 ¾ x W 10 ½ in., center H 15 x W 10 in., right H 14 ¾ x W 10 ½ in. Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, museum purchase. Image courtesy of the National Gallery of Art.

moto Tarō's 岡本太郎 (1911–1996) *Dawn* (1948) were a thoughtful inclusion, although in the National Gallery layout this painting was placed behind a wall, and therefore missed by many visitors. Also, the incorporation of mythical animals through time was clever and appreciated, and made for an adroit transition from early religious imagery, replete with fabled beasts, to modern and contemporary works, such as Okamoto's, that celebrate legendary creatures and their role in Japanese folklore and culture.

The samurai armors selected for display were magnificent objects that supported the exhibition's aim of illustrating the pervasive nature of both real and imagined animals in Japanese visual culture. The Momoyama/Edo-period *Armored Horse and Rider*, complete with a fierce dragon mask for the horse, shows both the skills and creativity of its maker, and when exhibited with *Helmet Shaped like Rabbit Ears* and *Helmet Shaped like a Conch Shell*, show the multiplicity of armor designs. While objects of this kind are widely exhibited in the U.S., these examples were particularly outstanding in their detail and quality of craftsmanship, as well as the diversity of animal designs, the symbolic meaning of which are concisely described and historically situated in the exhibition catalogue.

The prints that were integrated throughout the varied themed sections were a welcome addition of pop-

ular media, and works like Utagawa Yoshitsuya's 歌川芳艶 (1822–1866) *Earth Spider* (1847–1852, figure 5), Utagawa Yoshifuji's 歌川芳藤 (1828–1887) *The Fifty-Three Stations of the Tōkaidō: The Bewitched Cat of Okabe* (1847–1848), or Utagawa Hiroshige's 歌川広重 (1797–1858) *New Year's Eve Foxfires at the Changing Tree, Ōji*, from the series "One Hundred Famous Views of Edo" (1857), provided a fantastical view of animals in Japanese culture, and vis-à-vis their common medium, gave continuity to the disparate topics of the exhibition.

Some of the contemporary works fit seamlessly into the exhibition, such as Tabaimo's 束芋 (1975–) *Chirping* (2016), a two-channel video installation projected on two hanging scrolls (figure 6). *Chirping* takes its inspiration from an 1843 painting of butterflies and dragonflies, with the text removed and the animals animated. This fanciful work allowed for a comparison of bird and flower imagery through time, including Mochizuki Gyokkei's 望月玉溪 (1874–1939) painting *One Hundred Insects and One Hundred Flowers* (1930), the many cloisonné pieces, or Shibata Zeshin's 柴田是真 (1807–1891) *Carp Ascending Waterfall* (nineteenth century).

Other contemporary works, such as Murakami Takashi's 村上隆 (1962–) *In the Land of the Dead, Stepping on the Tail of a Rainbow* (2014), which takes inspiration from an Itō Jakuchū 伊藤若冲 (1716–1800) image, felt less integrated into the whole. The display



Figure 6. Tabaimo, Chirping. Heisei period, 2016. Two-channel video installation on handmade Japanese scrolls, edition 5 + 1AP, running time 7 min. 36 sec. Scroll, each H 74 x W 18 in., image, each H 38 ¼ x W 13 in. Courtesy of the artist James Cohan, New York. Image courtesy of the National Gallery of Art.

of the Murakami image in the final gallery of the exhibition, together with Issey Miyake's (1938–) garments based on animals (for example, *Monkey Pleats*, 1990, or *Cicada Pleats*, 1988), lessened the opportunity to compare or connect the Murakami piece to Edo-painting precedents, or the Miyake designs to the samurai animal garments viewed earlier in the show. In this way, while the exhibition worked well within each thematic section, for an exhibition attendee with little knowledge of Japanese art, there were many messages that were too subtle to appreciate. This sparse contextualization was also apparent in the teamLab チームラボ (f. 2001) video installation *United, Fragmented, Repeated and Impermanent World* (2013), an interactive digital work based on Itō Jakuchū's eighteenth-century painting, *Birds, Animals, and Flowering Plants in Imaginary Scene*. Jakuchū's painting is comprised of 43,000 small squares that utilize the optics of color mixing to create an image of what to the modern eye appear like pixels. TeamLab updated the painting into a digital format that reflected the movement of people standing before the eight-channel display. Although this work appeared to be very popular with visitors, the only contextualiza-

tion was provided on a small panel placed away from the primary traffic pattern and unread by most viewers.

The catalogue for the exhibition is extensive and replete with beautiful photography. The essays are written by scholars of literature, religious studies, and history, and many prominent art historians were involved with writing the texts for the individual objects and thematic sections. However, a longer, overarching essay by an art historian is a remarkable absence.

Texts in the catalogue include Tom Hare's "A Place for Animals in Japanese Letters: Beasts and Beasties—Pests, Partners, and Pets," which chronicles the role of animals in Japanese poetry and prose through time, and the roles of animals in literary allusions to love, romance, sexuality, food culture, religious training, the theater, and pornography. Barbara R. Ambros's "Cultivating Compassion and Accruing Merit: Animal Release Rites During the Edo Period," details the ritual practice of Buddhist animal release from its origins in fifth-century China to its development in Edo Japan. Finally, Federico Marcon's "All Creatures Great and Small: Tokugawa Japan and its Animals," provides a detailed history of the exotic animals that arrived in Edo

Japan as part of international trade, and examines the visual representation of animals in *honzōgaku* 本草学, natural-history encyclopedias of plant and animal life, linking these records to their impact in accurate visual representations of flora and fauna and documenting the ties between academic, artistic, and entertainment functions in accurate animal imagery. The individual catalogue entries are brief, but informative. In the catalogue, the object entries are interspersed with slightly longer explanatory texts that mirror the organization of the exhibition.

By juxtaposing premodern objects with works by contemporary artists, the curators of *The Life of Animals in Japanese Art* participated in the trend of de-historicizing objects in an attempt to make premodern objects relevant to contemporary audiences. This approach was generally successful; in some ways, the flattening of history in the exhibition allowed viewers to consider thematic threads in Japanese art history, but in others it may have given a space for stereotyping Japanese culture as “close to nature” or “timeless.” Furthermore, the opportunity to discuss the impacts of the Anthropocene and climate change on animal populations or our current view of animals was missed. Just as with the abbreviated theoretical framework in the preface essays, further contextualization or elaboration would have strengthened the object comparisons and given space for conversations on contemporary issues.

As an exhibition, *The Life of Animals in Japanese Art* was a great pleasure to view, and the accessible theme seemingly proved popular with museum visitors. While scholars likely found satisfaction in seeing so many important works in one place, the exhibition was rather sprawling in scope and could have benefitted from a more focused theme or a more concise vision. The catalogue, while beautifully designed, could have benefitted from additional scholarly essays, and from an editing of the object list. In both forms—as catalogue and exhibition—*The Life of Animals in Japanese Art* will surely have an impact on the broader understanding of Japanese art in the U.S., providing the lay viewer with a vision of Japanese flora and fauna that range beyond the cute or uncanny in visual culture, and giving scholars inspiration for a means of interpreting the scope of Japanese art from a specific thematic lens.

Max Ward. *Thought Crime: Ideology and State Power in Interwar Japan*. Duke University Press, 2019.

BOOK REVIEW BY CATHERINE TSAI

BEGINNING in the late 1970s, English-language scholars turned their attention to the relationship between state power and the 1925 Peace Preservation Law. These scholars were particularly interested in relating the law to the mass conversion of leftist intellectuals and activists to fascism in the 1930s, a phenomenon known as *tenkō* 転向. Richard Mitchell's *Thought Control in Prewar Japan* (1976) focused on the legal and administrative practices used by the state to crack down on threats to imperial orthodoxy, noting that policies enacted to enforce the repressive law were not simply issues of policing criminality, but of symbolically uniting the polity around the emperor.¹ While Mitchell's view was a state-centered approach, Germaine Hoston's *Marxism and the Crisis of Development in Prewar Japan* (1986) explored how leftist intellectuals grappled with the problem of *tenkō*. She argued that ideological conversion was not necessarily a capitulation to the state, but more often an effort by leftists to reconcile the contradictions between Marxist universalism and the proclaimed uniqueness of the Japanese polity, embodied by the concept of *kokutai* 国

体.² An exact definition of *kokutai*, literally “national body,” is difficult to pinpoint, but in the context of the 1920s and 1930s, it signified the unique Japanese cultural values centered around an “unbroken imperial line.”³ Patricia Steinhoff's *Tenkō: Ideology and Societal Integration in Prewar Japan* (1991) examined the backgrounds of ideological converts, suggesting that conversion was not primarily an intellectual but rather a personal endeavor, motivated by a desire to return to shared sociocultural ties to the family, the nation, or nativist spirituality.⁴

These three monographs focus on the institutional, intellectual, and individual ramifications of the Peace Preservation Law and *tenkō*. Nearly three decades later, Max Ward has furnished the fourth “i” in this discourse—ideology—in his theoretically rigorous and reinvigorating book *Thought Crime: Ideology and State Power in Interwar Japan*. Ward traces the ideologies that transformed the Police Preservation Law from a legal

1 Mitchell, *Thought Control*, p. 184.

2 Hoston, *Marxism and the Crisis of Development*, p. 184. Hoston also wrote about *tenkō* as a solution to the ideological tensions between Marxism and nationalism. See Hoston, “Tenkō.”

3 For more on the ideological uses and transformations of *kokutai*, see Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths*, pp. 138–45.

4 Steinhoff, *Tenkō: Ideology and Societal Integration*, p. 165. See also Steinhoff, “Tenkō and Thought Control.”

instrument used to suppress communists and anti-colonial nationalists into a rehabilitative program that converted thousands of former subversives throughout the Japanese empire. His book marks a necessary intervention in reasserting the importance of state power, elucidating the fascist logic of the emperor system and *kokutai* embedded within imperial ideology, as well as the mechanisms used to articulate it in Japan and colonial Korea during the interwar and wartime periods.⁵

Ward's introduction, "The Ghost in the Machine: Emperor System Ideology and the Peace Preservation Law Apparatus," discusses the coproduction of the emperor system and the Peace Preservation Law. Establishing Foucault, Althusser, and Poulantzas as his theoretical trinity, Ward pushes against characterizations of the Peace Preservation Law and *tenkō* as merely external projections of state power. Using Gilbert Ryle's concept of the "ghost in the machine," Ward argues that the emperor system was the ideological specter that justified the creation of the Peace Preservation Law and enabled the insidious expansion of its powers over time. At the same time, because the emperor system was initially an ambiguous concept, the creation and expansion of repressive and ideological apparatuses gave sovereign form to the system itself. Thus, while the Peace Preservation Law and *tenkō* were visible manifestations of state power, because their fundamental goal was to unify the individual with state ideology, they must also be understood as projects of interiorization.

Chapter 1, "Kokutai and the Aporias of Imperial Sovereignty: The Passage of the Peace Preservation Law in 1925," examines the creation of ideology through the deployment of terms such as *kokutai* and *chōken* 朝憲 ("laws of the state") in the debates leading to the passage of the Peace Preservation Law. The rise of Bolshevism, the agitation for universal male suffrage, and the increase in anti-colonial nationalist movements in Korea in the early 1920s created profound anxieties for Japanese officials. By invoking *kokutai* and *chōken*, Ward argues that the proponents of the law were inadvertently forced to confront questions over the origins of Japan's sovereignty. The Meiji Constitution embodied a "zone of indistinction" (p. 28) because it both

established sovereignty through its promulgation and justified sovereignty as an inheritance from an unbroken lineage of the imperial household. By emphasizing the latter aspect, proponents of the law thus signified threats as foreign in nature, justifying the crackdown against anarchists and communists. However, while this native/foreign dichotomy clarified the categories of ideological threats, it also created a disjuncture, or aporia, in the applicability of *kokutai* between the inner and outer territories, or the Japanese and colonized Korean population.

Chapter 2, "Transcriptions of Power: Repression and Rehabilitation in the Early Peace Preservation Law Apparatus, 1925–1933," traces the development of the rehabilitative arm of the law, or the ideological state apparatus. The late 1920s was the heyday of the repressive state apparatus against communists in the metropole and anti-colonial nationalists in Korea; this apparatus included legislation, police, courts, colonial administration, and prison networks. While crackdowns against communist movements continued into the 1930s, the work of district court procurators (*kenji* 検事), notably Hirata Isao 平田勲 (1888–1942), laid the groundwork for reform policies. Concerned over the possibility of ideological recidivism, officials began to create profiles of thought criminals. This archive identified reasons for ideological deviance, which allowed the state to implement programs for rehabilitation and thus reintegration into the national body. In the Korean context, however, this logic did not apply. Anti-colonial nationalism was not a threat to the ideology of imperial sovereignty, but rather to the content—or the territories—into which sovereignty extended.

Chapter 3, "Apparatuses of Subjection: The Rehabilitation of Thought Criminals in the Early 1930s," explores the utilization of media and religion in creating the conditions for the *tenkō* phenomenon, focusing on the roles of the Imperial Renovation Society and the famous disavowals of the Japanese Communist Party by former leaders Sano Manabu 佐野学 (1892–1953) and Nabeyama Sadachika 鍋山貞親 (1901–1979) in 1933. Sano and Nabeyama did not use the term *tenkō* to explain their renunciation of communism but explained their conversion as an intellectual exercise. The media used the word *tenkō* to describe this event as a demonstration of loyalty to the emperor, creating a public narrative for ideological conversion. The other major event, though less famous, was the conversion of Kobayashi Morito 小林杜人 (1902–1984) under the guidance of a

5 Although Ward is not concerned with questions on Japanese fascism, his use of Herbert Bix's conception of "emperor-system fascism" (p. 4) indicates that he sees ideological formation in Japan in the 1920s and 1930s as fascist and the emperor system as the vehicle that facilitated this situation.

Buddhist prison chaplain.⁶ In his semiautobiographical book, *Up until Leaving the Communist Party* (共産党を脱するまで), Kobayashi described his conversion as a spiritual reawakening, as a move away from the universalist struggle against capitalist exploitation to the transcendent universalism of Buddhism (pp. 95–96). This newfound religiosity prompted Kobayashi to join and then head the Imperial Renovation Society, providing spiritual guidance and paternalistic support for imprisoned thought criminals.

Chapter 4, “Nurturing the Ideological Avowal: Toward the Codification of Tenkō in 1936,” follows the expansion of the Thought Criminal Protection and Supervision Law (Hogo Kansatsu Seido 保護観察制度) and the establishment of Thought Criminal Protection and Supervision Centers (Shisōhan Hogo Kansatsusho 思想犯保護観察所) in the mid-1930s. Here, the focus turns to structures and ideologies implemented to prevent ideological recidivism. Successful, sustained conversion required the cooperation of various communities, ranging from the family to the wider community to the emperor himself, to ensure that the thought criminal was given proper guidance. Ward focuses on the case of Sim Kil-bok, a former Korean communist. For Japanese officials, ideological converts like Sim were considered examples of loyal colonial subjects, of people who realized that the path for Korea’s development was not through national liberation, but through assimilation.

Chapter 5, “The Ideology of Conversion: Tenkō on the Eve of Total War,” returns to the aporia explained in chapter 1, discussing the inevitable bifurcation in manifestations of *tenkō* between the Japanese home islands and the Korean Peninsula during the Second World War. The Japanese invasion of China in 1937 created an opportunity for former thought criminals to prove their conversion by supporting the war effort. This also led to a proliferation of “thought war” imagery in everyday spaces to tie the war front with the home front, such as linking the ideological envelopment of China by the Soviet Union and the West with a spiritual vigilance that must be maintained to defend the Japanese empire. In terms of demonstrating support for the war, government officials understood this process as rela-

tively straightforward in the Japanese home islands, involving the mobilization of men and materials to the war front. In Korea, however, because the communist movements were also tied to anti-colonial nationalism, the colonial officials recognized that *tenkō* did not mean the internal recuperation of a Japanese spirit, but the external recognition of the power of the Japanese imperial state.⁷

Ward concludes with a rumination on three transwar legacies of *tenkō*. First, even though the Peace Preservation Law was abolished during the Allied Occupation, anxieties over domestic political instability led the Japanese government to create laws and agencies that would police mass movements and encourage public safety. Second, *tenkō* was a major locus of discussion and study for postwar leftist intellectuals, who lauded those communists who resisted conversion but also confronted mass conversion as a failure of ideology.⁸ Third, the enduring institution of the emperor raises questions about the nature of freedom in the postwar era. Although stripped of his divinity after World War II, the wartime logic of ideological conversion as a gift from the emperor was transposed in postwar discourse as criminal rehabilitation—a gift to the nation, whose unity and longevity is still symbolized by the emperor.

Although Ward states that the colonial condition is not a primary focus of his work, his explanation of *kokutai* and *tenkō* in the Korean context necessarily brings forth questions on this topic. Ward implies that a fundamental aspect of colonial difference was rooted in the ethnonationalist nature of *kokutai*, a point that has also been echoed by scholars of Korean history such as Keongil Kim and Chulwoo Lee.⁹ While this explains why repression was emphasized over rehabilitation in Korea, the problem of *kokutai* should not solely be considered as a transposition from Japan into the colonies. Assimilation projects such as *dōka* 同化 and *kōminka* 皇民化 changed the parameters from which the col-

6 Adam Lyons has made a similar observation about the role of prison chaplains in promoting *tenkō*. He notes that prison chaplains understood *tenkō* to be a religious rather than ideological problem. Lyons, “From Marxism to Religion,” p. 195.

7 This is echoed by Keongil Kim; see “Japanese Assimilation Policy.”

8 Notably, *tenkō* was also appropriated by young college students of noted historian Tsurumi Shunsuke 鶴見俊輔 (1922–2015) who saw parallels between the conversion of leftist intellectuals to fascism in the 1930s and the demands to conform either to Communist Party orthodoxy or white-collar life in the 1950s. For more on this subject, see Bronson, *One Hundred Million Philosophers*.

9 Kim, “Japanese Assimilation Policy”; Lee, “Modernity, Legality, and Power.”

onies were integrated into the metropolitan sphere as well as the responses of the colonized to colonial rule.¹⁰

A cursory examination of the situation in Taiwan, for example, reveals a rather different outcome from Korea. Fewer Taiwanese were arrested on the basis of the Peace Preservation Law than in Korea and only a quarter of those accused of thought crimes were prosecuted, suggesting that the law held less relevance.¹¹ Furthermore, Sayaka Chatani's recent monograph¹² argues that assimilation and war mobilization were complex processes, and that rural youth were more receptive to Japan's imperial project, motivated by aspirations of upward mobility. In these cases, *kokutai* and *tenkō* were not key components to the success or failure of ideological assimilation in the colonies. Rather, it was the social conditions of particular localities that determined whether or not individuals aligned with, if not wholly accepted, the imperial project.

Nevertheless, *Thought Crime* is an invaluable addition to the historiography of the Peace Preservation Law and a cogent articulation of ideological formation in the interwar and wartime period, revealing the gradual, panoptic dominance of the state as well as some of the constitutive elements of fascism in Japan. The book opens exciting new lines of inquiry regarding colonial governmentality as well as the transwar legacies of the *tenkō* phenomenon.

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10 *Dōka*, or assimilation, was not an entirely clear project, consisting of halting attempts at social, political, and cultural integration. On the other hand, *kōminka*, or "imperialization," has been understood as a more severe endeavor to make the colonized population become "Japanese" in order to mobilize for the war effort. There is debate over whether *dōka* and *kōminka* are part of the same ideological continuum or are radically different projects. For more on the ideologies and practices of assimilation in Korea and Taiwan, see Caprio, *Japanese Assimilation Policies*, and Ching, *Becoming "Japanese."*

11 Wang, *Legal Reform in Taiwan*, p. 116. Wang argues that the lack of relevance of the Peace Preservation Law can be explained by the end of violent anti-colonial resistance by the Han Chinese population after 1915 and the decline of the Communist Party movement by 1931.

12 See Chatani, *Nation-Empire*.

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BOOK REVIEW BY YU YANG

KYOTO is packed with tourists who admire its tranquil scenery and old buildings as timeless, untouched elements of beauty, and the quintessential evidence of Japanese tradition. English-language scholarship on the architecture and urban spaces of Kyoto has focused primarily on the eras before the Meiji period (1868–1912), emphasizing the old capital's unchanged spatial configuration and its lingering impact on contemporary space. Alice Tseng's *Modern Kyoto: Building for Ceremony and Commemoration, 1868-1940* offers a fresh perspective in time and space: the newly built environment after the Meiji Restoration, revealing a less discussed but decisive chapter in defining Kyoto's landscape and identity. Tseng meticulously organizes her examination of a cluster of modern landmarks, such as the Kyoto Imperial Palace (Kyoto Gosho 京都御所), Heian Shrine (Heian Jingū 平安神宮), Lake Biwa Canal, Kyoto Station, and Kyoto Botanical Gardens, around a central query into relationships between the traditional city and the modern monarchy. She argues that, after the Meiji emperor permanently departed for Tokyo, Kyoto reclaimed its significant connections with the imperial family through a series of commemorative ceremonies and affiliated urban projects and exhibitions, and these phenomena also structure her chapters.

The making of modern Kyoto, Tseng observes, be-

gins with crisis management: how the ancient capital filled the physical and symbolic emptiness after the emperor moved to Tokyo. Chapter 1 gives two cases—the modification of Kyoto Imperial Palace and the building of Heian Shrine in 1895—to illustrate how Kyoto reconstructed the historical experience of modern times in architectural and urban forms. The emperor-absent Kyoto Gosho and its surroundings, the dilapidated nobility town area (Kyūmon 九門, Nine Gates), were remade into a public park with walking paths, a greenbelt, and widened avenues. In 1873, the renovated park in turn became the primary site for the Kyoto Exhibitions (Kyoto Hakurankai 京都博覧会), which attracted many tourists. At first sight, these visits and tours seemed to continue the tradition of “Gosho tourism” (p. 34) in the Edo period, when commoners visited the Gosho on special occasions. Tseng astutely observes that the spatial connotation was the exact opposite. The Gosho served as a “backdrop,” where Edo commoners experienced the “palpable presence” (p. 36) of the emperor, whereas the Meiji-period recreated Gosho itself became the central object for the tourists' gaze. Despite the constant removal of actual structures, as documented by Tseng, scholarly and popular writings, as well as abundant visual representations, constructed the Kyoto Gosho as a symbol of quintessential Heian architecture. Tseng addresses the influential role that

visual representation played in forming the public reception of architecture. As she observes, Meiji-era photographs present the structure as an isolated and empty site, creating an aura of serenity and timelessness. Its inaccessibility is reinforced by the demolition of large clusters of service buildings attached to the main buildings, which reduced Kyoto Gosho into an “incomplete” fraction like “the front lobby of Frank Lloyd Wright’s Imperial Hotel” (p. 44).

Heian Shrine is located at the northern end of Okazaki Park, a public park newly designated in eastern Kyoto during the Meiji period. Its monumental, brightly painted structures, together with the huge concrete torii gateway that dominates the threshold of the central avenue bisecting the district, is the object of Tseng’s discussion that recurs in several chapters. Examining various changes in the style and site plans of Heian Shrine, Tseng argues that although intended as a replica of the Daigokuden 大極殿 of Emperor Kanmu 桓武天皇 (735–806), Heian Shrine exemplifies Kyoto’s modern invention of the imperial past in architecture and social milieu. The construction of Heian Shrine was tactically combined with the Fourth National Industrial Exhibition, held on the adjacent site, as the celebration of the 1,100th anniversary of the transfer of the capital to Heian (present-day Kyoto). Aided by visual representations that fictively integrated the new structure harmoniously into the signature landscape of “Old Kyoto,” Tseng writes, “Heian Shrine represented an active site of memory-making for imperial culture” (p. 64). She argues that, despite architect Itō Chūta’s 伊東忠太 (1867–1954) dissatisfaction and inattention to historical accuracy, Heian Shrine was embraced by the public as “classic” and successfully attracted tourists for its picturesque qualities. Kyoto Gosho and Heian Shrine, therefore, were a set of very different responses to fill in the physical and symbolic emptiness. The removal of structures within the Gosho reduced it to a synecdoche, whereas a new ritual site was constructed as a public space with tangible imperial affiliations. Together “they effectively fixed the memory of an imperial presence in Kyoto exactly when the emperor stopped being a local presence” (p. 65). Tseng mentions historian Itō Yukio’s research, which examines Kyoto Gosho in relation to imperial ceremonies, urban development, and political milieu from the Meiji to

postwar periods.¹ One would have benefited from further discussions of their different approaches in methodology and perspectives.

Chapter 2 traces the urban developments of Okazaki Park and surrounding areas, adjacent to Heian Shrine, which represented Kyoto’s efforts toward revival through a series of commemorative events of imperial weddings, enthronements, and funerals. Kyoto was considered a central stage for such imperial ceremonies: the Meiji Constitution stipulated that the enthronement (Sokui no rei 即位の礼) and the Food Offering Festival (Daijōsai 大嘗祭) were to be held in the city of Kyoto. The Meiji government bestowed new social meaning on imperial ceremonies: these pageant-ries engaged a broad audience, from nobles to the general public, to form a collective identity centering on the modern monarch. Building upon Takashi Fujitani’s discussions on the relationship between the publicity of the Meiji emperor’s tours and modern nation-building,² Tseng examines processions and documentations of Crown Prince Yoshihito’s wedding and pilgrimage tour to Western Japan, highlighting Kyoto’s efforts to create its central position within imperial splendor.

Tseng argues that the urban transformation of the Okazaki area from a paddy field to the very center of modernization has to do with conspicuous imperial patronage. The imperial family actively participated in the modernization of the old city by providing financial support to Lake Biwa Canal, one of the three public projects in Kyoto, and gifting exotic animals to Kyoto Zoological Garden. Tseng also mentions two new structures built in the area: the garden villa Murin-an 無鄰菴 (1903) built by Yamagata Arimoto 山縣有朋 (1838–1922), and Kyoto Prefectural Library (1909), designed by architect Takeda Goichi 武田五一 (1872–1938). Her discussions suggest new directions and potential for a full-length study. This reader was fascinated by details of tea gatherings at Murin-an and new art exhibitions at Kyoto Prefectural Library. The monograph would have benefited from further insights into the geo-cultural dynamics of these sites in relation to imperial culture, as well as to later urban developments in the same area, such as Kyoto Enthronement Memorial Museum of Art (1933, discussed in chapter 4), and another Takeda Goichi building, Yūrin Museum (Fujii Saiseikai Yūrinkan 藤井齊成会有鄰館, 1926), located next to Murin-an.

1 Itō, *Kyōto no kindai to tennō*.

2 Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy*.

Chapters 3 and 4 examine Kyoto's efforts to engage the public audience in the commemoration manifested in the enthronements of the Taisho emperor in 1915 and the Shōwa emperor in 1928. These efforts entailed a broad spectrum of activities in urban landscape and society—renovating the roads, decorating streets, building new temporary and permanent structures, holding affiliated exhibitions, and publishing textual and visual representations of the ceremonies. In this way, as Tseng observes, the two enthronements and affiliated activities became imperial spectacles encompassing all aspects of Kyoto, which branded its modern identity as a “ceremonial” city with special ties to the imperial house rather “than with the central administrative regime *per se*” (p. 115).

Tseng's examinations of “ephemeral architectural and urban social arrangements” (p. 115) give important insights into how and to what degree the general public participated in imperial events. Although no longer in existence, street decorations, the celebratory arch, and lighting on the bridges displayed a full-scale celebration in the city. Moreover, Tseng points out that photographs of enthronement rituals, *Sokui no rei* at Kyoto Gosho and *Daijōsai* at Sentō Gosho 仙洞御所, purposely created opacity: they did not show the emperor and presented a distant view of structures. Daily encounters with the celebratory objects, together with textual descriptions, visual representations, and models of the enthronement in department stores mediated the general public experience with the imperial house. The reader will find Tseng's description timely and informative in light of the present moment, as the enthronement of the Reiwa emperor took place on 22 October 2019. Indeed, the public experiences of recent enthronements—Emperor Akihito in 1990 and Emperor Naruhito in 2019—were in striking contrast to previous occasions. For example, *Sokui no rei* is no longer held at Kyoto Gosho but at the Hōmeiden 豊明殿 in the Imperial Palace in Tokyo. And although one could still recognize similarities to past enthronements in the spatial arrangements, procedures, and decorations during the hours-long TV and Internet (2019) broadcasts, the symbolic meaning and aura of the rituals was deconstructed by the steady broadcast exposure of the emperor, imperial family members, and guests. Kyoto became absent: the impeccable orchestration of a picturesque enthronement and a celebratory parade were all organized in Tokyo. Kyoto's loss of its special ties to the imperial house, as articulated in the epilogue,

occurred in the postwar period.

Tseng considers the affiliated exhibitions the most important examples among the temporary structures, as they were “performances to enhance the visibility and ideology of the modern monarchy as an all-encompassing consideration” (p. 116). She compares the architecture and site of the 1915 Enthronement Commemoration Exhibition (Taiten Kinen Kyōto Hakurankai 大典記念京都博覧会) in Kyoto with contemporaneous exhibitions in Japan and abroad, arguing that the unique characteristic of the Kyoto exhibition was Kyoto's central status within imperial culture. According to Tseng, this goal was realized through display tactics. The exhibition displayed an abundance of objects from imperial collections, local Kyoto artwork and crafts, and directed the viewing sequence to create a narrative of “the imperial household, artistic heritage, and national identity as explicitly synonymous” (p. 156).

In chapter 4, Tseng continues her examination of urban structures erected in Okazaki Park—the Shinto gateway and Kyoto Enthronement Memorial Museum of Art, as well as the train station and Kyoto Botanical Gardens. She analyzes these structures not only in the context of Kyoto's reinforcement of imperial ties, but also in a broader context of the developments of Japanese modernist architecture and the city's expansion, providing a vivid account of Kyoto's “architectural engagement with trends and concerns universal to major Japanese cities of the interwar period” (p. 207). Tseng's accurate characterizations of architectural style and formal analysis attending to details are exemplified in her detailed comparisons between Kyoto Station (the second-generation building) and Tokyo Station, and between Kyoto Enthronement Memorial Museum of Art and the Imperial Tokyo National Museum. Tseng also astutely points out that photographs of Kyoto Station carefully orchestrated the composition and perspective to enhance the monumentality of the station and an orderly atmosphere. This alerts us to the potential of a discrepancy when relying on visual materials to reconstruct buildings no longer extant.

One of Tseng's most important arguments is that she considers the confluence of Kyoto's reinforcement of imperial ties and modernization that shaped the spatial configuration of modern Kyoto. According to Tseng, two widened avenues became the central axes around 1930: the north-south Karasuma Avenue linking Kyoto Botanical Gardens to Kyoto Station, and the horizontal Marutamachi Avenue that linked Nijō Cas-

tle on the west side of the Kamo River to Okazaki Park in the eastern area. For Tseng, the coexistence of this axis-centered system and the old grid streets makes Kyoto a successful implementation of grand modern urban planning, the opposite of Tokyo's urban renovations which "could not be realized atop the castle-town footprint of Tokyo, not even in the post-earthquake rebuilding in the mid- to late 1920s" (p. 207). Current studies of Japanese urban planning, as Tseng observes, have considered Tokyo's modern urban planning a failure due to limitations in reality. In contrast, they have addressed Japanese urban planning in colonies such as Taiwan, Korea, and Manchuria as successful and characterized these large-scale projects as idealistic and utopian because they were carried out full-scale and with little local resistance. Tseng addresses Kyoto's urban development as an alternative to the Tokyo-centric narrative, which sheds light on the comparative study of Japanese and colonial urban spaces. One would have benefited immensely from further detailed comparisons of blueprints of maps, regulations, and public receptions among regional Japanese cities and colonial cities. Recent scholarship in colonial studies has revealed the discrepancy in the "utopian" rhetoric, which was fabricated mostly by abundant writings and visual representations of the space.³ Recent studies of colonial urban planning have challenged the utopian narrative by articulating chaotic circumstances, incomplete executions, and compromises in Japanese urban planning and execution in major colonial cities.⁴

The epilogue revisits Heian Shrine and Kyoto Botanical Gardens and traces their changing public reception in Japan from the wartime to postwar periods through the perspective of two influential novels: *The Makioka Sisters* by Tanizaki Jun'ichirō 谷崎潤一郎 (1886–1965) and *The Old Capital* by Kawabata Yasunari 川端康成 (1899–1972). Tseng focuses on the excerpts that describe the protagonists' flower viewings at these two sites to decipher "the symbolism of imperial commemorative sites at the height of war and after war" (p. 209). Tseng traces how Heian Shrine's imperial association transformed the site into a tangible symbol of imperial ide-

ologies in wartime; public ceremonies held at the shrine aimed to mobilize Japanese people to embark upon militaristic and colonial expansion in Asia. Against the backdrop of increasingly fanatic imperialism, Tanizaki's description of Heian Shrine, however, was picturesque and tranquil, a site where the wealthy sisters immersed themselves in peaceful joy. Tseng considers this contradiction to be Tanizaki's subtextual resistance to the reality of war as the writer fantasized about an unchanged Heian Shrine and an uninterrupted life. Tseng considers the symbolic meaning of Heian Shrine as the opposite to Kyoto Botanical Gardens in postwar Japan, despite both having suffered damage during the Allied Occupation of Japan. Tseng uses Kawabata's depiction of the protagonists' visits to the sites as metaphors: while the female protagonist Chieko identifies herself with an aestheticized and "abandoned" Heian Shrine, the Sada family encounters the "Western" tulips in Kyoto Botanical Gardens as a symbol of recovery and embraces them for the future.

The monograph applies an interdisciplinary approach integrating a broad spectrum of fields such as architecture, urban planning, regional studies, and cultural studies. Tseng's meticulous articulation reconstructs an important chapter in the modernization of Kyoto's urban space. Her study contributes to the English-language scholarship on Japanese architecture and urban spaces in both method and conceptualization. The rich historical details and masterly analysis convincingly reveal how social and cultural activities, as well as visual and textual representations, influence the public reception of built environments. Nowadays, those who visit the Okazaki area will notice the emptiness and grand scale that seemed out of proportion to Kyoto's densely populated residential areas. Tseng articulates Kyoto's painstaking efforts to integrate the new area into Kyoto's old fabric by forming imperial connections and concludes with a characterization of the city's changing identity. "A city broken down by the loss of the emperor in residence, built up by commemorations of imperial history and history-in-the-making, broken down once again by defeat in the Asia-Pacific War, and back on the road to recovery by stripping itself of the recent imperial veneration" (p. 220).

3 For a visual representation of Manchuria, see Kishi, *Manshūkoku no bijuaru media*; Shepherdson-Scott, "Conflicting Politics."

4 The majority of Japanese and English scholarship on colonial architecture and urban studies still emphasizes the utopian narrative; see Sewell, *Constructing Empire*. For examples of challenges to the utopian narrative in colonial Korea and Manchuria, see Sunamoto, "Kyōjōfu no kōgai jūtakuchi"; Ueda, *Hōten no kindai*; Yang, "At the Crossroads."

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Effluvia of the Foreign: Olfactory Experiences in Nagasaki during the Tokugawa Period

AKIRA SHIMIZU

As I passed a place called Ichinose near Himi Pass, I detected a smell that I had never experienced before. Feeling nauseous, I asked a member of my group what it was. I was told that it was the smell of Nagasaki.

—*Nagasaki miyage (A Souvenir from Nagasaki)*¹

Introduction

IN 1679, a physician from Kyoto made his first journey to the port city of Nagasaki. He recorded his miscellaneous firsthand accounts of the city, its people, and its events, and in 1681 offered the collection of travel stories under the title *Nagasaki miyage*.² During the Tokugawa period (1603–1867), Nagasaki was the only city where foreign traders such as the Dutch and Chinese were permitted to reside. Japanese visitors to the archipelago’s only international city could “sense” foreign manners and customs that its denizens had appropriated into their everyday lives. The above epigraph is striking in that the author’s olfactory sense obliquely perceived that foreignness. “The smell of Nagasaki” serves as a powerful vehicle for imagining how early modern Japanese travelers to Nagasaki, such as our unnamed doctor, differentiate Nagasaki from its counterparts.

Focusing on the city of Nagasaki, this essay explores the ways in which olfactory perceptions, especially those triggered by foreigners’ consumption of meat,

were used by Japanese to identify the “other.” Early modern Japanese deemed the physical contact with dead animals a cause of defilement, and perceived the practice of meat-eating as outside the cognitive boundary of Japan. While it has been proven that “mainstream” early modern Japanese secretly ate meat, this act was associated with non-mainstream or “marginalized” populations such as outcasts and foreigners, the latter of whom were only visible in Nagasaki.

During the Tokugawa period, Nagasaki was the only city where foreigners could reside, although they were restricted to the bakufu-designated compounds. In 1641, the bakufu ordered the headquarters of the Dutch East India Company to move to the fan-shaped, man-made island of Dejima, while Chinese merchants were limited to the Chinese quarter, *Tōjin yashiki* 唐人屋敷, in 1689. With some exceptions, the Dutch and Chinese were typically confined within these compounds until the end of the 1850s. As Dejima was connected to the mainland by only one guarded bridge, and the Chinese quarter was walled off, the mysterious lives of the foreigners inside sparked the popular curiosity of the Japanese. With the proliferation of the printing industry in the mid-Tokugawa period, many authors and painters responded by publishing works that described the foreign manners and customs practiced inside.

1 *Nagasaki miyage*, pp. 6, 7. I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Arano Yasunori for directing my attention to this quote.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 1. The author’s record was later edited by an unknown Nagasaki resident and published in 1681.

Popular publications on Nagasaki gave opportunities to early modern Japanese to “see” foreignness in various visual expressions, prompting scholars including Ronald P. Toby, David Howell, and Suzanne G. O’Brien to study early modern Japanese “ocularcentrism”—sensory experiences that privilege vision.³ Their works demonstrate how outward physical expressions, both artistic and quotidian, such as hairstyles and facial hair as well as objects like frilly neckwear, hats, and parasols, allowed Japanese to draw cognitive boundaries that divided them from foreign “others.” However, shifting our attention away from the visual to another sense, the olfactory (especially offensive odors) reveals another dimension of the cultural construction of foreignness. The historian Jonathan Reinartz challenges the prevalence of the “ocularcentric” hierarchy of senses that prioritizes vision and downplays smell in human perceptions. As he illustrates, the prominence of ocularcentrism in Western discourse has roots going back to the ancient Greeks such as Plato and Aristotle. However, “lesser” senses such as smell can also be used to observe culturally oriented human reaction among different groups of people. Further, the examination of olfactory experiences of the past allows us to explore the ways in which people historically configured and reconfigured themselves against their surroundings.⁴

Drawing on the work of the physician Linda M. Bartoshuk, the psychologist Rachel S. Herz has demonstrated that when encountering a new food, “[t]he conditioned aversion is to the smell, not the taste, of the substance.”⁵ A number of visitors to Nagasaki recorded their encounters with foreign dietary practices. They described experiences such as being served new foods by Nagasaki residents or even foreigners at their compounds and seeing (and smelling) the livestock likely used in these dishes. Their attention was commonly directed at meat, and it is rare to find visitors expressing their disgust based on the appearance of meat. As Herz writes, “[m]ost smells have a feel to them.”⁶ Based on a number of diaries kept by the travelers to Nagasaki, I demonstrate that the city’s offensive smell had a psychological impact on these visitors that prompted them

to associate it with the idea of foreignness. In particular, I argue that the smell of meat was the immediate trigger for Japanese visitors to categorize its consumption as outside “normative” Japanese practice, and the main factor that made the city of Nagasaki and its residents the embodiment of what could not be accepted according to “normative” standards of Japanese.

Olfactory Experiences as a Useful Category of Analysis

The primary method for the construction of “foreignness” has been deeply embedded in “ocularcentrism.” As Ronald P. Toby has argued elsewhere, visual expression, especially in the form of hairstyle and facial hair, served as a medium through which “Japanese” identity was constructed vis-à-vis the existence of “others.”⁷ Actually, the Tokugawa bakufu attempted to normalize “Japanese” appearance through a series of edicts. For example, in August 1751, the bakufu issued an edict that men should not “arrange their hair in foreign ways” and saw such practice as having the potential to undermine “orderliness.”⁸ Additionally, the 105-volume encyclopedia, *The Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Universe of China and Japan* (*Wakan sansai zue* 和漢三才図会, 1713) by Terajima Ryōan 寺島良安 (n.d.) includes entries on different hairstyles. Terajima declares that a style called *sakayaki* 月代—a hairstyle embodying what the historian David Howell calls “the three pillars of normative appearance of men” and featuring the topknot, shaved pates, and shaved faces—is the normative outlook for adult men.⁹

The early modern normalization of hairstyles (and facial hair) resulted in two sociocultural phenomena. First, those who did not conform to them were positioned outside the social order. A group of people referred to as *kabuki-mono* かぶき者 or *roppō-mono* 六方者 who grew their hair and whiskers were considered as outlaws who threatened the political and social order. There were also groups of people such as monks,

3 See, for example, Toby, “‘Ketōjin’ no tōjō o megutte”; Toby, “Utamaro no ekizochikku to erochikku”; Howell, *Geographies of Identity*; O’Brien, “Splitting Hairs.”

4 Reinartz, *Past Scents*, pp. 3–4.

5 Herz, “I Know What I Like,” p. 198.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 193.

7 Toby, “‘Ketōjin’ no tōjō o megutte,” p. 273. See also Toby, “The ‘Indianness’ of Iberia and Changing Japanese Iconographies of Other.” Additionally, Timon Screech offers visual analyses on the popular gaze into the Chinese and Dutch who stayed at Nagasaki Inn (*Nagasaki ya*) in Edo. See Screech, *The Lens within the Heart*.

8 Takayanagi and Ishii, *Ofuregaki Hōreki shūsei*, p. 294.

9 Howell, *Geographies of Identity*, p. 135.

physicians, intellectuals, and court nobles, who did not comply with “the three pillars,” regardless of any privileges that they may have received. In short, their social existence was acknowledged outside the so-called “four-class system” with the samurai on the top followed by peasants, artisans, and merchants. Second, hairstyles and facial hair served as one of the visible parameters of “foreignness.” A number of travel diaries offer accounts of encounters with foreigners—Koreans, Chinese, Dutch, Ryūkyūans (people from modern-day Okinawa; then the independent Ryūkyū Kingdom), and Ainu—by focusing on these physical features as the most visible symbols of difference. As we can see in the example of Terajima, visual symbols serve as a useful category of analysis when we think about how early modern Japanese configured themselves against foreigners. As Toby convincingly argues, the hair on one’s head or face serves as an important visual semiotics because it is “the most conspicuous physical feature,” and “its shape and color can be easily altered.”¹⁰

Recent scholarship in history and anthropology has explored how nonvisual perceptions, such as smell, connect to issues of race and ethnicity. For example, the historian Mark Smith examines how race was constructed in the American Antebellum South. He writes that it is important for us to pay attention to an array of sensory experiences because they “help profile ordinarily hidden dimensions of racial thought and racism” and “tell us a good deal about the nature and workings of Antebellum Southern slavery.”¹¹ He analyzes the ways in which sensory experiences of both enslaved black people and white slaveholders contributed to the birth of racial stereotypes of two racial categories and maintains that “the senses facilitated the rule of feeling and made men and women unthinkingly comfortable with their racial worlds.”¹²

The justification for Smith’s heuristic approach had been presented by the historian Roy Porter, who famously quipped in his “Foreward” to Alain Corbin’s seminal work *The Foul and the Fragrant* that “[T]oday’s history comes deodorized.” That is to say that modern

hygiene has deodorized society, and restricted historians’ sensitivity to past smells. Contemporary historiography, as a consequence, has been made visible and audible.¹³ However, if smell, more than vision and sound, induces such visceral and emotional reactions in its perceiver, this “lesser” sense will serve as a useful category of historical analysis. Smith identifies olfactory perception as the “hidden dimensions” of the process, especially when we think about the process through which one cognizes the existence of others.

The anthropologist Martin F. Manalansan IV has recently explored such dimensions in a contemporary social context, and directed our attention to the smell of food as a crucial niche to analyze ethnic identities. In his ethnographic study on Asian-American immigrant communities in New York City, Manalansan contends that “food odors become the medium through which identities are amplified or marked.”¹⁴ In the multiethnic city of New York, the smell of food becomes the marker of ethnic differences and helps immigrants find “unthinkingly comfortable” spaces in which they can ensure their sense of ethnic belonging.

While Manalansan’s ethnographic work underlines the power of food flavor as a trigger to reconfirm one’s ethnic identity, historical materials seem to reveal that this mechanism is a result of one’s bodily odor. According to Reinartz, western travelogues often highlighted “the absoluteness of social boundaries” that would divide “deodorized” white from “odorous” others. In this process, white travelers used a “perceived stench” to cognitively cordon off sensory realms and construct a civilized-uncivilized binary.¹⁵ Needless to say, such travelers’ perceptions of what is negatively rendered as “stench” was merely the result of unfamiliarity. And, interestingly, the perception of the self as “deodorized” and the other as “odorous” implies the inherency of smell in human life and its surroundings. In this way, the West, as Porter implies, perceives itself as odorless and uses smell to construct its discourse of the civilized vs. uncivilized, where olfactory perception is directed only from the West to others.

However, a similar phenomenon existed in early modern Japan, where the natives odorized and otherized the Dutch and Chinese in comparison to their

10 Toby, “‘Ketōjin’ no tōjō o megutte,” p. 254.

11 Smith, *How Race Is Made*, p. 3. The number of publications dealing with the senses in recent scholarship covering history and anthropology is vast. To name just a few, Corbin, *The Foul and the Fragrant and Village Bells*; Cohen and Johnson, *Filth: Dirt, Disgust, and Modern Life*; Barnes, *The Great Stink of Paris*; and Ashton, *One Hot Summer*.

12 Smith, *How Race Is Made*, p. 4.

13 Porter, “Foreward,” p. v.

14 Manalansan IV, “Immigrant Lives and the Politics of Olfaction,” p. 46.

15 Reinartz, *Past Scents*, p. 86.

“odor-free” selves. It was especially the smell of foreign foods—namely meat—that triggered Japanese observers to draw this boundary. Mainstream early modern Japanese saw it as taboo to eat or even touch meat due to its potential to cause defilement. The discourse of meatless Japan, it should be noted, encouraged Japanese observers of foreign dietary practices to invent not a “deodorized-odorous” but an “odorless-odorous” binary, while perceiving the other as the embodiment of what they saw as the cause of defilement.

In his study on incense production in Japan, Brian Moeran explains how the Buddhist discourse employed smell to identify others. The Buddha’s words are “fragrant,” and the incense was “to invoke the Buddha’s presence.” On the other hand, it could be asserted that the smell of blood, or meat reeking of blood, would invoke the presence of demons (*oni* 鬼).¹⁶ Demons, usually depicted with facial hair, conjure up the image of “barbarians” (i.e., foreigners) that threaten Japan. In this manner, the incense’s fragrance constitutes a stark contrast to the smell of flesh, and purifies the space in which the smell of flesh would cause “contamination” or “pollution” to “odorless” Japan.

The Discourse of “Odorophobia” and Meat-Eating

In the second half of the Tokugawa period, there was a growing number of publications concerning the “Japanese” diet. Many of them identified the five grains—rice, beans, barley, foxtail millet (*awa* 粟), and pearl millet (*hie* 稗)—as Japanese staple foods, the cultivation of and support for which was the crucial requirement for being Japanese.¹⁷ The Owari retainer Amano Sadakage 天野信景 (1663–1733) was one of the authors who wrote down such concerns. He authored a vast collection of miscellaneous essays entitled *Shiojiri* 塩尻 from the Genroku 元禄 years (1688–1704) up until his death. Although the collection does not seem to have

been published, its writing style is largely similar to that of Japanese Neo-Confucian scholar Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583–1657). Moreover, ideas expressed in *Shiojiri* influenced subsequent nativist scholars such as Hirata Atsutane 平田篤胤 (1776–1843) and Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730–1801).¹⁸

According to Amano, the Japanese people did not eat meat because Shinto rituals had defined it as the cause of defilement, leading them to develop an aversion toward “the foul smell” of meat. Amano observed that people in Nagasaki, including Japanese people working on foreign ships, are “imbued with the foul smell of meat.” However, he noted that “when the Dutch travel to Edo and if you get close to them, they do not smell so bad. For they do not eat meat for a certain duration of time after the departure from Nagasaki, so it disappears.”¹⁹ That is, it was customs and not biological race that produced the offensive odors.

Despite Amano’s statement to the contrary, a number of historical documents and archaeological findings have proven that early modern Japanese ate meat, including that of four-legged animals under the pretext of “medicinal eating” (*kusurigui* 薬食).²⁰ In a block of the Kōjimachi 麹町 neighborhood of Edo, there was a section often referred to as “the beast market” (*kemonodana* 獣店) where people could walk into a restaurant called “the beast restaurant” (*momonjiya* ももんじ屋) and eat, for example, the stewed meat of wild boar under the euphemism “mountain whale” (*yamakujiira* 山鯨) for “medicinal eating.”²¹ Under the guise of medical therapy, visitors to the beast market would feel exempted from being subject to defilement caused by their physical contact with meat. Additionally, we can confirm that miso-marinated beef was produced by the Hikone domain, and regularly presented to the shogun and high-ranking officials a total of twenty-eight times from at least 1781 onward.²²

It is important for us to admit the possibility of a “gray” zone in regard to meat-eating, as it is quite unlikely that all Japanese shared the emotional impulses of disgust when they observed the practice of meat-eat-

16 Moeran, “Making Scents of Smell,” p. 440.

17 The historian Harada Nobuo offers a succinct overview of the history of grain eating in Japan, which culminated in the formation of the “five grain” (*gokoku* 五穀) discourse as defining what was “Japanese.” See Harada, *Edo no shoku seikatsu*; Harada, *Edo no ryōri shi*; Harada, *Rekisho no naka no kome to niku*. Susan Hanley discusses a variety of grains consumed in early modern Japan as well as their regional diversity. See Hanley, *Everyday Things in Premodern Japan*, pp. 77–103.

18 Tanabe, “*Shiojiri*.”

19 Amano, *Shiojiri*, vol. 17, p. 183.

20 For example, see Harada, *Edo no shoku seikatsu*; Uchiyama, “San’ei-chō and Meat-Eating in Buddhist Edo”; Vaporis, “Digging for Edo”; Cwiertka, *Modern Japanese Cuisine*; and Shimizu, “Meat-Eating in the Kōjimachi District of Edo.”

21 Shimizu, “Meat-Eating in the Kōjimachi District of Edo,” p. 92.

22 Hikone-shi, *Shinshū Hikone shishi*, p. 266.

ing. Herz demonstrates that “our odor preferences are not innate and rather that we have *learned* through experience to like or dislike all the scents in our repertoire.”²³ In this sense, it is important that we investigate the specific cultural background in which each traveler developed his or her olfactory senses and by which he or she perceived the smell of meat negatively. However, this would require extensive research because the Japanese diet varied in accordance with geographical specificities. Those in the coastal areas consumed more fish than those in mountainous areas. Meanwhile, peasants in Kai Province (modern-day Yamanashi Prefecture) had more access to the meat of wild boars which they shot to protect their agricultural products.²⁴

Despite the above regional differences, the discourse of defilement also created a narrative that associated meat with “foreign” and “marginal” characteristics in contrast to “normal” Japanese who abstained from meat. Amano wrote:

In foreign countries, people conduct rituals in which they offer cows, goats, and pigs.... In our country, the offering of meat in the divine ritual is considered as the cause of defilement. This is because [the Japanese people] do not usually consume meat. How abominable blood-soaked meat is!²⁵

Here, we see the dual implications of the meat-eating discourse in Japan. On the one hand, the category of “our country” clearly contrasts with that of “foreign countries” in terms of the religious display of meat; on the other hand, the violation of the rule causes ordinary Japanese to be relegated to the status of outcast—a marginalized group of people whose defiled status the bakufu perpetuated and who were required to take “defiled” occupations involving dead animals. As Amano explains:

The reference of slaughterers as *eta* (穢多) originates in *etori* (えとり), which refers to feeding hunting dogs and falcons by killing animals. The reason that two Chinese characters, meaning “deeply defiled,” came to be used is that they constantly strip off skin from various animals and gobble

their meat, and, as a result, the smell of defilement diffuses from them.²⁶

Here, the body of the outcast (*eta*) is viewed as the embodiment of “the smell of defilement” caused by their physical contact with dead animals. As a result, “our country” becomes a site that excludes the foreigners and outcasts because they embody the odors that “ordinary Japanese” do not emit. As a result, foreigners—especially Europeans—and “defiled” outcasts constituted a group of others. Finally, the potential to fall into this group of “others” through the practice of meat-eating threatened “ordinary” Japanese people, who were supposed to abhor those who emitted the smell of flesh. In other words, the religious discourse of not eating meat transforms into a discourse of “odorphobia” by which the category of the “ordinary” Japanese quarantines “others.”

In his view of Buddhism, Amano outlines the discourse of “odorphobia” by suggesting that those who engage in the practice of meat-eating will be the target of demonic assault. For example, while contemplating “the purity of the water and flowers offered to the Buddha,” Amano calls to mind the Buddhist rituals of Japan’s neighboring countries, and finds it “deplorably unbearable” to see “meat reeking of the stench of fat” given as an offering. In order to avoid such practices, he calls for “the awareness of the urgency to have the will to endure a simple diet.” Those who practice this simple diet appreciate “the purity of water and flowers” of Buddhist rituals, while those who make offerings of “meat reeking of the stench of fat” will be “devoured by the cursing demons attracted by its smell.”²⁷

According to Amano, Buddhist teachings reflected the Japanese sentiment that deemed the consumption of, and physical contact with, flesh to be a cause of defilement. While the fragrance of incense attracts various gods and goddesses, “the stench [of meat] will invite various demons and devils.” If one fails to abstain from contact with meat, “demons, sensing its stench and seeking such failures, will curse one.”²⁸ The smell of meat is in defiance of the Buddha’s teachings, and those who violate them will face the severe consequence of being cursed by demons.

23 Herz, “I Know What I Like,” p. 190.

24 Tsukamoto, *Shōrui o meguru seiji*. See also Harada, *Edo no shoku seikatsu*.

25 Amano, *Shiojiri*, vol. 15, p. 151.

26 *Ibid.*, vol. 14, p. 209.

27 *Ibid.*, vol. 15, p. 151.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 344.

The Smell of Nagasaki from Afar

Upon their arrival in Japan, the Europeans' practice of meat-eating quickly appeared as a threat to many "ordinary" Japanese, and its smell prompted them to draw cognitive boundaries between them and "odorous" others. As the Portuguese Jesuit missionary Luis Fróis (1532–1597) recorded, Japanese Buddhist monks often condemned Christianity as heretical for its consumption of meat, which supposedly included human flesh. In one instance recorded around 1590, a "suspicious" smell from a Christian man's oven provoked non-Christian Japanese to condemn him for cannibalism. In Yamaguchi, which was once the center of Jesuit missionary work, one blind Christian man was found in a house that Christian peasants maintained for their priest. After hearing about this man, thirty non-Christian women intruded into the house and mocked him. Sensing something from the oven in the kitchen, they derided him by saying: "It smells like human flesh has been grilled; the Christian must have eaten human flesh here." Then, a young man who accompanied these women picked up a bamboo stick which he used to try to find out what the blind man had cooked. Getting a whiff of the edge of the bamboo stick, he said: "It smells like human flesh."²⁹ Here, the olfactory senses of non-Christian Japanese incited them to distance themselves from the Christians by attributing cannibalism to the foreign religion.

During the Tokugawa period, the ban on Christianity as well as the subsequent confinement of the Dutch and Chinese to Dejima and the Chinese quarter made foreigners all but invisible in Nagasaki and other parts of Japan. However, the smell of the foreign could not be controlled, and the daily manners and customs of the Europeans and Chinese filtered into the daily lives of Nagasaki residents. Coupled with the topographic characteristics of Himi Pass that divided the city and its surrounding areas, Nagasaki was narrated by many travelers as an isolated space surrounded by mountains and the ocean.

In the epigraph from *Nagasaki miyage*, "the smell of Nagasaki" obliquely sets a negative tone for the city. Here, it would be worthwhile to examine how Himi Pass contributed to the overall geographical characteristics of the city. Travelers to Nagasaki entered the

city by land via a common route, of which Himi Pass served as the last difficult section. For example, the village head of Shindenshuku in modern-day Kanagawa Prefecture, Hatano Shinsaku 波多野新作 (n.d.), who accompanied his domain lord to Nagasaki, remarked in 1857 that "lengthy stone steps led up to Himi Pass, which is an extremely difficult spot [to pass through] ... we took a rest. The way down from the top of the pass is also a stone-paved steep."³⁰ According to the bakufu official Tōyama Kagemichi 遠山景晋 (1752–1837), who traveled to Nagasaki in 1804, the steepness of the path and its width were not constant, which made passing more strenuous.³¹ In 1853, another bakufu official, Kubota Shigetsugu 窪田茂逐 (n.d.), described the path as very steep and rocky, while the edges of rocks on the path prevented him from proceeding smoothly.³²

In 1802, a merchant from Owari domain (modern-day Aichi Prefecture) named Yoshida Shigefusa 吉田重房 (n.d.) traveled to Nagasaki and attributed the climate of the city to its geographical characteristics. For him, Nagasaki was "humid, as it is surrounded by mountains on three sides and the ocean on one side."³³ Here, Yoshida's observation indicates how the city and its residents were seen as isolated from their neighbors. This geographical characteristic alone seems to have prompted many travelers to inscribe the character of Nagasaki's townspeople as distinct from what they had witnessed in other parts of Japan. For example, the Okayama pharmacist Furukawa Koshōken 古川古松軒 (1726–1807) recorded during his trip to Nagasaki in 1783 that the people in Nagasaki were "not empathetic at all," and those who had migrated from other areas "survived on stealing and were never ashamed" of such a way of life.³⁴ Moreover, the Hiroshima domain retainer Hayashi Hideari 林英存 (n.d.) commented in 1804 that, despite the relative smoothness in his communication with the people of Nagasaki, he sometimes found their speech incomprehensible because their dialect had adopted Chinese sounds.³⁵

In a similar way, "the smell of Nagasaki" was the outcome of the manners and customs of its residents.

30 Hatano, *Nagasaki dōchūki*, p. 58. Hatano was later promoted to Nagasaki Magistrate in November 1857.

31 Tōyama, *Zoku mizouki*, p. 214.

32 Kubota, *Nagasaki nikki*, p. 101.

33 Yoshida, *Tsukushi kikō*, p. 666. *Tsukushi kikō* was published in 1806.

34 Furukawa, *Saiyū zakki*, p. 383.

35 Hayashi, *Tsukushi no michikusa*, p. 328.

29 Fróis, *Kuroda Kanbei*, p. 261.

According to the above travelers, Nagasaki residents seem to have developed their way of life with relatively less contact with the rest of Japan, and instead incorporated a greater degree of foreign elements in terms of their manners and customs. Amano heard this curious story from an anonymous Nagasaki resident:

Since the foreigners always practice meat-eating, their bodies smell. The stench of the Dutch can be detected even when their ships are one or two *chō* (町) offshore. This is because they rarely eat grains but only meat. When one passes by the Dutch on the street, one will cover his or her nose.³⁶

Here, the foreignness of meat-eating—seemingly a distinct practice prevalent in Nagasaki—is contrasted with the Japanese diet which was centered on grains. By presenting this dietary juxtaposition, Amano constructs an “odorless” Japan in opposition to the “odorous” foreign.

Despite the reality of the early modern Japanese diet, the regular consumption of meat in Nagasaki led Amano, as well as the author of *Nagasaki miyage*, to describe Nagasaki as distinctively odorous. In the case of the Dutch, their smell was even perceptible from a distance at sea. That is, the odor of Nagasaki was not just local but also transmittable through the body of its residents imbued with it or by the wind. With these implications, Nagasaki itself seems to be an embodiment of the stench.

Japanese travelers perceived the foreignness of Nagasaki’s dietary practices as foreboding even prior to their entrance to the city. In 1767, Nagakubo Sekisui 長久保赤水 (1717–1801), who was delegated to Nagasaki by the lord of the Mito domain, Tokugawa Harumori 徳川治保 (1751–1805), encountered free-range animals on the day of his entrance into the city. Having been received by officials dressed in formal attire, he “saw pigs and sheep prowling by the roadside.” Puzzled, he asked one of the officials what they were for. The latter explained to him that “they were raised for Chinese people in Nagasaki who purchase and eat them.”³⁷ The aforementioned Yoshida Shigefusa perceived Nagasaki’s distinct culture as he approached the Himi Pass.

The night before he entered Nagasaki, he described the food at a local inn as “foreign”:

While I was waiting for the report from the express messenger (*hikyaku* 飛脚) whom I had sent to Nagasaki to secure lodging, I ordered sake and food. They served stewed eight-*sun* (寸)-long jack mackerel (*aji* 鰯) on a plate. In amusement, we laughed at the bizarreness of the dish by saying that since we were close to Nagasaki, the food appeared quite foreign.³⁸

To his surprise, the jack mackerel that Yoshida saw was about 9.5 inches long. However, given that the fish averages between about 7.8 and 11.8 inches, Yoshida’s meal was not particularly large. The amusement, as he notes, may have been caused by the way in which the fish was served, or because it was flavored in an unfamiliar way. Here, the reason for this amusement is unclear, but he undoubtedly identified the fish’s appearance as “foreign.” In any event, we see here that, along with Nagakubo’s observation, food serves as a powerful marker to characterize Nagasaki.

The above travelers contrasted their experiences with what they conceived as the mainstream “Japanese” diet. Himi Pass and the surrounding mountains and ocean obscured the city, and “foreign” dietary practices were made invisible. However, while *Nagasaki miyage* suggests that “the smell of Nagasaki” spreads to the entrance of the city, the unfamiliar circumstances that they noted curiously served as the “pointer” to the foreignness that they would sense as they proceeded deeper into the city.

The Nagasaki Olfactory Experience

In Nagasaki, the dietary practices that accompanied the city’s “foreign” elements attracted travelers’ attention for not only their appearance and taste but also for smell. The practice of meat-eating attracted a lot of attention as Japanese people *in theory* did not consume meat. Many travelers “saw” animals raised by Japanese for sale to the Chinese and Dutch and described what they looked like; some of these witnesses, especially bakufu officials who had the privilege to travel to

36 Amano, *Shiojiri*, vol. 17, p. 183. One *chō* is about 109.09 meters, which is equal to 358 feet.

37 Nagakubo, *Nagasaki kōeki nikki*, p. 18.

38 Yoshida, *Tsukushi kikō*, p. 645.

Dejima and gain entry into the Chinese quarter, actually ate meat dishes, and recorded the taste. Their impressions were not entirely negative. While some thought that the slaughtering of animals was an inhumane and malevolent act, others seem to have enjoyed the meat dishes and company of those who ate meat daily. However, their feelings about the smell of such dishes was another matter.

For the author of *Nagasaki miyage* who expressed the nausea he felt at the entrance to Nagasaki, body odor was an important aspect of etiquette. For him, a body reeking of a foul smell was a sign of vulgarity regarding one's place of birth. He stated that:

Among the Chinese, there are those who are noble and gentle by nature. They are always careful of their grooming and appearance, and concerned with their smell... You will not find such people among the Dutch. Many of [the noble and gentle] Chinese are from Nanjing. [The reason that they have such etiquette] is that Nanjing was the capital of the august Ming dynasty. It is far more comfortable and pleasant to befriend [Chinese people with proper etiquette] than vulgar Japanese with bad breath...³⁹

Here, one's "noble and gentle" nature is revealed in a pleasant odor emitting from one's body, while vulgarity is signified with bad breath. In other words, one's body is seen as the embodiment of one's quality, as manifested by body odor. The author's reference to "the capital of the august Ming dynasty" may indicate his inclination to, or respect for, Chinese culture and traditions, which downplayed the Dutch as so-called barbarians from the south. The nobility and gentleness were signs of the sophistication and "civilized" etiquette that would keep body odor pleasant, as opposed to the vulgarity signified by bad breath.

When Japanese travelers encountered meat dishes, their olfactory impressions were completely opposite. For example, in 1767 the aforementioned Nagakubo Sekisui was invited to Dejima. As he was received with different kinds of wines and confections, he tried them without hesitation and rather enjoyed them. Then, he was guided through the Dutch residence. As he walked into the kitchen, he witnessed the very moment when

pigs and cows were slaughtered by having their heads smashed by hammers (*togeki shite* 屠撃して). This scene prompted him to comment, "I sensed the bloody stench caused by the slaughter of animals such as pigs and cows."⁴⁰

In 1781, the physician Tachibana Nankei 橘南谿 (1753–1805) commented on the dietary practices of the people of Nagasaki. According to him:

Nagasaki is abundant in fish and meat more than any other place. Since they are less expensive than vegetables, people are sated with them. Also, while learning Chinese ways of cooking and drinking, they fry any kind of meat with thick flavors. In addition, as money flows in [from Chinese, Dutch, and Japanese from other areas], all of its people live lives of pleasure. Therefore, day and night, they indulge in eating and drinking without engaging in physical labor and activities. This is why many of them develop skin diseases.⁴¹

Here, the "thick flavor" of food is connected to the lack of "physical labor" and the possibility of "skin diseases." As Herz cautions us in her work on the development of olfactory preferences, flavor must be clearly distinguished from smell. While the former consists of "salt, sour, sweet, bitter and the latest addition *umami* or savory," the latter is the "combination of these basic tastes, plus smell."⁴² For Tachibana, because of the adoption of Chinese foodways featuring deep-fried meat, "flavor" induces the degeneration of people in Nagasaki, especially since they do not have the means to burn off extra calories consumed in the form of "foreign" dietary practices. The ideal diet is, as Tachibana implies, a simple one practiced by people in Kyoto who pursue their occupations through physical labor. In other words, the dietary practice and physical activities must be in complete balance—the insufficiency of either one will undermine one's health, while an excess of thickly flavored food is also detrimental to one's health.

In August of 1853, the Russian Admiral Yevfimiy Vasilyevich Putyatin arrived in Nagasaki onboard the *Pallada* along with three other frigates, and demanded

40 Nagakubo, *Nagasaki kōeki nikki*, p. 20.

41 Tachibana, *Saiyūki*, p. 315.

42 Herz, "I Know What I Like," p. 191. As she continues: "You distinguish the flavor of a cold cup of coffee from a glass of red wine only by smell."

39 *Nagasaki miyage*, p. 108.

a commercial treaty with Japan. In response, the bakufu sent officials to negotiate. On the seventeenth day of the twelfth month, Putyatin invited a group of bakufu officials to *Pallada* and hosted a banquet. The bakufu's Financial Magistrate (*kanjō bugyō* 勘定奉行) Kawaji Toshiakira 川路聖謨 (1801–1868) and the abovementioned Kubota Shigetsugu were among them. According to Kawaji, bakufu officials were first served with aperitifs, beginning with French wine and ending with liquor, which reminded him of *awamori* 泡盛, today known as Okinawan rice brandy. Kawaji commented that the last liquor had a “pleasant aroma.” Then, the banquet proceeded to dishes featuring different kinds of meat, vegetables, and fish:

When we were entertained by the Russians, there were dishes of beef, mutton, chicken, eggs, and vinegar-marinated vegetables. As I felt nauseous, I tried to eliminate their flavors with vinegar.⁴³

Despite the similarity of Western drinks to *awamori*, the food represents a stark difference from what Kawaji would have been familiar with. Here, foreign “flavors” that come from the meat dishes function as the impulse for Kawaji's nausea.

The other official, Kubota, harbored a similar reaction towards the meat. Even before he was onboard, he sensed “a smell of cows which assailed my nose.” As he explained, because of the Russians' “everyday practice of meat-eating, all of them give off a bad smell.”⁴⁴ Implying that he was already familiar with the Russian dietary practices that incorporated beef, his olfactory impressions echo the story, submitting that the foreign body of the Russian was imbued with the smell of animal meat. That is, the foreign body was perceived as the embodiment of a bad smell. Then, after boarding the ship, he was guided to the basement where Kubota saw live animals:

At the center, there were cages in which birds and animals were kept. There were cows, sheep, buffaloes (*yagyū* 野牛), chickens, and ducks. Since they keep cows, chickens, and ducks, the smell [of these animals] is extremely [unbearable].⁴⁵

Kubota did not see these animals being slaughtered. Instead, he was entertained by the Russians with a banquet, which began with drinks and moved on to main dishes featuring meat. Although he detected animal fat and sweetness and sourness in every dish, he did not show any negative impression towards the smell.⁴⁶ In short, Kubota's olfactory senses were offended only by the smell of live animals.

A retainer from Nagaoka domain (modern-day Niigata Prefecture), Kawai Tsugunosuke 河井継之助 (1827–1868), had the opportunity to visit the Chinese quarter in 1859 at a time when the landscape of Nagasaki was in rapid transition. In 1856, the bakufu lifted the restrictions on Japanese and Dutch travel between mainland Nagasaki and Dejima. Then, upon the opening of Nagasaki to the United States, Russia, England, France, and Holland, the bakufu also abolished the Chinese quarter in 1859 and allowed the installation of the Dutch consulate within the headquarters of the Dutch East Company in 1860. So, when Kawai arrived at Nagasaki in October, there was an increasing number of foreigners visible on the street. While seeing shops owned by Westerners and Chinese people, he contrasted “the unruliness” of the Westerners to “the calmness” of the Chinese people.⁴⁷ In addition, due to the Second Opium War (1856–1860), he found Westerners accompanying the Chinese people. When offered opium by the Chinese, he felt its smell to be “savory and nice,” although he did not actually smoke.⁴⁸

The result of the Opium War was reported to the bakufu through Chinese and Dutch merchants, and the Japanese authorities were not only shocked by the Chinese defeat but also alerted to the possibility that Japan could also face a Western military threat in the near future. The fragrance of “noble and gentle” Chinese remarked on by the author of *Nagasaki miyage* above seems to reflect China's status as Japan's “most significant Other” in the ancient and medieval periods.⁴⁹ Curiously, the smell of opium that had led such a significant “other” to catastrophic defeat does not carry a negative connotation but evoked a pleasantly foreign scent.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

⁴⁷ Kawai, *Jinko*, p. 417.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 417.

⁴⁹ The term was coined by Ronald P. Toby. See “The ‘Indianness’ of Iberia,” p. 323.

⁴³ Kawaji, *Nagasaki nikki*, p. 71.

⁴⁴ Kubota, *Nagasaki nikki*, p. 101.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

Conclusion: Odorophobia of the “Foreign”

Herz writes that people “learn the meaning (the connotation) of odors by association.” That is, smell is contextual and “the olfactory system is set up so that, through experience, meaning becomes attached to odor stimuli.”⁵⁰ In this sense, the travelers to Nagasaki, whose actual perception of foreigners and meat we have examined, contextualized their experiences there with the knowledge they had acquired about these two “others,” which contributed to the construction of a “Japanese” identity. They may have been taught what Amano referred to as “odorophobia” caused by the stench of meat. Or, they may have embraced the fear of being imbued with the stench of animal flesh. Here, the important point is that the “foreign” and “marginal” constituted the borders by which “Japan” was framed while those who felt disgust towards the smell of meat unconsciously mobilized their “national” identity to thwart the entrance of foreign practices into their everyday lives. They could cover their eyes and not look at animal flesh; they could refuse to eat meat dishes. But they could not avoid bad smells even by plugging their noses.

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50 Herz, “I Know What I Like,” p. 194.

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