Prayers for Mediation: Thirteenth-Century Textual Culture between Kōya and Kamakura

BRIAN STEININGER
Princeton University
bsteinin@princeton.edu

Abstract: This paper examines several esoteric doctrinal texts printed on Mt. Kōya in the late 1270s by the shogunate official Adachi Yasumori (1231–1285). Conventional histories of Japanese xylography follow a developmental sequence from devotional printing by wealthy aristocrats in the classical (Heian) period, through limited educational printing by temples in the medieval period, to the arrival of widespread commercial printing in the early modern period. This paper examines the complex interplay of soteriological, practical, political, and commercial elements in one medieval printing project to both critique an 'ends'-based typology of textual reproduction and further develop recent arguments on the role of esoteric Buddhism in coordinating medieval power centers.

The largest corpus of premodern Japanese primary sources has survived in temple libraries across the archipelago, which institutionally were more successful than state and aristocratic actors at preserving documents through centuries of wars, disasters, and natural decay. Manuscripts that form the core of these archives were comprised not just of quotidian records and messages (including deeds, letters, ledgers, contracts, wills, contracts, and bills), but innumerable religious, practical, and literary titles, many of which circulated exclusively by manuscript even after the growth of commercial printing from the seventeenth century onward.[1] Further categories of writing lay somewhere in between instrumental documentation and authored 'works': in recent years, Buddhology has profited from a renewed interest in so-called *shōgyō* 聖教—lecture notes and guides to rituals—which were transmitted in manuscript, often handed down in secret master-disciple lineages.

It is therefore natural to consider medieval Japan in terms of 'manuscript culture', but as a term of analysis that invites several difficult questions, in particular the parameters of the category. In academic discourse, 'manuscript culture' is a back-formation from 'print culture', a term that still carries a McLuhanian teleology of modernization. While scholars such as Harold Love have emphasized the continued importance of manuscript well into Europe's early-modern period, the explosive growth of print in Europe following the introduction of the printing press and crowding out of manuscript production encouraged European history's treatment of manuscript and print as developmental historical stages. By contrast, the rapid growth of commercial printing in Japan during the early modern period came after centuries of circulating domestic and imported imprints within a primarily manuscript-based textual culture. How then to think about the boundaries and relationships between manuscript and print during this long period of time? There has been a great deal of rewarding research in the last decade on the properties of manuscript reproduction and circulation in Japan. However, to further assess the historical conditions that shaped textual culture

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[1]   Kornicki, 'Manuscript, not Print'.

demands a consideration of manuscript and print together and in relation to each other, to historicize and de-essentialize the categorical difference between them.[2]

Historically speaking, print in Japan began as a supplement to manuscript production, oftentimes quite literally, as described in prayer texts like the following:

> I have erected life-size statues of Amitābha, Avalokiteśvara, and Mahāsthāmaprāpta. I have hand-copied 書寫 in gold ink one set of the *Lotus Sūtra* in 8 scrolls, the *Innumerable Meanings Sūtra* (*Muryōgikyō* 無量義經) in 1 scroll, the *Samantabhadra Meditation Sutra* (*Kanfugenkyō* 觀普賢經) in 1 scroll, the *Amitābha Sutra* in 1 scroll, and the *Heart Sutra* in 1 scroll. I have printed 摺寫 in black ink 60 sets of the *Lotus Sutra*, and 20 scrolls each of the *Innumerable Meanings Sutra* and *Samantabhadra Meditation Sutra*.[3]

Here, printing expands upon and multiplies the splendor of an originary manuscript's production. Early printing in Japan, the overwhelming majority of which seems to have consisted of sutra reproduction, is characterized by its fidelity to manuscript conventions, imitating both the scale and calligraphic style of manuscript sutra-copying, but also imitating, for example, the practice of pre-assembling the sheets of the scroll to which text was then added (the printing blocks stamped onto the complete scroll one after another).[4]

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[2]   Particularly notable recent examples of research on the material history of manuscript in Japan include, in English, Lowe, *Ritualized Writing*, and in Japanese, Sasaki, *Nihon koten shoshigakuron* and Uejima, *Chūsei ākaibuzu-gaku josetsu*.

[3]   1085 prayer on behalf of Minamoto no Suemune 源季宗 (1049–1086) for Crown Prince Sanehito 實仁親王 (1071–1085), attributed to Fujiwara no Arinobu 藤原有信 (1039–1099). *Honchō zoku monzui*, vol. 13.

[4]   Thus, the ink imprint frequently extends across the point at which two sheets of paper are pasted together in the scroll. See for example the Kamakura-period edition of the *Daihannya haramittakyō* 大般若波羅蜜多經 held in Waseda Library, viewable at http://archive.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kosho/bunko30/bunko30_e0293/bunko30_e0293_p0003.jpg.

Furthermore, the practice of textual multiplication itself was understood primarily through a logic of devotional merit-making, in parallel with large-scale sutra transcription projects. While few actual examples survive, contemporary testimony like the above indicates a fad for devotional sutra printing among the nobility in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[5] Imprints were provided for dedication at Buddhist assemblies, most typically funerals. During this same period, however, we see the first flashes of a different use of print: the reproduction of Buddhist scholastic texts, undertaken by temples to facilitate their monks' education. An edition of Xuan-zang's 玄奘 (602?–664) *Treatise on the Perfection of Consciousness Only* (*Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論) published in 1088 by the Nara temple Kōfukuji 興福寺 is the earliest example of this application, which soon spread outward to other large temple complexes in Kyoto and beyond. In historiography of printing in Japan, the publication of scholastic texts is seen as a medieval development away from purely devotional printing practices towards more practical applications, setting the stage for the commercial printing of the early modern period.

One important locus of this expanded scope of printing in the thirteenth century was the mountain complex of Kongōbuji 金剛峯寺, or Mt. Kōya 高野山, the central temple of Shingon. Located on a massive plateau in the middle of a mountain range, the isolated temple complex was a site of pilgrimages and other devotions by noble—and later warrior—elites from its foundation in the ninth century by Kūkai 空海 (774–835). Textual records of printing at Mt. Kōya go back to the mid-twelfth century, but a burst of rapid printing activity occurred in the late thirteenth century, with at least fifteen different titles carved and printed between 1276 and 1282, and another eight titles between 1287 and 1293.[6]

Many of these texts were not sacred sutras as such, but scholastic commentaries and guides to ritual, employed by monk-scholars in preparation for the lectures and debates that were central to their

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5   Kawase, 'Heian-chō surikyō no kenkyū'.

6   See the chart in Koakimoto, 'Kōyaban to wa nanika', 14.

career advancement.[7] Their aim and utility thus suggests a break from the devotional printing of the mid-Heian period. However, instead of representing a unique development within printing, many aspects of these texts display strong continuity with the wider manuscript culture. Just as sutras for dedication were printed on rolls, commentaries for study like Yixing's 一行 (683–727) commentary on the *Mahāvairocana Sutra*, the *Dainichikyō-sho* 大日經疏, were printed in a paste-bound codex format (*detchōsō* 粘葉裝), the most important medium of scholarly manuscripts in monasteries from the twelfth through fifteenth centuries. Reproducing the double-sided leaves of this format in woodblock print required an extremely complicated carving procedure, but here again, manuscript practice dictated print form.[8]

The close continuity between print and manuscript formats throughout the eleventh through thirteenth centuries troubles deterministic assumptions about the effects or roles of print. In contrast to the developmental model that tends to govern book history, the thirteenth-century Mt. Kōya printing projects suggest multivalent aims and effects. I will argue that the devotional printing model remained fundamental to the sponsorship of printing, and that print nevertheless was treated very differently than manuscript, but that to understand these differences we cannot rely on anachronistic assumptions about efficiency, or about publication as integral to printing technology.

Adachi Yasumori's Printing Projects

Little direct documentation of early publication activities on Mt. Kōya survives, so the history of printing has largely been reconstructed through colophons inside surviving texts. The earliest dated publication is a copy of Kūkai's literary work *Sangō shiiki* 三教指歸 dated to 1253, followed by several other titles printed in the 1250s.

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7   On the importance of debate in medieval Japan, see Sango, *The Halo of Golden Light*.

8   Sumiyoshi, 'Nihon chūsei no hangi to hanpon'.

The *Dainichikyō-sho*, the longest text printed by the temple, was part of a second burst of publication activity beginning in 1276. Its first volume concludes with the following note:

> 建治三年〈丁丑〉五月四日於金剛峯寺信藝書
> 為續三寶慧命於三會之出世、廣施一善利益於一切之衆生、是則守
> 大師之遺誡儵令遂小臣之心願、謹以開印板矣
> 建治三年〈丁丑〉八月　日
> 從五位上行秋田城介藤原朝臣

> Written out by Shingei at Kongōbuji on the Fourth Day of the Fifth Month, Kenji 3 (1277).
> In order to carry forward the wisdom of the three treasures unto the manifestation of [Maitreya's] three assemblies, [I will] broadly extend the merit of one [act of] goodness unto all sentient beings. This is to satisfy the final vow of the Great Teacher [Kūkai] and incidentally fulfill my own heart's desire. I humbly set these blocks for publication.
> Kenji 3, 8th Month, - Day
> Junior Fifth Rank Upper Superintendent of Akita Fujiwara no *ason*[9]

Superintendent of Akita was the title of Adachi Yasumori 安達 泰盛 (1231–1285), a powerful official in the Kamakura military government. His name appears in several other texts published on Kōya during these years, which include two *sūtra*s (*Vajraśekhara Sūtra* and *Susiddhikara Sūtra*) that seem to have been printed as scrolls, but were mostly scholastic texts printed as codices, including *Goshōrai mokuroku* 御請來目錄 (a bibliography of texts brought back to Japan by Kūkai), a Sillan commentary on ritual instructions in the *Mahāvairocana Sutra* (the *Kuyō shidaihō sho* 供養次第法疏), and two treatises on Sanskrit (the *Shittan jiki* 悉曇字記 and Kūkai's *Aji gishaku* 阿字義釋). Based on the large increase in titles between Mt. Kōya printer's catalogues dated 1260 and 1300, he likely sponsored several other works at this time as well.[10]

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9   Mizuhara, *Kōyaban no kenkyū*, 649–50.

10   Mizuhara, *Kōyaban no kenkyū*, 129–49.

The rise of the Adachi began with Yasumori's great-grandfather Morinaga 盛長 (1135–1200), a follower of Minamoto no Yoritomo 源 頼朝 (1147–1199). Morinaga's origins are unclear, though he and his descendants would frequently claim Fujiwara ancestry. The Adachi became one of the most important houseman (*gokenin* 御家人) lineages within the Kamakura shogunate. Morinaga's son Kagemori 景盛 (d. 1248), a favored ally of the third shogun Sanetomo 實朝 and his mother Hōjō Masako 北條政子, married his daughter to Hōjō Yasutoki 北條泰時 (1183–1242), the third shogunal regent (*shikken* 執權), thereby becoming grandfather to two succeeding regents. Yasumori's father Yoshikage 義景 (1210–1253) died relatively young, but Yasumori adopted his half-sister and married her to the eighth regent, Tokimune 時宗 (1251–1284), continuing this form of marriage politics.

Following the death of the powerful fifth regent, Hōjō Tokiyori 北條時頼 (1227–1263), Yasumori was able to exert growing control over the military government, his resources and familial relationship to the Hōjō allowing him to supplant their power in much the way the Hōjō had themselves supplanted the shogun. Tokiyori's underage heir Tokimune was forced to rely on a clique composed of Yasumori, the aged Hōjō Masamura 北條政村 (1205–1273), and Hōjō Sanetoki 北條實時 (1224–1276). After the latter two men died in the 1270s, Yasumori displayed a corresponding increase in direct power over the Kamakura government, administering the distribution of rewards to warriors returning from the 1274 Mongol invasion.[11] In 1282, he claimed the title of Governor of Mutsu, an office that had previously been the prerogative of the Hōjō, making an unmistakable display of his power. This de facto authority became absolute with the death of Tokimune in 1284, and Yasumori responded by issuing a series of new laws.[12] These were cut short, however, by the assassination of Yasumori and the eradication of his power base in the so-called 'Midwinter Unrest' (*Shimotsuki sōdō* 霜月騒動) of 1285, one of the deadliest internal battles of the Kamakura period, killing hundreds of the Adachi and their allies over the following months. The Kōya

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[11]   Murai, *Hōjō Tokimune*, 79–82.

[12]   On these laws, see Conlan, *State of War*, 115–16.

imprints correspond to the period in which Yasumori's power in the eastern military government was reaching its peak.

Yasumori's relationship with Mt. Kōya and patronage of esoteric Buddhism was long-standing. His grandfather Kagemori took vows and retired to Kōya in 1225, receiving esoteric initiation rites from the Daigoji monk Jitsugen 實賢 (1176–1249). The Adachi temple Muryōjuin 無量壽院, built on the grounds of Yoshikage's manor, became a center of Shingon learning in Kamakura, absorbing the library of Zenpen Kōgyō 禅遍宏教 (1184–1255) on his death. Yasumori himself became a lay initiate into esoteric rites at ceremonies held here.[13] A letter from Hōjo 法助 (1227–1284), the former abbot of the imperially sponsored Shingon temple Ninnaji 仁和寺, to one of his students suggests that Yasumori was viewed by the capital establishment as the most important patron of Shingon in the east.[14]

The colophons in Yasumori's imprints invoke the same language of devotional copying found in hand-copied sutras from the earliest surviving examples onward. As in the example above, textual reproduction is described in terms of an individual's vow whose merit will produce benefits, usually dedicated to all sentient beings. However, most of the imprints contain not the sacrosanct sutras typically associated with devotional copying, but scholastic texts. Kūkai authored or imported many of the titles, so it is noteworthy that the colophons also frequently mention Kūkai (Kōbō Daishi), the founder of Mt. Kōya whose cult had grown over the second half of the Heian period. The choice of works associated with Kūkai for publication recalls the publication of during the same period of the three sutra commentaries attributed to Prince Shōtoku at the Shōtoku-cult center Hōryūji 法隆寺 (Nara).[15] If there is a break here from manuscript copying

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[13] Fukushima, *Adachi Yasumori*, 108–10.

[14] *Kamakura ibun*, no. 15145, 20: 8106–09. This letter is discussed in Murai, *Hōjō Tokimune*, 204–206. Yasumori's father Yoshikage conspired with Hōjō Tokiyori to appoint Hōjo, the son of Kujō Michiie 九條道家 (1193–1252), to the position of abbot over the objections of rivals. See Fukushima, '*Adachi Yasumori* to Kamakura no jiin', 6–7.

[15] Yamamoto, *Kichō tenseki*, 298.

patterns, it might be characterized as a kind of monumental function accorded to printing; glorifying a religious patriarch while generating merit for the world and, of course, the sponsor.

Kōya, Kamakura, and Kyoto

The monumentalizing application of print becomes clearer through comparison with other projects sponsored on Mt. Kōya by Yasumori. The most well-documented of these is a set of stone stupas erected beginning in 1265, replacing the wooden markers along the fifteen-mile path from the mountain complex's entryway to Kūkai's tomb in the Inner Hall (*oku-no-in* 奥院).[16] Over the course of twenty years, 217 stone stupas, each extending about two meters above ground and with the familiar five-ring structure (*gorintō* 五輪塔), were placed at one-*chō* intervals along the path and around the Inner Hall; most of these can still be seen there today. Yasumori seems to have been the most important sponsor of this enormous undertaking. In a 1285 prayer offered at the project's completion by its organizer, Kakukyō 覺斅 (dates unknown), Yasumori is singled out as a 'third-generation great contributor' 三代大施主, and a list of deceased at the prayer's end pays tribute to Yasumori's father and grandfather alongside Emperor GoSaga and several of the Hōjō.[17] Each stupa contains an engraving naming a particular sponsor, and Yasumori is named on six of them—more than any other individual.[18] This project was not simply infrastructure maintenance conducted by the temple: a 1265 prayer by Kakukyō at the project's beginning emphasized the personal safety and longevity of the imperial household, the shogun, and the Hōjō regency: a group

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[16]   The origin of these wooden markers is unclear, but at least by the late eleventh century they were referred to as 'stupas', perhaps imitating in appearance the wooden placards (*sanrōfuda* 参籠札) often left at medieval pilgrimage sites. Aikō, *Kōyasan chōishi no kenkyū*, 54–59.

[17]   Aikō, *Kōyasan chōishi no kenkyū*, 62–71.

[18]   See the detailed list of sponsors in Aikō, *Kōyasan chōishi no kenkyū*, 90–110.

that expanded to include the Adachi by the project's end in 1285.[19] This discourse on safeguarding the ruling elite characterized the construction as protection of the state: Kakukyō explains that 'when the Buddha's law triumphs the sovereign's law 王法 will prosper; when the sovereign's law prospers the Buddha's law will triumph—it is like the two wings of a bird or two wheels of a cart'.[20] The effort furthermore itself serves as evidence of the court's unified harmony: the donations that funded the construction are attributed to 'all the islands and provinces,' 'great and lowly', and most importantly 'capital and hinterland'— the dual polity of Kyoto and Kamakura joined through ritual.[21]

The intimate connection between these Kōya-based monuments and the sovereignty of the imperial household is crystalised in a special stupa erected in conjunction with the path-marker set, containing a prayer for the late Emperor GoSaga (1220–1272) on the one-year anniversary of his death. Located just outside Kūkai's tomb, this stupa commemorates GoSaga's pilgrimage there in 1258, when the sin-expiating *rishu zanmai* 理趣三昧 service was performed for the retired emperor's benefit.[22] GoSaga's sustained efforts to strengthen imperial influence over the major temple-shine complexes is one of

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[19]   Mizuhara, *Kōyasan kinseki zusetsu*, 25–27.

[20]   On the ideology of 'mutual dependence of the law of the sovereign and law of the Buddha' (*ōbō Buppō sōiron*) as a medieval conception of the relationship of Buddhism to worldly power, see Kuroda, 'The Imperial Law and the Buddhist Law'.

[21]   On the Kamakura period's 'dual polity', see especially Mass, *Yoritomo and the Founding of the First Bakufu*.

[22]   GoSaga's pilgrimage is dated to Shōka 1 and 2 (1257 or 1258) in various sources; there may have been two separate pilgrimages, but it is curious that each source gives either one year or the either, with none listing both. I am tentatively taking the later date as supported by a larger number of older sources. Detailed descriptions of GoSaga's pilgrimage(s) to Mt. Kōya can be found in *Kōyasan gyokō gyoshutsu ki*, 293–94, and *Masukagami*, 'Oriiru kumo', 2:35–40. The performance of the *rishu zanmai* rite at the Inner Hall is recorded in 'Kōyasan kengyōchō 高野山検校帳', document no. 1661 in *Kōyasan monjo*, 7: 424.

the key themes of his career, and this pilgrimage perhaps represented a rapprochement between him and Kongōbuji, with whom he had a series of conflicts in the 1240s.[23]

At the summit of the sequence of stone stupas set up along the Mt. Kōya pilgrimage path, GoSaga's stupa serves as an avatar of the project's most prestigious sponsor, symbolizing the mutually supportive relationship of state and samgha. However, the prayer on the stupa, offered in Yasumori's name, devotes primary attention to the personal relationship between Yasumori and GoSaga. The prayer is couched in language of gratitude, positioning Yasumori as beholden to the favor of GoSaga for his position. This indebtedness is abstracted to a moral teaching: 'To reward grace with goodness is the Buddha's teaching, the golden sage's sayings are before my eyes; to repay virtue with filial piety is mankind's law, the uncrowned king's [Confucius] lesson is etched on my liver'.[24] GoSaga's favor is materialized in a fetish, a set of classical Chinese books from GoSaga that Yasumori weeps over after the former's demise. The vow expressed in the prayer is that Yasumori's devotional act of erecting the stone stupa will aid toward repaying his debt by easing GoSaga's transition to paradise, with Yasumori's personal gratitude toward the late emperor presented as an isomorphic transformation of the relationship of obligation inhering between sentient beings and the Buddha.[25] In this way, the prayer recasts GoSaga from sponsor to beneficiary, inserting Yasumori at the crux of the court-temple/King-Buddha axis.

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[23] On GoSaga and Mt. Kōya, see Adolphson, *The Gates of Power*, 200–2. In 1248, GoSaga attempted to appoint a political enemy of Kongōbuji's to the position of *chōja* 長者 or head of Tōji 東寺, the Shingon temple in Kyoto, which would also have included jurisdiction over Kongōbuji. See Ebina, 'Chūsei zenki ni okeru Kōyasan', 13–16.

[24] *Kamakura ibun*, no. 11189, 15: 6044. The phrase 'to repay virtue' appears as 訓德 in this edition, but can be corrected to 誧德 based on the rubbing facsimile preserved in the Edo-period antiquarian collection *Shūko jisshu*, 2:111–12 (誧 is a variant for 酬).

[25] On the role of indebtedness discourse in medieval Japanese Buddhism, see Ruppert, *Jewel in the Ashes*, 36–42.

Yasumori was a warrior whose life and career were based in Kamakura; he can only be documented traveling to the capital of Kyoto twice as a youth.[26] However, as the office of shogun passed to nobility and then imperial princes, the shogunal household's reliance on the Adachi brought the latter into contact with Kyoto circles. Yasumori took over patronage of a Kyoto temple founded by Minamoto no Sanetomo's widow in 1272, and in 1275 helped rebuild a Hachiman shrine there associated with Yoritomo's lineage.[27] Despite his geographic basis in the east, the capital aristocracy was cognizant of Yasumori's growing power, and he increasingly sought to exert influence directly upon them: in 1279, a courtier diary relates that Yasumori had sent a gift of horses, a sword, and fifty *ryō* of gold to the capital regent Takatsukasa Kanehira 鷹司兼平 (1228–1294), as he sought to induce him to sign over management of an estate in Ōmi Province.[28]

Yasumori's printing on Mt. Kōya—which began in 1277, the year that fundraising for the stone stupas was completed—continued the latter's coordination of relationships among the Shingon establishment, the imperial household, and wealthy eastern warriors, part of a larger pattern of Yasumori's involvement in Shingon devotional acts with links to the imperial household. According to a colophon at the end of Yasumori's *Dainichikyō-sho* imprint, he was able to obtain a proof text for use in publishing the work from GoSaga's son, Prince Shōjo 性助 (1247–1283), the princely abbot (*monzeki*) of Ninnaji.[29] Yasumori's religious endeavors at Kōya served the imperial household by facilitating its sponsorship of esoteric Buddhism. The repeated discourse of 'capital and hinterland' or 'sovereign's law and Buddhist law' surrounding his sponsorship of these rituals parallels the Ada-

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[26] *Azuma kagami*, Kangen 2 (1244)/6/17, 33:321; *Yōkōki*, Kangen 4 (1246)/6/15, 1: 178. For Yasumori's military exploits, see *Azuma kagami*, Hōji 1 (1247)/6/5, 33: 380–81.

[27] Murai, *Hōjō Tokimune*, 77; Fukushima, *Adachi Yasumori*, 77.

[28] *Kanchūki*, Kōan 2 [1279]/2/2, 2:79.

[29] Mizuhara, *Kōyaban no kenkyū*, 651–52. Fukushima argues that a letter dated to the early 1270s sent to Hōjō Sanetoki describes a meeting between Prince Shōjo and Yasumori. *Adachi Yasumori*, 107–08.

chi's own position as an essential link in the complex negotiations of thirteenth-century power-sharing.

Conclusion

In content, period, and format, thirteenth-century Kōya imprints like the *Dainichikyō-sho* are clear examples of the turn to pedagogical and practical printing in medieval Japan. However, the text itself insists upon the soteriological motive of Yasumori's production, not simply as an indirect support of Buddhist ritual and learning, but a noble act that in itself generates merit. Moreover, in tracing the records of Yasumori's patronage of Shingon Buddhism, one repeatedly encounters connections with Retired Emperor GoSaga and his own ritually ensured sovereignty. Yasumori's publication projects occurred as he was reinventing himself as the head of the Kamakura shogunate, an authority bolstered by his ability to position himself as a revered sponsor of sacred works both in his own right and on behalf of the imperial household. These soteriological and monumental aspects of the Kōya imprints seem to have been compounded by their printed format. As discussed above, devotional manuscript reproduction has a long history in Japan, specifically authorized in texts like the *Lotus Sutra* that insist on the merit of their own reproduction. In the case of Yasumori's publications it seems that this aura of merit is extended to scholastic, non-ritual texts such as Sanskrit treatises through the employment of print reproduction, the engraving of woodblocks demanding recognition like the stone-carving of the path markers.

The discourse surrounding these printing projects suggests that this legitimation might be understood as a function of the project's technical complexity, the numerous layers of mediation that produce the printed object (sources borrowed, texts compared, funds appropriated, prayers offered, blocks carved, etc.), each step linking the sponsor into a wider circle of patronage. Nor did this network cease with a single run of imprints: a Mt. Kōya catalog dated 1300 lists page numbers and production prices (for paper and printing) for a number of texts, including several titles that had been spon-

sored by Yasumori, connecting Yasumori's sponsorship of Shingon scholasticism to the finances of the temple.[30] We might say that for thirteenth-century elites, print was important because it enabled new types of social relationships to be integrated into textual reproduction; however, it is clear that the conditions of this possibility were cultural and arbitrary, not a function of print's 'efficiency', 'economy', or 'reliability'.

In the discussion above, I attempted the beginning of a critique of historiography of the Japanese book, which has relied on an ends-based, chronological typology of development from early devotional printing to medieval educational printing to early-modern commercial printing. The aims of Yasumori's printing projects are overdetermined, with devotional, practical, and political goals and outcomes inextricably linked. However, they do provide some clues for an alternative framework of the historical changes in print reproduction in Japan. Most important is the ineluctable sociality of printing: as an expensive and labor-intensive enterprise, printing only occurs through group alliances, which perhaps contribute to the web of motivations seen above, but also suggest that shifts in social configurations will have immediate ramifications for opportunities and uses for printing. This consideration of the growth of printing in the medieval period and its extension to new kinds of texts therefore demands that we begin from the reconstruction of human relationships.

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