EAA Forum 23

East Asian Academy For New Liberal Arts
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by The University of Tokyo and Peking University

History and Theory of Common Spaces

Chouli Pei, James Thurgill, Mai Kataoka,
Naoki Umemura, Yuki Tanaka, and Muyun Wang
edited by Yuki Tanaka

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Preface

Yuki Tanaka

This book is based on the EAA symposium "History and Theory of Common Spaces: The Second Symposium of the Room and Space Research Group," which was held from 3 pm to 6 pm on March 9, 2023, in Conference Room 2 at the Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia, The University of Tokyo.

Common spaces are spaces that are managed by the people who live and work in them. In this way, they are unlike public spaces, which are managed by national or local governments. To date, the Room and Space Research Group has explored how people, in general, and architects, in particular, have achieved their aspirations regarding various spaces and designs based on the history and theory of common spaces. In this symposium, attempts to construct common spaces were discussed from the standpoints of experts, regardless of whether these spaces were ancient or modern or Eastern or Western. Through this discussion, we hope to gain a better understanding of how different people understand such spaces in society and the ways people form attachments to certain spaces.

Chouli Pei（Komaba Organization for Educational Excellence）spe-

cializes in the history of housing in Taiwan. In her paper, titled "Common Spaces for Socializing Created by the Residents: "the Living Room for Everyone" at the Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartment in Taipei City," utilizes in-depth fieldwork conducted at the Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartments to reveal the specific process through which common spaces were formed. Due to changes in economic conditions and living environments, spaces where people gather have changed from a fluid type to a fixed type.

James Thurgill (Center for Global Communication Strategies) specializes in cultural geography. His paper, titled "Folklore as Common Space," focused on the history of folklore. The circulation, evolution, and performance of folklore include both "open" and "closed" systems, allowing people to produce social space together.

Mai Kataoka (EAA) specializes in translating Japanese literature into English. In her paper, titled "Genius Loci Reimagined: The Problems of Translating Senses of Place in Japanese Novels," she takes up the concept of "genius loci," an important concept for thinking about the memories connected to the land. She analyzes the meaning of "place names" in the translation of Japanese literature and how they affect translation.

Naoki Umemura (Hokkaido University) focuses on research on the schools of the Song Dynasty in his paper titled "Schools and Shrines for Local Worthies in Song China: Ritual Spaces and Local Communities." Due to the reform of the bureaucratic examination system by Wang Anshi 王安石 during the Song Dynasty, the school system became a mainstream avenue of bureaucratic recruitment. In this paper, he discusses the significance of local government schools and academies in local communities.

Yuki Tanaka (EAA) specializes in Chinese philosophy. My paper, titled "From Common and Public Space to Official Space: Forms and Spirits of Ritual in Local Societies in Ancient China," discusses the attitude of Confucius toward local society. I have shown that local society was a place where Confucian scholars laid the foundations of human relations.

Muyun Wang (EAA) specializes in development studies in the Chinese context. Her paper is titled "Exploring Common Space of Valuation: A Case Study on the Changing Historical Narratives of Shimenkan Village," she explicates how the culture and history of the region were reevaluated. By examining this process of reevaluation, she identifies the important factors that shape common spaces.

The first three chapters identify two contradictory characteristics of common space: openness and closure. First, James Thurgill discusses the open and closed systems of folklore, while Chouli Pei suggests that "everyone's living room" can be realized only when a private space is maintained. Mai Kataoka states that although translation is difficult due to the closed nature of place names, the writers and translators of novels are well aware of this closedness and strive to make translated works open to the world by avoiding placelessness and explaining place names in detail.

When discussing the image of an ideal common space, it is necessary to pay attention to who it is intended for. All of the latter chapters use examples from different periods throughout Chinese history. Naoki Umemura and Yuki Tanaka discuss images of local society and common spaces from the perspective of rulers. Muyun Wang, meanwhile, suggests that what we value in a particular local society depends on our position in that society and that by understanding different value systems, we can relativize our own perspectives.

1

Common Spaces for Socializing Created by the Residents:

"The Living Room for Everyone" at the Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartment in Taipei City

Chouli Pei

Introduction

In architectural design, a common space refer to a space such as a courtyard or plaza that can be shared by residents in a housing complex, the main function of which is to promote interaction among residents. However, there are also places for interaction that are formed in the course of the daily lives of residents without the architect specifically designing such a space. For this paper, focusing on the Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartment in Taipei City, the author has conducted interviews with residents about their life histories and use of space since 2015, in an attempt to examine the formation and evolution of such naturally formed social spaces, which still function on a daily basis (Figure 1.1).

1. What is the Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartment?

The formation of such a place for interaction within the Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartment complex is closely linked to the construction history of the apartments, the characteristics of the residents, and the architectural

Figure 1.1 Social space for the residents under the eaves of the ground floor of the Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartment. Photograph by Chouli Pei, August 29, 2016.

features of the apartments themselves. Therefore, in this section, I would like to briefly discuss these three aspects.

From the 1960s to the early 1970s, when the Taipei city government demolished nonlegal buildings in the city, public housings were built at 23 locations in the city to provide a place for residents living in nonlegal buildings to relocate. The Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartment, which is the collective name for three of these locations, were built in three phases (i.e., Phase I (1964), Phase II (1968) and Phase III (1971)) on public land in the area known as Nan-chi-ch'ang, south of present-day Xizang Road. This paper will focus on Phase II (hereafter, "Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartment" refers to Phase II unless otherwise indicated).

As the building was built as a relocation site for residents of nonlegal buildings, the residents who moved in immediately after its completion were not in an affluent economic condition; rather, they were Waishengren (usainlanders) families who came to Taiwan from mainland China after World War II, or people who had migrated to Taipei

from local cities and rural villages in Taiwan in search of work. Many of the residents were self-employed.

At the time of its completion, the Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartment Phase I was the largest apartment complex in Taiwan. In terms of the building facilities, all units were equipped with private toilets and kitchens, which were still rare in Taiwan in the 1960s, and there were even dust chutes installed on each floor. The units were not partitioned, and so the residents were given freedom in terms of how they wanted to live. In terms of its scale and the building facilities, the Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartment was said to be the most advanced housing complex in Taiwan at the time of its completion. However, the living area per unit was small, making the housing was quite cramped for residents with large families. In several cases, the families surveyed by the author had six or seven people living in a 10.5-square-meter unit. The situation was similar for the Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartment Phases II and III. In order to overcome the limitations of their cramped apartments, the residents devised custom-made rooms by purchasing additional rooms or through implem-

Figure 1.2 Courtyard at the time of completion of the Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartment Phase II. Photograph by Hanzhong Chen, August 16, 1968.
(https://www.phototaiwan.com/Product?ImgID=19680816010700&ImgSubID=196808160107000001.)

Figure 1.3 Current status of the Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartment Phase II, which has changed due to repeated additions and renovations. Photograph by Chouli Pei, September 4, 2018.

enting expansions or renovations in the arrangement of their living spaces[1]([Figure 1.2 and 1.3).

2. "The Living Room for Everyone"

2-1. What is "the Living Room for Everyone"?

In general, common spaces in housing complexes, such as courtyards and plazas, are designed as places for residents to interact and relax. Although only a few documents related to the architectural design of the Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartment remain, a publicity document compiled and published by the Taipei City National Housing and Community Construction Committee at the time of its completion shows that Phase II

1 See PEI, Chouli. "Securing a Life in a Confined Apartment Complex: The Way of Life in Taipei's Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartments." Journal of Living Folklore 9 (2017): 23-38. for a discussion on methods of overcoming the spatial constraints of the cramped housing in the Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartment.

of the Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartment also included a courtyard, a large terrace, and an open basement[2]. However, these were not spaces created for residents to interact or relax. The first floor of the Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartment was set up as a store rather than a dwelling unit, and the basement was designed as a market. In other words, the courtyard, large terrace, and open basement were designed not as places in which residents could socialize and relax, but rather in consideration of the stores that would conduct business and the people who would visit the market and carry goods into and out of the building.

While the Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartment was not designed with places for interaction and relaxation, the current apartments are dotted with social spaces that were naturally formed by the residents. In this paper, I would like to call such a place for socializing as "the living room for everyone." These living rooms for everyone can be categorized into "fixed" and "fluid" types. A fixed type is, as the name suggests, a fixed place where the characteristics of the space itself would indicate at first glance that the place is the living room for everyone, even if no one is gathered therein. On the other hand, the fluid type has no fixed form or location, and is a space that appears when people gather within it. I have come to experience a variety of living rooms for everyone at the Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartment. I most often sit and chat at the reception area in front of the temple and at the "circle of chairs" placed in several locations in the hallway facing the courtyard. These places are the fixed type. The reception area in front of the temple is not only for residents, but also for people coming from the outside. Let us first look at the fixed-type living room for everyone, which were primarily created for the residents of the Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartment. Below, unless otherwise indicated, we are referring to the fixed-type living room for everyone.

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2 Taipei City National Housing and Community Construction Committee, ed. Bulletin of the Second Phase of National Housing Work in Nan-Chi-Ch'ang, Taipei. Taipei: Taipei City National Housing and Community Construction Committee, 1968.: 3-11.

The building construction of the Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartment Phase II provides favorable conditions for the formation of a living space for everyone. This is particularly true of the ground floor space facing the courtyard, with a wide terrace circling the courtyard in front of the entrance to the units or stores facing the courtyard. The terrace is not a private space, but because of its small interior area, residents often make use of the terrace to extend their private space from the indoors to the outdoors. The most popular option is to use the terrace in front of the home as a storage space, but other preferred uses include using it as a gardening space, a workspace or a place in which a few chairs are placed wherein residents can chat.

2-2. A scene reminiscent of countryside or local cities

I would like to share my experience in this living room for everyone. That day, I had returned to Taiwan from Japan on a morning flight and had spent the afternoon greeting people at the Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartment. The several living rooms for everyone were all nearly full. As I passed by the general store, I was approached by a resident who was sitting and chatting in a chair placed in front of the store.

> Wang: Oh, so you're back from Japan. When did you get back?
> Me: I just arrived at noon.
> Wang: Thank you for always coming here!
> Me: No, no; it's my pleasure. It's a relief to come back here and see everyone.
> Wang: I'm glad to hear that. Where are you going now?
> Me: I'm just hanging out around here.
> Wang: Then sit here.[3]

Whenever I return to Taiwan from Japan and go to the Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartment, I am always talked to by people in the living rooms for everyone. What we talk about differs depending on their relationship

3 From Field Notes (August 16, 2019).

with me, but it is mostly in the form of "Welcome home, sit yourself down. " I sit down and chat with them as I am told, or if I have to go somewhere else, I may just greet them and leave the area.

Although such communication is becoming increasingly rare in Taipei, if you visit countryside or local cities in Taiwan, you will often see local residents cooling off and chatting in front of a temple, a Sanheyuan (courtyard house), or under a large tree. This is not limited to the present; similar scenery were also captured in photographs of countryside in the 1950s and 1960s. From this impression, it appears that the custom of people sitting in the shade and chatting, as seen in the Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartment, is an extension of the lifestyles that people had before departing their hometowns. But is this really the case?

3. The Formation and Transition of the Living Room for Everyone

3-1. There used to be no fixed type

I heard the following story about the communication between residents as part of their lifestyles in the past. "In the past, people were poor and didn't have enough time to make money. We also had to take care of our children. Where was the time to sit back, cool off, and chat?"[4]

The "old days" refers to when the residents first moved into the Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartment. As mentioned earlier, the residents who moved into the Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartment at the time of its completion were residents of nonlegally constructed buildings, and those who moved into the apartments in the 1970s were people who had moved to Taipei from the countryside or local cities. As can be inferred from this story, these residents were not economically affluent and were just trying to make ends meet on a daily basis. Most of the residents were self-employed and

4 Interview with a woman in her 80s who owned a private beauty salon, August 30, 2016.

were so financially impoverished that they "didn't even know where they would find the money for tomorrow's meal."[5] They would work even if they had to cut back on sleep if they received an order. Due to these economic circumstances, there were no opportunities for them to get together somewhere and have a leisurely chat. It is not the case, therefore, that there has been a fixed-type living room for everyone since the Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartment was first completed.

3-2. Naturally formed fluid type

There were also stories like this. "In the old days, people didn't close their doors except when they went to bed, so they could talk anywhere and anytime. When the family at the end of the hallway fought, our parents would even rush in to mediate!"[6]

The situation this resident describes is also related to the flat configuration of the units in the Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartment. As mentioned above, the area of each unit in the Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartment was small, and there were no partitions at the time of their occupation. Even though each resident built walls to create bedrooms, the bedrooms were small, and everyone spent a lot of time in the room equivalent to a living room. In addition, if you stand at the entrance of the dwelling, you can see most of the space inside the dwelling and feel the presence of people passing by outside, even while you are inside your home. In such an environment, there were more opportunities for residents to meet face-to-face than there are now, and there were more situations and places that allowed for the opportunity for casual chats, such as when standing in the hallway or on the terrace, or when talking to people inside the house while standing in the hallway. Even if economic circumstances did not allow for people to gather somewhere and chat in a relaxed manner,

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5 Interview with man in his 60s. September 2, 2016. His father was also a carpenter.
6 Interview with a woman in her 60s who lived in the Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartment until her marriage, August 25, 2019. She now goes to the Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartment every day to care for her mother. Her parents ran a sewing shop on the fifth floor.

the way that they used their living space provided many opportunities to chat spontaneously, even if they did not have much time to spare.

In light of this, the Nan–chi–ch'ang Apartment first formed a fluid–type, rather than a fixed–type, living room for everyone. Until the mid to late 1980s, the use of space dictated by the housing form, in addition to economic considerations, made the fluid type more suitable than the fixed type.

3–3. Emergence of the fixed type

The fixed type seems to have emerged from around the mid to late 1980s, although there are disparities in the age depending on location.

The mid to late 1980s was a time when business had somewhat stabilized for the mid–generation first tenants, and their children had reached adulthood. As a result, they had a little more time to spare[7]. It seems that living rooms for everyone in the first–floor units and store fronts were formed against this backdrop. One hot summer day, some residents brought chairs and sat down under the eaves of the roof where it was airy and shaded in order to enjoy the cool evening. Some were busy with work and chores, and would come out just after dinner. During this era when people only had the bare necessities, a chair was an important asset. Because of this, it was common to store them inside the house after cooling off, lest they be stolen. Since it was boring to just sit idly by themselves, they would take a chair to their neighbors who came out at the same time of day and spend time exchanging various information with them. Gradually, as people began to find used chairs in their yards and homes, the old chairs would be brought to the fronts of the dwelling units and stores and left there. These chairs are stored in clusters so that they do not interfere with residential access to the dwelling units or stores. When someone wants to sit down, the chair is brought out, and when they leave, it is returned to its original location. Alternatively, they

7 Interview with a woman in her 80s, September 16, 2017.

Figure 1.4 The living room for everyone (fixed type) formed by placing two or three chairs side by side like arms extending from the pillars between the houses. Photograph by Chouli Pei, August 15, 2019.

are lined up in twos or threes like arms extending from pillars between the houses[8] (Figure 1.4).

As the economic situation of the residents improved, this also brought about a change in their habits in terms of living with their doors open. First, more and more residents are seeking better living conditions, and moving out. For this reason, they sold or rented out their units in the Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartment[9]. This has increased the fluidity of the resident composition, with more and more unfamiliar faces entering and leaving the neighborhood. On the other hand, residents who continue to live in the Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartment now have durable, high-quality furniture and appliances such as televisions, refrigerators, and air conditioners. The change in the composition of the resident population and the increase in the number of valuable household items kept in the

8 Interview with a woman in her 80s, August 15, 2019.
9 Interview with a man in his 70s who owned a laundry store, August 31, 2018.

Figure 1.5 The living room for everyone under the eaves (fixed type). Photograph by Chouli Pei, August 29, 2016.

houses have made residents more security-conscious and also more likely to lock their doors.[10] Moreover, Taipei is hot during most of the year. If they go to the trouble of buying an air conditioner, they would use it with the doors closed. As became more routine for doors to be closed, it became difficult to chat (i.e., fluidly), whether sitting inside a house or passing by someone's house, "anytime, anywhere". That doesn't mean, however, that the residents have stopped talking. Although the number of times that they pass each other in the hallway or courtyard has naturally decreased, they still engage in spontaneous conversations. Before long, they started gathering in front of a dwelling or storefront somewhere on the first floor, or putting chairs on the landing of a wide staircase, or creating/visiting a fixed-type living room for everyone outside the house[11]. In the past, when the doors of dwelling units were left

10 Interview with a man in his 70s who owns multiple units at Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartment, September 2, 2018.

open, people could more easily chat in a wide variety of places. However, as residents' lifestyles changed and it became more common for them to close their doors, the environment in which they could chat at any time changed, and they had to secure a place in which to chat outside their homes.

Conclusion

The scenes of residents sitting and chatting in front of their houses and stores that we see today in the Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartment remind us of the Taiwanese countryside or local cities, but they are not mere extensions of customs from the countryside or local cities. Rural farmers and urban dwellers have different rhythms and styles of living. If you are a farmer, weather and time restrictions often create enough time for you to take a breather once the daytime work is done. Women who don't go out to the fields, but instead focus on housework and domestic work, can often be seen sitting together in front of their houses during the hours when it is not too hot, and chatting while preparing for cooking or doing domestic work.

On the other hand, city dwellers, especially those whose economic conditions were less affluent, were busy earning their daily living expenses. All of the residents of the Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartment that I got to know were married couples working together. If the husband works for a company or government office, or as a craftsman or driver, the wife might open a tailor shop or restaurant or run a business from home. If the husband opened a store in the Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartment, the wife was often in charge of accounting, managing the merchandise, or working in-house. Housework and childcare were, of course, the wife's tasks. In the case of urban jobs, and particularly in the case of the self-employed work of the people living in the Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartment,

11 Interview with a woman in her 80s who owned a tailor shop, August 21, 2019.

the situation was often so financially strained that "they didn't even know where they would find the money for tomorrow's meal," and if there was an order, they would work even if it meant cutting back on their sleep.

Rural life is never easy, but for many of the residents of the Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartments, from the time they moved in until around the mid-1980s, they lived in a time when they knew neither rest nor leisure. They did not have the luxury of being able to create a routine of sitting in front of the house, relaxing or chatting while enjoying the cool evening breeze. Still, many residents lived while keeping their doors open for much of the day, and there were many opportunities for chats to occur without having to sit down and get together to socialize and exchange information. This is the fluid-type living room for everyone.

However, as people became more financially comfortable and their living conditions changed, they began to replace the fluid type, by placing chairs in front of their houses, stores, and on wide staircase landings to cool off and chat. Thus, the fixed-type living room for everyone was created. At first glance, the fixed type is certainly reminiscent of a rural landscape. But farming and urban life are structurally different. Even if the residents of the Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartment lived in villages or rural areas in the past, their work habits and the rhythm of their lives after moving to the Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartment are very different from those they had before coming to the city. The living room for everyone is not simply an extension of the countryside. The major trend in the transition of living rooms for everyone from a fluid type to a fixed type (the fluid type has, rather than completely disappearing, decreased; in fact, it is not uncommon to encounter fluid types even today) is based on changes in the economic conditions and living environment of the residents.

Although the forms vary, the fixed type has been formed in people's daily lives. Even now, in the afternoons, two or three people in a few places and five or six people in many places gather in living rooms for

everyone here and there, enjoying chatting while spending time together. The formation and evolution of living rooms for everyone is interwoven with the trajectory of the residents' lives in the Nan–chi–ch'ang Apartment.

2

Folklore as Common Space

James Thurgill

Introduction

Human experience is both temporal and spatial. We live and perceive the world not only as a series of fleeting moments — transitory events which form the memories, narratives and experiences that shape our lives — but also through the physical geography in which these moments unfold. Mikhail Bakhtin (1984) posits that our temporally and spatially contextualised existence is somewhat paradoxical: each of us lives uniquely, being and experiencing in ways that are unlike the being or experiencing of any other person. Yet this experience of uniqueness is itself shared amongst all other humans, both for those who came before us and those who are yet to be born. The uniqueness Bakhtin speaks of is not only conditioned by time, of course, but also by space: no other person can occupy my body, my place in the world. But despite this apparent singularity, both our awareness of self and of space (even when limited to that which is our own), are communal; we require the existence of others in order to affirm our own sense of being, as Bakhtin writes: "I am conscious of myself and become myself only while reveal-

ing myself for another, through another, and with the help of another" (287).

From such a perspective, communality is, therefore, the thing which enables us to *be*, to *become*, and to *belong*. Our experience of time and place are thus conditioned through acts of communication, the outward expressing of otherwise inward actions and thoughts. Communication, community, and the communal: these terms underpin the human condition (and the condition of being human), they are what allow us to locate ourselves and those around us in a shared spatio-temporal process which is built upon exclusivity but lived and understood collectively. For at least the last forty years, scholars working in and with geography have understood space — one of the constituent parts of all existence — to be socially and relationally produced (see, for example, de Certeau 1988; Lefebvre 1991; Thrift and Crang 2000). Geographers, in particular, have come to view space as the product of social relations (Harvey 1993, Massey 2005), and, as Don Mitchell observes, for most of us these social relations are shaped by capitalism (Mitchell 2000). The at once unique and shared position of being, of existing in and upon the world, is, too, conditioned by the economic forces of capitalism. What this means in practical terms, then, is that the spaces we produce and in which we live, work, and relax are becoming ever more private, segregated, increasingly diminished in their sociability — in opposition to the communality of space we are designed to inhabit. As Marshall Berman (1982) observes, "To be modern is to live a life of paradox and contradiction. It is to be overpowered by the immense bureaucratic organizations that have the power to control and often destroy all communities, values, lives, and yet to be undeterred in our determination to face these forces, to fight and change their world and make it our own" (1988: 13). Such is the power of what Stavros Stavrides (2016) terms "common space". The notion of "common space" might therefore be key to challenging, if not undoing, the diminishing of shared space and

the division of community that we've experienced under capitalist life. But "common space" might not always be physical, it can also be virtual. Not virtual in the sense of being simulated (though the internet can, of course, be understood in such terms), but rather in the felt or perceived space which emerges through shared connections to narratives, beliefs, customs, rituals, and gestures — namely, through *folklore*.

In his 2016 *Common Space: The City as Commons,* Stavrides defines common space as "a set of spatial relations produced by commoning practices" (2). Stavrides goes on to suggest that these practices "create forms of social life, forms of life-in-commons" (2). For Stavrides, common spaces generate autonomous geographies which function independently of the private and the public. He develops this notion by positing two ways in which the spatial relations of "commoning" might be organised: firstly, as "a closed system which explicitly defines shared space within a definite perimeter and which corresponds to a specific community of commoners," and second, as "an open network of passages through which emerging and always-open communities of commoners communicate and exchange goods and ideas" (3). In what follows, I set out a speculative approach to folklore, framing it as a generative and processual cultural body which forms a "common space," doing so through either a "closed system" that demarcates shared space or as an "open network of passages" where narratives, objects, and beliefs might be circulated and evolved. Starting with a discussion of folklore and space, two terms which provide the conceptual framework for this enquiry, the paper will move on to introduce Yanagita Kunio's 1910 work *Tōno Monogatari*, a collection of folktales gathered from the Tōno region of northeast Japan, as an example of "folklore as common space".

1. On Folklore

Folklore is a complex term for something we encounter frequently in

our daily lives. However, folklore is often thought to refer to something historical, concerned with antiquated beliefs, out-dated narratives and bygone customs that emerged at a time when people lived without the understanding of science and technology that we have today. Especially during its developmental years in the mid to late nineteenth century, early folklorists took the view that folkloric belief and practice were the hallmarks of an uncivilised element of society (Dundes 1980), circulating within the "closed systems" of isolated and often rural communities. In such a context, the folk from which folklore emanated were commonly viewed as uneducated and anti-modern. Simon Bronner (2016) writes in his introductory volume *Folklore: The Basics* that studies of folklore in the Victorian period shared a preoccupation with tradition, social hierarchy, and imaginings of modern savagery. This regressive view of folklore largely went unchallenged until Joseph Jacobs' tripartite framing of tradition not as something historically fixed, but as [1] mutable, [2] encompassing all social classes, and [3] a spatial process (17-19). By the 1960s, scholars such as Dan Ben-Amos proposed moving away from focusing on folklore as the product of time (a temporal tradition) in favour of promoting its spatial production via social interaction (Ben-Amos 1971; Bronner 2016).

Writing in the 1980s, Alan Dundes, after Ben-Amos, emphasised the role of the folk — individuals and groups — who were responsible for producing the "lore" (knowledge). For Dundes, folk referred to 'any group of people whatsoever who share at least one common factor' (Dundes 1980). Whether this common factor was to do with ethnicity, place of origin, education, occupation, social strata, language, etc., was of no concern for Dundes, who instead looked to social connections and common expressions between individuals to determine a group's sense of communality. Such an argument is echoed by Timothy Tangherlini, who claims that folklore is made up of shared "expressions" that reinforce a "sense of belonging" in a self-defining group (2001:28). Like Dundes,

Tangherlini also contends that it does not matter what the linking factor in a group might be — it could be a common occupation, language, or religion — what is important is that the group, formed for whatever reason, has customs and traditions which it calls its own. These shared traditions may include jokes, stories, legends, song, dance, crafts, and festivals.

Through the construction of narratives, beliefs, and material culture, folklore forges bonds between individuals which create a sense of belonging and attachment to space. Moreover, the continued production and circulation of folklore, whether it be through superstition, myth, traditional medicine, artworks, costume, etc., can be understood to occur outside of institutional governance (McNeill 2013). It is created by and for the communities who use it. As such, folklore itself can be understood to produce space through "commoning practices" (Stavrides 2016: 2), either within a "closed system" (culturally and/or geographically specific) or via an "open network" (e.g., online communities, social networking sites, and mobile applications). The circulation, evolution (dynamic variation), and performing of folklore within both "open" and "closed" systems allows people to share, collaborate, and co-produce social space while simultaneously forging connections with the physical environments in which they live, work, or play.

2. Space and Spatiality

As Audrey Kobayashi (2017) writes in her entry on spatiality in *The International Encyclopedia of Geography*, "Space is one of the most — if not the most — important concepts in the discipline of geography. It is also the most difficult to define and possibly the most contested". Kobayashi states that understandings of space vary not only between different languages, but that even within the academic discipline of geography space is used in so many ways that it is rendered almost devoid of

meaning. Space can be used to describe room, distance, or proximity; it can be a gap or a void; something produced through connections, hubs, or networks; it can be social, communal, private. Space may refer to the terrestrial or the extraterrestrial. It can be a volume or a shape in geometry. Sometimes space refers to physical environments, sometimes it describes the virtual. Space can be filled or organized. We can speak of real space, imagined space, safe space, sacred space, oneiric space. The problem here emerges from the conceptual rift that forms between the apparent complexity of space and the lack of consideration we afford the term in its general use. Kobayashi notes that:

> The major issue is ontological. Just what is this thing geographers call "space"? Is it, after all, a thing? Is it an assemblage or collection of things? Is it a conceptual principle for organizing things? Is it notional, relational, or rational? Does it exist and, if so, where and how? What does space look like? How does it work?

So how exactly does one speak of space without needing to continually define it against all these variations in meaning?

In this chapter, space refers not only to a physical space, but to a relational understanding of proximity, distance, and context which is generated through ongoing connections between people, objects, and place — what we might call the "socio-spatial". This understanding of space is relational and understands space to be produced through various interactions between people, places, and ideas. Viewed from this perspective, space is never fixed; it does not have a site or a solid form. Space is changeable, innumerable, and vibrant. It flows, shifts, and alters according to the contexts and agents with which it is being set against or which emerge from it. Such an approach follows Doreen Massey's (2005) proposal for space to be viewed relationally in her *For Space*, in which she suggests space to be open, continuously under production, and formed from the innumerable interrelations that are generated between

people, objects, and places (9).

A similar conceptualising of space can be found in David Harvey's *The Condition of Postmodernity* (1989), where Harvey implores his readers to 'recognize how [...] things and entities are constituted, sustained and ultimately dissolved in flows and how all entities are relationally defined with respect to others' (1996: 73). Human geographers haven taken up ideas about relationality from thinkers like Massey and Harvey to better understand how people's experiences of the world are conditioned not only by the spaces in which they occur, but also how those social interactions in and with physical spaces go on to themselves produce space. Viewed in such a way, space is always social, it is both the site in which connections are made between people and also where these connections create complex spatial networks, forming links between people, objects, and places. Each point or actant operates relationally to effect a change in the geographical context of the other points and actants to which it is connected. Space is not one thing, then, but the totality which emerges from the interaction of a whole range of individuals, ideas, things, locations, movements and so on.

But if space is to be understood as mutable, multitudinous, and emergent, then perhaps the singular word "space" does not quite match what is trying to be articulated. Neither is it viable to speak of "spaces" plural, though certainly what I mean to describe here is an interaction and interpenetration of multiple spaces. How best to deal with this highly complicated ontological problem? Kobayashi suggests shifting attention away from space as a singular, immovable entity and instead focusing on the condition of being spatial, on spatiality. "[S]patiality" Kobayashi writes, "is a condition of being, not a thing in itself. It is no longer possible — if it ever was — to isolate space from its sticky context, nor is it possible to isolate spatiality as a particular mode of being or historical moment, a particular place, landscape, or setting" (2017: online). Spati-

ality allows us to speak of the whole range of relational interactions which occur among actants (people, places, objects etc.) in the formation of space(s). Spatiality is a composite of social and physical space which exists in unlimited combinations. Understanding space as a composite, an amalgam produced through the circulation of knowledge, ideas, narratives, and gestures (i.e., the content of folklore), can also afford us a much clearer view of the ways in which folklore operates as "common space".

3. Folklore and Geography

The relationship between folklore and geography is intimately bound up with spatial production but also concerns the geographic imagination, affecting how we view and experience the world around us. As geographer J. Wreford Watson suggests, "Man is not only a walker and worker on the earth, but also a wonderer about the earth: he has a mind and moods that reshape the earth to his own interests and images (1983: 387). What Wreford Watson invites readers to consider, then, is that human thought and imagination play an active role in the engagements we have with the physical environment, and that in turn these imaginings shape the way we experience that environment as enchanted, haunted, animated, or sacred.

Folklore is commonly understood to be shared by "word of mouth" (McNeill 2013), forming narratives which describe people and their connections to place. Today, "word of mouth" refers not only to the circulation of oral narratives but also to stories, superstitions and beliefs that are recorded in writing; writing which may be published in books and journals, or in private diaries, family scrapbooks, or digitally via emails, websites, blogs, tweets, and text messages. Because folklore is itself formed through social acts — storytelling, jokes, song, dance, etc. — it works to embed traditional beliefs and information about particu-

lar places in cultural memory. Folklore is a process, one through which historical and present-day understandings of geography and communities become recorded and shared. *Folklore is communal.* As discussed by Barry and Eckstorm (1930), folklore can be understood to be both a temporal and spatial process: folk narratives, beliefs, and customs can be traced not only in terms of when they develop(ed) but also where they develop(ed), the specific places they describe, as well as geographic coverage (i.e., where the stories and practices spread to). The actual-world geographies described in folklore as well as the content contained within it may very well vary between different regions, nations, and cultures, but the folkloric process remains the same: the formation, circulation, and evolution of knowledge and tradition. So, folklore's relationship to geography is one in which the former both describes experiences of and with the latter, while geography plays a part in describing the various connections made between people, places, and spatial imaginings as folklore emerges and evolves.

The spatialities which form through the circulation of folklore emerge from both the "closed networks" of isolated communities and rural settlements — places that might ordinarily be thought of as predisposed to superstition — and from the social-spatial interactions that take place in densely populated urban centres, from housing estates, schools, and social clubs, to bars, shopping centres, and municipal parks. Folklore, in this sense, not only describes the dynamic geographies in which the lore originates, it also offers a "space" in and through which people might connect, forge identities, share their experiences, and confirm their sense of belonging to particular places. For the most part, anybody can participate in the generation of folklore and the modifying or reshaping of folk narratives and traditions, regardless of their ethnic, cultural or geographical connection to the narratives or traditions involved. Online communities and the circulation of folklore through Internet forums (e.g., Reddit, 2Chan, 4Chan), social networking services (e.g., Facebook,

Twitter) and mobile applications (e.g., Line, Instagram) now mean that it is possible to access and share folklore regardless of geographic location or, with today's widespread use of translation services and browser plugins, even language. The shifting of geographically-rooted, actual-world communities to online space has led to the development of what Simon Bronner terms the "folk web":

> The old pastoral model of folklore with wisdom of yore "handed down" by a golden ager may lead people to think that digital culture displaces tradition in this mode, but digital culture can be conceived as fostering a "handing up" by young wired wizards with mythic imagination and social ebullience. (23)

What this means in practical terms is that online folklore, too, can be understood to be a "common space", a relational hub through which individuals can forge social and cultural attachments to geographic sites and both craft and edit folk narratives and practices to make them more relatable to their own cultural and geographic backgrounds.

It might be helpful here to clarify this process through the introduction of an example. The story of Slender Man, a contemporary fictional supernatural character, first originated in an internet meme posted on the horror website *Something Awful* in 2009. Slender Man first appeared as a "creepypasta", a horror-tinged modification of the Internet slang term "copypasta", which describes stories, images, and information that are designed to be "copy and pasted" by users to spread them "virally" across media platforms (Blank and McNeill 2018). Since its initial posting by *Something Awful* user Victor Surge, the tale of Slender Man has gone on to spread not only nationally but globally, despite being both entirely fictional and rooted in a specifcally American geography. Depicted as a tall, thin figure with a featureless face who preys on children, Slender Man became associated with a series of fictional stories, images, and videos, all of which were produced by fans and or/believers in the

folktale (Boyer 2013; Chess and Newsom 2015; Blank and McNeill 2018). The character gained significant popularity and spread across various online communities spilling off the pages of *Something Awful* to appear on Facebook, Twitter, 4Chan, Instagram, and other online forums. Slender Man's influence rapidly expanded beyond the Internet and into popular culture, inspiring books, games (*Slender: The Eight Pages* (2012); *Slender: The Arrival* (2013)), and even two films (*Always Watching: A Marble Hornets Story* (2015); *Slender Man* (2018)). However, despite its position as "fakelore" (Dorson 1976; Asimos 2021), Slender Man was cited as the motivation for the near-fatal stabbing of a twelve-year old girl in Wisconsin by two children of the same age. The victim had been lured to an area of woodland and stabbed nineteen times before being left for dead by the child perpetrators. Elsewhere, Slender Man was blamed for a spate of suicides and attempted suicides at the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota, and a mother cited the legendary character as the reason her daughter had attacked her with a knife in an unprovoked attack (Chess and Newsom 2015; Blank and McNeill 2018).

The concept of Slender Man has transcended its online origins and has been adopted by storytellers and fans in different parts of America as well as different parts of the world, leading to the creation of various original adaptations and interpretations. To this end, Slender Man demonstrates in an accessible way how folklore, in this case specifically urban legends, are produced collaboratively through communal performances and interactions and need not be rooted in historic traditions. Indeed, in a 2015 article on legends in the digital age, Andrew Peck outlines the digital folklore process that brought the Slender Man to life, stating that "[t]hrough social interaction, users collaborated in an ongoing process of performance, interpretation, and negotiation that constructed the details, motifs, and shared expectations of the Slender Man legend cycle" (334). Collaboratively produced (online) folklore emerges not only

from the culturally shared perceptions and expectations of groups, "but also from the nature of networked communication" (346). Regardless of whether such networks are "open" or "closed," folklore can be seen to both produce and be produced by collaborative spatial practices — the formation of a "common space" in which individuals can add, subtract, or synthesise folkloric elements in order to contribute to the production and continuation of narratives and connect with other people irrespective of geographic location.

But online collaboration is only one way in which folklore can be viewed as "common space".
This switching between "open" and "closed" networks in the co-production of folklore also occurs in actual-world geographies. To be sure, folklore often works to codify the physical environments in which people live. Bakhtin (1981) points to such a process in his study of time and the chronotope in genre literature, one category of which he identifies as "folklore". Bakhtin notes that:

> The work and the world represented in it enter the real world and enrich it, and the real world enters the work and its world as part of the process of its creation, as well as part of its subsequent life, in a continual renewing of the work through the creative perception of listeners and readers. (254)

The final section of this paper takes up Bakhtin's idea of a "continual renewing of the work through the creative perception of listeners and readers" in a discussion of Yanagita Kunio's 1910 work *Tōno monogatari*. Starting with an outline of the text's background and its role in Japanese folklore studies, the discussion will then focus on the collaborative nature of the Tōno tales, looking at how this collaboration brings about the collapsing of imagined and actual-world spatial boundaries in the formation of a common space.

4. Tōno Monogatari as Common Space

Tōno monogatari, translated as *The Legends of Tono* in English, was first published in 1910. The book contains one hundred and nineteen short folk tales, folk songs, and proverbs collected from the Tōno region of northeast Japan. The stories describe a variety of experiences that the inhabitants of Tōno had with supernatural creatures, gods, and all manner of strange things. Ultimately, *Tōno monogatari* creates an image of a vibrant, numinous landscape steeped in mystery and tradition. The tales were first recorded by Yanagita Kunio, having been introduced to the narratives by Sasaki Kizen, a young Tōno native who had moved to Tokyo in pursuit of a career as a writer. Having learned that Yanagita had a keen interest in folktales, Sasaki began to share with him tales of his home region. Yanagita began to transcribe the stories he heard from Sasaki, having been encouraged to pursue the project by friends and established writers in his personal network. Between 1908 and 1909 Yanagita made fieldtrips to various Tōno villages, travelling largely by horseback through the remote valley passes, to collect and verify the traditional narratives he had first heard from Sasaki. What is interesting here is that in writing the tales Yanagita made no attempt to separate fact from fiction; he records the tales as they were experienced, believed in, and understood by locals, presenting a spatial amalgam — a spatiality — comprising of the physical and imagined geography of Tōno. Such a move stood in stark contrast to traditional distinctions made between science and literature in the West, allowing Yanagita to more accurately depict a Tōno "where people encountered difficulty in telling fact from fiction, and the actual from the imaginary" (Tatsumi Takayuki 1996: 183-182).

Tōno monogatari not only describes the supernatural but also engages with the material aspects of folk life in Tōno, describing physical environments, buildings, food, tools, and ritual objects. In attending to the

materiality of everyday life in Tōno, Yanagita successfully adds physicality and relatability to the oral traditions of the region, which both creates a sense of verisimilitude — a feeling of reality — as well as allowing the author to "explore the mental and emotional makeup of Tōno's residents" (Morse 2008, xxix). In this way, *Tōno monogatari* can be seen to initiate an affective nexus through which Tōno's inhabitants, the author (Yanagita), his readers, Sasaki Kizen, everyday objects, places, and spaces — both real and imagined — and traditional narratives, all come together in a kind of "spatial event" (Hones 2008, 2014). From the very outset, then, *Tōno monogatari* was established as a collaborative and communal work between people and places, The collective nature of the work is inclusive of stories generated and shared between inhabitants of Tōno and its neighboring villages, the communicating of the tales from Sazaki Kizen to Yanagita Kunio, Yanagita's collecting and verifying of the tales with Tōno natives, and the subsequent publication of *Tōno monogatari*, which shared a collection of otherwise geographically-specific narratives with the rest of Japan.

The stories in *Tōno monogatari* draw together the actual and the imagined, places and people, encounters and dreams, to create a unified sense of space, one which, to this day, characterises the Tōno region. As such, *Tōno monogatari* can be understood to be both the product and producer of a spatiality. This is a spatiality that has been further expanded in the present-day. More than one hundred years since *Tōno monogatari* was first published, *yōkai* (supernatural creatures) which feature in the tales, are used extensively within the local and national advertising of Tōno. Kappa, tengu, zashiki-warashi and other phantastic creatures from the tales are used in all manner of local promotion: from shops and commercial businesses to local bus services, post offices, and even hotels. Characters from the tales are widely used in Tōno's local advertising and regional branding, as well as in national campaign videos and poster advertisements. This process of incorporating historical

folklore within modern marketing is not the mere commodification of traditional narratives, rather, it is a shared and collective effort to establish and reemphasize Tōno's unique spatial character as a space associated with folklore.

Between July 15 and August 31, 2023, Tōno Denshoen, a Tōno museum featuring historic wooden buildings, traditional agricultural tools, and the Sasaki Kizen Memorial Museum, held its annual *Kappa Matsuri* (Kappa festival). Being just a few hundred meters away from a narrow tributary of the Kogarase River known as "Kappabuchi" (Kappa Pool), Tōno Denshoen makes use of the surrounding folklore in its marketing and branding to local, domestic, and international tourists. But guests are not only directed toward visiting "Kappabuchi" through signs and maps found at the museum; they can also listen to traditional stories of "Kappabuchi," including those from the pages of *Tōno monogatari*, in the atmospheric surroundings of a traditional *magariya* — an L-shaped or "bent" house once common throughout the southern part of the Iwate region. *Magariya* feature stables and a working area at one end of the house, while the living quarters are set at a ninety-degree angle to create an "L" shape (JAANUS 2001). Visitors to Denshoen experience the folkloric narratives within an authentic heritage environment, seated around a fireplace, listening to stories of kappa attempting to drown local people and horses. However, this is not merely a process of historical reconstruction or theme park-like entertainment: guests are able to wander over to "Kappabuchi", visit a small shrine venerating the kappa who are (or at least were once) believed to live there, and attempt to fish for the creatures using a bamboo rod with a cucumber suspended from one end. While such an activity is, of course, designed to be entertaining, creating an amusing and sharable moment for social media and family photo albums, it also has the effect of allowing participants to add to the tale, to imagine themselves within the setting of this folk narrative. Tōno Denshoen's *Kappa Matsuri* not only sees visitors fishing for

kappa, but offers a range of activities designed to further engage and communalize the tales: costumes for guests, a quiz rally, painting contest, and limited kappa-themed meals in the café (Densyoen 2023). Each one of these, while seemingly trivial and light-hearted acts, meaningfully adds to the way the stories are experienced and shared by all — locals and outsiders alike.

Indeed, "outsiders" play a significant role in the continuation of the tales and their use in establishing a regional identity. While Tōno exists as a rather isolated, rural space, accessible by road or a single-track local rail service, it has a significant domestic migrant population, with many inhabitants coming from the neighboring Tohoku prefectures of Akita and Aomori, but also from further afield. Companies like "Tomikawaya" and its subsidiary "Tono Made" have been set up by individuals who have relocated to Tōno from other parts of Japan, and work to strengthen the ties between *Tōno monogatari* and Tōno's regional identity. Creating designs and products which celebrate Yanagita's works, these companies put the region's heritage and the unique character of the tales at the forefront of their work (see, for example, Tomikawaya 2021). Not only do the characters and places from the tales feature heavily in the work and branding of Tomikawaya, but the company organizes creative festivals which see experimental music and traditional *shishiodori* (a deer dance) take place at sites described by Yanagita. In June 2023, director of Tomikawaya, Tomikawa Gaku, published 本当にはじめての遠野物語 (*The Truly First Story of Tōno*), an introductory guide to the characters, legends, and geography of Tōno folklore. The book is available nationally and further shows the ways in which *Tōno monogatari* can be thought of as a collaborative series of narratives entwined with local traditions and regional geography. Tomikawa and his company demonstrate that the tales are not fixed within a "closed network" of locals and undisclosed traditions, but rather that *Tōno monogatari* is an "open network," a continuously developing source of

heritage which allow locals and outsiders to access the Tōno region and its past and to share in the building of its current and future identity by adding to the stories themselves. Such a process allows readers of *Tōno monogatari* to experience the tales both within and without the physical geography of Tōno.

Key Thoughts

As Timothy Tangherlini notes, folklore is formed through "shared expressions" practiced collectively by a "self-defining group" (2001: 28). These groups, the folk, emerge organically through the myriad connections people share with one another in their relationship to places, vocation, culture, language, belief, and so on. Through their generation, circulation, and repetition by self-defining groups these "shared expressions" work to galvanize and bolster a collective sense of identity and a mutual feeling of belonging. In fact, folk groups self-define precisely through the execution of these "commoning practices," which, as Stavrides (2016) points out, are spatially productive. Folklore, the knowledge of the folk, is dependent on the production of common space(s) through which group members can communicate, share, and collaborate in the construction of narratives and traditions which inform their local, regional, and (inter)national identities.

As the example of *Tōno monogatari* offered above illustrates, folklore does not belong to any one person, people, or place, but is co-produced through the intermingling of various actants which operate in and between the imagined and actual-world geographies of their relative narratives. Folklore exists geographically as a coming together of spaces lived, imagined, and experienced. The experiencing of folklore is expressed not individually but collectively, communally: always being updated by those who share it to connect its narratives and practices in more relatable ways to the physical geographies in which it is being imagined.

This chapter has argued that folklore can be productively thought of as (and engendering of) "common space," due to its forming generative, multifaceted spatialities which connect various people, places, narratives, and experiences.

Tōno monogatari is presented as just one example of the way in which folklore can be framed as either an "open" or "closed" system of common spatial practices. However we look at folklore, the common practices involved in the production, sharing, and evolution of its narratives and rituals are communal, operating in ways which allow people outside of any specific folk groups and/or geographic locations to become involved in the further circulation or evolution of its narratives within networks of individuals far removed from the cultural geography from which the folklore has emerged. Taken together, each of the "commoning practices" involved in the production of folklore — beliefs, superstitions, festivals, worship, arts and crafts, dance, recipes, jokes, gestures, and customs, etc. — work collectively to generate shared understandings of space.

Regardless of whether folklore is considered tangible or intangible cultural property, protected or gatekept, its very survival rests upon two core aspects: [1] folklore being seen as both relatable and useful to the formation/confirmation of identity and sense of belonging within a specific group, and [2] its ability to be shared, passed down, geographically spread, and evolved within or without the community from which it emerges. Anybody can, within reason, access, share, and add to folklore regardless of its status or any beliefs held over its purity and preservation. In fact, much historical folklore exists today solely because of these two aspects of identity confirmation and circulation happening within wider social and geographic contexts. Where folklore no longer suits a particular group's identity or its beliefs then it is discarded, and as most folklore circulates orally and is never documented or archived then it all too

easily becomes lost altogether. What becomes apparent, then, is the idea that folklore necessitates communality, that it survives only through being shared and shaped through "commoning practices," practices which support and engender the production of a "common space" outside the grasp of governments and institutions. Folklore belongs to all of us.

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3

Genius Loci Reimagined:

The Problems of Translating Senses of Place in Japanese Novels

Mai Kataoka

The COVID–19 pandemic compelled us to revisit and recognize the significance of common spaces, which function vitally in our sharing of cultural, social, and historical memories, and the meanings we associate with such spaces. I deliberate on the concept of *genius loci* to explore how people experience geographical spaces through literature and better understand how people in an increasingly globalized environment think and feel about common spaces.

Neal Alexander's entry in *The Routledge Handbook of Literature and Space* (2017) is titled "Senses of Place." According to this article, "the idea of a sense of place occupies an important position at the intersection between literary studies and human geography" (2017: 39). Conceptually, the sense of place emanates from the Roman idea of *genius loci*, which designates a "guardian spirit of the land": the word *genius* denotes the guardian spirit, and the term *loci* signifies places or sites. This phrase has been employed in Europe since the eighteenth century to refer to the qualities of the land on which a building or a garden is constructed and is most known through Alexander Pope's "An Epistle to the Right Honorable Richard Earl of Burlington" (1731). But the concept of

genius loci translated into Japanese as *chirei* 地霊, has often been utilized since the 1980s in the domains of architectural history and urban studies. *Chirei* indicates properties resulting not only from the physical form of a piece of land but also from its cultural, historical, and social dimensions. Architectural historian Hiroyuki Suzuki authored *Genius-Loci in Tokyo*（1990）, in which he describes the term as an "inspiration that arises from the land, images associated with it or its potentiality inherent in the land"（1990: 3）. He believes that this concept is pivotal to the reading of the land as a text to uncover the ways in which modernization has impacted Tokyo.

In this article, I explore how the *genius loci* is represented in modern and contemporary Japanese novels and examine how it is rendered in English renditions of these novels. In so doing, I endeavor to evidence constituents of *genius loci* that can be shared beyond boundaries. Such elements could unlock the possibility of new and more open senses of places in a globalized age and contribute to the construction of common spaces that anyone could form an attachment notwithstanding their linguistic and cultural contexts.

1. The Senses of Places as Loci of Translation Problems

Inspiration elicited from places functions vitally in Japanese literature, along with images and meanings associated with sites. Donald Keene described unique characteristics of Japanese literature to the West, noting, for instance, the Japanese fascination with placenames through references in the gazetteers to "the loving enumeration of mountains, rivers, and towns with their mantic epithets"［*fudoki* 風土記］（2011: 547）and the journey scenes（*michiyuki* 道行）in Japanese theaters in which placenames implied the emotions experienced by the travelers（［1963］1979: 17）. However, such a fascination with places challenges translators. For instance, translator Hideo Levy, whose English version of *Man'yoshu*（The Ten Thousand Leaves）was published in 1987,

enumerated a series of problems and excitements entailing the translation of such poetic landscapes. He described being initially betrayed by the image of the place invoked from the older English translation of *Ama no Kaguyama* 天の香具山 as "Heavenly Mount Kagu" when he visited the actual geographical space, but also noted that he was impressed by the Japanese perception and imagination of describing the mere hill as heavenly. He subsequently translated it as "Heavenly Kagu Hill" and argued that the power of Japanese literature is vested in the vividness and exactness of images rather than their logic (2019: 10–12).

Translating placenames and transmitting the sense of place represent one of the most challenging tasks of converting Japanese classics into other languages. Similar difficulties confronted the translators of Japanese novels who aimed to introduce contemporary Japanese novels to English readers. The publishing of contemporary Japanese novels came into vogue in the US and the UK after the end of WWII. Harold Strauss, the editor-in-chief of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., was focal to this movement: he launched a translation program between the mid-1950s and the 1970s to introduce contemporary Japanese novels to the US. This project yielded more than thirty-five published titles including novels by Jun'ichirō Tanizaki, Yukio Mishima, and Yasunari Kawabata, and eventually resulted in Kawabata's winning the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1968. Strauss noted some of the most unusual problems he had encountered in translating and publishing contemporary Japanese novels in an article titled "Unusual Problems Involved in Translating Japanese Novels" (1954) that appeared in *Publishers' Weekly* shortly before the first translation was launched. He mentioned the problem of translating placenames into English as one of the very first uncommon difficulties.

Strauss explained in this article that Japanese placenames are all translatable, but it would be unthinkable to literally translate *kanji* characters and label Tokyo the "Eastern Capital" or name the Kamo River in Kyoto the "Happy Verdant River." He also noted other problems with the name of the Kamo River because even Japanese speakers would tend

to ignore the original meaning and were more likely to associate the term *kamo* with its homophone signifying "duck." However, he subsequently revealed that some placenames were selectively translated if the placenames come out with "a fine (and appropriate) Elizabethan flavor" as with *Kiyamachi-Dōri* 木屋町通 (Street of the Wood Merchants) or convey a delicate visual image as with *Kinkakuji* 金閣寺 (Golden Tower Shrine) or *Ryōanji* 竜安寺 (Temple of Dragon's Peace) (Strauss 1954: 1966).

Such selective translations contributed to the richer illustration of the sense of place from the protagonist's perspective in Jirō Osaragi's *Kikyō* (1949), the first contemporary Japanese novel to be translated into English as *Homecoming* (1955) through Knopf's program. An example that best illustrates this is the cited passage that follows. In this excerpt from Chapter 13 "The Past," the protagonist Kyōgo Moriya returns to Japan explores places of historic interest and scenic beauty in Kyoto after spending many years in exile, and rediscovers the beauty of old Japan:

> Source Text (ST): 異邦人となって了った恭吾には古い茶室の面白味がわからなかった。苔だけの西芳寺の庭や、竜安寺の石の庭は変わっていて面白いし美しいと見たが、やはり簡素な味だの、草や木に愛着を寄せて生活の貧しさに耐えて来た人間の設計だと感じた。(Osaragi [1949]1972: 280; emphasis added)

> Target Text (TT): Kyōgo had become too much a foreigner to appreciate the old teahouses. The pure moss garden of the Western Fragrant Shrine and the rock gardens of the Temple of Dragon's Peace interested him because of their different beauty; but there he saw the taste of a people who had learned to bear the meagerness of their lives by cultivating a fondness for simple things like herbs and plants. (Osaragi 1955: 212; emphasis added)

Romanizing the placenames would yield a flat rendition of unfamiliar pronouns such as *Saihōji* and *Ryōanji* for English readers. However, the English translation uncovers the meanings and visual images embedded in the *kanji* characters of the placenames: *Saihōji* is rendered as "the Western Fragrant Shrine" and *Ryōanji* is converted to "the Temple of

Dragon's Peace." Though this decision adds exoticism to the text, it contributes to the vivid illustration of the landscape as viewed by Kyōgo, who was distanced from Japan for many years and "had become too much a foreigner" (Osaragi 1955: 212). Kyōgo is thus drawn to such places, unlike the "[y]oung people in Japan since the war" who had lost interest in history and had become "more and more insensitive to what had been good in the old Japan" (Osaragi 1955: 212).

2. Placenames as the Memories of Lands

The aforementioned approach helped to enhance the senses of the places named in *Homecoming*. However, the placenames in Jun'ichirō Tanizaki's *Sasameyuki* (1944–48, 1949) translated as *The Makioka Sisters* (1957) proved even more challenging for translator Edward G. Seidensticker. This narrative about four sisters depicts the declining fortunes of the Makiokas, one of the most influential merchant families in Senba, Osaka. The novel details the daily lives of the sisters and functions as a historical, cultural, and social record of spaces that existed between 1935 and 1941, articulating the author's nostalgia for Japan at that historical moment. The detailed depictions of the everyday lives of the Makioka sisters often included references to specific placenames: for instance, the sites of scenic beauty, stores, and the restaurants they visited. Keene noted that the minute details would puzzle first-time Western readers of this novel ([1963] 1979: 126). The problems of rendering such detailed references to specific placenames in the English translation later became the subject of controversy.

Japanese literary critic Jun Etō delivered a presentation titled "Symmetry and asymmetry of Japanese and European cultures" at the UNESCO Headquarters in Paris in September 1988, mentioning omissions in the English version of the *Sasameyuki* of placenames such as *Ōmori*, *Azabu*, and *Marunouchi*. He stated that these placenames were vitally positioned in the ST and suggested differences in the characters of

the places（［1989］1992: 200–201）. The placenames Etō referenced as examples appear in Book I, Chapter 21 of the novel:

> ST: 辰雄は七月一日から丸の内の店に出勤するので、六月末に先に立って行って、当分麻布の親戚の家に寄食しながら、手頃な借家を自分でも捜し、人にも捜して貰っていたが、大森に一軒見つかったから大体それにきめたという手紙が来た。（Tanizaki 1982: 167; emphasis added）

> TT: Tatsuo, who was to begin work in Tokyo on July 1, left Osaka late in June. He planned to stay with relatives while he looked and had other people look for a house to be rented cheaply. Presently a letter came saying that he had chosen the house.（Tanizaki 1957: 103; emphasis added）

The references to places in the source text could indicate the changing social circumstances of the Makiokas to readers of the ST familiar with the locational characteristics. Such allusions include the places where Tatsuo, the husband of the eldest Makioka worked, where he stayed as he looked for a house, and where he found the house. These allusions would help readers attain a clearer sense of the declining fortunes of the once-affluent merchant family. For example, the first phrase of the ST informs the reader that Tatsuo begins working at a branch office in *Marunouchi* 丸の内. Marunouchi was initially reconstructed to launch the first office street in Japan and the place thus symbolized the rapid urbanization of Tokyo in the late 1920s（［1999］2007: 128–130）. However, the vibrant and modern place-related images were reduced in the novel's English version to the simple description of Tatsuo beginning to work in Tokyo. The omission of the other two placenames, *Azabu* 麻布 and *Ōmori* 大森, and the modification of the phrase "六月末に先に立って行って"（［he］ left first at the end of June）to "left Osaka late in June" could help TT readers because these actions preclude the need to enumerate unfamiliar placenames and simultaneously maintain a key characteristic of Tanizaki's novels by depicting the contrast between the Kantō and Kansai regions. Nevertheless, the English version becomes

bereft of the senses of the places and the properties attached to them.

These modifications in the English rendition caused Etō to express in his conversation with Claude Lévi-Strauss a growing concern about the ease with which the translator transformed the very nature of this literary text that compelled him to mention this issue ([1989]1992: 167-8). Etō did not limit his statements about this problem of translating placenames and pronouns in literary texts to his speech at UNESCO. He also mentioned these difficulties on other occasions, including his talk at the Japan Society in London, which endorsed his keen interest in such challenges.[1] Seidensticker later responded to Etō's criticism, describing his rationale for the effected changes: "[s]everal solutions are possible, and none of them is perfect." Seidensticker emphasized that "translation is a series of dilemmas" and "this is what people like Mr. Etō do not understand" (1990: 181), before explaining the problems of translating placenames as follows:

> A sad fact is that most Japanese words, whether proper nouns or not, are outlandish in the extreme to most American and European readers. ... He can try translating some or all of them so that Koishikawa becomes "Pebble Brook" and Kinukasayama, "Silk Sedge Hat Mountain;" but he quickly falls into quaintness, heaviness, and, as the second example indicates gibberish. He can take time out to explain each place name, either in the main text or in footnotes; but this changes the rhythm of the original utterly and puts people off. (1990: 181)

This confrontation between Etō and Seidensticker discloses the dynamics of trying to introduce a deeply embedded, culture-specific sense of

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1 For example, Etō notes in the postscript of "Symmetry and asymmetry of Japanese and European cultures" that he had shared similar translation problems involving placenames and pronouns in a lecture he delivered at the annual meeting of the Japan Comparative Literature Association (June 1987). For details, see Jun Etō ([1989] 1992), "Nichiō bunka no taishōsei to hitaishōsei [Symmetry and asymmetry of Japanese and European cultures]" in *Kotoba to chinmoku* [Words and silence], Tokyo: Bungei shunjyū, p. 203.

place to another (an *other*) society. The above comparison evinces that the senses of the places mentioned in *Sasameyuki* can be only appreciated by those who have lived, experienced, or learned about these locations. Edward Ralph noted in *Place and Placelessness* that existential space that is meaningful to one cultural group is not necessarily communicable to members of other cultures unless some effort is made to appreciate that geographical space ([1980] 2008: 14). He shared Rapoport's account of how Aborigines and Europeans differently perceived the landscape of Australia to demonstrate his point that existential space is a culturally defined entity (quoted in Relph [1980] 2008: 15). The omission of the placenames in the novel's English version did not occur merely from the problem of whether to translate them literally, connotatively, visually through the images conveyed by the *kanji*, or by their phonological information. The difficulty entailed problems of how to transmit existential spaces defined in terms of one culture to another cultural framework. The question is then asked: what kind of sense of place could transcend linguistic and cultural boundaries and thus be shared?

3. Placeness Beyond Boundaries

The senses of places represented loci for the translation problems that confronted *The Makioka Sisters*. However, the portrayals of the sense of place in Kenzaburō Ōe's *Kojinteki na Taiken* (1964) helped this work transgress boundaries easier than the other texts we have thus far explored. It was the first full-length novel by Ōe to be translated into English and was published by the Grove Press in 1968 as *A Personal Matter*. This translation by John Nathan contributed to Ōe's global recognition as an author; it also played a vital role in education and research in Japanese Studies. For instance, Kin'ya Tsuruta, a scholar specializing in modern Japanese literature, chose this novel as the first text his class at the University of British Columbia would read in a course

titled "Modern Japanese literature through translation." Works by authors such as Kōbō Abe and Shūsaku Endō followed Ōe's *A Personal Matter* and the course ended with texts by Yasunari Kawabata and Naoya Shiga. Tsuruta designed the course to begin with novels displaying the least culturally specific features (1987: 48).

Ōe's attention to the power of the place in his place-related portrayals was one of the main reasons for *A Personal Matter* being considered as exhibiting the least culturally specific properties.[2] In their place representations, Osaragi or Tanizaki relied on the knowledge of readers about the images and senses attached to the locations. These connotative details were communicable only to those who had lived and experienced the same cultural sphere as the author. However, Ōe uncovered the characteristics and senses of places and brought them to the surface by explaining the types of roles enacted by the places. Noteworthily, references to the specific placenames in Japan are minimized in *A Personal Matter*: Ōe mentions a specific placename for the first time in Chapter 10 of a novel that extends to 13 chapters. In this chapter, the protagonist, Bird learns in his conversation with a member of the Slavic languages study group that other members had gone to a protest rally in "Hibiya":

> 「遅れてすまない。もう、みんな集まったろう？」
> 「いや、おれときみだけだ。他のメムバーは、例のフルシチョフの核実験再開に抗議する集会に出るといって日比谷へ行ってしまったのでね」(Ōe 1964: 188)

The phrase underlined in the above quote is rendered in the English translation as "went to that protest rally at Hibiya Park" (Ōe 1968:

2 For other elements that helped *A Personal Matter* travel further beyond boundaries than other contemporary Japanese novels translated before this text, see Mai Kataoka (2023), "Bādo to Bādo – Eigo ken wo tabisuru *Kojinteki na Taiken* (*A Personal Matter*)," *Eureka*, 55(10): 75–84.

171). The ST does not limit itself to referencing the placename and stating that a protest rally was occurring at that location. Ōe also adds an illustration: "[a] few thousand people protesting on the mall in Hibiya Park"(「日比谷の野外音楽堂で、何万人かがいっせいに不平を叫びたてる」)(Ōe 1968: 171). This description helps to convey an image associated with Hibiya in the 1960s. Readers unfamiliar with the placename and its historical context can thus also appreciate the sense of the place. Another exemplar of Ōe's attention to the power of place is evidenced by the phrase, "N大学医学部付属病院"(Hospital at the Medical Department of the N University) in Chapter 2. Alluding to the facility through the letter "N" serves to highlight its characteristic as a university hospital without tying it to a specific location in Japan. This impression of the place as authoritative and bureaucratic is further emphasized in its English rendition which interprets the "N" in the ST as "National" and renders the line as "the hospital at the National University"(Ōe 1968).

The above examples demonstrate that places are depicted in *A Personal Matter* by illuminating their roles and the powers of places and minimizing specific placenames. Thus, the senses of the places in this text are more easily transmitted into English largely due to the approach Ōe adopted in illustrating the senses of the places in his novel. Ōe later emphasized the importance of trying to focus on the representation of "*Ba no kankaku* (senses of places)" in describing the places rather than referring to the actual placenames, explaining that "[i]t does not necessarily mean that one has to specify a particular placename, location of a building"(Ōe 1988: 192). This attention to the sense of place helped to mitigate difficulties in bridging gaps between culturally defined spaces in translating the novel. Ōe did not reference specific placenames or rely on the knowledge and sensibilities of his readers to evoke the historical, cultural, and social memories associated with the places. The approach Ōe adopted in illustrating the sense of place encouraged his text to travel beyond its linguistic and cultural boundaries can be illustrated through the reactions of students who read the

novel's English translation: "this story seems to take place in the capital of Japan, in the early 1960s, but was easy to understand as there is almost no historical, cultural flavor unique to Japan" (Tsuruta 1987: 47).

4. The Anonymized Memory of the Land, and the Loss of Placeness

The "anonymized memory of the land" is another distinctive feature of places in contemporary Japanese novels that has encouraged the sharing of these texts beyond boundaries. For instance, Hiroshi Andō observed that the "memory" of the land was anonymized in Haruki Murakami's short story, "*Hotaru*" (1983/1984; "Firefly", 2006); consequently, the text could embody the universally inherent mythological structure of the modern city. Andō contended that this anonymity denoted a factor in the global appreciation of Murakami's literature (2020: 214). He demonstrated this point by referring to a phrase depicting the protagonist and the heroine coming to "Yotsuya [in Tokyo] for any particular reasons", and they just "happened to run across each other in a train on the Chuo Line" (quoted in Andō 2020: 214). Yotsuya is renowned for its unique landscape and is considered a preserve through which one can explore the layers of history in Tokyo.[3] The placename also elicits images and histories associated with the land. However, the power of the place is no longer palpable in this example.

We must attend to the placeness of Japan since the 1980s to better understand how contemporary Japanese novels have engaged with the senses of places. Relph explained in the preface to the Japanese translation of *Place and Placelessness* (1976) that a shift from placeness toward placelessness occurred in the sense of place, especially in the 1980s

3 For the examples, see a city walk tour organized by Norihisa Minagawa, the president of *Tōkyō suribachi gakkai* 東京スリバチ学会. https://passmarket.yahoo.co.jp/event/show/detail/012zh5my2wk11.html [accessed on 10th August, 2023]

and 1990s. He also noted that this change was relatively more visible in the case of Japan ([1991]1999: 15). Spatial anthropologist Hidenobu Jinnai's observations on modern urban planning endorsed this point: he argued that modern urban planning evinced no interest in the distinctiveness of sites and that placename changes also occurred in tandem with the phenomenon of creating universal spaces regardless of locations ([1985] 1992: 39). Suzuki shared this viewpoint, emphasizing the loss of placeness as one of the biggest cultural crises currently confronting Japanese society. According to him, architects now highlight *kuukan* (space) but do not speak so much about the *basho* (place). Consequently, spaces that are common worldwide can be found in every building but the individuality of the places on which the buildings stand is no longer discernable; for instance, subway exits have lost their names and are now labeled as A-1 or B-3 (2003: 92).

However, Relph also notes that a growing interest in the qualities and meanings associated with places has accompanied this shift in recent years ([1991]1999: 15). The cases shared by Jinnai may be cited as examples of such a move in Japan. Jinnai explained that the idea of trying to read varied elements including the memories and meanings associated with places gradually attained popularity in the fields of architecture and urban planning since the 1990s ([1985] 1992: 39). He shared some examples of social phenomena endorsing the growing public interest in the physical landscape and layers of urban history, such as a TV program, articles in magazines, and an association to explore the *genius loci* in Tokyo (2020: 198-9). Suzuki also asserted growing expectations from placenames to add colors, shades, and shadows to this "silent world." These details help to form personal identity and suggest the significance of the individuality of places (2003: 33).

How, then, do contemporary Japanese novels reflect such a rediscovery of the senses of places? What do they tell us about how attachments to such places are formed in the contemporary context?

5. *Tokyo Ueno Station*: The Rediscovery of the Senses of Place

Scrutinizing Miri Yu's *JR Ueno Eki Kōenguchi* (2014) alongside its English translation would help elucidate the author's approach in illustrating the sense of place in the contemporary context. This novel is set in a specific location and uses the placename "Park Gate of the JR Ueno Station" as its title. Nevertheless, Morgan Giles' English version titled *Tokyo Ueno Station* (2019) won literary awards outside of Japan, including the National Book Award for Translated Literature (2020). A book review in the *Washington Post* stated, "[t]hough set in Japan, *Tokyo Ueno Station* is a novel of the world we all share" (Alam 2020). These examples show that the novel speaks to international readers and its effects are not limited to readers of the ST. The sense of place functions vitally in *Tokyo Ueno Station* but transcends linguistic and cultural boundaries, unlike the anonymized memory of the place in the "Firefly" or the A-1 and B-3 subway exits Suzuki mentioned as examples of the loss of individuality of places. In what ways does this representation help to transcend boundaries and form an attachment to a place?

The novel is set at the Park Gate of the JR Ueno Station, which is also the book's title, and Kazu, a deceased narrator, shares his life story. Born in Fukushima in 1933, the protagonist worked as a laborer in the preparations for the Tokyo Olympics of 1964 and his life ended in the village for the homeless in Ueno Park, traumatized by the 2011 tsunami and devastated by the announcement of the 2020 Olympics. The Japanese edition is dedicated to "帰る場所を失くしてしまったすべての人たち (all who lost their places to return to)" ([2014] 2017) and the novel becomes a medium of sharing senses and memories associated with Ueno in Tokyo and Sōma in Fukushima. The narration incorporates intimate observations of daily lives in these locations, which are illustrated using diverse sensory images such as announcements at the train station (Yu 2019: 6, 86, 163, 168), conversations between two old women passing by (11), or the two women looking at Redouté's paint-

ings of roses at the Ueno Mori Art Museum but speaking about "something completely unrelated to roses" (104–108). The sensory descriptions include red strokes spelling "Ueno Zoo" (14), the wind rustling through the trees and shaking leaves and causing drops of water to fall (15), and shouts at the Nomagake in the Nomaoi festival (21–22). Readers also experience the "sound of a lawn mower," the "smell of freshly cut grass," the "smell of someone making instant ramen" in the tent, hydrangeas in bloom (33), the voice of a radio announcer (49, 158), the chanting of NAMU AMIDA BUTSU (75–78), and the sound of ding–dongs followed by announcements at the Ueno Park (78). They see the stainless–steel sign placed in front of the Suribachi Mound (93), hear the buzzing of cicadas and the chirruping of birds (94), and smell the fragrances elicited by the rain, not of the asphalt but the "tress, earth, grass and fallen leaves" in the park (159). Such vibrant sensory illustrations of the places (filled with sound, smell, touch, and sight) are woven together with memories and are often recounted through the voices of people who used to reside there. Thus, they help to record the characteristics and the histories of places. The narrator also directs readers through the varied geographical spaces of the Ueno through references to placenames such as the Ueno Mori Art Museum and the Masaoka Shiki Memorial Baseball Field, highlighting the Ueno's attributes as a cultural and social center. Its social histories are also retold: for instance, the station called as "The Gateway to the North," where people from North–East Japan disembarked from the train to search for work in the capital city, the park crowded with tarp huts after the asset bubble burst, and the location where *yamagari* 山狩り occurred, a mass eviction caused by the imperial family's visit to the museums or galleries nearby. Such histories of the land are intertwined with the sensory depictions of senses to allow readers to obtain its physical landscape along with its historical, cultural, and social memories. Thus, readers can explore the land and experience its *genius loci* beyond space and time.

Yu represents the senses of places differently from Tanizaki, who wrote on the assumption that readers would occupy the same cultural sphere and could thus recover the cultural, historical, and social dimensions associated with the land from mere placenames. As previously depicted in this section, Yu makes the *genius loci* more tangible and visible by incorporating sensory images. This outcome is connected to her approach to writing about places based on her material encounters with the spaces and the memories shared by residents. Yu recounts in her "Author's afterword" that she visited the area around the Fukushima nuclear power plant numerous times and stayed at a hotel near Ueno Park. Further, she acted as a radio personality to listen to guests who were born in/had lived/had experienced associations with Minami-Sōma ([2014] 2017: 169). In addition, Giles describes her visit to Minami-Sōma in her "Translator's Note" (2019: 194–6), quoting Yu's statement that "the work of an author is to lend precious eyes and ears to readers" and conveying the translator's prayer that "may it make a new home, ... for all those without one" (2019: 197). The multisensory engagements of the author and translator with the described places were indubitably pivotal in granting visibility and tangibility to the senses of the places and allowing readers to relive the senses and feelings Kazu experienced. The sensory experiences and the exploration of the land through the novel help readers rediscover and reimagine their *genius loci* and form attachments to the mentioned places notwithstanding the culturally defined existential spaces to which they belong.

Conclusion

This paper referenced contemporary Japanese novels to demonstrate the changes in sensibilities toward places over time and the resulting differences in how people engaged with places. It also used examples stemming from the examination of the novels to evince the senses of places that could be transmitted and shared beyond linguistic and cultur-

al boundaries.

It elucidated through the problems in translating placenames to English in *The Makioka Sisters* that a sense of place exclusive to people raised in a community cannot be easily transmitted or shared with readers from another culturally defined space. However, parochialism is no longer applicable to increasingly global and fluid societies that require us to communicate with people from diverse linguistic, cultural, and disciplinary backgrounds. Ōe's *A Personal Matter* and Murakami's "Firefly" overcome this translation problem: the former by illuminating the role of the places and the latter by reflecting the very absence of *genius loci* in the modern urban environment. But people in contemporary societies inhabit smooth, flat, and increasingly generic spaces. Therefore, the senses of places are becoming significant as *yoridokoro* (points of reference). Yu's *Tokyo Ueno Station* exemplifies this point: she illustrates senses of places through her multisensory engagements with them, interweaving personal sensory experiences with the social histories of places to make the sociocultural histories of locations more visible and tangible to readers. In this manner, she enables her readers to reimagine the *genius loci* and delivers senses of places that are communicable to readers beyond culturally defined spaces.

Kyōgo's outlook as a foreigner helped to successfully transmit placenames in *Homecoming*. *Tokyo Ueno Station* was written from the perspective of a marginalized existence. The tactics utilized in these texts could indicate possible means of actualizing more open common spaces that can accommodate people of diverse backgrounds and enable them to form attachments to described places. The illustrations of the senses of places in these two texts were filtered through people conversant both with insider and outsider perspectives: their stances are thus situated somewhere between cultures. Perhaps, the protagonists of *Homecoming* and *Tokyo Ueno Station* reexperienced places as outsiders, which allowed them to attain acuter senses and accord enhanced visibility and tangibility to the memories, feelings, atmospheres, and spirits of the places. They

could thus reimagine a more global *genius loci* in ways that could be transmitted even to people who did not belong to the culturally defined spaces.

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4

Schools and Shrines for Local Worthies in Song China:

Ritual Spaces and Local Communities[1]

Naoki Umemura

Introduction

In the history of pre-modern Chinese schools, a major epochal period exists in the Song dynasty (960–1279). During the Song dynasty, *科挙* (the imperial examination system) became the primary channel for bureaucratic selection, and those who had passed the imperial examination came to dominate the center of government. During the Northern Song and Southern Song periods, the population grew rapidly, particularly in the Yangtze River basin and the southeastern coastal areas (Zhejiang and Fujian regions), and the number of examinees increased substantially, making it difficult to pass the imperial examination. During the mid-to-late Northern Song period, reform of the bureaucratic selection method became a major political issue as criticism of the imperial examination system, a harsh paper test, increased.

1 The majority of this paper is a summary of the significant information presented in Umemura (2018). Therefore, refer to Umemura (2018) for a comprehensive discussion and bibliography.

Wang An-shi, a politician in the latter half of the Northern Song who led 新法 (new law), the era's most aggressive reform, emphasized the adverse effects of the imperial examination system, which emphasized memorization skills, and sought to replace it by establishing schools nationwide, making schools the primary route for selecting bureaucrats. Wang An-shi and other members of the New Law Party, as well as the majority of bureaucrats at the time, agreed that the imperial examination system was not necessarily superior, and an alternative system was sought. The political reforms of Wang An-shi and others were founded on a restorative philosophy that modeled and embodied the ancient Zhou dynasty politics found in the 周礼 (Zhou Rituals), and the reform of the personnel appointment system can be understood as an example of this type of reform. The purpose of this reform was to unify the 取士 (recruiting people) and 養士 (training people), and they insisted on not only selecting and hiring bureaucrats, but also integrating their training as the first step in the process.

In this sense, Wang An-shi advocated for the establishment of a broad-based educational system linked to the state, and in fact, from the latter half to the end of the Northern Song, schools were established across the nation, a trend that continued into the Southern Song. However, it is also true that these reforms were implemented prior to the ideals. For example, Ou-yang Xiu, a politician in mid-Northern Song preceding Wang An-shi's reforms, emphasized the importance of reputation in one's hometown as the ideal ancient personnel selection system. According to Ou-yang Xiu, people must first study at school, where they can acquire Confucian culture and morals, before being recommended as candidates by their elders and hometowns. This assertion is overly idealistic because it is based on the description in the Confucian classic 礼記 (The Record of Rituals), but the emphasis on morality and guaranteeing it through hometown evaluation was recognized as an important element missing from the imperial examination system at the time. The New Law Party's school reforms, led by Wang An-shi, and

others, were an heirloom of this philosophy, and they believed that morality could be ensured if the bureaucratic selection were based on the school system.

Since the expansion of the imperial examination system during the Song period, which coincided with the widespread establishment of schools, schools are commonly viewed as educational facilities for taking the imperial examination system. From this perspective, Wang An-shi, and others' educational policies were not necessarily successful. During the long period leading up to the end of the Qing dynasty, the majority of those who took the examinations were not educated in government schools but at home or in 書院（academy）, and government schools became a mere skeleton in terms of education. From a different perspective, the bold policy of promoting schools during the Northern Song period actually resulted in the establishment of many local schools, which were continued during the Southern Song and later periods. Moreover, schools eventually became widespread in Song-era Chinese society. This suggests that it is inappropriate to view schools solely as narrowly defined educational facilities for the imperial examination, and that it is necessary to reconsider the significance of the acceptance and establishment of schools within local communities.

We would like to focus on the school's rituals in this paper. Since the Tang Dynasty, schools have been essentially founded alongside Confucius temples. During the early Northern Song period, when schools were still uncommon, the first objective was to spread the Confucius Temple across the nation, followed by the establishment of schools in various regions. Confucius temples are the most important religious institutions in Confucianism, and they are places where people regularly perform 釈奠（*shidian*）, a ritual for Confucius, to express their devotion to him. This paper will discuss the significance of the integration of the Confucius temples and schools, as well as the expected social significance of school spaces.

1. What is a 学校 (school)?

In modern times, the word "school" generally refers to an educational institution, but what did it originally mean? "Mencius," a classic written by Confucian saint, is among the earliest sources. It stated,

First, create 庠 (*xiang*), 序 (*xu*), 学 (*xue*), 校 (*xiao*) and use them to cultivate the people. xiang means 養 (cultivate), xiao means 教 (teach), xiao means 射 (shoot). The 夏 (Xia) dynasty called these institutions xiao, the 商 (Shang) dynasty called them xu, the 周 (Zhou) dynasty called them xiao, and xue was the name used by all three dynasties, all of which were intended to clarify human ethics. (Mencius, Tengwen Gong)

According to this explanation, the names of the institutions used to cultivate people differed from era to era, with *xiao* serving as the overarching term. Nonetheless, according to 学記 (Xueji), a chapter of another classic, "The Record of Rituals," "In ancient times, there was a 塾 (*shu*) for each family, a *xiang* for each 党 (*tang*), a *xu* for each 術 (*sui*), and a *xue* for each country." The term *tang* refers to a group of 500 families, whereas the term *sui* refers to a group of 500 *tangs*, which means that each group of a certain unit had its own *shu, xiang*, and *xu*, and the country as a whole had its own *xue*. As can be seen from this explanation, "Mencius" and "The Record of Rituals," provide different definitions, and the 明堂位 (Mingtang-wei) and 王制 (Wangzhi) chapters of "The Record of Rituals" contain somewhat different terms and theses. Confucian scholars of previous generations labored to reconcile the inconsistencies between these descriptions, but they were ultimately unable to do so. As a result, they referred to the "cultivating" institutions that were believed to have existed in antiquity as *xuexiao* (school).

What is meant by "cultivation" here, then? According to Zhao Qi, who annotated "Mencius" during the Han Dynasty, cultivation refers to

correcting people's ethical codes through rites and righteousness; this was the purpose of the school. It is important to note that this explanation appears in a critical Confucian classic and is explained by the important to Confucianism concepts of rites and righteousness. Moreover, the "school" was essentially an institution for the propagation of Confucian virtues among the populace.

In fact, the *太学*（central school）, which was founded in the capital during the Han dynasty, was staffed with *五経博士*（doctors of the Five Classics）and served as a hub for the spread of Confucianism. During the Tang Dynasty, Confucius temples were attached to not only the central school in the capital but also provincial and county schools in rural areas. In Confucius temples, Confucius is revered as the main deity, and Confucius' disciples, and past Confucian scholars who made significant contributions to Confucianism are venerated as subordinate or accessory deities. Twice yearly, in February, and August, a ceremony known as *shidian* was performed to honor Confucius and other deities. During the Han Dynasty, the *shidian* was also held, but during the Tang Dynasty, this ritual was performed by local officials at schools and Confucius temples established in various regions.

2. Confucius Temple as a Ritual Space

（1）Establishment of Ritual System of Confucius Temple

The ritual system of Confucius temples was clearly defined as a system of rites during the Tang Dynasty. In the early Tang, during the Zhenguan period, it was decided, at the suggestion of Fang Xuan-ling and others, that during the *shidian* rituals held at the central school, Confucius would be placed in the center of the hall as the main deity, and Yang Hui would be the subordinate deity.

In addition, the twenty-one past Confucian scholars, including Zuo Qiu-ming and others,[2] were added to the line of subordinate deities during the Zhenguan period. The compilation of the 五経正義（The

Correct Meaning of the Five Classics), a national project that had been ongoing since the Zhenguan period, was likely an important aspect of this change. The twenty-one scholars are all authors or commentators on major Confucian classics, including Zuo Qiu-ming, known as the commentator of the 春秋 (Spring and Autumn); Mao Zhang, famous for his commentary on the 詩経 (The Classic of Poetry); Kong Anguo, who commented on the 書経 (The Classic of Book); and Zheng Xuan, the greatest Confucian scholar of the Han Dynasty who commented on various classics. The compilation of "The Correct Meaning of the Five Classics" was a synthesis of the various commentaries of classics that had existed up to that point, and it established the dynasty's official view of Confucianism. The Tang Dynasty, which succeeded the Sui Dynasty and adopted the imperial examination system, also needed to provide model interpretations of the imperial examinations. The twenty-one Confucian scholars who were added as accessory deities to the Confucian temples were officially recognized as the legitimate interpreters of the classics. In other words, the Confucius Temple was intended to show the orthodox Confucianism of the dynasties to Confucian students, including those taking the imperial examination, as it enshrines the author of the texts they study daily.

During the Kaiyuan period of the mid-Tang, Confucius's *十哲* (ten great disciples) and *七十二弟子* (seventy-two disciples) were added as accessory deities to this ritual space. Although the selection of the ten great disciples and the seventy-two disciples varied somewhat based on period and historical sources, they all refer to Confucius' disciples as a whole, meaning that all of his disciples were to be enshrined alongside Confucius. Since accessory deities originally referred to the low-ranked deities who follow the primary deity, they likely deemed it insufficient to

2 There are slight variations in the selection and number of individuals based on the historical sources used. In this paper, I will use the term "twenty-one scholars," as it was commonly referred to in later periods.

worship Confucius without his disciples. A seated statue of Confucius facing south was created as the principal deity, and a seated statue of the subordinate deity Yan Hui was placed next to him. Standing statues of the ten great disciples were placed in two rows, east and west, and the seventy-two disciples, and twenty-one scholars were painted on the walls. They all became objects of worship, when *shidian* was conducted. Moreover, the fact that Confucius is facing south indicates that he was positioned as a king. Kings have sat facing south since ancient times, and although Confucius never received the title of king during his lifetime, the Tang Dynasty bestowed upon him the royal title of "King Wenxuan" at this time. In other words, the Confucius Temple became a space to worship Confucius, the ancient king, necessitating the worship of a large number of followers simultaneously. This reform became the foundation for the Temple of Confucius's enduring ritual system. Thus, the Confucius Temple, which was established during the Tang Dynasty, was no longer an institution solely dedicated to Confucius, but rather a systematic ritual institution dedicated to the Confucian deities.

(2) Reform of the Confucius Temple in the Song Dynasty

In the early Tang, between the Wude, and the Zhenguan periods, the Tang Dynasty issued an imperial decree to establish schools nationwide in an effort to spread schools and Confucius temples. However, as deduced from the historical records of the Tang period, it is highly probable that this was not fully realized, as historical records show the decline of the schools at least after the ninth century, which was the second half of the Tang period. People of the Song era held a similar viewpoint, with the general belief that, as a result of the decline of schools during the Tang era, only Confucius temples were scattered. In the middle of the Northern Song period, Ou-yang Xiu, and Wang An-shi, who viewed the spread of schools as an ideal, criticized the existence of Confucius temples only, claiming that in ancient times, *shidian* was held in schools, but in the Tang, *shidian* was moved to Confucius temples. According to

the Kaiyuan Ritual, a state ritual code book written in the middle of the Tang Dynasty, *shidian* is a Confucius-worshiping ritual. However, Ou-yang Xiu, Wang An-shi, and others argued that the original intent of *shidian* was not to venerate the deceased Confucius, but rather to show respect for one's teacher of learning, and that this must be done in schools. This was related to the restoration movement of the time, which included the revival of classical literature and the belief that schools and Confucianism should return to their ancient roots, as Ou-yang Xiu, and Wang An-shi sought to reform society and institutions with the Zhou dynasty as their inspiration. During the Northern Song period, the objective of establishing schools nationwide was not only to facilitate the establishment of an imperial examination system, but also to ensure the uniform spread of Confucianism nationwide through schools and Confucius temples. In this way, schools and Confucius temples were once again intertwined, and Confucius temples were positioned as spaces for honoring one's own teacher.

During the Yuanfeng period in the latter half of the Northern Song, the Confucius Temple underwent important reforms led by Wang An-shi. Thus, Mencius was added to the subordinate deities, and Xun-zi, Yang Xiong, and Han Yu were added as accessory deities to the twenty-one scholars. The positions of subordinate and accessory deities were traditionally reserved for the disciples of Confucius or authors and commentators of classics. Mencius, who was not a disciple of Confucius, was selected for the position of subordinate deity, which was reserved for only the most distinguished disciple of Confucius, namely Yan Hui. "The Mencius," a record of Mencius' sayings and deeds, was not designated a major classic until the middle of the Northern Song period; it was also not included as a subject in the imperial examinations. The same holds true for Xun-zi, Yang Xiong, and Han Yu, and the selection of these individuals is due to the fact that Wang An-shi and other prominent Confucianists of the time emphasized the theory of *性*（nature）as a major Confucian doctrine. Mencius is famous for his advocacy of *性善*

(the goodness of human nature) and Xun-zi for his advocacy of 性悪 (badness of human nature). Meanwhile, Yang Xiong argued for the mixture of goodness and badness, and Han Yu of the Tang Dynasty was the first to advocate for the 性三品 (three qualities of human nature).[3] Among them, Mencius, who advocated the goodness of human nature, a central tenet of neo-Confucianism in the Song, was accorded an unrivaled treatment and was elevated to the status of a subordinate deity. Clearly, the selection of these four scholars was based on different criteria than in the past, and these four, especially Mencius, were positioned as Confucianism's masters to be worshiped by all students. Thus, the Confucius Temple became a space that distinctly indicated the lineage of learning to be pursued.

In the years that followed, numerous reforms with these goals were implemented. For example, as part of the reform of the New Law, Wang An-shi compiled 三経新義 (New Commentaries of Three Classics),[4] which was distributed to all local schools and designated as the official opinion for the imperial examination. Wang An-shi's son Wang Fang also contributed to this compilation, and by the end of the Northern Song, their works had become a major authority in the annotation of classics. Therefore, at the conclusion of the Northern Song, Wang An-shi, and Wang Fang were added to the subordinate deities and accessory

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3 It was believed that human nature is divided into three levels at birth: upper, middle, and lower. Those with the upper nature who are destined to become saints, those with the middle nature who are destined to become many, and those with the lower nature who are destined to become great evildoers are all fixed at birth, and that their nature does not change from middle to upper over the course of their lives. This view was prevalent until the middle of the Northern Song period, when it was overthrown by Cheng Yi's thesis that "each people can be a saint by learning," which later evolved into Zhu Xi's philosophy.

4 It is a commentary on "The Classic of Poetry," "The Classic of Book," and "Zhou Ritual," of which "The New Commentary on Zhou Ritual" was written by Wang An-shi himself, and the other two were compiled by Wang An-shi. During the Southern Song period and later, it was lost due to the rise of Zhu Xi's studies and the rejection of Wang Anshi's studies; today, only a small portion survives.

deities, respectively. Nonetheless, after the fall of Kaifeng, the capital of the Northern Song dynasty, to the Jin dynasty in the aftermath of the Jingkang Incident during the rule of the New Law Party, the Song dynasty was compelled to move south, and criticism of Wang An-shi and the New Law Party intensified. During the Shaoxing period of the early Southern Song, Wang An-shi was demoted to the category of accessory deities, and Wang Fang was expelled from the Confucius Temple.

Wang An-shi continued to be enshrined in the Confucius Temple until the end of the Southern Song, during the Chunyou period, when neo-Confucianism was officially acknowledged. Then, Zhou Dun-yi, Zhang Zai, Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, and Zhu Xi were added to the accessory deities, whereas Wang An-shi was eliminated. This marked the formal transition of the orthodox studies of the dynasty from Wang An-shi to Zhu Xi.

3. Spread of Local Schools and Shrines for the Former Worthies

(1) The Rise of Shrines for Former Worthies

Since the imperial decree to establish Confucius temples nationwide in the early Tang period, Confucius temples in the provinces adopted the same system as the central school in the capital. Moreover, the objects of rituals, such as the subordinate, and accessory deities, were developed in the same manners as those of the central school at that time. This was intended to establish facilities for Confucius and other deities to be worshiped in a standardized manner across the nation, so that central, and local rituals could be performed in a uniform manner. However, with the full-fledged spread of schools nationwide during the middle of the Northern Song, they began to worship their own objects in local schools that were distinct from those of the capital school. Those were *先賢祠* (shrines for the former worthies), but such shrines did not become prevalent until the Southern Song period and later. First, I will use the provincial school of Chengdu as an example, as it was a pioneer

in this regard.

During the Qingli period in the middle of the Northern Song, a change was made in the school policy, and an imperial decree was issued to establish schools in all provinces and prefectures. Jiang Tang, the governor of Chengdu province at the time, received this decree, and expanded the existing Confucius Temple to construct a school. At this time, the Confucius Temple in Chengdu was an ancient structure known as the 文翁石室（Wen Weng Stone Chamber）. According to historical records, Wen Weng, a local official during the Han dynasty, built a school in Chengdu and cultivated people. It is said that Wen Weng constructed the Wen Weng Stone Chamber as a school and ritual hall, but it was later destroyed by fire and rebuilt and preserved as the Confucius Temple until the mid-Song period. Wen Weng corresponded to a prominent Chengdu official from the past, so his shrine was built and he was enshrined in Chengdu for a time. At that time, however, the shrine was in disrepair, indicating that it was not so highly regarded. The reformist bureaucrats leading the school policy viewed Wen Weng as a pioneer who had created local schools in the past and should serve as a model for the school policy. Later on, Song Qi, one of the principal reformers who later became the governor of Chengdu, relocated the shrine for Wen Weng next to the school and transformed it into a magnificent structure. At that time, not only Wen Weng was enshrined, but also the famous literati from Si-ma Xiang-ru to Yang Xiong who were born in the vicinity of Chengdu during the Han dynasty, as well as Gao Chen and Jiang Tang, who were painted on the wall on both sides to enshrine them alongside Wen Weng. According to Song Qi, everyone from Si-ma Xiang-ru to Yang Xiong was a product of Wen Weng's cultivation. Gao Chen rebuilt the Wen Weng Stone Chamber, and Jiang Tang founded the Chengdu provincial school. This format was inspired by the one used in the Confucius Temple, where seventy-two disciples, and twenty-one scholars were painted on the left and right walls. It can be said that the seven literati corresponded to the seventy-two disciples

of Confucius, and that the two governors Gao Chen and Jiang Tang were the intermediaries who transmitted the existence of Wen Weng to the Song period; in other words, they were considered to be the twenty-one scholars to Confucius. Song Qi, along with Wen Weng, praised Gao Chen, and Jiang Tang, which suggests he intended to laud their founding endeavors.

Next, let us examine the case of Fuzhou. The Confucius Temple was constructed in Fuzhou during the Taiping-xingguo period of the early Northern Song, and the provincial school was constructed in the Confucius Temple during the Jingyou period in the mid Northern Song. At that time, statues of Confucius and the ten great disciples were sculpted, and pictures of the seventy-two disciples and twenty-one scholars were painted on the walls,[5] indicating that the system of the central school was replicated in its entirety. In contrast, during the Shaosheng period of the late Northern Song, shrines for former worthies were established in the Fuzhou provincial school. At that time, they were known as the 五先生祠 (Five Teachers shrine), enshrining Chen Xiang, Zheng Mu, (Liu Yi, Zhou Xi-meng, and Chen Lie, who were all natives of Fuzhou and were revered by the Fuzhou's people for their learning after the middle of the Northern Song period, and they were placed in a school. Later, during the Zhenghe period, Chen Xiang-dao, and Ke Shu were added to the list, followed by Liu Kang-fu, Zheng Xia, and Chang Gun during the Xuanhe period, and then by Wang Zu-dao. Importantly, when Zhang Jun became a governor of Fuzhou during the Shaoxing period of the early Southern Song, he appointed Chang Gun as the first of these worthies. Chang Gun was credited with founding the first school in Fujian during the Tang Dynasty, and it was acknowledged that since then, Fujian had been producing students who had passed the imperial

5 Fuzhou gazetteers, which are historical documents, described "painted sixty disciples and those who passed on the Confucianism of the previous Confucian to future generations." In the early Northern Song, the central school enshrined sixty-two disciples, excluding the ten great disciples, so "sixty" is likely an approximation.

examination, which was regarded as the beginning of cultivation. At this time, Zhang Jun found it odd that Chang Gun was considered equal to the other worthies, so he placed him in the center of the shrines hall, followed by Ou-yang Zhan, his disciple and the first person from the Fujian region to pass the imperial examination, and then the ten aforementioned worthies, on either side of him. Later, during the Qiandao era in the middle of the Southern Song, Lu You was added to the shrines hall, and eventually, shrines for former worthies were erected within the school to honor Chang Gun and twelve others, for a total of thirteen shrines. This shows that, although ritual objects were occasionally added prior to the Shaoxing period, the hall of shrines for former worthies was reconstructed based on the same principles as the Wen Weng shrine hall in the Chengdu provincial school. It was composed of the founder Chang Gun, who was positioned in the center, his disciple Ou-yang Zhan, and the ten worthies who served as the conduit for the transmission of their cultivations at the time. In Fuzhou, there was a shrine to worship the ten worthies first, but this was not deemed the proper ritual space for the school.

Such shrines for former worthies existed as early as the Northern Song period, if not earlier. Most were typically dedicated to historical figures in locations associated with them, but their incorporation into the ritual space of the school is a remarkable trend that began with the Southern Song. Due to the ancient conversion of the Wen Weng Stone Chamber into a Confucius Temple, the case of the provincial school of Chengdu can be considered exceptional, whereas the Five Teacher Shrines in the provincial school of Fuzhou is a precursor to the shrines for former worthies in schools that became common after the middle of the Southern Song.

(2) The Shrines for Former Worthies and *Shidian*

To illustrate how shrines for former worthies became more prevalent in schools after the Southern Song, I will begin with the example of Zhu

Xi in the middle Southern Song period. During the Chunxi period, Zhu Xi became the governor of Nankang province (now Lushan City, Jiangxi Province). When Zhu Xi first arrived at his post, he visited the school, and the Confucius Temple, where he performed a ritual to announce his arrival to Confucius and vowed to perform his duties with diligence. To explain the arrival ritual, it has been customary since ancient times for local officials to announce their arrival to the local gods upon their arrival at their new post. However, although there are records of such rituals being performed during the Han and Tang dynasties, it is unlikely that they were always observed, as they remained customs not explicitly written into law. In the latter half of the Northern Song era, the arrival rituals of local officials began to be actively practiced in the Xining and Yuanfeng periods, and Confucius became the most important ritual object among the many deities worshiped. In addition, beginning in the early Southern Song period, a decree was issued requiring local officials to visit a school and perform rituals for Confucius upon their arrival. Zhu Xi's rituals were also performed in accordance with the regulations, but it is notable that when he went to the school to perform the rituals, he found shrines for Li Chang and Liu Huan, and he simultaneously performed the rituals to announce his arrival to these two deities. Furthermore, Zhu Xi asked around to see if any other worthies should be enshrined in the locality, and as a result, he enshrined Tao Yuanming, Liu Xu, and Chen Guan, making it a shrine of the five worthies. This example shows that the shrines for former worthies enshrined in the school were subject to the same rituals that Confucius, his disciples, and other Confucian scholars performed in the Confucius Temple. During the Southern Song period and later, the first thing a local official did upon arriving at his post was to visit the school, and in some cases, he delivered a lecture to the students. Even if this was not the case, the newly appointed local official led the students and staff of the schools in these rituals, allowing them to interact with the local population.

Additionally, although not formally stipulated, it can be confirmed

that on the same day as the *shidian* at the Confucius Temple, a ceremony was also held for the shrines of former worthies. For example, in Xinghua, Fujian, a shrine was established to worship Lin Guang-chao, also known as Teacher Ai-xian, around the middle of the Southern Song. He passed the imperial examination at age 50 during the Longxing period and worked as a bureaucrat until his death at age 65 during the Chunxi era. After his death, the governor of Xinghua erected a shrine to honor his contribution to the spread of neo-Confucianism in Fujian Xinghua. In February of the following year, the governor led the students to worship at the Ai-xian Shrine on 上丁（the day of the first Ding of month）, when it was designated to hold the *shidian* for Confucius. In actuality, the shrine for Ai-xian was not installed in the school at this time, but the school was equipped with the 名賢堂（Great Worthies' Hall）, which housed the shrines for Lin Zan and Cai Xiang. Ai-xian Shrine was not absorbed into Great Worthies' Hall and relocated to the school until the Shaoxi period, but it was already an object of worship on the day of *shidian*, along with Confucius, and the other disciples and scholars enshrined in the Confucius Temple.

Consequently, schools were initially promoted during the Song dynasty with the aim of establishing uniform ritual spaces across the nation. However, around the middle of the Southern Song, the situation shifted to one in which each local school incorporated the rituals of its own local deities. Moreover, since the late Northern Song, the rituals performed by local officials have developed, and many local officials have begun actively performing rituals in the assigned lands.[6] Confucius was

6 The rituals that should be performed in accordance with Confucianism are outlined in the 祀典（ritual book）, which specifies when, where, and to what object they should be performed. In the late Northern Song, a decree was issued to compile "rituals books of the provinces" that detailed the proper rituals to be performed by local officials. From this point forward, various regions encouraged the compilation of ritual books, and local officials were able to perform rituals in accordance with these books. Naturally, the gods to be worshipped varied from region to region, so the compilation of the ritual book also included the meaning of choosing the proper

originally the most important figure in the rituals of local officials, and the *shidian* held in schools was an important duty for them. Additionally, those associated with school students, school staff, and local 士人 (intellectuals), were permitted to participate in the *shidian*. This is due to the fact that the *shidian* was defined as a religious ritual that anyone who followed Confucian teachings could (and should) participate in. Through the *shidian*, local intellectuals interacted with local officials and students who aspired to become bureaucrats in the future, and they performed rituals together to express their identity as intellectuals. The fact that each local school enshrined former local worthies indicates that the schools have also become a venue for the expression of the community's history and tradition. In other words, by enshrining Confucius, his disciples, or past Confucian scholars in all schools nationwide, a sense of nationwide community among intellectuals was fostered, whereas a sense of regional identity was cultivated by enshrining worthy figures from each region.

4. Shrines for Local Worthies and Shrines for Great Officials

When the Ai-xian shrine was enshrined in the school in Xinghua, Fujian, many other worthies were also enshrined simultaneously. As accessory deities of Confucius, sixteen were enshrined by being painted on the walls of the 两廡 (corridors) on either side of the main hall of the Confucius Temple. According to the Confucius Temple system developed during the Northern and Southern Song dynasties, the statues of Confucius, the subordinate deities, and the ten great disciples were to be placed in the main hall, whereas other accessory deities were to be depicted on the corridor walls. In other words, at this time, the provincial

rituals. Shrines for former worthies were likely not included in the ritual book at first because there was little justification for their enshrinement, but they were eventually included and acknowledged as official rituals.

school of Xinghua next to the past Confucian scholars (likely adjacent to Wang An-shi) enshrined sixteen local worthies. In addition, many of them were selected from influential Xinghua families, reflecting the local community's dynamics.

The number of such shrines increased over time, and the number of "Great Worthies" rose from 16 during the middle of the Southern Song to 337 by the end of the Qing dynasty. In addition, the number of past Confucian scholars who were worshiped alongside Confucius increased over time, and by the end of the Qing, the provincial school of Xinghua had become a ritual space for over 500 deities. Despite the fact that the number of shrines for former worthies continued to increase, the concept of former worthies was separated into the categories of 鄉賢 (local worthies) and 名宦 (great officials) during the late Southern Song and Ming periods. Great natives are referred to as local worthies, whereas great persons who were assigned to the area as local officials are referred to as great officials. As the number of shrines for former worthies in the school increased, they were divided into two groups, namely, local worthies and great officials, and placed in separate halls. During the middle of the Ming dynasty, these were clearly outlined as a system, and each school was required to establish its own shrines of local worthies and great officials. Comparing the situation at the end of the Qing with Xinghua, there were 222 local worthies and 115 great officials among the 337 shrines for former worthies. The number of local worthies was significantly greater than that of great officials, and the first sixteen individuals who were considered "Great Worthies" in the Southern Song were all Xinghua natives, so they were incorporated into local worthies.

Since the middle of the Southern Song, the concept of former worthies has been distinguished into local worthies and great officials. In fact, around this time, as the number of former worthies enshrined in schools increased in many regions, there were heated debates regarding the justification for doing so. In addition to having achievements and morals worthy of being enshrined, the person had to be able to explain,

based on Confucian classics, why this particular worthy should be enshrined in this particular area. During the Song dynasty, many different deities, including those of popular cults, were enshrined in temples and shrines, and the central government was responsible for authorizing and regulating these temples and shrines. Furthermore, during this period, there were numerous local intellectuals who supported neo-Confucianism in opposition to Wang An-shi and his successors' scholarship. They viewed Zhou Dun-yi, Cheng Hao, and Cheng Yi as the source of their education, and many shrines for Zhou Dun-yi were constructed in schools in many places. Zhu Xi wrote in praise of the shrine for Zhou Dunyi, Cheng Hao, and Cheng Yi constructed at the school in Wuyuan, Huizhou, that the former worthies to be enshrined at the school should have been "born in this region," "lived in this region," or "served as local officials in this region." This explanation may have been Zhu Xi's own characterization of the type of former worthies who had been worshiped at the school, but it was also the result of a compromise reached between the central government's control over unregulated rituals and the intellectuals who opposed the central government and supported neo-Confucianism.

With the spread of neo-Confucianism, the three conditions outlined by Zhu Xi generally took root, but in the process, the phenomenon of the differentiation of former worthies into the two concepts of local worthies and great officials emerged. In other words, those who were "born in this region" were considered local worthies, whereas those who "served as local officials in this region" were considered great officials. Those who "lived in this region" were formally referred to as "流寓（emigrated worthies）", but were more commonly referred to as "local worthies." After Zhu Xi's death, Wei Liao-weng played an important role in the conceptual differentiation that developed in the late Southern Song period. He played a major role in establishing the orthodoxy of neo-Confucianism by working to honor Zhou Dun-yi, Cheng Hao, and Cheng Yi, and by urging the imperial court to grant posthumous titles to

these three scholars. He also penned numerous commemorative texts on the shrines for former worthies installed in many local schools, including the shrines for Zhou Dun-Yi, in which he emphasized the three conditions set forth by Zhu Xi and also presented a more critical point: the former worthies should be enshrined primarily by their descendants. At least until the conclusion of the Southern Song, a large number of intellectuals held this view, which was consistent with contemporary social conditions. In fact, there are instances in which a new shrine of a former worthy was built at a local school, and the descendants of that worthy were invited to the school to maintain and perform rituals at the shrine. Moreover, in some cases, because of the costs associated with the ongoing maintenance of the shrine for the former worthy, the school would cover the maintenance costs and living expenses, and the descendants would be trained in Confucianism so that they would not be ashamed of their ancestors. In light of these examples, the shrines for former worthies enshrined in the schools became inextricable from the descendants who resided in these regions.[7]

In other words, despite the fact that the number of former worthies increased as they were separated into local worthies and great officials, the local worthies were more important to the local community during the Southern Song period and later. Historically speaking, the equivalent of the shrine of great officials can be identified from much earlier times. It was not uncommon for shrines to be constructed and worshiped by the people in the regions where great local officials had been assigned in later generations. Meanwhile, the equivalent of the shrines for local worthies is a more recent phenomenon, and the Five Teachers enshrined in Fuzhou at the end of the Northern Song were likely its earliest examples. If a person were a prominent figure who would remain famous for gener-

7 Ai-xian Shrine is an excellent illustration of this. During the Chunyou period at the end of the Southern Song, Lin Wen-yu, the grandson of Lin Guang-chao, organized a ritual service, for which the school paid his expenses and provided him with a place to live.

ations, it was customary for him to have a grave in the land of his birth, and if descendants existed, the rituals would not be interrupted. Therefore, there was little reason for a powerful clan that had resided in the area for generations to build and enshrine a new shrine. It is important to note that these worthies began to be enshrined in the public space of local schools, and that the space for enshrining Confucius and other great scholars of the past evolved into a space that also enshrined great worthies representing the region, with the selection of these worthies influenced by the powerful local clans.

Conclusion

Not only did the population increase during the Song period, but because of the development of the imperial examination system, far more people became educated in Confucianism and aspired to become bureaucrats than had been before that time. However, as time passed, it became increasingly difficult to pass the examinations, and despite their best efforts, many people were unable to enter the bureaucracy. This resulted in the formation of a thick stratum of intellectuals in the local areas, and the schools that were established nationwide served as a place to accommodate them. Prior to the middle of the Northern Song, those who wished to acquire academic skills and become bureaucrats had to study to a limited number of large cities, such as the capital city, in order to do so. However, after the late Northern Song period, when schools became widely available, uniform places were provided in all regions, and it was possible to reproduce the intellectual class within a region. However, school was not always a place for learning alone. It was more important to pledge adherence to Confucian teachings through rituals, thereby validating a shared consciousness as an intellectual. Conversely, belonging to a school, and participation in its rituals signified intellectual recognition and membership in the intellectual community. During the Southern Song period, schools were accepted in a number of regions and

developed close ties to their local communities. Another manifestation of this trend is the standardization of local worthies' shrines, and in addition to being uniform ritual spaces, schools also included ritual spaces that expressed the local tradition and order. Thus, by the end of the Southern Song period, the school in ancient China was the most important local public space for the intellectual class.

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5

From Common and Public Space to Official Space:

Forms and Spirits of Ritual in Local Societies in Ancient China

Yuki Tanaka

1. Xiang and Dang

Here, I take up Chapter 10 of *The Analects of Confucius*, which concerns the *xiangdang* 鄉党. First, I will discuss the meanings of *xiang* 鄉 and *dang* 党. Their meanings are explained by *Liji* 礼記 as follows:

> In the counting system used under the Zhou dynasty, 25 households are one *lü*, four *lü* 閭 are one *zu* 族, five *zu* are one *dang* 党, five *dang* are one *zhou* 州, and five *zhou* are one *xiang* 鄉.[1]

According to *Liji*, 500 houses are one *dang*, and 125,00 houses are one *xiang*. Thus, a *xiangdang* first refers to a local administrative division. As language continued to evolve, the *xiangdang* came to refer to local society in ancient China. The *xiangdang* chapter of *The Analects* describes Confucius's hometown, and it includes some presentation of

1 *Liji* 礼記, *Qulishang* 曲礼上, *the note of Zheng Xuan* 鄭玄注, *"周禮, 二十五家爲閭, 四閭爲族, 五族爲黨, 五黨爲州, 五州爲鄉."*

his daily life in relation to food, clothing, and housing. From this description, we can observe many specific forms of ritual that can be observed in Confucius's behavior. Thus, this chapter is an important work for the study of Confucian rituals.

What is ideal behavior in a local society? The beginning of this chapter makes the following observation:

> When Confucius was in his village, he was quietly sincere, as if he could not speak. When he was in the ancestral temple or the court, he was eloquent, but extremely cautious.[2]

Confucius seemed calm and taciturn in his hometown, but he spoke very readily and cautiously in the ancestral temple and in the king's court.

The *xiangdang* is the space where Confucius spent most of his life. The chapter of *The Analects* just describes three types of behavior that Confucius exhibited.

First, the text describes his behavior at home, that is to say, in a private space. Second, it shows his behavior in the *xiangdang*, or local society, that is to say, in common spaces. In this paper, common spaces are taken to mean spaces that can only be used by the people who live in a given area. They are not open to everyone. There is a third type of place, called *waichao* 外朝. This place falls outside of the official gate（*gongmen* 公門）of the king's court. This can be said to be a public space. Unlike common spaces, public spaces are open to everyone. The final type of behavior is that described when Confucius was serving as a deacon at an ancestral temple and court of Lu 魯; this is called an official space.

In this chapter, I describe how the saint who is most idealized in Confucianism behaved in these different spaces. First, I present Confucius's

2 *The Analects of Confucius*, *"孔子於鄉黨, 恂恂如也, 似不能言者。其在宗廟朝廷, 便便言, 唯謹爾."* Translation from *The Analects of Confucius* 論語 translated by A. Charles Muller. http://www.acmuller.net/con-dao/analects.html
In the following citation of *the Analects*, I also refer to the translation of Muller.

life, and consider the meaning that his hometown had for him. I also consider what we can learn from Confucius's behavior in his hometown. Second, I will describe Confucius's behaviors in his private space and in common spaces in detail in terms of his appearance, appropriate clothing, patterns of eating and drinking, and types of hospitality. Third, I consider the behavior of Confucius in the public space of the area outside the official gate of the king's court and in official space. I adopt the perspective of a gate (*men* 門) and interpret the boundaries between these spaces.

Here, I show that to make an ideal space, people's behavior is also important.

2. The Life of Confucius

The following is the chronology of the life of Confucius.[3] The underlined part of this chronology refers to the period when Confucius spent time in Lu. For political reasons, he was forced to leave his hometown and visit other countries, but he spent most of his life in his hometown.

In the 21st year of Xianggong 襄公 (552 BCE), Confucius was born in Zou village 陬邑 of Changping town 昌平郷, Lu 魯.

In the 23rd year of Xianggong (550 BCE), Confucius's father, Shu Lianghe 叔梁紇, died.

In the 8th year of Zhaogong 昭公 (534 BCE), Confucius married Jianguanshi 幵官氏 from Song 宋.

In the 9th year of Zhaogong (533 BCE), his son Li 鯉 was born.

In the 13th year of Zhaogong (529 BCE), his mother Yanshi 顔氏 died.

In the 17th year of Zhaogong (525 BCE), in this year, he had already served Lu.

3 (Kanaya 1963: 403–6).

In the 25th year of Zhaogong (517 BCE), he went to Qi 斉 with Zhaogong, because the Three Huan (三桓氏) of Lu attacked Zhaogong and Zhaogong was exiled to Qi.

In the 26th year of Zhaogong (516 BCE), Confucius returned to Lu from Qi.

※ Some consider that he stayed in Qi until 510 BCE.

In the 1st year of Dinggong 定公 (509 BCE), Dinggong ascended the throne.

In the 5th year of Dinggong (505 BCE), Yang Hu's 陽虎 autocracy began, and there was an attempt to make Confucius serve.

In the 9th year of Dinggong (501 BCE), Confucius began to serve Lu.

※ Yang Hu fled to Qi.

In the 10th year of Dinggong (500 BCE), he accompanied the Alliance with the Jia 夾 and had meritorious achievements.

In the 12th year of Dinggong (498 BCE), he tried to suppress the power of the Three Huan and failed.

In the 13th year of Dinggong (497 BCE), Confucius left Lu and went to Wei 衛.

※ After this, for 14 years, he visited Cao 曹, Song, Zheng 鄭, Chen 陳, Wei, Chen, Cai 蔡, Chu 楚, and Wei, one after another. He stayed for a long time in Wei and Chen.

In the 11th year of Aigong 哀公 (484 BCE), he returned to Lu from Wei. His son Li died at the age of 50.

In the 13th year of Aigong (482 BCE), Yuan Hui 顔回 died at the age of 41.

In the 14th year of Aigong (481 BCE), Aigong hunted and caught lin 麟. Confucius lamented this.

In the 16th year of Aigong (479 BCE), Confucius died at the age of 74.

First, where was Confucius's hometown? Huang Kan's 皇侃 *Lunyu-*

yishu 論語義疏 is one of the most influential commentaries on *The Analects*. He writes,

> This chapter mentioned about Confucius's daily life and his moral behavior. '*yu xiangdang* 於鄉黨' refers to a time when he was in his hometown, as when Confucius returned home, he taught people there. The place of *tianzi*'s 天子 *jiao* 郊 was called the *xiangdang*, and the outside of the *jiao* was called *suibi* 遂鄙. Confucius lived in *Lu,* and the ruler of *Lu* was the *zhuhou* 諸侯. This chapter refers to the *xiangdang*, so we could know it is in *zhuhou*'s country. The place in the *jiao* was also called *xiang*, the place outside of it was also called *sui*. Confucius's home would be in the *jiao* of Lu, so this chapter said, "he was in *xiangdang*." The word *xunxun* 恂恂 means calm and reverent appearance. After returning his hometown, Confucius communicated with local people with a calm and reverent demeanor, so the text reads, "*xunxun ru* 恂恂如." Because Confucius behaved calmly and reverently, he did not say much, so when we saw him at first, he looked as if he could not speak.（"Confucius is at the ancestral temple and the court"）meant that Confucius helped the ruler as a deacon at the ancestral temple and court. When he was at the ruler's court, he was required to answer in speech, and when entering the ruler's ancestral temple, he had to ask about everything, so he could not help saying something. He had to speak fluently, so this chapter reports that "he was eloquent." His words were fluent, but very reverent; therefore, it described him as "extremely cautious."[4]

The *xiangdang* was located in the suburbs of Lu. When Confucius returned to the *xiangdang,* he interacted with the people calmly. His hometown was called Queli 闕里. To identify Queli, Jiang Yong 江永（1681–1762）investigated many ancient documents, and concluded the following:

> *Shiji Kongzishijia* 史記 孔子世家 said that Confucius was born in Zou 陬 village,

4 *Huang, Kan, Lunyuyishu*, vol.5, p.233, *"此一篇至末, 並記孔子平生德行也。'於鄉黨', 謂孔子還家教化於鄉黨中時也. 天子郊内有鄉黨, 郊外有遂鄙. 孔子居魯, 魯是諸侯, 今云鄉黨, 當知諸侯亦郊内為鄉, 郊外為遂也. 孔子家當在魯郊内, 故云 '於鄉黨' 也. '恂恂', 温恭貌. 既還鄉黨, 鄉黨宜須和恭以相接, 故 '恂恂如' 也。既其温恭, 則言語寡少, 故一往觀之, 如 '似不能言者' 也." (云 '其在宗廟朝廷 ...' 者) 謂孔子助君祭在宗廟及朝延也。既在君朝, 應順酬荅及入大廟每事須問竝不得不言也。言須流, 故云 '便便言' 也。言雖流喠, 而必謹敬, 故云'唯謹爾'也。"*

> Xiangping 昌平 of Lu, in the 22nd year of Xianggong... Zou village was ruled by Confucius's father. In *The Analects* Zou is written 郰, but *Chunjiu Zuoshizhuan* 春秋左氏伝 writes 郰, and other later texts have 鄒. *Yitongzhi* 一統志 said, "So Zoucheng was in Zou prefecture," but in fact it was not Zou country 鄒国. *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義 cited *Kuodizhi* 括地志 and said: "So Zoucheng 鄒城 is 60 li 里 southeast of Yanzhou 兗州, Sishui prefecture 泗水県. Xiangping mountain 昌平山 was 60 *li* south of this prefecture, and the village was named after this mountain. From this description, we learn that Queli was 50 li south east of Sishui prefecture, and Confucius's home was in Queli at Lu cheng 魯城, Qufu, 曲阜 prefecture of Yanzhou...." *Shiji Zhengyi* said that "Confucius was born in Zou, and after growing up, he moved to Qufu. Both Zou and Qufu were called Queli."[5]

> In Zhuhou's country, the area 50 *li* around the capital was called the *sanxiang* 三郷; it was also like the system of the king. …Confucius was born in Queli, Xiangping of Lu; after growing up, he moved to a place southwest of Qufu that was also called Queli. He lived in the capital, but this was called the *xiangdang*, due to the comparison with the king's court.[6]

According to Jiang Yong 江永, Confucius was born in the village of Zou 陬 and moved to Qufu 曲阜. On this showing, Zou, and Qufu should be called the *xiangdang*.

First, why is the *xiangdang* mentioned in *The Analects*? In his book *Sishuzhangjujizhu* 四書章句集注, Zhu Xi 朱熹 cited Yang Shi's 楊時 idea, saying that the way of the saints was in everyday life.

> Yangshi said, "The way of the saints was not always far from life. So, his disciples all watched, and wrote down Confucius's every behavior in daily life." Yinshi 尹氏 said, "How wonderful it was for the disciples of Confucius to learn from the appearance and behavior

5 *Jiang, Yong, Xiangdangtukao*, vol.2, *Shengji 聖跡, Shisheng zhiwei weilichengtiankao 始生至為委吏乘田考*, pp.84–5, *"史記孔子世家 '孔子生魯昌平鄉陬邑, 魯襄公二十二年而孔子生. ... 又按陬邑者, 孔子父所治邑. 論語作 '郰', 左傳作 '郰', 後或作 '鄒'. 一統志云 '故鄒城在鄒縣界内', 其實非鄒國之鄒也. 史記正義引括地志 '故鄒城在兗州泗水縣東南六十里, 昌平山在縣南六十里, 鄉以山爲名. 故闕里在縣南五十里, 而兗州曲阜縣魯城西南三里有闕里中有孔子宅'. ... 正義云 '夫子生在鄒、長徙曲阜、仍號闕里也'."*

6 *Jiang, Yong, Xiangdangtukao*, Vol.10, *Zadian 雑典, Xiangdangkao 郷党考, "按諸侯五十里內爲三鄉, 亦如天子之制. ... 孔子生魯昌平鄉闕里, 後徙居曲阜西南三里, 亦名闕里. 雖居國都亦日鄉黨對朝廷言之也。"*

> of saints, describe it with admiration, showing it in a way that future generations could understand. I am reading *The Analects* now, and I can understand Confucius's behavior clearly, it is as if the saints are right in front of us. But would the saint have consciously behaved in such a manner? I think the behavior of saint with the highest morals is perfect match to the rituals."
>
> The *xiangdang* was where his family and relatives lived, so Confucius's appearance, and behavior were like that.
>
> This chapter describes the differences in Confucius' appearance and behavior in the ancestral temple and the court. [7]

That is to say, a highly moral person such as Confucius was always well–behaved. Because the *xiangdang* was where the family lived, Confucius's appearance became calmer there. This passage shows the difference in Confucius's words, deeds, and his appearance in the *xiangdang* and at the ancestral temple and in the king's court.

Sun Qifeng 孫奇逢 describes the purpose of this chapter in the following way:

> This chapter shows that Confucius's every behavior had the most reasonable rule, so he did not need to consider, always being matched with *tian* 天. The *xiangdang* was the place for the first step of becoming a person. On another day, we could participate in the activities of the king's court and communicate with neighboring countries. We could also serve those in higher positions and communicate with those in lower ones. Thus, the recorder of this book first discusses the *xiangdang* in this chapter.[8]

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7 *Zhu*, *Xi*, *Sishuzhangjujizhu*, *Lunyu* 論語, vol.5, *Xiangdang*, *vol.10* 鄉党第十, pp. 116–117, *"楊氏曰, 聖人之所謂道者, 不離乎日用之閒也. 故夫子之平日一動一静, 門人皆審視而詳記之. ○尹氏曰, 甚矣, 孔門諸子之嗜學也於聖人之容色言動, 無不謹書而備録之以貽後世. 今讀其書即其事宛然如聖人之在目也. 雖然聖人豈拘拘而為之者哉. 蓋盛徳之至動容周旋自中乎禮耳. 學者欲潛心於聖人, 宜於此求焉."*
"鄉黨, 父兄宗族之所在, 故孔子居之其容貌辭氣如此."
"此一節記孔子在鄉黨宗廟朝廷言貌之不同."

8 *Sun*, *Qifeng*, *Sishujinzhi* 四書近指, vol.8, *Kongziyuxiangzhang* 孔子於鄉章, p.710, *"此章見孔子每事各有至當之則, 不待安排, 恰與天則相合. 鄉黨是做人第一步, 他日立朝廷, 交隣國, 事上接下, 倶在此植基, 故記者以鄉黨先之."*

Sun Qifeng said that Confucius behaved properly in everything he did and merged with heaven without doing special effort. He wrote that the *xiangdang* was a place for the first step of becoming a person, and with this experience, we were able to participate in the activities of the king's court or in foreign diplomacy. Based on our experience in our hometown, we can associate with all kinds of people in the political space. Thus, the recorder of this book first discussed the nature of the hometown in this chapter.

Confucius sometimes remained in his hometown, and sometimes he traveled beyond Lu. He often faced to very difficult situation, but his behavior in the *xiangdang* became the basis of all human and nation relationships.

3. Confucius's behavior in the *xiangdang* as a common space

How did Confucius behave in the *xiangdang* as a common space?

> When he ate, he was not averse to refined rice nor to finely minced meat.
> He would not eat rice that was rancid or had gone rotten, nor fish and meat that had spoiled.
> He would not eat food that had a bad color or smell; he would not eat food that was not cooked to the proper level, or which was out of season; nor would he eat food that was not properly sliced, or did not come with the appropriate condiments.
> Even if there was a lot of meat, he would not eat it greater quantity than rice.
> It was only wine with which he did not limit himself, but at the same time, he never lost control of himself.
> He would not drink wine or eat dried meat that came from the marketplace.
> He would not refrain from eating food with ginger, but he would not overdo it.
> When there was a sacrifice for the ruler, he would not keep the meat overnight. As for sacrificial meats in general, he would not keep them more than three days, and if they were more than three days old, he would not eat them.
> He did not chat while eating and did not talk after retiring.
> No matter what kind of simple fare it might be, such as coarse rice or broth, he would always make an offering, doing so with due solemnity.[9]

Thus, Confucius was also very careful in everyday life. How did Confucius get along with other people in his hometown?

> If a mat was not straight, he would not sit on it.[10]
> When drinking with the townsfolk, he would leave only after the elders had done so. When the townsfolk carried out rituals for the cleansing of evil spirits, he would don his ceremonial court robes and stand on the eastern steps.[11]
> There was a fire in the stables. When the Master returned from court, he asked: "Was anybody hurt?" He didn't ask about the horses.[12]
> When a friend died, if there was no one to handle the funeral, he would say, "I will take care of it." When a friend would send a gift of food — even horses and carriages — if it was not sacrificial meat, he would not bow.[13]
> When he slept, he would not lie on the bed like a corpse. At home, he would not put on any special airs. When he saw someone in mourning clothes, even if he knew them well, he would change his expression. Encountering a person in full attire, or the blind, even if he was in his informal home dress, he would show the proper attitude. Encountering someone in mourning, he would lower his head in the carriage, and would do the same for someone carrying census boards. When delicious food was served, his expression would change and he would stand up. His expression would also change with a sudden thunderclap or violent wind.[14]

Thus, Confucius is reported to have treated the people of his hometown with courtesy and compassion, no matter who they were. Even when he was in a private room, he slept in a neat position, but he did not behave too formally. He was also quick to change his appearance to suit

9 *The Analects of Confucius*, *Xiangdang*, *"食不厭精. 膾不厭細. 食饐而餲, 魚餒而肉敗不食. 色惡不食. 臭惡不食. 失飪不食. 不時不食. 割不正不食. 不得其醬不食. 肉雖多, 不使勝食氣. 唯酒無量, 不及亂. 沽酒市脯不食. 不撤薑食, 不多食. 祭於公不宿肉. 祭肉不出三日. 出三日, 不食之矣. 食不語, 寢不言. 雖蔬食菜羹瓜, 祭必齊如也."*

10 *"席不正, 不坐."*

11 *"鄉人飲酒, 杖者出, 斯出矣. 鄉人儺, 朝服而立於阼階."*

12 *"廄焚. 子退朝曰, 傷人乎, 不問馬."*

13 *"朋友死, 無所歸, 曰, 於我殯. 朋友之饋, 雖車馬, 非祭肉不拜."*

14 *"寢不尸, 居不容. 見齊衰者, 雖狎必變. 見冕者與瞽者, 雖褻必以貌. 凶服者式之, 式負版.有盛饌必變色而作. 迅雷風烈必變. 升車必正立執綏."*

the occasion.

4. The *waichao* 外朝 as a public space

Next, in relation to the idea of the gate, I interpret the region outside the official gate（*gongmen* 公門）of the king's court as a public space, and the *xiangdang* as a common space.

To better understand the *xiangdang*, the book *Xiangdangtukao 郷党図考* by Jiang Yong is very useful. Jiang Yong was from Wuyuan 婺源 County, Anhui 安徽 Province. He had studied ancient Confucian books as well as Western books on several topics, including phonology, mathematics, and Western and Chinese astronomy. He had a great influence on Dai Zhen（戴震, 1724–1777）, who was well known for his bibliographical study of Chinese classics during the Qing 清 dynasty. Jiang Yong respected for the philosophy of Zhu Xi and wrote Notes on Zhu Xi's Jinsilu 近思録. He drew many diagrams about rituals. *Xiangdangtukao* also contains diagrams of rituals in the *xiangdang* and on the king's court. Here, we observe Jiang Yong's strong ability to imagine space. He is the first philosopher to have studied ancient texts while making concrete assumptions on what kind of movements would take place in such space.

I note the significance of *Xiangdangtukao* within the history of philosophy. Because the chapter of *xiangdang* contains many ritual objects, and these are very difficult to understand, the study of this chapter is relatively weak in the study of *The Analects* from past dynasties. However, Jiang Yong began to study these ritual objects in detail, and *Sikuquanshu zongmutiyao 四庫全書総目提要* shows that his research into the institutions of the king's court was highly professional.

In the *xiangdang* chapter of *The Analects*, Confucius is described as entering the official gate, going up to the hall, and returning to his seat.

> When he came through the court door, he shrunk down deferentially, as if there was not enough space. Once inside, he did not stand in the middle, and he would not step on the

threshold. When he passed in front of the ruler's position, his expression became serious, and he stepped carefully in small steps; it seemed difficult for him to speak. He lifted up the hems of his skirt when entering the hall, nodding deeply in respect. He held his breath as if he could not breathe. Upon leaving, once he had gone down one step, his countenance became relaxed, and he appeared to be contented. Reaching the bottom of the stairs he began to move briskly, his arms like wings. Returning to his original position, he was deferential.[15]

There are different interpretations of what *The Analects* called the official gate. According to Cheng Shude 程樹徳, the following five interpretations are the most convincing[16].

The first is the interpretation that the official gate is the gate called Kumen 庫門. The second is that it was Zhimen 雉門, and the third is Lumen 路門. Following these is the interpretation that the official gate refers to the two gates Kumen and Zhimen together. Jiang Yong supports this interpretation. Finally, there is an interpretation is that it means three different gates: Kumen, Zhimen, and Lumen. According to Jiang Yong, Zheng Zinong 鄭子農, who was active during the Han dynasty, misunderstood that Zhimen was outside of the Kumen. Because of this misunderstanding, another misconception arose that the *waichao* was outside the Zhimen. However, Jiang Yong thought that the *waichao* should be outside the Kumen, and in the *waichao,* people could come, and go freely in ordinary times.

I think that Zheng Zinong made a mistake in saying that Zhimen was outside of Kumen in the king's court, and the notes by *Zhouli Xiaosiguan 周禮小司冠* also said that the *waichao* was outside of Zhimen. *Chaoshi*'s *朝士* notes do not agree with Zheng Zinong's idea, claiming that waichao was outside of Kumon and inside of Gaomen 皐門. This interpretation became the accepted theory. I think *Chaoshi*'s note is right. … The *waichao* was outside of Kumen, and there was no ruler's room, so could come, and go in ordinary times.

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15 *"入公門, 鞠躬如也, 如不容. 立不中門, 行不履閾. 過位, 色勃如也, 足躩如也, 其言似不足者. 攝齊升堂, 鞠躬如也, 屏氣似不息者. 出, 降一等, 逞顏色, 怡怡如也. 沒階, 趨進, 翼如也. 復其位. 踧踖如也."*

16 *Cheng Shude*, *Lunyujishi 論語集釈,* vol.2, pp.645–648, *Gongmen fanyou wushuo 公門凡有五説.*

This is described in the work of *Zhouli Chaoshi*: If people find lost property, escaped slaves, six types of livestock shall be sent to the outer court and reported to the Chaoshi, and if no one has reports them after ten days, they were confiscated. *Guoyu Jinyu 国語 晋語* said even a wealthy merchant of the *jiang* 絳 would pass through the imperial court with a short leather robe and a carrying pole,[17] and people went and came by their carriage. In the outer court, the ruler did not always come, The *sanxun* 三詢[18] described in *jingzhuan* 経伝 are these: Pangeng 盤庚 swore to the people（*Shangshu 尚書 Pangengshang 盤庚上*）, and he made the people go forward（*Shangshu Pangengzhong 盤庚中*）; the great king of Zhou gathered the *qilao*（耆老, the old and virtuous）and announced to intention to move to the country...[19]

Chaoshi, in *Zhouli,* was responsible for work related to the grade of officials in the *waichao* and prisons.

Chaoshi established the means of governing the outer court. At the left side of the outer court, he planted nine thorny trees as places for *jingdafu* 卿大夫, and many *shi* 士 were behind them. At the right side of the outer court, he also planted nine thorny trees, which were places for *gong* 公, *hou* 侯, *bai* 伯, zi 子, and *nan* 男. Many officials were behind them. In front of them, there were three Styphnolobium japonicum, and here were places for *three gong* 三公. The head of *zhou* 州 and many people were behind them. On the left side, there are *jiashi* 嘉石 used to civilize bad people. At the right side, there were *feishi* 肺石 used to communicate the complaint of the poor to superiors. Chaoshi led the clique and patrol outer court and picking up the whip, evicted passers–by, driving away people who were negligent, disrespectful, or congregating in irregular positions at outer court. When people find lost property, escaped slaves, or, and of the six type of livestock, they shall be

17 *Guoyu*, *Jinyu* *“絳之富商, 韋藩木楗而過於朝.”*

18 *Zhouli*, *Qiuguan*, *Sikou 司寇, Xiaosikou 小司寇, “小司寇之職, 掌外朝之政. 以致萬民而詢焉. 一曰詢國危. 二曰詢國遷. 三曰詢立君.”*

19 *Xiangdangtukao*, vol.4, *Gonshi 宮室, Waichao 外朝 “按先鄭誤, 以天子雉門在庫門外, 小司冠注亦因之謂外朝在雉門外. 朝士注皆破先鄭之説, 外朝在庫門之外, 皋門之内. 此為定説. 当以朝士注為正.... 外朝在庫門外, 無宮室, 平時臣民, 皆得往来, 朝士職云 “凡得獲貨, 賄人民六畜者, 委於朝, 告於士, 旬而挙之.” 謂 ‘委於朝十日, 待来識之’ 者, 是凡民皆可至外朝矣. 諸侯之外朝, 在庫門外者, 亦然. 故晋語云 ‘絳之富商, 韋藩木楗而過於朝’, 是凡民可以車往来. 外朝, 君不常視, 三詢之事, 見於経伝者, 盤庚出矢言登進厥民太王属耆老而告詢国遷也. ... 其実治朝仍在中門之内, 若外朝則在大門之外矣. 賈疏引此事云 ‘兩社在大門内, 中門外爲外朝, 與鄭説不合非是.’”*

sent to the outer court and reported to Chaoshi, and if no one reports their loss after ten days, they are confiscated.[20]

Zhengxuan 鄭玄 cited Zhen Zinong's notes.[21] At the court of Lu, Kumen was equal to the Gaomen 皐門 of Tianzi, and Zhimen was equal to the Yingmen 応門 of Tianzi. Thus, the court of Lu did not have Gaomen and Yingmen. Based on the notes of Zheng Zinong, the outermost gate was Zhimen, and there was Kumen between Zhimen and Lumen.[22] However, Zhen Xuan, drawing on *Liji Tanggong* 禮記檀弓, considered that Kumen should have been outside of Zhimen, where the outermost gate was Kumen and Zhimen was between Kumen and Lumen. He indicated that the outer court was outside of Kumen. However. according to Jiang Yong, Zheng Xuan said that "the outer court was the court outside of Zhimen," based on the notes of *Zhouli Qiuguan Xiaosiguan*.[23]

The five gates of Tianzi were Gaomen, Kumen, Zhimen, Lumen, and Yingmen. Gaomen was the outermost gate, and the outer court was between Gaomen and Kumen. Behind it were Zhimen, Lumen, and Yingmen. If we consider the gates of Zhuhou, Kumen was the outermost gate, and there was an outer court between Kumen and Zhimen, behind which was Lumen. People could enter the *waichao* that was outside of the Kumen.

According to Jiangyong, the public gate referred to Kumen and Zhimen, so Confucius, after entering the Kumen through the outer court, walked cautiously, unlike the behavior in his hometown. The

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20 *Zhouli*, *Qiuguan*, *Chaoshi* *"朝士掌建邦外朝之灋, 左九棘, 孤卿大夫位焉, 羣士在其後. 右九棘, 公侯伯子男位焉, 羣吏在其後. 面三槐, 三公位焉, 州長衆庶在其後. 左嘉石, 平罷民焉. 右肺石, 達窮民焉. 帥其屬而以鞭呼趨且辟. 禁慢朝, 錯立族談者. 凡得獲貨賄, 人民, 六畜者, 委于朝, 告于士, 旬而舉之."*

22 *Zheng Xuan*'s note of *Zhouli*, *Qiuguan*, *Chaoshi* *"玄謂, 明堂位說魯公宮曰 '庫門, 天子皐門. 雉門, 天子應門.' 言魯用天子之禮, 所名曰庫門者, 如天子皐門. 所名曰雉門者, 如天子應門. 此名制二兼四, 則魯無皐門應門矣."*

23 *"外朝, 朝在雉門之外者也."*

further that Confucius advanced into the palace and the closer to the presence of the sovereign, the more careful he was in his steps and behavior.

The outer court is a place where the ruler communicates his views or listens to those of the people, but it is also used to return lost property or missing slaves, and people may come, and go in their carriage here.

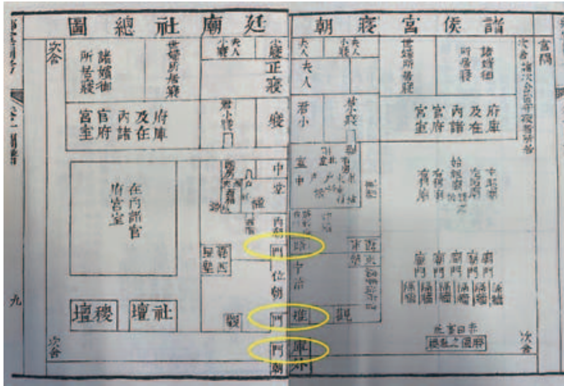

Figure5.1 *Xiangdangtukao 郷党図考*, vol.1., tupu 図譜, pp.36–37.

What role does the gate play? The court of the ancient Chinese king was enclosed behind several gates. According to Hara,[24] a specialist in architecture, space always requires boundaries, and we must imagine boundaries. Architecture refers to drilling holes in closed spaces. Space always seeks to communicate with the outside world. Thus, gates play an important role in communicating between the space for the people and official space. Changing the behavior he exhibited in the *xiangdang,* Confucius entered the space of the king's court, which was closed off by public gates. He freely and quickly changed his words, behavior, and appearance to conform exactly to what was appropriate. Thus, it can be concluded that Confucius altered how he came across through these gates to communicate the people's space and official spaces.

24（Hara 1981: 161–219）.

Conclusion

The foundation of human relations took place in the *xiangdang* and eventually opened up to the political public space. If people could lay this foundation, they could behave appropriately according to the time and place, and they would also be able to treat every person with courtesy.

When moving from place to place, such as from home（家）to the *xiangdang* and from the *xiangdang* to the outer court through the official gate to the inner court（内朝）, Confucius's attitude changed.

In private spaces, he was relaxed but neat, and in common spaces, he became quiet, and obedient, while in official spaces, he was eloquent but cautious. Confucius changed his appearance and behavior whenever he changed locations.

However, he also exhibited an attitude that persisted across changes in space. It was his prudence and fresh approach to human relations. This attitude formed the basis of Confucian rituals.

As Confucius passed through the many gates in the court, he connected private spaces, common spaces' public spaces, and official spaces; communicated with a range of people; and served as a mediator among all levels of space in his time and place of ancient China. To make the most of space and learn something from it, it is necessary to have an attitude like that of Confucius.

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6

Exploring Common Space of Valuation:

A Case Study on the Changing Historical Narratives of Shimenkan Village

Muyun Wang

Introduction

There is a growing interest among scholars and activists in exploring the concept of "common." This interest stems from the increasing search for alternatives to capitalism in response to ongoing socioecological crises (García-López et al. 2021). The definitions of "common" emphasize the interconnectedness within and beyond specific groups. Economic geologist Davie Harvey, for instance, argues that the notion of "common" is not a fixed entity but a dynamic, adaptable social relationship that holds significant importance for certain groups and aspects of life (Harvey 2012:73).

Similarly, the term "common space," the central theme of this booklet, is also understood as a space that embodies such relationships. As Stavrides highlighted, creating a common space is not merely about preserving its existence but also the endeavors to enhance interactions and exchanges with others (Stavrides 2015:11). Undoubtedly, such interactions and exchanges between individuals are intricately complex. Common space exists in diverse forms, revolving around various levels of hu-

man activities.

This chapter attempts to provide a comprehensive perspective on the common space of valuation. Here, diverse actors attribute value to specific things with different narratives. Within this chapter, common space is further defined as a space that enables various actors to engage, coexist, and pursue their respective values, even if their notions of value differ.

To achieve this objective, this chapter presents an in-depth analysis of the historical significance of the Shimenkan（石门坎）area. Shimenkan is in the northwestern area of Weining County, Bijie City, Guizhou Province, China（Figure 6.1）[1]. As described later in this chapter, Shimenkan is widely recognized for its blend of Christian and ethnic culture[2], making its history a captivating tapestry. The analysis focuses on the varying degrees of valuation within the interactions of diverse actors since the 1980s. This chapter endeavors to analyze the dynamics within the common space of valuation by tracing the changing historical narratives and intricate interplay among different actors associated with the context of this area.

The structure of this chapter is outlined as follows. Section 1 presents the historical context of Shimenkan, acknowledging the limitations of the literature research while emphasizing the perspective adopted in this chapter. Drawing upon the author's fieldwork and previous research findings（see, Wang 2019）, section 2 elucidates different actors' activities since the 1980s, while section 3 delves into the nuanced interplay between fiction and fact in the construction of Shimenkan's history. Following this, section 4 presents compelling examples, illustrating how a

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1 Shimenkan is administratively coextensive with Ronghe Village（荣和村）in Shimen Township（石门乡）. Ronghe Village is the location of the township's local government, with a population of approximately 1,500 residents predominantly involved in agricultural activities.

2 As of 2016, Ronghe Village had a population of 2,200 individuals. The village boasts a significant presence of various ethnic groups, including A-Hmao（大花苗）, Hui（回）, and Yi（彝）, with the proportion of ethnic minorities surpassing 48%（Shimen Township Party and Government Comprehensive Office 2016）.

Figure 6.1 Geographical Position of Shimenkan in Guizhou Province
(Source: Created by the author)

common space of valuation has made through different interactions. Through these discussions, this chapter finally illuminates the tension between individuals' ways of life and the narratives of history within a common space of valuation while also exploring the underlying nature of Shimenkan's history that drives this intricate interplay.

1. Literature Review: Shimenkan's Historical Background and the Limitations of Existing Literature

Shimenkan's well-documented history dates back to the early twentieth century. In 1904, Samuel Pollard (1864-1915), a missionary of the United Methodist Mission (循道公会), visited Shimenkan and engaged in evangelistic activities and school education with the cooperation of Han Chinese (汉族) teachers and residents (Pollard and Dymond 1919). At that time, more than 1,000 A-Hmao in and around Shimenkan had converted to Christianity and actively received education. Many individuals who graduated from the missionary and locally established primary

and middle schools became teachers and local government officials, leading Shimenkan to become known as the "area with the highest cultural standards in southwestern China" (Wang 1983:249).[3] Consequently, Shimenkan attracted the vigilance of the ruling authority, the Nationalist Party in China, and was targeted for integration into the national identity. In approximately 1940, natural disasters and conflicts domestically and abroad led to the emergence of bandits in the mountainous areas surrounding Shimenkan. Churches and schools were looted, and foreign missionaries began to return to their home countries for their safety (Shen 2007).

Figure 6.2 Samuel Pollard (top right) and the A-Hmao of Shimenkan in 1906 (Source: Yang Zhiwu's data, 2017)

After the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, support was provided to Shimenkan as part of the national policies aimed at promoting stability and unity. However, starting from the late 1950s, China became embroiled in social turmoil due to class struggles

3 Until 1949, the graduating class of Shimenkan Guanghua Elementary School was predominantly composed of the A-Hmao ethnic group. Several hundred students also proudly completed their middle school education. Approximately 30 individuals furthered their studies at vocational schools and universities; notably, two individuals earned the doctoral degrees (Dong 2004:138).

that arose from conflicts over political ideology, especially during the Cultural Revolution. Following the tide of anti-imperialism associated with class struggles, anything associated with the West became a target of attack. In Shimenkan, the church and the buildings of the missionary and locally established primary and middle schools, as well as the graves of the missionaries, were systematically destroyed. Graduates and Christians became the target of criticism, resulting in many cases of imprisonment, escape, and even suicide (Ma 2016). Although social turmoil subsided, improvements in living conditions and education in Shimenkan were not observed until recently, even after the initiation of the "reform and opening-up policy" *(改革开放政策)*.

As a holder of such a turbulent history, Shimenkan has attracted the attention of researchers. Research on Shimenkan in China originated in the 1980s. Initially, the activities of missionaries were viewed as cultural imperialism by colonialists (Wei 1981). However, subsequent studies have increasingly portrayed missionaries from a positive perspective (Zhu 2015). Since 2000, the terms "Shimenkan culture" and "Shimenkan phenomenon" have been coined to discuss the social transformation of Shimenkan resulting from the introduction of Christianity, leading to ongoing debates.

Research on Shimenkan in the 20th century has primarily focused on explaining and analyzing the introduction and acceptance of Christianity (Yang 1979; So 1989) and minority education (Yuan 2015; He 2016) and examining ethnic identity through the life histories of Miao ethnic leaders (Zhang 2009). Additionally, studies have investigated the role of the A-Hmao in Shimenkan's regional development (Zhou and Lei 2011) and explored poverty alleviation from a sociological perspective (Shen 2007).

Studies in the English language also have predominantly concentrated on the influence of religion and education in shaping and transforming the identity of the A-Hmao in Shimenkan (Enwall 1994; Dai and Dong 2001; Ekazar 2017). Many of these studies have provided

insights into the political dynamics, namely the oppressive relationship and resistance between the Han and A-Hmao ethnic groups (Cheung 2003; Yuan et al. 2014; Ekazar 2019).

Although existing studies on Shimenkan have provided various facets for examining its value, they tend to exhibit an undue preoccupation with the dichotomy between distinct community and individuals outside of this community. This predetermined partitioning of community neglects to recognize the multifaceted relationship present within the A-Hmao/Han and Christian/non-Christian cohorts, as well as the dynamics shaping this diversity across temporal dimensions. As Fujita highlighted, in today's context of increased human mobility and information exchange, viewing "community" as a static concept based solely on geographical or ethnic factors such as "local residents," does not facilitate an accurate understanding of the reality of local commons (Fujita 2011)[4]. Therefore, this chapter considers the community as groups that transcend geographical boundaries, consisting of people who are interlinked by a common activity — exploring the value of Shimenkan. Here, "common space" refers to the shared environment that facilitates engagement among various actors in this activity. The research question is, "What determines the interrelation of different valuation within a common space?" This chapter investigates the dynamics that either accept or reject these divergences in valuation, considering them within the context of the broader historical continuum.

In subsequent sections, the convergence of various actors in Shimenkan and their varying assessments is discussed. Individuals who have arrived in Shimenkan within different contexts and have actively engaged in activities that reveal the value of its history can be regarded as actors within the common space of Shimenkan's valuation. The research findings are derived from semistructured interviews held with 31 participants,

4 Subsequent analysis has revealed that intensified human and information circulation further blurs these preconceived dichotomous relationships (see section 3 and 4).

including intellectuals from nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), government officials, Christians, and residents. Notably, this encompassed prominent local intellectuals recognized as historical storytellers, as well as descendants of significant figures from the A-Hmao ethnic group in the early 20th century. The interviews were conducted during the five instances of fieldwork from 2016 to 2020. This comprehensive analysis allows readers to observe the process of generating a common space for valuation.

2. Actors Come and Go: From Discovering History to Reducing Poverty

To analyze the common space of valuation, it is essential to provide an overview of relevant actors in relation to Shimenkan. Since the 1980s, the significance attributed to the history of this area has been discussed. This interest stems from decrease in societal upheaval since the introduction of the "reform and openning-up" policy, increasing the accessibility of Shimenkan.

However, the recovery from its aftermath has included hardship. Shimenkan not only experienced severe deprivation in the late 1970s but also witnessed a striking contrast regarding its Christian faith and educational standards compared with the early twentieth century. Consequently, many residents held a negative perception of their history, influenced by the accusations levied against their grandparents for their association with Westerners and Christianity. Moreover, their disillusionment with political movements has led to an unfavorable view of Christianity. Z, a historical storyteller of Shimenkan, asserted that in the early 1980s, locals hesitated to build a church in Shimenkan multiple times. The main concern was the potential trouble associated with introducing Christianity to the community[5].

5 From an Interview with Z, held on August 15, 2016 at Shimenkan's market.

The first visitors to arrive in Shimenkan were intellectuals attracted by the history of this village in the 1980s (Tan 1983; Zhang 1992). Many residents have asserted that because of these intellectuals, Shimenkan's glorious past and poor present have become broadly known, and the residents have reevaluated their ancestors' experiences (Wang 2019).

Since then, various private actors have emerged, including NGOs that support poverty alleviation and the transmission of ethnic culture, Christians who consider Shimenkan a holy place for pilgrimages, and activists aiming to understand the key to the social transformation from Shimenkan's history (Wang 2019). Through their publicity, the awareness of Shimenkan increased worldwide. Under their influence, an increasing number of members of the A-Hmao ethnic group and the local society have engaged in sharing the value of Shimenkan's history. Moreover, books on Shimenkan have been published (Tao (ed.) 2007; Zhu 2007).

The residents' activities have significantly affected the local development and visibility of Shimenkan. Notably, 2005 was a turning point

Figure 6.3 The 100th anniversary of the founding of the elementary school and church in Shimenkan

(Source: Chen et al. 2012:89)

that involved the government because it marked the 100th anniversary of the founding of the elementary school and church established in the missionary era. Without governmental cooperation, the private sector organized the celebration with their network. The celebration was surprisingly successful, attracting more than 1,000 participants from across China (Wang 2019). In response to the private sector, the local government, which had not participated in the 2005 Shimenkan celebration, implemented measures to strengthen the official initiative. For instance, in 2006, they held another celebration of the 100th anniversary that positively evaluate Shimenkan's history and culture.

Government and private sector activities surrounding the Shimenkan site have continued. In 2016, the visit of a top-level provincial government official became the catalyst for a tourism development policy (Han 2016; Zhao et al. 2016)[6]. Since then, the government's subsidies have been invested on an unprecedented scale in Shimenkan, including converting the area into a tourist destination. As a result of negotiations between government officials and a tourism consulting firm, the cultural elements of the A-Hmao individuals of Shimenkan became the center of tourism design. There is also a plan for the museum to display the results of the poverty alleviation policy in the tourism area. Notably, the tourism design excluded the Christian church and missionaries' tombs in Shimenkan owing to religious sensitivity[7].

Much of the current landscape of Shimenkan village is significantly shaped by government-led poverty reduction projects. Outside the tourist areas, residential areas have been built. Moreover, the original central market in the old shopping district was moved to a nearby square in the residential area (Figure 6.4). Shimenkan's stores and the flow of individuals have changed alongside the progress of Shimenkan's construction

6 At that time, Shimenkan became a target of the poverty alleviation policy of Guizhou Province, along with extensive infrastructure construction.

7 During the visit in 2020, the church gate was locked, indicating that public tours were not welcomed.

Figure 6.4 Residential areas and market in Shimenkan
(Source: Image captured by the author in June 2020)

and development projects[8]. These changes in the area have further accelerated the in- and out-migration[9].

For the residents, the presence of streetlights and resulting broadening of roads are undoubtedly positive changes. However, some individuals harbor doubts regarding whether such infrastructure can genuinely foster the sustained development of the area. By 2020, the construction for tourism development was almost complete. Despite the progress of infrastructure, especially transportation conditions, tourism and discussions on Shimenkan have not thrived as envisioned in the development plan. There are many reasons for not realizing these objectives, including the COVID-19 pandemic and population migration.

8 Initially, in 2016, there were many construction and material companies, but from approximately 2018 to 2020, the construction of local elementary and middle schools has led to an increase in stores selling stationery and toys.

9 As of 2023, among the interviewees who collaborated with the author, several, for example, C and W, mentioned later, have sought new job opportunities in other areas, and a significant number of individuals, for example, Z, a renowned teller of Shimenkan's history and the pastor of Shimenkan Church, have died from aging or accidents.

3. History of Shimenkan: A Hybrid of Fiction and Fact

3-1 Fabricated but Promotional Version of History

In the aforementioned process of engagement, each actor contributes their perspective on the historical value of Shimenkan. During this process, the history of Shimenkan is also being reconfigured. However, as an area that has experienced natural disasters and significant social changes, the tangible traces of Shimenkan's history have become less visible and verifiable, making such reconfiguration a hybrid of fiction and fact. As a result, some of the narratives most readily accepted by residents have been transmitted as "history."

The origin of the name Shimenkan is a typical example of this phenomenon. In Shimenkan nowadays, "Shimen"(石门, stone gate) refers to the landscape of a rock with a hole that resembles a gate at the entrance of a village leading to the old road on the right (Figure 6.5). According to a famous narrator of history in Shimenkan, "Shimen" has always been a natural occurrence, and its combination with the left "kan"(坎, stone staircase) resulted in the name Shimenkan. Currently, "Shimen" is featured in pamphlets as a symbol of Shimenkan and has become a popular spot for commemorative photographs. Serving as a

Figure 6.5 "Kan"(stone staircase, left) and "Shimen" (stone gate, right)
(Source: Photo captured by the author in February 2017)

metaphor, the "Shimen" that was once opened by missionaries for education and faith is now a significant place for visitors reminiscing about the past and praying for the future one century later.

However, no historical documents have been found to demonstrate that "Shimen" is a natural feature[10]. Furthermore, several elderly residents of Shimenkan have relayed stories suggesting that "Shimen" is a recent creation. One of them, M, stated the following:

> "It's not a natural feature, you know. In the 1980s, when the middle school in Shimenkan wanted to build a cafeteria, a construction team from Sichuan came here to quarry stones. They were stopped by the local elderly residents in the middle of the quarrying process, and it ended up becoming what it is now." (Interview, August 13, 2016)

The government also knows that "Shimen" is the product of incomplete construction. However, because "Shimen" is already famous as a naturally formed landscape, questioning its authenticity at this point would be pointless. Therefore, they continue to use the photographs and descriptions of "Shimen" that promote a fabricated narrative. Thus, despite the discrepancies with narratives provided by other residents, the personal interpretation of the famous narrator of history is propagated as the "true history." In this way, the story of "Shimen" has been firmly established as an attractive origin narrative.

3-2 Confluence of Historical Narratives across Generations and Regions

The narrative of history encompasses more than the internal trans-

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10 Regarding the place name "Shimenkan," according to literature by the son of Christian missionary Parsons Harry ("Zhang Daohui, " 1878-1952), who was active in Shimenkan since the early twentieth century, it was used because the stone stairs were difficult to ascend and descend (Philip, K.P., and Richard, K.P., unpublished). In Chinese, "门坎" (or "门槛") means "threshold. " Thus, the author speculates that "Shimenkan" metaphorically refers to the stairs on the way there as a "stone threshold. "

mission within Shimenkan; it also extends from external sources to the internal domains. When recounting this history, there is a significant generational disconnect.

Interviews with young adults (aged 20–30 years) from the A-Hmao ethnic group in Shimenkan[11] revealed that many had attended schools in other regions and had engaged in migrant work in various cities. As a result, their opportunities to converse with their families decreased. Moreover, because their parents and grandparents did not actively share their experiences, the knowledge of the historical events of Shimenkan within their families was limited. However, individuals working or pursuing education outside their hometown of Shimenkan learned about its history for the first time on television or the internet. This exposure prompted them to learn more about Shimenkan, and they have become a source of knowledge and educational materials for the younger generation of Shimenkan[12].

Thus, written materials authored by outsiders (for example, intellectuals and activists), and online platforms, play a significant role in enabling the young generation of Shimenkan to learn about and engage with their past. The historical narratives of Shimenkan present a blend of factual events and fictional elements, transcending temporal and spatial boundaries. The inherent uncertainty surrounding its accurate historical account has affording varying valuation depending on different viewpoints, further blurring the delineation of this common space.

11 The following excerpt is a compilation of interviews conducted with individuals aged from 20 to 30 years from Shimenkan. Interview with G, held on February 9, 2017, at restaurant in Guiyang City; Interview with WX and her family, held on February 14, 2017, at WX's residence.

12 From an interview with Y and his wife W, held on February 18, 2017 at Shimenkan Nongjiale (restaurant)

4. Dynamics in Common Space of Valuation

4-1 Incompatible Valuation from Conflicting Positions

This section presents the dynamics of this common space in detail through several representative examples. The initial example illustrates the challenge of establishing a common space due to conflicting positions and incompatible valuations.

As aforementioned, Shimenkan is a sensitive area in Guizhou, subject to strict government control, which can explain the limited scope of open discussions. However, neighboring villages, namely, Suke（苏科）and Gebu（葛布）, have been consistently organizing church activities that have steadily increased in regularity and participation without extensive governmental censorship. The official governance of Shimenkan was spurred not only by the state policy related to foreign religions but also by the accumulation of conflicts in daily negotiations. This situation has resulted in the government control over the narrative of Shimenkan's history.

An example is an incident in 2016 when B, a descendant of missionary Samuel Pollard, visited Shimenkan. A significant conflict arose among T, a local government official; Z, the aforementioned renowned local history teller; and S and Y, two active Chinese Christians responsible for arranging the visit. As representatives of Shimenkan, the village's government felt obligated to extend their hospitality to the missionary's descendants. Nevertheless, as exemplified in the following conversation between T and Z, the Christians involved wanted to distance themselves from any association with the government.

> "T: When B and the others came, [...] I said we should be more proactive. [...] The ridiculous thing was that day, the government arranged a party and invited B and them to come and eat. That S and Y got very upset. Say, 'what does this have to do with your government? We do not need your government to take care of us.' "
>
> Z: I was outraged. If the government does not engage, then no matter what happens, it

will be the government's and the country's responsibility. If someone has bad intentions, it will be out of control. [⋯] If it weren't the government, you wouldn't even be able to get in.

T: It was raining heavily a few days ago, and there were landslides. 'Monkey Rock' was full of rocks sliding down there. The government cleared the road in advance, and fixed the slippery rocks on the mountain, just because of worrying about any type of accidents might happen. They came, saying they wanted to eat and live with the individuals, do farm work, teach, and have a charity clinic. We were more worried, so we did not let it; later, they seemed to go to Yunnan to do it. At that time, the school in Shimenkan was closed because of summer vacation. How could we grab students for him to teach?

Z: The fence of the graveside is installed by the church; it might be Y. They separated the government-erected heritage outside the graveside to draw a line with the government. In that pine forest, the tree's center has some insects, so the woodpeckers are there to peck the wood, and the bark will fall off. What a normal thing! However, Y looked and said that the government wanted to destroy the pine planted by the missionary." (Interview, February 18, 2017)

The Christians and the local government have been striving to develop Shimenkan and preserve its culture and history. Particularly notable is that T, a local government official and a descendant of A-Hmao, since his early 20s, has consistently endeavored to improve the lives of residents and maximize the benefits of national policies and visitors. In that sense, he should have had many topics in common with the Christians. However, the Christians viewed T and Z defensively because they were "the government" and refused further communication.

4-2 Inclusive Coexistence of Divergent Valuations

Considering the sensitive history of Shimenkan, rivalry and distrust have entrenched opposing stances among the involved actors, amplifying their urge to assess the value of Shimenkan according to their individual approach, which is shaped by notions of survival and belief. As shown in the example raised in subsection 5-1, these practices have turned the valuation of Shimenkan into an ongoing conflict among numerous actors.

Hence, it is crucial to investigate the coexistence of these diverse val-

ues within this common space. The insights of C, once a school principal in Shimenkan, provide analytical depth to the discussed issue. C was deeply impressed by the voluntary actions of individuals who came to Shimenkan in 2005, prompting him to open an inn in the area because of the insufficient accommodations at that time. This inn gained widespread recognition as a place where individuals from diverse backgrounds could engage in meaningful conversations and active listening. C emphasized the significance of respecting perspectives that differ from one's own. C stated,

> "In all honesty, there are many scholars whom I personally dislike. However, I hold respect for each and every one of them. First, Shimenkan has long been in need of such connections. I do not concern myself with the motives or means by which individuals come to Shimenkan. In my opinion, they serve as 'free advertising' for this place. Embracing various levels, perspectives, and logics of this 'advertising' is equivalent to showing respect for society as a whole. Why? Because society is a multifaceted community. Without diversity, it ceases to function as a society." (Interview, February 26, 2017)

By focusing on the holistic development of the area, C has managed to transcend mere individual preferences. C's practices demonstrate the potential for residents to strategically engage in the "input" process by selectively incorporating narratives from external sources. In this sense, Shimenkan's sensitive history and its value are enhanced through a "passive" approach when compared to other cases[13]. This approach has broadened the common space for multifaceted valuation embedded in different historical narratives.

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13 For example, Shimizu evaluates the intentional use of language and rhetoric by ethnic leaders in Ifugao. These leaders strategically appeal to their audience and evoke emotional responses, aiming to secure funds and cooperation. This deliberate approach, which includes narratives that resonate with outsiders, facilitates the process of mobilizing resources. Residents transform their culture into something valuable, even to external parties (Shimizu 2007:143).

4-3 (Un)favorable valuation

Undoubtedly, not all forms of valuations are welcomed. A prominent example is H, a well-known figure in China's financial industry who commenced his work in Shimenkan in 2010. During his visit to Shimenkan around that time, he was deeply impressed by the "power of faith" exemplified in the story of Shimenkan's community development. In response, he initiated a series of activities and events related to Shimenkan, aiming to emphasize the importance of faith as well as criticize the absence of moral values within China (Wang 2019). In addition to focusing on education, he orchestrated a memorial service for Pollard, translated a biography of the missionary, and produced a documentary film chronicling the evolution of Shimenkan since the start of twentieth century. Also in 2010, he organized a pilgrimage for Christian entrepreneurs in China, with Shimenkan as the focal point. The purpose of this pilgrimage was to assist entrepreneurs in China whose pursuit of commercial interests had overshadowed their spiritual well-being. Furthermore, a SNS group named the "Shimenkan Cheering Group" (*石门坎后援团*) was established, attracting numerous Shimenkan residents as members.

For the residents aspiring for an improved quality of life, the excessive appraisal by such an influential individual might appear advantageous. Nonetheless, as aforementioned, the valuation of Shimenkan appears somewhat disconnected from the present-day reality. The stark disparity between the present situation and the advertised image implies that as the fame of Shimenkan and the number of visitors increase, the risk of becoming a "disappointing place" increases. Based on the author's fieldwork, some of the residents expressed unease with Shimenkan being promoted as a "miracle" or a "holy place." They voiced their desire for Shimenkan to be viewed as an ordinary Chinese village. As T remarked, "Shimenkan is not obliged to cater to the expectations of external parties, including scholars, Christians, or activists." [14]

Another criticism pertains to the perceived absence tangible benefits

brought about by the activists to the local community. The story of W, a descendant of a famous A-Hmao medical doctor in Shimenkan and a member in the "Shimenkan Cheering Group," illustrates this concern. In approximately 2016, government-led infrastructure development increased the number of workers in Shimenkan such that W perceived a business opportunity and converted her house into a restaurant. She needed funding and sought financial support through "The Shimenkan Cheering Group." However, the results were disappointing. Some individuals in the SNS group know her and even interviewed her, but none of the more than 200 members of the SNS group supported her. W questioned, "They say that they are 'the Shimenkan Cheering Group,' but who did they really cheer in Shimenkan? Even though we said we will return the borrowed money, the entrepreneurs and rich people in the group kept silent about our wishes"[15]. In this context, the degree to which valuation is embraced is contingent upon whether the individuals endorsing this process perceive consequential advantages deriving from it.

Conclusion: Toward a Common Space of Valuation for Life

In this chapter, the term "Shimenkan's history" depicts the time in the first half of the twentieth century when individuals were not attempting to create the area's values but simply attempting to improve their quality of life. A byproduct of the effort was that education and religious beliefs spread. Today, this history has been discovered and explained by actors with various purposes, and the valuations of such history were once functioned as means by which people acquire resources and meaning in life.

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14 From an interview with T, held on February 23, 2017, at T's office.

15 From an interview with W, held on February 18, 2017, at Shimenkan Nongjiale (restaurant)

From the early twentieth century up to the present, the sensitive and dramatic history of Shimenkan has served as a double-edged sword. It has ignited curiosity and fueled fervent discussions, thereby garnering attention to this area. Concurrent with this attention are contrasting valuations from assorted actors. While the "real value" of Shimenkan's history remains an ongoing debate, collective engagement in deliberating its value emerges as its most captivating facet. However, whether tourism development evaluates the ethnic group's culture or a pilgrimage to a holy place celebrates the glory of Christianity, exclusive narratives of Shimenkan might lead to forcing the residents to act as the "ideal imagination," namely, "self-motivated A-Hmao" or "devout Christians."

This chapter has offered a novel perspective on generating a common space of valuation. Inevitably, the approach of generation is impressed by the nature of the objects that people hold valuable. The case of Shimenkan illustrates how the nature of sensitivity influences the dynamics of the common space of valuation. It reveals that favorable practices often hinge on strategies that broaden the horizons of one's own existence, thereby allowing divergent values to serve as conduits for accessing external resources — be it by outsiders or insiders, valuation is acceptable when it serves the people but invites criticism when it does the opposite. In the tension between the way individuals lead their lives and the narratives of history exists a dynamic arena in Shimenkan. When confronted by such a common space of valuation that interlinks the lives of disparate, and at times conflicting, it is imperative to contextualize personal valuation by comprehending the value embraced by others, without succumbing to the inclination to validate personal strategy as inherently superior.

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Afterword

Yuki Tanaka

The Room and Space Research Group has been holding meetings for three years. While focusing on the concept of "room" as the most familiar "space" to us, this research group has been reading various texts on "rooms" and "spaces" while incorporating topics that are common to the interests of EAA members. Moreover, the EAA conducts research activities in a space called a "shoin 書院." This is a place where researchers with the same aspirations can gather and learn from one another by sharing the same space. However, when this study group was first established, we were forced to seclude ourselves in our own "rooms" and work from home because of the coronavirus pandemic. We were faced with new challenges, including the absence of a physical space where members could gather and the need to create new online spaces.

During the first half of 2021, we considered the spaces of the house that shape our daily lives. The first, second, and third meetings investigated the text *Our Claims*（私どもの主張; Bunka Seikatsu Kenkyukai, 1921）, which was written by Takeo Arishima, Kokichi Morimoto, and Sakuzo Yoshino. This work presents a theory of houses during the Taisho era. The EAA conducts research and education while thinking

about the future of the world 30 years from now. Yoshino and his colleagues advocated for adopting a "cultural lifestyle" that was conscious of what the future state of the world would be 30 to 100 years from now. They focused on the improvements in daily life that occur in a room. At the fourth meeting, we discussed Kazuyoshi Oishi's book *Houses of England: The Transfiguration of the English Society and the Poetics of Architecture, 1850–1950* (Nagoya University Press, 2019) and considered how houses shape our customs and traditions and influence our sensibilities and thoughts.

At the fifth and sixth meeting, we discussed the spaces associated with sound and ritual. The fifth meeting featured Shoji Sasamoto's *Sounds of the Middle Ages and Sounds of the Early Modern Period: The World Connected by the Sound of Bells* (*中世の音・近世の音　鐘の音の結ぶ世界*; Kodansha, 2008). We considered how sound creates new spaces. Moreover, sound creates not only new spaces but also new times. It also supports people's lives both horizontally (space) and vertically (time); in other words, sound creates the "universe" of life. The sixth meeting featured Jeroen Bokhoven's *Funerals and Buddhist Altars: Ethnographic Research on Ancestor Rituals* (*葬儀と仏壇: 先祖祭祀の民俗学的研究*; Iwata Shoin, 2005). At this meeting, members discussed ceremonial spaces for "worshiping the dead" and how a sense of the "space" and "time" of rituals is cultivated and shared within society. This sense of ritual compartmentalizes feelings of sadness into appropriate spaces and times to prevent them from escalating excessively. Rituals can also function as devices that enable humans to return to their regular lives.

In 2022, people returned to universities, and the EAA began to hold more in-person events. The eighth meeting included a joint review of *A Todai Philosophical Walk with Dr. Thurgill: Toward a Geographical Interpretation of Place* (*サーギル博士と巡る東大哲学散歩　場の地理学的解釈に向けて*; Seeds Planning, 2021) by James Thurgill (Center for Global Communication Strategies) and Mon Madomitsu (EAA). This book, which discusses the themes of space and place, traces "absences"

through the act of walking and confirms one's "presence" in space. In addition, the twelfth meeting focused on the theme of "walking through Hongo," which was introduced by Daigo Isshiki (Graduate School of Humanities and Sociology). We walked through the Hongo Campus, starting at the Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia. On this walk, we also discovered various traces of "absences." While recognizing the role that the university campus has historically played, we were able to consider what kinds of spaces universities should foster in the future.

At the ninth meeting, we based our discussion on Hiroshi Hara's "Boundary Theory" and discussed the meaning of various boundaries that form spaces. The tenth, eleventh, thirteenth, and fourteenth meetings included book reviews presented by some members of writing papers of this book.

A total of fifteen meetings and symposiums were held on a wide range of themes. In addition to various physical spaces, such as rooms, houses, cities, and universities, we also discussed the spiritual spaces created by sounds and rituals.

Spaces are formed as ideal places to be lived and gathered in by those who inhabit them. Moreover, the shape of a space changes depending on what kind of meaning is given to it. During the Song Dynasty, schools became important places for intellectuals who could not achieve their goals or secure their own identities through the imperial examination system. Therefore, schools came to function as local public spaces during this period. The formation and evolution of "everyone's living room" at the Nan-chi-ch'ang Apartment followed the trajectory of the lives of the residents of the apartment. However, the consciousness of those who live and gather there is not formed within a closed world. Indeed, this is similar to how folklore does not belong to a particular person, ethnicity, or place but rather is co-generated by a combination of actors. It is also akin to how a writer intentionally releases the spatial sensibilities that exist in literature while transmitting and sharing that sensibility across the boundaries of language and culture. Perhaps it was possible for Con-

fucius, a great saint, to transcend the boundaries of the ruler's space and the common people's space by acting swiftly and accurately in a way that was appropriate for the occasion.

However, the expansion of the scope of shared spaces may consciously force those who live and gather in such spaces to do things they did not originally wish to do. Spaces that are expanded and shared without limits present a clear positive potential for our lives. But the issue of how those who live and gather there are evaluated by outsiders who do not physically share that place is not necessarily positive, creating a complex situation.

In light of these considerations, I would like to continue thinking about what kind of space the EAA should seek to create at the University of Tokyo, both as a university space and as a "shoin." After the sudden "absence" of physical places that occurred during the coronavirus pandemic, the various activities that were being held inside universities and "shoin" are now expanding to outside spaces, and teachers and students are now sharing these expanded spaces with others. How will we communicate? The knowledge gained through this project will contribute significantly to solving this problem.

Records of the Room and Space Research Group Meeting and Symposium

※ Affiliations and positions are valid for the dates that the research groups were held.
※ Research meetings held in Japanese are recorded in Japanese.

1.

Title	大正時代の住宅論（1）：吉野作造 （有島武郎・森本厚吉・吉野作造『私どもの主張』、文化生活研究会、1921年）
Presenter	前野清太朗（EAA）
Date and Time	2021年3月16日（火）11:00−
Venue	EAAセミナールームとZoomのハイブリッド方式
Language	日本語

2.

Title	大正時代の住宅論（2）：森本厚吉
Presenter	田中有紀（EAA）
Date and Time	2021 年 6 月 3 日（木）15:00–
Venue	EAA セミナールームと Zoom のハイブリッド方式
Language	日本語

3.

Title	大正時代の住宅論（3）：有島武郎
Presenter	片岡真伊（EAA）
Date and Time	2021 年 7 月 29 日（木）15:00–
Venue	EAA セミナールームと Zoom のハイブリッド方式
Language	日本語

4.

Title	大石和欣『家のイングランド：変貌する社会と建築物の詩学』（名古屋大学出版会、2019）合評会（第 7 回 EAA ブックトーク）
Presenter	大石和欣（総合文化研究科）、滕束君（EAA）
Date and Time	2021 年 9 月 10 日（金）13:00–
Venue	EAA セミナールームと Zoom のハイブリッド方式
Language	日本語
Moderator	田中有紀（EAA）

5.

Title	笹本正治『中世の音・近世の音：鐘の音の結ぶ世界』（講談社、2008）を読む
Presenter	田中有紀（EAA）
Date and Time	2021 年 12 月 2 日（木）16:00–
Venue	Zoom
Language	日本語
Moderator	前野清太朗（EAA）

6.

Title	第 1 回 EAA「部屋と空間プロジェクト」シンポジウム
Program	基調講演： 大石和欣（総合文化研究科）「詩学としての都市空間と家、そして室内空間」 報告： 田中有紀（EAA）「森本厚吉の住宅論：「実行」と「信仰」の偉人リビングストンと文化アパートメント構想」 前野清太朗（EAA）「台湾「うた」空間の再脱日本化とノスタルジアの変容」 白佐立（教養教育高度化機構）「暮らしと住まいの「弁証法」：ある戦後台北への都市移住者の聞き取りから」
Date and Time	2021 年 12 月 27 日（月）13:00−
Venue	EAA セミナールームと Zoom のハイブリッド方式
Language	日本語
Moderator	田中有紀（EAA）

7.

Title	「死者を祀る空間」 （ヨルン・ボクホベン『葬儀と仏壇：先祖祭祀の民俗学的研究』、岩田書院、2005 年）
Presenter	柳幹康（EAA）
Date and Time	2022 年 2 月 3 日(木) 16:00−
Venue	Zoom
Language	日本語
Moderator	田中有紀(EAA)

8.

Title	Workshop on *A Todai Philosophical Walk with Dr. Thurgill: Toward a Geographical Interpretation of Place* (The 8th meeting of EAA Book Talk)
Presenters	James Thurgill（Center for Global Communication Strategies） Mon Madomitsu（EAA） Reviewer：Seitaro Maeno（EAA）
Date and Time	March 29, 2022, 14:00–
Venue	Seminar Room, Building 101, Komaba Campus I and Zoom
Language	English
Moderator	Yuki Tanaka（EAA）

9.

Title	原広司「境界論」について
Presenter	石井剛（EAA）
Date and Time	2022 年 8 月 30 日（火）14:00–
Venue	EAA セミナールームと Zoom のハイブリッド方式
Language	日本語
Moderator	田中有紀（EAA）

10.

Title	What is a common space?: Review of *Tokyo Vernacular: Common Spaces, Local Histories, Found Objects* by Jordan Sand
Presenter	Yuki Tanaka（EAA）
Date and Time	September 8, 2022, 15:00–
Venue	Zoom
Language	English

11.

Title	Spatiality and the Urban Experience: Revisiting Jinnai Hidenobu's *Tokyo: A Spatial Anthropology*, Univ of California Pr, 1995
Presenter	James Thurgill（Center for Global Communication Strategies）
Date and Time	October 27, 2022, 15:00–
Venue	Zoom
Language	English

12.

Title	本郷を歩く ※東京大学ヒューマニティーズセンター企画研究「学術資産としての東京大学」の成果を参照
Presenter	一色大悟（人文社会系研究科）
Date and Time	2022 年 11 月 25 日（金）13:30–
Venue	東京大学本郷キャンパス
Language	日本語

13.

Title	Architecture as Metaphor — Review of *Influence and Agency: a History of Chinese Urbanism and Architecture in the Context of Modern Sino-Japanese Relations*
Presenter	Muyun Wang（EAA）
Date and Time	December 22, 2022, 10:00–
Venue	Zoom
Language	English

14.

Title	Religious spaces and locality in medieval China; Valerie Hansen's *Changing Gods in Medieval China, 1127-1276.*
Presenter	Naoki Umemura (Hokkaido University)
Date and Time	January 23, 2023, 13:00–
Venue	Zoom
Language	English

15.

Title	History and Theory of Common Spaces: The Second Symposium of the Room and Space Research Group
Program	James Thurgill (Center for Global Communication Strategies) "Folklore as Common Space" Chouli Pei (Komaba Organization for Educational Excellence) "Common Space for Socializing Created by the Residents: The Vicissitudes of "Living Room for Everyone" at Nanchichang Apartments in Taipei" Mai Kataoka (EAA) "Genius Loci Reimagined: On the Problems of Translating Senses of Place in Japanese Literature" Naoki Umemura (Hokkaido University) "Local government schools and academies (書院) in Song China" Yuki Tanaka (EAA) "From the Common and Public Space to the Official Space: Forms and Spirits of Ritual in Local Societies in Ancient China" Muyun Wang (EAA) "Common Space between Value and Life: A Case Study of (Re)evaluating the Culture and History of Shimenkan, China"
Date and Time	March 9, 2023, 15:00–18:00
Venue	The Second Conference Room, IASA, Hongo Campus and Zoom
Language	English
Moderator	Yuki Tanaka (EAA)

About the Contributors

Chouli Pei is a Project Associate Professor at the Komaba Organization for Educational Excellence (KOMEX), the University of Tokyo. She obtained her PhD in architectural history at the University of Tokyo. Her work focuses specifically on two subjects. The first is interactions between people and space and the second is relations between people's life history and space.

James Thurgill is a Project Associate Professor at the Department of English Language, The University of Tokyo. He obtained his PhD in human geography from Royal Holloway, University of London, in 2014. His research examines the relationship between narrative, place and experience. He is a co-author of *A Todai Philosophical Walk with Dr. Thurgill: Toward a Geographical Interpretation of Place* (2021), a co-editor of the University of Wales Press' *Literary Geography: Theory and Practice* book series, and a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society.

Mai Kataoka is an Associate Professor at International Research Center for Japanese Studies (NICHIBUNKEN). She received BA in English from Royal Holloway, University of London, MA in Comparative Literature from UCL, University of London, and PhD in Japanese Studies from the NICHIBUNKEN & SOKENDAI (The Graduate University for Advanced Studies). Her research primarily focuses on modern Japanese literature in translation. Her recent publications include *Unusual Problems Involved in Translating Japanese Shōsetsu (Novels)* (Chuokoron-shinsha, 2024).

Naoki Umemura is an Associate Professor at Faculty of Humanities and Human Sciences, Hokkaido University. He obtained his PhD in Oriental history from the University of Tokyo. His research area includes History of Song China（10–13c.）. His publications include *Local Schools in Song China: The Transformation of Ritual Spaces and Local Identities*（Yamakawa-Shuppansha, 2018）.

Yuki Tanaka is an Associate Professor at Institute for Advanced Studies on Asian Studies, University of Tokyo. She obtained her PhD in Chinese philosophy from the University of Tokyo. Her research areas include philosophy of Chinese music, history of Chinese science and technology. Her publications include *The Philosophy of Music in Ancient China : Zhu Zaiyu and Twelve-tone Equal Temperament*（UT Press, 2018）and *Chinese Music Theory and Twelve-tone Equal Temperament: the Philosophy of Music in Confucianism*（Fukyosha Publishing, 2014）.

Muyun Wang is a Research Fellow at the Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia, the University of Tokyo, where she completed her PhD in International Studies at the Graduate School of Frontier Sciences. Her research interests encompass various aspects of development studies, including the localization processes of development projects and the politics of development-related discourse, with a particular focus on East Asia. Her recent publications include *Introduction to Chinese Development Studies: The Generation and Unfolding of Knowledge in Non-Western Societies*（Hosei University Press, 2024）.

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History and Theory of Common Spaces

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