Manuscript Culture and Chinese Learning in Medieval Kamakura

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Under the Hōjō regency of the mid-Kamakura period (1185–1333), shogunate elites frequently sought to project power through Buddhist rituals, household celebrations, divination practices, and other venues of cultural performance. One locus of broadly recognized prestige was the classical Chinese scholarly tradition, and some shogunate officials acquired substantial collections of Chinese texts for study. A swelling continental market of imprints provided one potential source of titles, but elites instead sought to negotiate access to the manuscript holdings of noble scholarly lineages based in Kyoto. The

ABSTRACT: As medieval shogunate officials sought to project their influence outward over the land as well as in competition with one another, classical Chinese scholarship served as an important means of demonstrating cultural attainment and justifying authority. Despite the political and economic power of these figures, neither the texts themselves nor instruction in them were necessarily immediately accessible. I examine the reception of Chinese literary and philosophical texts in thirteenth-century Kamakura, reconstructing the modes of reproduction specific to such works within the larger medieval textual sphere. Analyzing paratextual features of one 1280 manuscript of the anthology *Wenxuan* indicates the institutional forces that slowed the efforts of eastern elites to replicate the cultural capacities of Kyoto. Such extant manuscripts provide the necessary evidence for a holistic analysis of medieval Japanese textual culture, revealing its network of circulation in the midst of historic changes.

摘要：帝王学としての古典籍は権力者にとって欠かせない道具であった。本論文は鎌倉中期における中国古典の複写・流通様式を分析し、関東武家が本の入手に如何に苦心したかを明らかにすると共に、鎌倉期写本を通し、京と新文化拠点との関係を書物の側面から考究する。

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reach and limits of these efforts were shaped by the structures of medieval manuscript circulation, in which textual reproduction occurred through personal relationships, and literary education was centered on codified reading traditions. Reconstructing scholarly culture in the thirteenth-century Kantō therefore demands that we go beyond simply tracing the presence or absence of texts there, because the physical importation of a text further necessitated access to the interpretive and performative traditions that gave it meaning in the medieval Japanese context.

A corpus of Chinese philosophy, history, literature, and techne had been institutionalized in Japan's state-sponsored structures of higher learning, mostly in the eighth and ninth centuries. By the Kamakura period, such collective public institutions were largely obsolete, but individual households, claiming expertise over particular fields, had come to fulfill a parallel function as multigenerational enterprises of textual preservation and reproduction. The specific modes of circulation afforded this body of what I refer to as "academic texts" in turn impacted the spread of knowledge from established sources to new reading communities in the thirteenth-century Kantō. Despite the wealth and power of the shogunate, ready access to academic texts was hindered by social barriers. In particular, unlike scholarly noble lineages in Kyoto, the shogunate lacked an institutionalized apparatus for the preservation and interpretation of texts. This limitation, which affected even the most powerful members of the Hōjō regency, is reflected in extant texts themselves, including one thirteenth-century manuscript whose colophon and marginalia suggest some of the restrictions placed on Kantō access to the capital's educational traditions. In this article, I draw on this and other surviving manuscripts to demonstrate that the "how" fundamentally shaped the "what"—that the means by which eastern warrior elites obtained access to and read texts determined which texts and interpretations made up the academic library for Kamakura readers—and thereby established the parameters of their knowledge.

The reception of literary Chinese texts during the medieval period is still understudied, especially in comparison to the extensive literature on early modern sinologists, such as Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583–1657) and Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠 (1666–1728). Andrew Goble's studies of Emperor Hanazono 花園天皇 (r. 1308–1318) and his successor

Godaigo 後醍醐天皇 (r. 1318–1339) provide the most direct examination of this issue, but they focus on the Kyoto nobility.[1] The relative presence or absence of a readership for literary Chinese texts in the Kantō is less well understood: some historians insist upon the importance of the Chinese philosophical tradition to the shogunate's ongoing reconceptualization of sovereignty, yet others point to sources suggesting that literacy itself remained a rare quality among eastern warrior households.[2] Tracing the circulation of Chinese literary texts among warrior households of the Kantō can tell us a great deal about the larger structure of medieval textual culture.

How did the flow of information—including but not limited to the circulation of literary texts—occur in the medieval period? What came between the earlier coterie structure of Heian (794–1185) court literature and the later commercialization of print technology? These are questions that address not only the circulation, reproduction, and material format of texts but also the constitution and political economy of scholarly knowledge in the medieval period. They can only be broached by examining the interaction of book history and intellectual history without reducing one to an epiphenomenon of the other—what Roger Chartier advocates as a "history of reading" that mediates between work, book, and reader.[3]

My focus here on academic texts is driven by the premise that the diversity of manuscript culture precludes positing the "book" as a unified object of inquiry; rather, different genres of text circulated and were read in incommensurable ways. To usefully define the zone of interaction between the text as material object and the cultural practices through which it is experienced requires heuristic categories that can mediate between the individual text and its larger historical conditions. I therefore begin by taking up the patterns of reproduction and circulation that attended academic texts—to understand their peculiarities and to contextualize them in relation to other nodes within the larger medieval Japanese textual network.

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[1] Andrew Goble, "Social Change, Knowledge, and History: Emperor Hanazono's Admonitions to the Crown Prince," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 55.1 (1995): 61–128, doi: 10.2307/2719421; Goble, *Kenmu: Go-Daigo's Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1996).

[2] Ashikaga Enjutsu 足利衍述, *Kamakura Muromachi jidai no jukyō* 鎌倉室町時代之儒教 (Tokyo: Nihon koten zenshū kankōkai, 1932), pp. 98–99; Andrew Goble, "The Hōjō and Consultative Government," in *Court and Bakufu in Japan: Essays in Kamakura History*, ed. Jeffrey P. Mass (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982), pp. 176–77. See also Thomas Conlan, "Traces of the Past: Documents, Literacy, and Liturgy in Medieval Japan," in *Currents in Medieval Japanese History: Essays in Honor of Jeffrey P. Mass*, ed. Gordon M. Berger et al. (Los Angeles: Figueroa Press, 2009), pp. 19–50.

[3] Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), pp. 1–23.

Academic Texts and the Kyoto Manuscript Community

Kamakura-period discourse on texts and literary knowledge differentiates between several broad categories of titles, and these categories in turn were reproduced and disseminated in measurably different ways. The first step in understanding medieval textual circulation is grasping the nature and relationship among these intermediate categories of text, rather than subsuming them to a unified manuscript culture. Before going on to treat the acquisition of academic texts in eastern Japan, I first survey the better-documented conditions of the capital to identify the particular features of academic texts that distinguish them from other categories of texts. I focus particularly on the community-based regulation of manuscript transmission.

Book history as a field has tended to treat the relationship between material texts and surrounding realms of culture and epistemology through a paradigm that posits a *unified* field of book production defined in technological and economic terms.[4] For example, Mary Elizabeth Berry's *Japan in Print* groups together an "enormous spectrum" of genres, including maps, encyclopedias, manuals, calendars, and guidebooks, as a "library of public information" in the seventeenth century, arguing that the explosion of commercial publishing gave birth to a new reading public and paved the way for modern forms of national self-identification.[5] Because the book in early modern Japan thus comes to be defined through explicitly modern conditions, any study on earlier textual culture must begin by considering how to define its object. To put it grossly, does the book as a unified category exist before print capitalism? The earliest Japanese sources present a menagerie in which different genres, formats, and inscription materials can be understood as mutually incommensurable objects.

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[4] See, for example, Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

[5] Mary Elizabeth Berry, *Japan in Print: Information and Nation in the Early Modern Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), p. 18.

The most fundamental division applied to texts was between Buddhist and non-Buddhist works, usually referred to as "inner" and "outer" teachings (*naiten* 内典, *geten* 外典), for example, in the opening words of *Nihon ryōiki* 日本霊異記 (Record of miraculous events in Japan, ca. 822): "Considering when inner scriptures and outer texts spread to Japan, it occurred in two steps. All floated over from Paekche 百済 [on the Korean peninsula]. In the reign of . . . Emperor Ōjin 応神天皇 [semilegendary, r. ca. early fifth century], the outer texts came. In the reign of . . . Emperor Kinmei 欽明天皇 [r. 539–571], the inner teachings came."[6] These categories organized most early collection projects. The monks who traveled to China under court sponsorship during the ninth century, for instance, produced long catalogues of the sutras and commentaries they brought back with them. In contrast, Fujiwara no Sukeyo's 藤原佐世 (d. 897) *Nihonkoku genzaisho mokuroku* 日本国見在書目録 (Catalogue of books currently extant in Japan, ca. 891) concerns itself exclusively with the Confucian canon and other non-Buddhist Chinese texts. Libraries and collections as well were generally understood to be centered on one category or the other.[7]

Under the early state, these two categories were institutionalized through centers of learning: ordained monks studied and expounded on Buddhist texts; scholars of the Bureaus of Higher Education (Daigakuryō 大学寮), Yinyang (On'yōryō 陰陽寮), and Medicine (Ten'yakuryō 典薬寮) interpreted other scholarly fields. Both categories were further liable to local supplements, with monks producing doctrinal commentaries and ritual instructions, while scholar-bureaucrats composed legal compendia and belles lettres. As the number and variety of locally composed works increased, however, the original binary classification became inadequate, and by the end of the Heian period, locally composed texts were conceived of as a separate category, distinct from the classical and Buddhist canons. The earliest, limited catalogues of local works date to the twelfth century, precursors to the ground-breaking *Honchō shojaku mokuroku* 本朝書籍目録 (Catalog of books of this court) of the late thirteenth century.[8] The tripartite division among Buddhist texts, academic texts in the Chinese philosophical or literary traditions, and local records and literature increasingly became the norm over the course of the medieval period, forming an underlying premise of most bibliographies and discourse around books.[9]

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[6] *Nihon ryōiki*, ed. Nakada Norio 中田祝夫, vol. 10 of *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 新編日本古典文学全集 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1995), p. 19.

[7] Libraries of secular texts thus often had partnerships with temple collections. See Peter Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2001), pp. 368–74; Ono Noriaki 小野則秋, *Nihon bunkoshi kenkyū* 日本文庫史研究, rev. ed., 2 vols. (Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, 1979), v. 1, pp. 310–17, 583–621.

These categories were arbitrary and unstable, but examination of the historical record shows that they also correspond to distinct patterns of reproduction, circulation, and use. This consistent discrepancy among different genres of text presents a challenge to positing medieval textual culture as anything like a unified field. Some Buddhist texts, for example, were subject to mass production on a scale that rivaled later commercial printing. In the eighth century alone, devotional copying carried out by private or official scriptoria is estimated to have produced tens of thousands of scrolls, often in projects producing one hundred copies of a single sutra or one copy of the complete Buddhist *Canon* (Issaikyō 一切経), which could comprise between three and seven thousand scrolls.[10] Similar projects continued into the late Heian and Kamakura periods.[11] The sponsorship of these massive projects was directly aimed at ritual effects, but it could further serve as an important demonstration of earthly power. Retired Emperor Gotoba 後鳥羽院 (1180–1239), for example, reportedly employed over thirteen thousand men in an attempt to transcribe the entire *Canon* on a single day in 1211, one of a string of rituals he carried out during the decade prior to the Jōkyū 承久 War (1221).[12] On a smaller scale, from the eleventh century onward powerful magnates, such as Fujiwara no Michinaga 藤原道長 (966–1028), often sponsored the woodblock printing of numerous copies of a single sutra in pursuit of karmic benefits.[13]

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[8] On these early catalogues of local works, see Kornicki, *Book in Japan*, pp. 424–26. On the date of compilation of *Honchō shojaku mokuroku*, see Gomi Fumihiko 五味文彦, *Shomotsu no chūseishi* 書物の中世史 (Tokyo: Misuzu shobō, 2003), pp. 9–28.

[9] Kornicki, *Book in Japan*, p. 414; Haruo Shirane, "Curriculum and Competing Canons," in *Inventing the Classics: Modernity, National Identity, and Japanese Literature*, ed. Haruo Shirane and Tomi Suzuki (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000), pp. 225–26.

[10] Bryan Lowe, *Ritualized Writing: Buddhist Practice and Scriptural Cultures in Ancient Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2017), p. 118n33.

[11] Kamikawa Michio 上川通夫, *Nihon chūsei Bukkyō shiryōron* 日本中世仏教史料論 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2008), pp. 146–53.

[12] Endō Motoo 遠藤基郎, *Chūsei ōken to ōchō girei* 中世王権と王朝儀礼 (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 2008), pp. 289–91.

By contrast, only a handful of non-Buddhist texts were subject to any mass reproduction prior to the seventeenth century. Instead, the vast majority of books that circulated in medieval Kyoto derived from neither importation nor mass reproduction (whether scribal or xylographic) but rather from bespoke copying, for the use of an individual. By contrast with Song and Yuan China, a domestic commercial trade in books was all but unknown in medieval Japan. Books circulated, not as public goods available for anonymous purchase, but rather through familial inheritance and preexisting social networks—and these routes delimited textual circulation.

Harold Love suggests manuscript reproduction was often characterized by an ambiguous mode of publication in which "individual control over the social use of the text has been replaced by the control of a community, creating a status delicately balanced between the public and the private."[14] Heian- and Kamakura-period sources, such as the following eleventh-century letter, attest vividly to the community-regulated circulation of texts among the nobility. Access to a text is always a social matter, often negotiated as a favor among peers:

> Tomorrow is the last day of spring, which no true poet past and present could ever ignore. Let's compose on the wisteria at Jionji—make ready your carriage to meet me there! In regard to the seasonal audience (*shungi* 旬儀), please write me some instructions. I know nothing about protocol in the ceremonial hall, so I'm writing in hopes you can enlighten me. Since I'm missing many volumes of *Tenryaku gyoki* 天暦御記 [ca. 967], I hope you'll lend them to me to copy as I've asked. Have you finished reading the *Engi rei* 延喜例 [early tenth century] you sent for the other day? I wonder if you have *Kojiki* 古事記 [712], *Kansō jirui* 官曹事類 [803], or *Honchō getsurei* 本朝月令 [ca. 910]. Books like this should be kept secret, but since we're so close, perhaps we needn't be so formal with each other?[15]

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[13] Kawase Kazuma 川瀬一馬, *Nihon shoshigaku no kenkyū* 日本書誌學之研究 (Tokyo: Dai Nihon yūbenkai kōdansha, 1943), pp. 1503–40.

[14] Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 43–44.

[15] *Unshū shōsoku* 雲州消息, in *Gunsho ruijū* 群書類従, 3rd ed., 29 vols. (Tokyo: Zoku gunsho ruijū kanseikai, 1983–2002), v. 9, p. 412.

The author's request for guides to precedent is motivated by official duties as a chamberlain, but the appeal is bookended by an invitation to socialize and an apologetic justification, suggesting that sensitive negotiations of reciprocity and alliance structured manuscript circulation.

The domestic compositions on court precedent mentioned in this example often grew out of the records of a particular household, so it is not surprising to see them treated as proprietary knowledge, but similar dynamics surrounded academic texts as well. Diary entries like the following, by Hamuro Sadatsugu 葉室定嗣 (1208–1272), show book circulation both depended on cooperative alliances and served as an important means of establishing those alliances:

> When my residence in Mushanokōji 武者小路 burned down in 1235, I lost much of my library. I mentioned this the other day when I was speaking with the inner palace minister, and he said he had some extra books he could leave with me. I didn't think anything would come of it, but he sent over copies of *Wenxuan* 文選, *Baishi wenji* 白氏文集, and *Maoshi* 毛詩. (I will return them later.) I was so moved that I wrote him a poem in response.[16]

The inner palace minister here would have been Tokudaiji Sanemoto 徳大寺実基 (1201–1273). Like Sadatsugu, he was a member of the small deliberative council that had been brought together the previous year in order to advise the administration of Retired Emperor Gosaga 後嵯峨院 (1220–1272).

Both the letter and the diary quoted above suggest the ambivalent nature of socially determined circulation. On the one hand, nobles assumed books could be borrowed and sometimes copied from well-stocked libraries, creating a kind of macrolevel collective ownership of texts among capital officialdom.[17] On the other hand, in the absence of an anonymously circulating market of books, texts were *only* available through the favors and gifts of one's peers, so even a well-placed noble might lack immediate access to a text, depending on circumstances.

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[16] See the entry for Hōji 宝治 1 [1247]/9/4 in *Yōkōki* 葉黄記, ed. Kikuchi Yasuaki 菊地康明, Tanuma Mutsumi 田沼睦, and Komori Masaaki 小森正明, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Zoku gunsho ruijū kanseikai, 1971–2004), v. 2, p. 97.

[17] In a typical example, Kadenokōji Kanenaka 勘解由小路兼仲 (1244–1308) personally copied out *Shangshu zhengyi* 尚書正義 (642) in the days leading up to the memorial rites (*sekiten* 釈奠) to Confucius, when this text would be discussed; see the entry for Kōan 弘安 9 [1286]/10/4, in *Kanchūki* 勘仲記, vols. 34–35 of *Zōho shiryō taisei* 増補史料大成, ed. Zōho shiryō taisei kankōkai 増補史料大成刊行会, (1965; rpt., Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, 1985), v. 35, p. 128.

In this context, the preservation and provision of valued texts was a vital form of cultural labor. Noble families specializing in sinological scholarship possessed large libraries of academic texts, a necessary guarantee of their expertise and concomitant social status. When Retired Emperor Goshirakawa 後白河院 (1127–1192) assembled his library in the Rengeōin 蓮華王院 temple in 1174, he ordered the staff to focus on assembling and evaluating all of the "books of this court and records of the various houses," because "Chinese books" (*kanka shoseki* 漢家書籍) were already held by the scholarly households.[18] Goshirakawa's confidence reflects an understanding that scholarly households had their textual patrimony on call for the sovereign; their efforts to keep this household property secure was viewed as a multi-generational labor on behalf of the imperial household, in parallel with other forms of household-based court service.[19]

This responsibility for the physical provision of texts was part of scholarly households' role as performers and interpreters of canonical academic texts. As in many medieval cultures, "reading" was more typically an oral performance of the text, with an audience, than a silent, personal act. Textual education, whether in the academic or Buddhist canons, was based on the practice and reproduction of oral recitation of the text, and such classics were frequently performed at palace lectures and other semipublic events.[20] Literary Chinese texts were recited in a highly formalized Japanese idiom incorporating archaic and Sinitic-based vocabulary (J. *kundoku* 訓読, lit. reading by gloss).[21] Such recitation traditions became highly codified and were considered the fundamental basis of academic learning, so that to properly read a text meant to learn its correct recitation from a recognized teacher.[22] Among the upper echelons of the imperial household and senior nobles, therefore, the academically inclined would engage a hereditary scholar as private tutor, who could both provide access to books and teach their meaning and proper recitation.[23] In order to ensure the accurate transmission and reproduction of recitation scripts, first temples and later scholarly lineages began using diacritical glosses as recitation aids, and by the end of the Heian period, such glosses are almost ubiquitous in academic manuscripts.[24] These glossing practices further increased the value of manuscripts held by scholarly lineages, solidifying their link to the academic canon.

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[18] 本朝書籍及諸家記; see the entry for Shōan 承安 4 [1174]/8/13, in *Kikki* 吉記, vol. 29 of *Zōho shiryō taisei*, p. 54; Tajima Isao 田島公, "Tenseki no denrai to bunko" 典籍の伝来と文庫, in vol. 30 of *Nihon no jidaishi* 日本の時代史, ed. Ishigami Eichi 石上英一 et al. (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2004), pp. 319–21.

[19] On private households as archives for capital bureaus, see Soga Yoshinari 曽我良成, *Ōchō kokka seimu no kenkyū* 王朝国家政務の研究 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2012), pp. 131–33.

[20] Francine Hérail, "Lire et écrire dans le Japon ancient," in *Paroles à dire, paroles à écrire: Inde, Chine, Japon*, ed. Viviane Alleton (Paris: Editions de l'Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1997), pp. 253–74, and Asuka Sango, *The Halo of Golden Light: Imperial Authority and Buddhist Ritual in Heian Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015).

[21] David Lurie, *Realms of Literacy: Early Japan and the History of Writing* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2011), pp. 169–212.

The authoritative reading traditions associated with manuscript circulation among noble households had important implications for the status of books produced outside that context—books imported through maritime trade. Extensive importation of texts from the continent had been carried out continuously at least since the seventh century, most commonly by Buddhist monks studying overseas, but the flourishing of woodblock publishing in China from the late tenth century onward seems to have encouraged an expansion of commercial importation of books.[25] By the thirteenth century, woodblock-printed codices apparently outnumbered manuscripts among imports.[26] Importation of commercial imprints provided access to a wave of new titles in the scholarly ferment of the Song dynasty, and newly printed editions of texts already well known in Japan appear repeatedly in courtier diaries as luxury goods exchanged among the upper nobility.[27] Originally, commercial imports were ostensibly the privilege of the emperor, but the most powerful members of the nobility and military administration (particularly the Kyoto and Kamakura regency houses) increasingly developed their own channels during the early medieval period.[28] For most of the nobility, private importation of texts was not an option, but as maritime traffic increased over time, texts circulated in a growing variety of forms—manuscripts derived from the established local tradition, newly imported printed editions, and new hand copies made from Song and Yuan imprints. However, the core academic canon continued to be taught almost exclusively through the local manuscript tradition; new imprints might be consulted for textual variants, but scholarly nobles had ample incentive to valorize the textual patrimony that was passed down within their own households.[29]

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[22] Ogawa Takeo 小川剛生 discusses the distinction made in medieval records between "reading" (*yomu* 読む) a text versus merely "seeing" (*miru* 見る) it; Ogawa Takeo, *Chūsei no shomotsu to gakumon* 中世の書物と学問 (Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha, 2009), pp. 38–42.

[23] Goble, "Social Change," pp. 79–84; Satō Michio 佐藤道生, "Kujō Kanezane no dokusho seikatsu: *Sosho* to *Wakan rōeishū*" 九条兼実の読書生活——『素書』と『和漢朗詠集』, in *"Gyokuyō" o yomu: Kujō Kanezane to sono jidai* 「玉葉」を読む——九条兼実とその時代, ed. Obara Hitoshi 小原仁 (Tokyo: Bensei shuppan, 2013), pp. 187–205.

[24] John Whitman, "The Ubiquity of the Gloss," *SCRIPTA* 3 (2011): 95–121. For an overview of the study of academic texts by Heian-period nobles, see my *Chinese Literary Forms in Heian Japan: Poetics and Practice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2017), pp. 125–72.

[25] Kornicki, *Book in Japan*, pp. 285–88.

[26] See the evidence from one import catalogue in Kimiya Yasuhiko 木宮泰彦, *Nikka bunka kōryūshi* 日華文化交流史 (Tokyo: Fuzanbō, 1955), pp. 371–73.

Academic texts, unlike domestic compositions, were potentially available through intercontinental trade. However, most imports were expensive and limited luxury goods, and the bulk of circulation was dependent on private manuscript copying. A network of lending and copying both sustained and regulated textual access among the local community of Kyoto nobility, but it did not provide an obvious mechanism for broader geographical diffusion.

Bringing Books East

Beginning almost immediately after the establishment of the Kamakura shogunate, the eastern warrior elite began to appropriate religious, military, and academic rituals of the Kyoto nobility. They used their growing power to acquire the manpower and materials to do so, including academic texts and training. Two relatively well-documented cases of acquisition of academic texts in thirteenth-century Kamakura make clear the value shogunate warriors placed on classical Chinese scholarship and the obstacles they encountered pursuing academic texts outside of Kyoto.

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[27] Sumiyoshi Tomohiko 住吉朋彦, "Fujiwara no Yorinaga no gakumon to zōsho" 藤原頼長の学問と蔵書, in *Nadataru zōshoka, kakureta zōshoka* 名だたる蔵書家、隠れた蔵書家, ed. Satō Michio (Tokyo: Keiō gijuku daigaku bungakubu, 2010), pp. 29–55. For an exchange of printed classical texts among nobles, see the entry for Kankō 寛弘 1 [1008]/8/20, in *Midō kanpaku ki* 御堂関白記, ed. Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjo 東京大学史料編纂所, 3 vols. (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1952–1954), v. 1, p. 103.

[28] On court efforts to control imports and the intervention of other parties, see Charlotte von Verschuer, *Across the Perilous Sea: Japanese Trade with China and Korea from the Seventh to the Sixteenth Centuries* (Ithaca, NY: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 2006).

[29] On the supplemental use of imprints by scholarly lineages, see Satō Michio, *Mikawa Hōraiji kyūzō Ryakuō ni-nen shosha "Wakan rōeishū" eiin to kenkyū: Kenkyūhen* 三河鳳来寺旧蔵暦応二年書写和漢朗詠集影印と研究——研究編 (Tokyo: Bensei shuppan, 2014), pp. 190–92; Sumiyoshi Tomohiko, "Fujiwara no Yorinaga," pp. 52–55.

In order to differentiate the clique of powerful warriors resident in Kamakura from regional housemen (*gokenin* 御家人) and landholders, the shogunate created religious and ceremonial events that mimicked the ritual calendar of the capital nobility.[30] Following the shogunate's victory in the Jōkyū War of 1221, a growing number of capital nobles took up careers in the Kantō, many employed for their knowledge of court procedure. Once the office of shogun came to be filled by regency-house Fujiwara (and eventually imperial princes), a new shogun always brought with him a retinue of personal retainers from among the administrative and military nobility. In many cases, the children and grandchildren of these men remained in service to the shogun's household even as the office itself was transferred among unrelated parties.[31] These retainers formed a kind of salon centered on the shogun, in which experts in kickball (*kemari* 蹴鞠), *waka* 和歌 composition, and astrological divination provided elements of noble culture.[32]

This politics of cultural legitimation can be connected to larger political trends that encouraged the division and multiplication of power centers. Following the Genpei 源平 War (1180–1185), fiscal and administrative decisions came to be controlled by a dual polity under Kyoto and Kamakura governments.[33] These governments also had to contend with a number of other power blocs (*kenmon* 権門), particularly large shrine-temple complexes.[34] In this context, forms of cultural performance became a crucial means of either distinguishing or establishing commensurability between modes of political power.

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[30] Ōsumi Kazuo 大隅和雄, "Buke shakai: Chūsei" 武家社会——中世, in *Nenjū gyōji no rekishigaku* 年中行事の歴史学, ed. Endō Motoo 遠藤元男 and Yamazaki Yutaka 山中裕 (Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1981), pp. 221–34; Goble, "The Kamakura Bakufu and Its Officials," in *The Bakufu in Japanese History*, ed. Jeffrey P. Mass and William B. Hauser (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985), pp. 32–34.

[31] Prototypical examples include Fujiwara no Sadazaku 藤原定員 (fl. 1228–1246) and Gotō Mototsuna 後藤基綱 (1181–1256), who came to Kamakura in the service of Fujiwara no Yoritsune 藤原頼経 (1218–1256). See Yuyama Manabu 湯山学, *Sagami no kuni no chūseishi* 相模国の中世史, rev. ed., vol. 6 of *Yuyama Manabu chūseishi ronshū* 湯山学中世史論集 (Tokyo: Iwata shoin, 2013), pp. 3–42.

[32] On *waka* in Kamakura during this period, see Christian Ratcliff, "The Cultural Arts in Service: The Careers of Asukai Masaari and His Lineage" (PhD diss., Yale University, 2007).

[33] Jeffrey P. Mass, *Yoritomo and the Founding of the First Bakufu: The Origins of Dual Government in Japan* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999).

An essential element in the shogunate's self-authorization through cultural enterprises was the importation of academic scholarship in the form of officially sanctioned lectures to the shogun by classical scholars. This practice became particularly visible following the establishment of the Hōjō regency, which justified its role by publicly tending to the educational cultivation of the shogun as a wise ruler. In 1204, for example, Hōjō Masako 北条政子 (1157–1225) commissioned lectures on the *Classic of Filial Piety* (*Xiaojing* 孝經) for the shogun Minamoto no Sanetomo 源実朝 (1192–1219), in imitation of the ceremonial first reading lesson performed for adolescent sons in elite noble households. Further official lectures on Chinese historical and philosophical works were conducted in Kamakura for the shoguns Sanetomo, Fujiwara no Yoritsugu 藤原頼嗣 (1239–1256), and Prince Munetaka 宗尊親王 (1242–1274).[35]

Especially common were lessons on a series of Tang works on the nature of imperial governance: *Difan* 帝範 (Plan for an emperor, 648), *Chengui* 臣軌 (Pathway for a subject, ca. 675), and *Zhenguan zhengyao* 貞觀政要 (The essentials of government in the Zhenguan era, 709–712). These works developed out of the growing complexity of the Tang imperial order, purporting to explicate the problems of rulership and provide guidance on the proper relationship between the emperor and his ministers.[36] The sponsorship of academic lectures was meant to project the legitimacy of the shogun's authority, equating him not just in an abstract way to Tang emperors but in a much more direct way to Japanese sovereigns, who had long made lessons on the same texts a regular part of court ceremony. Lectures on the *Zhenguan zhengyao*, for example, are documented for the Emperors Ichijō 一条天皇 (1006, r. 986–1011), Takakura 高倉天皇 (1177, r. 1168–1180), Gotoba (1213), and Gosaga (1242), and such lectures continued into the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[37]

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[34] For a summary of Kuroda Toshio's 黒田俊雄 *kenmon* paradigm, see Mikael S. Adolphson, *The Gates of Power: Monks, Courtiers, and Warriors in Premodern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), pp. 10–20.

[35] Ashikaga Enjutsu, *Kamakura Muromachi jidai*, pp. 92–93.

[36] Denis Twitchett, "How to Be an Emperor: T'ang T'ai-tsung's Vision of His Role," *Asia Major*, 3rd ser., 9.1–2 (1996): 1–102.

Shogunal lectures suggest the important role that texts could play as a kind of regalia—not simply promulgating an ideology of governance, but legitimating a particular figure of authority. Ritual displays of classical knowledge could thus have serious political consequences. The assignment of Prince Munetaka, a favored son of Emperor Gosaga, to the office of shogun in 1252 seemed to mark the culmination of a cooperative relationship between the court and the Hōjō regency in Kamakura. As the prince reached his majority, he undertook a series of increasingly visible cultural activities, including *waka* gatherings and lessons on the *Difan* and *Chengui*, that culminated in his being named minister of central affairs (*nakatsukasakyō* 中務卿) in 1265. But the Kamakura power structure was temporarily destabilized by the death of Hōjō Tokiyori 北条時頼 (1227–1263), and Munetaka's growing prominence made him a potential threat to the regency, so he was dismissed from his post and sent back to Kyoto in 1266.[38]

The Hōjō administration engineered the legitimating, public invocation of academic texts through the importation of recognized experts—representatives of scholarly lineages from among the nobility. A prototypical example of this process can be found in the career of Fujiwara no Mochinori 藤原茂範 (alternatively Fujiwara no Shigenori, ca. 1204–1294), who in 1253 was named official tutor to Munetaka. Mochinori was the eldest son of a lineage of Nanke 南家 (Southern branch) Fujiwara associated with the traditional letters curriculum (*kidendō* 紀伝道); they were experts on Chinese history and literature and the composition of formal literary Chinese documents. The Nanke's position had dropped in relation to rival scholarly lineages like the Hino 日野 and Sugawara 菅原, but Mochinori's father, Tsunenori 経範 (ca. 1189–1257), seems to have gained the support of Gosaga.[39] Gosaga promised that courtiers who served his son in the east would receive promotion and compensation equivalent to service in the capital, and the Nanke seized on this opportunity to restore their position among the capital's scholarly households by serving a shogunal office that appeared poised to anchor the Gosaga–Hōjō axis of political power.[40]

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[37] Ikeda On 池田温, *Higashi Ajia no bunka kōryūshi* 東アジアの文化交流史 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2002), pp. 279–84. See also Goble, *Kenmu*, pp. 21–22.

[38] Ogawa Takeo, *Bushi wa naze uta o yomu ka: Kamakura shogun kara Sengoku daimyō made* 武士はなぜ歌を詠むか: 鎌倉将軍から戦国大名まで (Tokyo: Kadokawa gakugei shuppan, 2008), pp. 25–78. On the regency-shogun relationship, see Aoyama Mikiya 青山幹哉, "Kamakura bakufu shogun kenryoku shiron: Shōgun Kujō Yoritsune–Munetaka shinnō ki o chūshin to shite" 鎌倉幕府将軍権力試論——将軍九条頼経〜宗尊親王期を中心として, *Nenpō chūseishi kenkyū* 年報中世史研究 8 (1983): 1–31.

[39] Tsunenori is named among Gosaga's privy attendants (*tenjōbito* 殿上人) when he

Mochinori would remain in Munetaka's service in Kamakura for over a decade, only returning to Kyoto to take up a post as professor of letters in 1264, two years before Munetaka's sudden dismissal.[41] Whereas many of the first scholars to establish careers in Kamakura were valued for their administrative skills and served on shogunate judiciary councils, Mochinori's service was more specialized, closely mimicking the ritual-centered employment of scholar-bureaucrats in Kyoto. As Mochinori himself explained in a letter addressed to Munetaka seeking rewards for his service, his primary role was the drafting of liturgies (*saimon* 祭文) and prayer texts (*ganmon* 願文) to be used in Buddhist services, geomantic ceremonies, and other ceremonies seeking the intervention and protection of deities. This portrayal is corroborated by the chronicle *Azuma kagami* 吾妻鏡 (ca. 1300), which documents Mochinori composing ritual documents and assisting in the interpretation of omens and dreams.[42]

Mochinori's compositions would have been performed by monks and professional ritualists, but he himself took the dais in lectures to the young shogun, providing lessons on rulership texts such as *Difan*.[43] His letter to Munetaka, however, characterizes his role as a provider of textual culture as not solely pedagogical but also material—including custodianship of a substantial library:

> It is impossible to store books in my current residence. The reason is that there is no means of escape in case of fire. . . . Therefore, though I have many

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stepped down from the throne. See the entry for Kangen 寛元 4 [1246]/1/29, in *Yōkōki*, v. 1, pp. 54–56.

[40] "Uchino no yuki" 内野の雪, in *Masukagami* 増鏡, ed. Inoue Muneo 井上宗雄, 3 vols. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1979–1983), v. 1, p. 275.

[41] Ogawa Takeo, "Fujiwara no Mochinori den no kōsatsu" 藤原茂範伝の考察, *Wa-Kan hikaku bungaku* 和漢比較文学 12 (1994): 27–38.

[42] See, for example, the entries for Shōka 正嘉 2 [1258]/6/4 and Bun'ō 文応 1 [1260]/4/26, in *Azuma kagami*, vols. 32–33 of *Shintei zōho kokushi taikei* 新訂増補国史大系, ed. Kokushi taikei henshūkai 国史大系編集会 (1938; rpt., Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2007), v. 33, pp. 692, 740.

[43] Entry for Kōchō 弘長 3 [1263]/6/26, in *Azuma kagami*, v. 33, p. 826.

> secret books, I have not been able to bring them. What I have with me is an infinitesimal fraction of the nine lineages and hundred schools I have studied. Books have never been something [I kept] as a private possession but rather furnished for the sovereign's use. I speak for the sake of my lord and for learning, I do not speak out of my own interest.[44]

Mochinori's demand for more income and a different residence emphasizes his part in a pipeline providing texts from Kyoto to Kamakura. As portrayed in his letter, his educational role in the Kantō was inseparable from his material provision of academic texts to be studied.

Our knowledge about the sponsorship of academic scholarship by the shogunate is largely limited to texts that record public events, such as *Azuma kagami*, so it is difficult to gauge to whether Mochinori's "lectures" represented an engagement with the content of the text or were simply treated as superficial ritual. However, other sources from the period show education and collection activities beyond the shogun's household.

Perhaps the most famous book collector of the thirteenth-century Kantō is Hōjō Sanetoki 北条実時 (1224–1276), a powerful shogunate official during the 1260s and 1270s. His collection was further expanded by his descendants and came to be known as the Kanazawa Bunko 金沢文庫. While this library covered almost every genre and topic (including kana literature), surviving manuscripts with colophons that were written by or directly name Sanetoki or his lineal heirs are largely academics texts.[45] For example, the Imperial Household Agency (Kunaichō 宮内庁) archive holds a manuscript series signed in several places by Sanetoki: *Qunshu zhiyao* 群書治要 (Essentials of ruling from assembled texts, 631), a large anthology produced for the study of Emperor Taizong of Tang 唐太宗 (r. 626–649) that compiles excerpts from classics, histories, and philosophy relevant to questions of governance.[46]

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[44] Doc. 7713 [1255; Kenchō 建長 7] in *Kamakura ibun: Komonjo-hen* 鎌倉遺文: 古文書編, ed. Takeuchi Rizō 竹内理三, 42 vols. (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō shuppan, 1971–1991), v. 11, pp. 4318–20.

[45] For a list of these texts, see Seki Yasushi 關靖, *Kanazawa Bunko no kenkyū* 金澤文庫の研究 (Kamakura: Geirinsha, 1976), pp. 267–71. For a list of all works identified as originally belonging to the Kanazawa Bunko collection, see pp. 360–74.

[46] *Qunshu zhiyao* [1253]; MS no. 550-2, Imperial House Library 図書寮文庫 Collection, Imperial Household Agency, Tokyo. The text is reproduced in *Gunsho chiyō* 群書治要, 7 vols., in *Koten kenkyūkai sōsho* 古典研究会叢書 (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 1989–1991).

Colophons in these and other scrolls reveal that, like Munetaka, Sanetoki patronized an academic noble, Kiyohara no Noritaka 清原教隆 (1199–1265)—who migrated to Kamakura, became Sanetoki's personal tutor, and provided him with lessons in the same discourse of rulership publicly pursued by shoguns and emperors. Most intriguingly, the National Archives of Japan contains a manuscript copy of a ten-volume anthology compiled between 1256 and 1259 by a shogunate official, apparently Sanetoki, collecting selections from the writings of the Tang poet Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846).[47] The selections deal with themes of bureaucratic service and spiritual cultivation; together with the anthology's preface, these selections paint a picture of the deep influence of Chinese literary culture upon one military official.

Whereas Mochinori's presence in Kamakura provided the shogun Munetaka with a reliable source of texts, Sanetoki had to rely on less regular means to amass his library. Colophons in the *Qunshu zhiyao* manuscripts, for example, show that Sanetoki commissioned a shogunal official stationed in Kyoto on guard duty (*ōban'yaku* 大番役) to obtain part of the set; on another occasion, Sanotoki took advantage of an imperial summons that took Noritaka back to Kyoto in 1260 to have him check a copy held in the imperial household's Rengeōin library.[48] The colophon to another manuscript, the agricultural text *Qimin yaoshu* 齊民要術 (Essential techniques for benefiting the people, ca. 544), explains that Sanetoki was able to borrow and copy the text from the Tendai monk Shōchō 承澄 (1205–1282), when the monk was visiting Kamakura.[49] But the most substantial growth of the Kanazawa collection became possible only when Sanetoki's grandson Hōjō Sadaaki 北条貞顕 (1278–1333) spent over a decade in Kyoto as Rokuhara *tandai* 六波羅探題 (shogunal deputy).

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[47] *Kankenshō* 管見抄 [1256–1259]; MS No. 重 004-0001 in 9 vols., Naikaku Bunko 内閣文庫 Collection, National Archives of Japan, Tokyo. See also Abe Ryūichi 阿部隆一, "Hōjō Sanetoki no shūgaku no seishin" 北条実時の修学の精神, in *Abe Ryūichi ikōshū* 阿部隆一遺稿集, 4 vols. (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1985–1993), v. 2, pp. 367–77; Ōta Tsugio 太田次男, *Kyūshōhon o chūshin to suru "Hakushi monjū" honbun no kenkyū* 旧鈔本を中心とする白氏文集本文の研究, 3 vols. (Tokyo: Benseisha, 1997), v. 2, pp. 172–206.

[48] Ozaki Yasushi 尾崎康, "Gunsho chiyō to sono genzonbon" 群書治要とその現存本, *Shidō bunko ronshū* 斯道文庫論集 25 (1990): 128–31.

[49] Fukushima Kaneharu 福島金治, "Kamakura chūki no kyō, Kamakura ni okeru kanseki juyōsha-gun: *Kankenshō* to *Kyūreishū* no aida" 鎌倉中期の京・鎌倉における漢籍受容者群——『管見抄』と『鳩嶺集』の間, *Kokuritsu rekishi minzoku hakubutsukan kenkyū hōkoku* 国立歴史民俗博物館研究報告 175 (2013): 1–14.

My discussion thus far has focused on the two best-documented patrons of academic learning in thirteenth-century Kamakura: the shogun's office, whose public endeavors are known from *Azuma kagami* and other records, and Hōjō Sanetoki, whose collection still survives in sufficient quantities to reconstruct some of his activities. The colophons and records of the Kanazawa Bunko attest pursuit of academic texts on a grand scale by one particular household, but there are tantalizing suggestions in contemporaneous sources—such as references to now lost libraries—that such pursuit was a broader phenomenon among shogunate officials.[50] It is clear that Hōjō Sanetoki's scholarly activities exhibit striking parallels with the cultural legitimation strategies pursued by Kamakura shoguns, including emphasis on the civilizational ideals of the academic canon and employment of specialist immigrant nobles as tutors. Moreover, pursuing these studies required significant effort securing access to the academic canon in Kamakura. Can this pattern be further generalized to a broader trend of aspirational education among shogunate officials? In the next section, I consider a short case study that provides new evidence for understanding the network of Chinese learning as both wider ranging and yet more fragile than has been previously understood.

Scholarly Patrimony: A Case Study

Tension between centripetal and centrifugal forces acted on the academic canon as eastern officials sought to transfer it from Kyoto to Kamakura. Here, I reconstruct the production and reception of another fragment of evidence from thirteenth-century Kamakura, a single scroll from a revered Chinese anthology—*Wenxuan* 文選 (Selections of literature, J. *Monzen*, ca. 526), the most canonical anthology of pre-Tang writings in the ornamented literary style. This scroll concludes with a colophon that reads:

> Kōan 3 (1280), ninth month, eighteenth day: I completed presentation of my household's secret teachings to the honorable superintendent of Akita Castle.
>
> Former Deputy Commissioner of Ceremonial Moronori[51]

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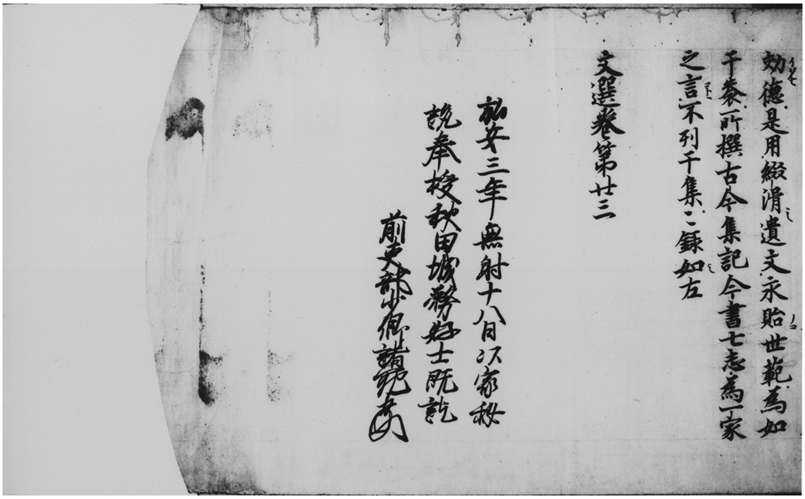
[50] Seki Yasushi, *Kanazawa Bunko no kenkyū*, p. 175.

[51] Fujiwara no Moronori 藤原諸範, concluding colophon to vol. 23 of *Wenxuan* [J. *Monzen*], Kujō 九条 MS [1280]; Microfilm B366G, Shidō Bunko 斯道文庫, Keiō University



功徳是用綴緝遺文永貽世範為如
千秩所撰古今集記今書七志為一家
之言不列于集〻録如左

文選巻第廿三

弘安三年無射十八日以家秘
説奉授秋田城務好士既訖
前式部少輔藤師範

FIG. 1 **Fujiwara no Moronori's Colophon** (1280). Moronori comments that he has transmitted the "secret teachings" (*hisetsu* 秘説) of his scholarly household to his patron. *Source*: Fujiwara no Moronori, concluding colophon to vol. 23 of *Wenxuan* (Kujō MS); MS No. 別置 20, Higashiyama Gobunko Collection, Imperial Household Agency, Tokyo. Image courtesy of the Imperial Household Agency.

(See fig. 1.) The colophon is accompanied by the cipher (*kaō* 花押) of its writer, Fujiwara no Moronori, a younger brother of Munetaka's former tutor Mochinori. It is what modern historiography refers to as an "attestation colophon" (*kashō okugaki* 加証奥書), attesting to the transmission of household lore to a patron.[52] In this case, the patron was superintendent of Akita, Adachi Yasumori 安達泰盛 (1231–1285), a prominent military official. The Adachi were housemen who had originally served Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝 (founder of the Kamakura shogunate, 1147–1199), and Yasumori and his father were crucial allies to the Hōjō regency, having devastated the Miura 三浦 and other rival lineages in 1247.[53] During the decade preceding his assassination

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慶應義塾大学, Tokyo. The original scroll is one of several *Wenxuan* manuscripts originally owned by the Kujō house and now held in a private library of the imperial family: MS No. 別置 20, Higashiyama Gobunko 東山御文庫 Collection, Imperial Household Agency, Tokyo; Abe Ryūichi, "Higashiyama Gobunko sonzō (Kujōke kyūzō) kyūshōhon Monzen ni tsuite" 東山御文庫尊蔵 (九条家旧蔵) 旧鈔本文選について, in *Abe Ryūichi ikōshū*, v. 1, pp. 519–45.

[52] Hashimoto Fumio 橋本不美男, *Genten o mezashite: Koten bungaku no tame no shoshi* 原典をめざして——古典文学のための書誌 (Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 2008), pp. 218–41.

[53] Fukushima Kaneharu, *Adachi Yasumori to Kamakura bakufu: Shimotsuki sōdō to sono*

in 1285, Yasumori was perhaps the most influential figure in Kamakura, but the social and cultural activities of the shogunate during this period are poorly documented. The Moronori manuscript presents a rare window into the broader appropriation of classical learning by eastern elites.

The *Wenxuan*, which was canonized in Tang China's civil service examination system, came to play a central role in education in Japan. Some of the earliest known fragments of the work are found among wooden tablets (*mokkan* 木簡) excavated from the former Nara capital, on which clerks in the early state's offices repeatedly copied out passages as writing practice.[54] This educational use of the *Wenxuan* was institutionalized in the Bureau of Higher Education (Daigakuryō), which required students to study Chinese pronunciation through the anthology before advancing to lectures on the remainder of the curriculum.[55] When a letters curriculum was established to supplement the original focus on the Confucian *Classics*, the *Wenxuan* became one of the primary textbooks.[56] Reflecting this canonization, a large number of *Wenxuan* manuscripts survive from the medieval period, including the scroll signed by Fujiwara no Moronori. Aspects of the Moronori scroll's content, physical features, and paratextual adjuncts together provide evidence for reconstructing the circumstances of the scroll's reproduction and the conditions of classical scholarship in the Kantō.

Text

The content of the Moronori scroll follows the formatting of Xiao Tong's 蕭統 (501–531) original *Wenxuan* compilation, which divided the collection into thirty volumes (*juan* 巻) without commentary. This division is very unusual among surviving texts of the work, which are

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shūhen 安達泰盛と鎌倉幕府——霜月騒動とその周辺 (Yokohama: Yūrindō, 2006), pp. 45–48.

[54] Lurie, *Realms of Literacy*, p. 161; Tōno Haruyuki 東野治之, *Shōsōin monjo to mokkan no kenkyū* 正倉院文書と木簡の研究 (Tokyo: Hanawa shobō, 1977), pp. 149–53.

[55] *Ryō no shūge* 令集解, vol. 23 of *Shintei zōho kokushi taikei*, p. 449. There are many anecdotes about memorization of *Wenxuan* in early Japanese sources, for example, the entry for Saikō 斉衡 3 [856]/4/18 in *Nihon Montoku tennō jitsuroku* 日本文徳天皇実録, vol. 3 of *Shintei zōho kokushi taikei*, p. 81.

[56] Momo Hiroyuki, *Jōdai gakusei no kenkyū* 上代学制の研究, vol. 1 of *Momo Hiroyuki chosakushū* 桃裕行著作集 (Kyoto: Shibunkaku shuppan, 1994), pp. 85–117, 138–58.

typically commentary editions in sixty volumes. By the Tang dynasty, the *Wenxuan*'s use in academic contexts created a need for interpretive commentary to accompany the text; the most notable is Li Shan's 李善 (d. 689) commentary of 658.[57] Each of these commentary editions subtly changed the body text of the anthology, dividing up passages differently or fixing perceived mistakes, and the introduction of copyist's errors and corrections in transmission further increased the diversity of the manuscript tradition.[58] However, the boom in woodblock printing from the Song dynasty onward dealt a shock to this literary ecosystem. Extant Ming and Qing imprints of the *Wenxuan* can almost all be traced back to two editions produced during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[59] The labor-saving incentives for publishers to reproduce earlier print editions thus tended to erase much of the textual diversity of China's medieval manuscript culture.

Because of this chronology, the text itself of the Moronori-produced scroll can be used to draw useful conclusions about its provenance. Like several other scrolls held in the Imperial Household Agency's Higashiyama Archive, the body text of the Moronori scroll differs from known manuscript and print exemplars of the various commentary editions.[60] The text contains some interlineal notes of variants and corrections, and the only marginal note in the entire scroll explicitly indicates a difference in the text from Li Shan's commentary edition (see fig. 2). This variant in fact cannot be observed in printed editions of Li Shan's recension but matches a seventh-century manuscript with his commentary that was excavated from Dunhuang.[61] The text

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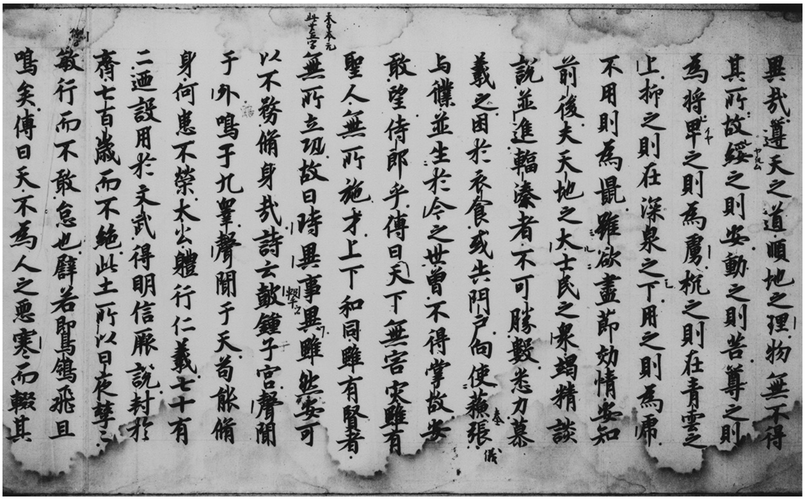
[57] See David Knechtges's discussion of *Wenxuan* textual history in *Ancient and Early Medieval Chinese Literature: A Reference Guide*, ed. David R. Knechtges and Taiping Chang, 4 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2010–2014), v. 2, pp. 1321–42.

[58] On textual variation within Tang manuscripts, see Christopher M. B. Nugent, *Manifest in Words, Written on Paper: Producing and Circulating Poetry in Tang Dynasty China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2010).

[59] Shiba Rokurō 斯波六郎, "Monzen shohon no kenkyū" 文選諸本の研究, in *Monzen sakuin* 文選索引, 4 vols. (Kyoto: Kyōto daigaku jinbunkagaku kenkyūjo, 1957–59), v. 1, pp. 6–7; Fu Gang 傅刚, *"Wenxuan" banben yanjiu*《文选》版本研究 (Xi'an: Shijie tushu chuban Xi'an youxian gongsi, 2014), pp. 201–7.

[60] Shiba Rokurō, "Kujōhon Monzen kaisetsu" 九条本文選解説, in *Monzen sakuin*, v. 4, pp. 5–17.

[61] The twenty-five characters that the marginal note says do not appear in the Li Shan text do appear in the known print editions of the Li Shan commentary of the *Wenxuan*, but they are absent from the Dunhuang manuscript; see Pelliot chinois 2527, Bibliothèque



異哉遵天之道順地之理物無不得
其所故綏之則安動之則苦尊之則
為將卑之則為虜抗之則在青雲之
上抑之則在深泉之下用之則為虎
不用則為鼠雖欲盡節効情安知
前後夫天地之大士民之衆竭精談
說並進輻湊者不可勝數悉力慕
義之困於衣食或失門户使蘇張
与僕並生於今之世曾不得掌故安
敢望侍郎乎傳曰天下無害雖有
聖人無所施才上下和同雖有賢者
無所立功故曰時異事異雖然安可
以不務脩身哉詩云鼓鍾于宮聲聞
于外鳴于九臯聲聞于天苟能脩
身何患不榮太公體行仁義七十有
二迺設用於文武得明信厥說封於
齊七百歳而不絶此士所以日夜孳孳
敏行而不敢怠也辟若鶺鴒飛且
鳴矣傳曰天不為人之悪寒而輟其

FIG. 2 **Glosses on Fujiwara no Moronori's *Wenxuan* Manuscript (1280).** This image shows the only marginal note in the entire scroll. The note (at the top of the manuscript) reads, "The Li [Shan] text lacks these twenty-five characters," referring to the twenty-five characters beginning 天下 and ending 立功 (marked with black-ink brackets on the manuscript). The image also shows glossing between the characters and rows (in red and black on the original manuscript) that provide guidance on reading the literary Chinese text in Japanese. *Source*: Sole marginal note in vol. 23 of *Wenxuan* (Kujō MS). Image courtesy of the Imperial Household Agency.

of Moronori's scroll can thus be safely equated with a preprint manuscript tradition that was introduced to Japan during the Tang and continuously transmitted through scholarly households like Moronori's Nanke. The acquisition of recent Chinese printed editions would not have been out of reach for a powerful shogunate official like Yasumori—the Kanazawa Bunko held at least one Song edition of the *Wenxuan* printed in Ningbo.[62] But, like Mochinori's service to Prince Munetaka, Moronori's service to Yasumori was at the same time a means for Yasumori to access Moronori's valuable family library of manuscripts.

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nationale de France (color images available on the International Dunhuang Project website, http://idp.bl.uk/). On the dating of this manuscript, see Wang Zhongmin 王重民, *Dunhuang guji xulu* 敦煌古籍叙録 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2010), p. 311.

[62] Fu Gang, *"Wenxuan" banben yanjiu*, p. 178.

Calligraphy and Glossing

The mediating presence of the Nanke's institutionalized scholarly tradition is visible in the Moronori scroll's visual appearance and accompanying glosses. While Moronori's colophon is written in the *wayō* 和様 style widely observed among medieval nobility, with more modulated stroke thickness and characteristically bowed horizontals, the hand of the body text is completely different. The brushstrokes are unusually regular, with a thick, even width and strong slant up to the right, suggesting the practiced hand of a professional copyist.[63] The presence of a hired scribe is supported by errors in the text, mostly similar character shapes easily mistaken by a copyist unfamiliar with its content—repeatedly writing 垂 (*chui*, J. *sui*) for 乘 (*cheng*, J. *jō*), for example—the source manuscript was likely in a more cursive hand.

The copied text was subsequently glossed with aids to its codified vernacular reading method, as was standard in medieval manuscripts of academic texts. In the case of Moronori's scroll, most of the glossing takes the form of red-ink dots (see fig. 2). These glosses run through the entire scroll and are used for both punctuation (marking the end of phrases) and as *okototen* 乎古止点, diacritics indicating particles and suffixes needed to read the text as Japanese. For example, the phrase 遵天之道 (Ch. *zun tian zhi dao*, following the path of heaven) in the first line of figure 2 has a dot in the upper-left corner of the final character that indicates the particle *ni* に, marking an indirect object to yield a Japanese reading of 天の道に遵ひ (*ten no michi ni shitagai*). There are a few scattered *shōten* 声点, which indicate the tonal-value of characters' Sinitic pronunciation, and occasional black-ink ordinal numbers to indicate syntactic reorderings necessary in *kundoku*.

Some of the characters are glossed with katakana, spelling out the Japanese word to be used in *kundoku* recitation, and these katakana employ some graphs that had passed out of standard use by the thirteenth century (such as 可 instead of カ for *ka*, or 支 instead of キ for *ki*). Similarly, the positions used in the *okototen* diacritics found in Moronori's scroll are typically only observed in Heian-period manuscripts.[64]

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[63] On employment of professional scribes, including Chinese immigrants, by scholarly households, see Satō Michio, "Denju to hikkō: Go Saburō nyūdō no jiseki" 伝授と筆耕—呉三郎入道の事績, *Chūsei bungaku* 中世文学 61 (2016): 77–86.

[64] Abe Ryūichi, "Higashiyama Gobunko," pp. 537–39.

The presence of this archaic glossing system in Moronori's scroll suggests that the glosses were copied not simply from a mid-Heian source but with an exceptional effort to exactly preserve the format of the original. While the glossing of the text is complete, however, it is quite sparse. Compared to other Kamakura-period *Wenxuan* manuscripts, the Moronori scroll shows much less use of kana and *shōten* as well as a near total absence of marginalia, which in other scrolls note textual variants and provide supplemental commentary.[65] The text was clearly prepared with considerable care—copied by a professional scribe and then glossed in imitation of a very old original. But although the glossing format emphasizes the antiquity of its content, something seems to have limited the quantity of knowledge transferred.

Paratext

Moronori's colophon to the text, which documents the transmission of "secret teachings" from Moronori's house to Adachi Yasumori in 1280, provides clues to the nature of this limitation. Moronori appears in capital records only a few times between 1262 and 1267, including being named deputy commissioner of ceremonial in 1265.[66] He next appears in this colophon of the 1280 *Wenxuan* manuscript, referring to himself as the "former deputy commissioner of ceremonial," indicating that his advancement in the capital bureaucracy stalled or was abandoned after the 1260s. No doubt guided by the precedent of his older brother Mochinori's success as tutor to the shogun prince Munetaka, Moronori made his way to Kamakura and apparently became an important member of Adachi Yasumori's inner circle. When Yasumori was assassinated in the Midwinter Coup (*Shimotsuki sōdō* 霜月騒動) of 1285, Moronori was cut down alongside him, the only member of the nobility killed in the massacre of Yasumori's family and associates.[67] Moronori's pedagogical service to Yasumori was therefore not a one-time engagement but part of a long-term relationship of patronage. Late in life, Yasumori actively pursued cultural legitimation in a variety of fields, commissioning calligraphy instruction from a noble instructor and receiving initiation into several Buddhist lineages as a layman.[68] In parallel with his brother Mochinori's service to Prince Munetaka, Moronori was likely on call to perform various forms of scribal and educational work necessary to support Yasumori's status through political and religious ceremonies.[69]

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[65] See, for example, the almost exactly contemporaneous manuscript of *Wenxuan*, vol. (*juan*) 2 held in the Reizei family archives, reproduced in vol. 83 of *Reizei-ke Shiguretei sōsho* 冷泉家時雨亭叢書, ed. Reizei-ke shiguretei bunko 冷泉家時雨亭文庫 (Tokyo: Asahi shinbun shuppan, 2008).

[66] Nagai Susumu 永井晋, *Shikibushō bunin* 式部省補任 (Tokyo: Yagi shoten, 2008), p. 511; entry for Bun'ei 文永 4 [1267]/4/25, in *Kitsu zokuki* 吉続記, vol. 30 of *Zōho shiryō taisei*, pp. 166–67.

[67] *Hōryaku kanki* 保暦間記, in vol. 26 of *Gunsho ruijū*, p. 51. The orthography of

The significance of Moronori's colophon becomes clearer by comparison with a parallel case. While no other evidence of Moronori's own scholarly activities survives, there is fortunately a set of scrolls of *Zhenguan zhengyao*, copied from 1277 to 1278, with colophons signed by Fujiwara no Atsunori 藤原淳範 (d. 1315), the youngest brother of Mochinori and Moronori.[70] These colophons, which describe Atsunori transmitting household teachings to "the Yasura novice" 安良禅門, an unknown figure perhaps associated with the shrine-temple complex Iwashimizu Hachimangū 石清水八幡宮, use almost the exact same format and language as Moronori's colophon.[71] Unlike the *Wenxuan* scroll, however, Atsunori's scrolls also contain a separate set

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Moronori's name is slightly different in this source, but his identity is established in Ogawa Takeo, "Fujiwara no Mochinori," pp. 35, 38.

[68] *Shinteishō* 心底抄, in *Zoku gunsho ruijū* 続群書類従, 3rd ed., 37 vols. (Tokyo: Zoku gunsho ruijū kanseikai, 1975–2000), v. 31B (輯下), p. 252; Fukushima Kaneharu, *Adachi Yasumori*, pp. 108–10.

[69] For example, Moronori is the likely author of the elaborate prayer Yasumori inscribed on a stupa at Mount Kōya in 1273; Doc. 11189 [1273; Bun'ei 10] in *Kamakura ibun*, v. 15, p. 6044. Fukushima Kaneharu has recently pointed to a reference to "Amanawa" (the location of Yasumori's manor) in another *Wenxuan* manuscript to argue for further interactions between Yasumori and other scholars; "Kamakura chūki no kyō, Kamakura no Kanseki denju to sono baikaisha" 鎌倉中期の京・鎌倉の漢籍伝授とその媒介者, *Kokuritsu rekishi minzoku hakubutsukan kenkyū hōkoku* 198 (2015): 91–108.

[70] The first volume of the set can be viewed on the Imperial Household Agency Archive's database of Chinese books. See *Zhenguan zhengyao* 貞觀政要 [1277–1278]; MS no. 503-21, Imperial House Library Collection, Imperial Household Agency, Tokyo, http://db.sido.keio.ac.jp/kanseki/T_bib_body.php?no=007744. The remaining nine volumes are in a private collection, but descriptions and photographs can be found in Harada Taneshige 原田種成, Jōgan seiyō no kenkyū 貞観政要の研究 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1965).

[71] These portions of the manuscript are reprinted in Harada Taneshige, *Jōgan seiyō no kenkyū*, frontispiece plates 4 and 5, and transcribed on pp. 493–96; a detailed description of the entire manuscript can be found on pp. 112–22. Yasura was the name of a subshrine and surrounding estate controlled by Iwashimizu Hachimangū, and a Hachiman shrine is mentioned in a 1295 colophon added to one of the Atsunori scrolls by a later owner. Moronori and Atsunori's father, Tsunenori, performed scribal work on behalf of Iwashimizu Hachimangū's head Sōsei 宗清 (1190–1237) in 1236, and their brother Akinori took part at poetry gatherings there circa 1275–1289. See Doc. 15774 [1285; Kōan 8] in *Kamakura ibun*, v. 21, p. 8391; Fukushima Kaneharu, "Kamakura chūki no kyō, Kamakura ni

of colophons documenting their production, attesting that the text and glosses were copied from the "authoritative text" (*shōhon* 証本) of the Nanke house—that is to say, a reliable text of ancient provenance passed down as the scholarly patrimony of the lineage.[72] This set of colophons seems to be written in the hand of the scrolls' copyist, perhaps the Yasura novice himself, while Atsunori's transmission colophons are in a different hand. Atsunori's *Zhenguan zhengyao* manuscript contains frequent marginalia and much heavier use of kana glosses alongside the text than Moronori's *Wenxuan* scroll does.

The Nanke lineage's strategic efforts to preserve its position in competition with other lineages with claims on the same scholarly posts manifest in the difference between the two brothers' careers and even their scrolls. While the specific nature of Atsunori's relationship to the Yasura novice is lost, his ability to marshal his family's textual patrimony in the context of private service underscores the support he received from the Nanke household as an institution. This support defined his career in the capital, which he seems to have spent as a kind of understudy to his older brothers Mochinori and Akinori 明範 (d. 1303).[73] Moronori's career path—and access to the scholarly patrimony—was quite different. Although he was named to one scholarly office, since he received no further post until 1283, he must have migrated to Kamakura soon after his last appearance in Kyoto sources in 1267.[74] His brother Mochinori's years in Kamakura had established the clientage relationship between the Nanke and the shogunate.[75] Moronori was likely sent to act as a family representative, particularly since Mochinori's son and

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okeru kanseki juyōsha-gun," pp. 7–8; Niki Natsumi 仁木夏美, "*Kyūreishū* shutten kō" 『鳩嶺集』出典考, *Bungei ronshū* 文芸論集 66 (2006): 1–27.

[72] Harada Taneshige, *Jōgan seiyō no kenkyū*, p. 118, plate 16. Numerous references to "authoritative texts" can be found in the colophons collected in Kobayashi Yoshinori 小林芳規, *Heian Kama kura jidai ni okeru Kanseki kundoku no kokugoshiteki kenkyū* 平安鎌倉時代に於ける漢籍訓讀の國語史的研究 (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 1967), pp. 1429–1504.

[73] For example, Mochinori secured permission for Atsunori to sit for the civil service examination in 1267; see entry for Bun'ei 4 [1267]/11/7, *Minkeiki* 民経記, ed. Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjo, 10 vols. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1975–2007), v. 10, p. 45. But when Akinori, the second of the brothers, died in office as commissioner of ceremonial in 1301, the post was filled the next year by Mochinori's heir. Atsunori was never granted this office, the most prestigious post for letters scholars.

[74] For Moronori's 1283 post assignment, see the entry for Kōan 6 [1283]/7/20, *Kanchūki*, vol. 34 of *Zōho shiryō taisei*, p. 231.

[75] Nagai Susumu, "Heian Kamakura jidai no Nanke juryū" 平安鎌倉時代の南家儒流, *Tochigi shigaku* 栃木史学 9 (1995): 1–52.

heir, Hironori 広範, who had remained in Kamakura after his father's departure, was called back to Kyoto during this same period. The lack of a source-text attestation and paucity of annotation in Moronori's scroll hints at a measured allocation of resources between two agents: one son, residing in the capital as a supplemental backup to his elder brothers' service in the bureaucracy, able to draw freely on the family's localized intellectual patrimony, and another, sent instead to establish new support relationships with a rising power center far away, with a proportionally limited share of textual capital to employ.

To summarize the evidence gleaned from the scroll: Moronori's pedagogical service to Adachi Yasunori entailed the production of a copy of the text of the *Wenxuan* deriving from the Nanke lineage's manuscript tradition rather than the printed editions that had begun to make their way to Japan. The copying and teaching of this text was not a one-time transaction but part of Yasumori's long-term patronage of Moronori as his scribe and tutor. Eastern warriors' pursuit of Chinese learning demanded their patronage of immigrant nobles from recognized scholarly houses as tutors, and this employment also secured their access to manuscript libraries, including invaluable reading glosses. This imbrication of textual transfer with other social relationships can be seen as an extension of the community-based regulation that characterized the textual world of the capital nobility. Kamakura's distance from the numerous libraries of the capital, however, stretched the threads of connection far thinner, and the products of textual reproduction did not necessarily remain unchanged. The professional calligraphy and purposefully archaic glosses of Moronori's manuscript bespeak the effort to produce a splendid representative of the Nanke's scholarly patrimony, but the limited quantity of glosses indicates the potential for pedagogy to be calibrated in accordance with the negotiated relationship between teacher and student.

Conclusion: Alliances and Institutions

Moronori's *Wenxuan* scroll, brought from Kyoto to Kamakura by a low-level scholar-bureaucrat, and copied and taught to a houseman at the top of the shogunate elite, embodies generalizable patterns in medieval manuscript-based circulation. Tracing the pursuit of Chinese learning in the Kamakura shogunate reveals how textual transmission flowed through personal relationships of mutual benefit. The shogun's use of the classical tradition as a tool of political legitimation required ritualized demonstrations of learning performed by a teacher who could claim expertise in the texts—thus the necessity of Mochinori's assignment to accompany Prince Munetaka to Kamakura.

At the same time, scholars such as Moronori were equally dependent upon the recognition and economic support of prestigious students. Like many of the nobility who sought careers in Kamakura, he was not the heir of a secure lineage but a younger brother in a house with an uncertain future. Whatever the extent of his learning might have been, the recognition accorded such "secondary scholars" (*bōju* 傍儒) in the capital was generally feeble.[76] Because of the urgent need for scribal specialists in the Kantō, however, the role often fell to figures who would otherwise have been considered drastically unqualified. Minamoto no Nakaakira 源仲章 (d. 1219), who served as the tutor to Sanetomo, was originally a retainer and bodyguard to the imperial household with no prior appointment to a scholarly post. The men from scholarly households who took up service in Kamakura, such as Nakahara no Morokazu 中原師員 (1184–1251) or Kiyohara no Noritaka, were not the heirs of their lineages but cousins and younger brothers outside the line of succession, searching for an alternative path to reward.[77] Just as their expertise helped the shogunate establish purview over realms of ceremony and administration previously monopolized by the court, service in Kamakura provided material rewards and legitimation of their own tenuous status as scholarly authorities.

The role of hereditary lineages of scholarship is unmistakably large in my reconstruction of manuscript circulation in the capital and in the medieval Kantō. Familial occupations are a phenomenon found in the earliest historical sources, and over the course of the Heian period, they became increasingly associated with property inheritance and a legally defined lineage in many fields, academic learning not least among them.[78] For scholarly lineages, such as the Nanke, their household collections of texts served as an irreplaceable pillar to their status in noble society, and admonitions against allowing a text to circulate outside the lineage are ubiquitous in medieval colophons. A similar discourse of esoteric transmission was of course widespread in many Buddhist sects, and this discourse of secrecy came to be imitated by specialists in vernacular poetry composition as well.[79] I emphasize, however, that these lineages devoted just as much effort to the display of these texts as to their secret preservation. Claims of esoteric knowledge and propriety texts could be a useful means of distinguishing oneself from rival scholars, but the social status of scholar-bureaucrats was primarily defined through the *divulgence* of information—as educators to princes, regents, and other powerful nobles, and as consultants to the sovereign and senior ministers.

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[76] Nagai Susumu, *Kanazawa Hōjōshi no kenkyū* 金沢北条氏の研究 (Tokyo: Yagi shoten, 2006), pp. 116, 120.

[77] Wajima Yoshio 和島芳男, *Nihon Sōgakushi no kenkyū* 日本宋学史の研究 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1988), pp. 70–72.

[78] On the medieval *ie* 家, see Takahashi Hideki 高橋秀樹, *Chūsei no ie to sei* 中世の家と性 (Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha, 2004).

In this sense, it may be more helpful to consider noble scholarly lineages as institutions on par with libraries or schools, for they were recognized as preservers of authoritative texts and arbiters of correct interpretation. They exercised an influence over textual access seemingly disproportionate to their relatively low social status because of the specific conditions for circulation of academic texts: these works were not the object of any local, large-scale reproduction, so the most substantial manuscript libraries could regulate access. Likewise, because classical scholarship occurred through vernacular recitation traditions that had developed for each text, scholarly lineages' transmission and mastery of these performance practices legitimated their authority as teachers.

Even as nobles were pressured by new obligations to shogunate patrons and insufficient opportunities for bureaucratic advancement in the capital, scholarly households' valuable libraries of "authoritative texts" remained anchored in Kyoto where they could directly support the ritual calendar of the imperial court. Manuscripts, such as Moronori's *Wenxuan* scroll, attest to a transfer of textual wealth from Kyoto to Kamakura that was slow and tenuous. The political and economic power of the shogunate allowed its elite to obtain books, often imported directly from China, but these works had limited meaning without the support of those scholarly lineages charged with textual preservation and interpretation in the capital. Shogunal elites therefore established clientage relationships, whether official or private, with representatives of these lineages—many of whom established new careers in the Kantō. But these representatives were generally younger sons or from secondary lineages and thus unable to transfer their full intellectual patrimony (in the form of texts and reading traditions) to the east, which continued to lack a reliable network of textual exchange. Thus, the development of the first large-scale Kantō collection, the Kanazawa Bunko, was crucial in beginning to replicate the conditions of community access that existed in the capital.[80] This library represents a massive undertaking, however, that only gradually developed over three generations.

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[79] Lewis Edwin Cook, "The Discipline of Poetry: Authority and Invention in the *Kokindenju*" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 2000).

Academic literature was characterized by specific patterns of reproduction and circulation in medieval Japan, and eastern authorities applied their political and economic power within this field in pursuit of cultural legitimation. Engagement with the academic tradition required not simply the texts themselves but also training in codified reading traditions. Noble scholarly households claimed proprietary control over both texts and reading techniques, and in modern scholarship, this rhetoric has often been employed to contrast the jealous secrecy of medieval learning with the early modern "free" market.[81]

I argue, however, that household libraries are more usefully understood as one manifestation of a more generalized structure of community-regulated circulation—one in which the divulgence of a text is simultaneously the negotiation of a cooperative relationship (often valorized by an implied principle of exclusion). Shogunate officials such as Adachi Yasumori were able to create equivalent relationships with opportunity-seeking members of the traditional scholarly lineages, and over time many such men arrived to live and work in Kamakura. However, the scholarly household as an institution was centered around its core library of inherited texts, which were not so easily dislodged from Kyoto, placing practical limits on the rate of textual transfer.

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[80] See the letters from the warrior Nagai Sadahide 長井貞秀 (d. 1308) to the library's custodian Ken'a 釼阿 (1261–1338) borrowing various works, including academic titles such as *Liji* 禮記. Docs. 23528–30, 23537, 23539 [1308; Tokuji 徳治 3] in *Kamakura ibun*, v. 31, pp. 12262–66; Nagai Susumu, *Kanazawa Hōjōshi no kenkyū*, pp. 209–12.

[81] See, for example, the discussion of Fujiwara Seika's 藤原惺窩 (1561–1619) exposure of reading traditions in Donald Keene, "Characteristic Responses to Confucianism in Tokugawa Literature," in *Confucianism and Tokugawa Culture*, ed. Peter Nosco (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), pp. 120–37. This "public" character of Edo-period book culture is integral to Berry's argument in *Japan in Print*.

Capturing the structure of medieval Japanese textual culture demands confronting its diversity: a complex ecosystem of manuscript copying, continental imports, and local xylographic projects, in which different genres of text could assume radically different patterns of reproduction and reception. The task of picking out the patterns that recur in these individualized relationships has only begun, but we are fortunate to possess an enormous corpus of medieval manuscripts and imprints still preserved in temples and libraries, whose format, handwriting, marginalia, and colophons are our best evidence for reconstructing the textual culture that produced them.