INTRODUCTION

The present study is the result of a long engagement with the *Heike* textual corpus and the medieval world in which it took shape, roughly the thirteenth through the fourteenth centuries. Of its eight chapters, somewhat less than half, or most of the final three chapters, deal at length and in detail with *Heike* material and its medieval world. But it is also *Heike* and the problems that came to light in reading through several of its variants that have shaped the organization and concerns of the other five chapters, which include the three chapters of Part One on yin-yang and Daoist ideas in the Nara and early Heian periods and the two chapters of Part Two on various aspects of ritual, space, and narrative from *Kojiki* (712) to the late Heian historical narrative *Ōkagami*. If the time frame and selection of topics strike the reader as unorthodox, that is because they are aimed at reversing several canonical views of *Heike* that first took shape in the course of the twentieth century. Although Japanese scholarship on *Heike* since the late 1970s has moved well beyond these earlier canonical readings, the presentation of *Heike* as a major work of classical Japanese literature continues to be influenced by these earlier readings. This is especially the case in English, where there continues to be an absence of book-length studies on *Heike* comparable to those that we now have for other major works and genres of the classical period. The present study therefore aims not only to open up the discussion of *Heike* and its medieval world in Part Three but to locate it within a broader trajectory that reaches back through the Heian to Nara periods.

Heike *and the Canon*

When we speak of *The Tale of the Heike* (*Heike monogatari*) as a classic of
Japanese literature, we are generally referring to the text that was dictated by
the master reciter Kakuichi in the year 1371, which describes the rise and fall
of the Heike warrior clan over the course of the twelfth century, culminat-
ing in their exile from the capital and eventually in their total defeat at the
hands of their rival, the Genji warrior Minamoto no Yoritomo. Like many
medieval and Heian period texts, however, *Heike* exists in a large number
of variants. These variants often amount to radically different versions of
the narrative presented in the more familiar Kakuichi *Heike*, the version
available in several English translations. The Kakuichi *Heike*, for example,
is consistently capital-centric in its presentation of events. When a messenger
arrives at Kiyomori's Fukuhara residence to report on Yoritomo's uprising in
the eastern provinces in scroll five, he disposes of those momentous events
in the equivalent of a brief paragraph or two. In the Engyōbon *Heike* and
several other variants of the so-called "read lineage,"[1] on the other hand, the
battle unfolds in a lengthy narrative that brings the local topography and ter-
rain into view with a wealth of concrete detail. *Genpei tōjōroku* (*The Battle
Account of the Genpei*), a variant composed in a form of Chinese (*kanbun*),
represents the events of this same Genpei War almost entirely from the view-
point of local warrior groups, such as the Chiba, paying far less attention
to the action that unfolds in the capital. Another variant, the Nagatobon
Heike, contains many episodes that depict sites and topography associated
with the activity of outcast reciters who wandered the regions of western
Japan that bordered the shores of the Inner Sea. The *Heike* variants, in brief,
are embedded in a variety of spatial practices, some projecting distinct re-
gional histories that lay outside the more capital-centric viewpoint of the
Kakuichi *Heike* and others relating local topographies connected to sacred
sites and the activity of wandering storytellers. Even the Kakuichi *Heike*, as
will be shown later in this study, harbors its own eccentric spaces inside its
fiction of a dominant capital-centric space.

   In the course of the twentieth century, the efforts of literature scholars
and historians engaged in constructing a classical canon and narrative of
Japan's national emergence all but effaced these local geographies and spaces
in the interests of national unity and one national space. Equally important,
Heike's affiliations to a Sino-Japanese tradition embodied in a variety of tex-

tual practices and a symbolic language for speaking about and representing the authority of the emperor were obscured or downplayed. In one of two canonical narratives that anchored the modern reception of *Heike*, the mid-Heian flowering of vernacular literature in prose and poetry along with the Fujiwara practice of controlling the succession through regental rule, which is generally regarded as having broken with an earlier model of governance based on Chinese conceptions of sovereignty, came to represent the reaffirmation of an authentic indigenous culture freed from a distorting veneer of Chinese learning and culture. In a second narrative, the narrative of popular emergence, these same ideas were projected onto the warrior class, who were portrayed as throwing off the constraints of an effete, sinified court culture, a historical movement that was held to have given rise to the earliest "warrior chronicle" *Shōmonki* (*The Record of Masakado*) that later evolved into the genre of the vernacular warrior tale typified in *The Tale of the Heike*.[2]

Heike *and the Sino-Japanese Tradition*

One aim of the present study is to reposition *Heike* in relation to this Sino-Japanese tradition that extends back from the medieval to the Heian and Nara periods, not through a process of commentary and source tracing, but by producing a counternarrative to a classical canon that has tended to privilege certain peak moments of national emergence, typically represented by a vernacular *Man'yōshū* and *Kojiki* from the Nara period (710–794) and a flowering of court literature in imperial waka collections and *The Tale of Genji* (ca. 1000). The counternarrative that I construct in the first two parts of this study privileges instead a number of works that either belong to or took shape within this Sino-Japanese tradition. Thus, in Part One of this study, I read *Nihon shoki* (*The Chronicles of Japan*, 720) and the Nara period poetry of *Man'yōshū* (*Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves*) and *Kaifūsō* (*Fond Recollections of Poetry*, 751) through the prism of yin-yang and Daoist practices and symbolic language. Chapter 4 places *Kojiki* (*The Record of Ancient Matters*, 712) into a dialogical relation with *Nihon shoki*, and Chapter 5 highlights the relatively neglected late Heian vernacular "historical tale" *Ōkagami* (*The Great Mirror*), which is typically treated as an expression of court literature. The analysis that I propose presents it as a polyvocal history that encroaches into the sphere of official history in Chinese, but in a narrative that already anticipates the heterodox and nomadic speech of the

medieval *Heike*. In privileging this counternarrative, I am not proposing a new canonical series but providing an eccentric reading of the earlier canon that recovers some of the discursive terrain of the medieval *Heike* that has been concealed by earlier canonical readings of the classical tradition.

By repositioning *Heike* inside the terrain of this Sino-Japanese tradition, I also aim to highlight a complicated yet neglected strand in the symbolic representation of royal authority that was centered on yin-yang and Daoist notions and practices. In its representation of royal authority, the *Heike* narratives project several competing, even contradictory, images of the ruler. The retired sovereign Go-Shirakawa (r. 1155–1158), for example, appears in his capacity as a Buddhist adept, wielding theurgic powers that placate demonic spirits in Antoku's birth scene and as a reincarnated sovereign endowed with Buddhist wisdom in his encounter with Kenreimon'in in "The Initiate's Scroll" ("Kanjō no maki"). A relatively minor presence in the Kakuichi *Heike*, he often takes center stage in the Engyōbon, where pride in his sacred powers as a Dharma sovereign (*hōō*) is castigated as a cause of demonic infestation.[3] Another image of royal authority in *Heike* is Takakura, who is portrayed as a Chinese-style sage ruler: "The Emperor finally passed away. The twelve years of his reign were a time of supremely humane governance, during which he revived the abandoned teachings of benevolence and righteousness explicated in the *Book of Poetry* and the *Book of Documents* and reestablished the lapsed tradition of correct government and bringing comfort to the people."[4] The reign of the sage ruler was typically portrayed as a time of equable seasons, moderate rains, and abundant harvests, all signs that his governance was in harmony with the yin and the yang. The idealization of the sage ruler is usually traced back to the period of the *Tale of Genji* when the reign of the Engi era sovereign Daigo (r. 897–930) began to be idealized as a golden age, with the emperor governing free from the meddling of the Fujiwara regents. Although it is true that Engi came to represent a golden age of imperial rule (a tradition transmitted in *Heike* recitation), historically by the late ninth and early tenth centuries, much of the symbolic apparatus that had once supported the Chinese-style sovereign of ritsuryō period rule had ceased to function in its original form. It was during Daigo's reign, for example, that the production official history in Chinese was discontinued. By this time as well, the Yin-Yang Bureau had altered many of its original functions. Instead of the symbolic activities of geomancy, calendrical calculations, and the prognostication of signs, which had formerly served

to enhance the authority of the emperor (*tennō*), private yin-yang masters, who had taken over many of the Yin-Yang Bureau's functions, were now increasingly involved in ritual activity centered around pollution taboos and the expulsion of malign spirits. The idealization of the Engi era sovereign as a sage ruler is therefore best understood as echoing an even earlier period of the court when the figure of the Daoist-type sage was represented in a variety of texts and symbolic practices, including the poetry of *Man'yōshū*, Temmu's chronicle in *Nihon shoki*, the Chinese poetry of *Kaifūsō*, and ritual play at Yoshino. As an idealization, however, the Engi myth represents no more than an etiolated image of this earlier Daoist-type sage, whose ritual authority was premised on the ability to command and drive out threatening powers.

By the early thirteenth century, when *Heike* began to assume textual form, there were fresh efforts to revive Chinese-style historiography, this time in a more Confucian mode. At the same time, Buddhist priests were also engaged in the production of new forms of vernacular Buddhist historiography, exemplified in Jien's *Gukanshō*. These and other historiographical practices are combined to varying degrees in the *Heike* variants, creating a contradictory play between different representations of royal authority. It is here that another major theme of this study comes into consideration: the complex interplay between various symbolic practices of royal authority and the representation of space. Chinese-style historiography, the activities of the Yin-Yang Bureau, and the composition of poetry in Chinese were all practices that enforced a specific relation to space that supported the authority of the court. This is illustrated most vividly in the geomantic centering of the capital according to the principles of yin-yang correlative cosmology, commemorated in the Kakuichi *Heike*'s fifth scroll, but it is also evident in the graphic form and sequencing of certain *Man'yōshū* poems, which deploy similar correlative principles, as well as in the middle-kingdom ideology that organized space around a center–periphery opposition that was embodied in a refined culture identified with the capital and a periphery equated with the barbarous hinterlands. The devaluation of the graphic dimension of texts composed in Chinese in favor of a phonocentrism that privileged the vernacular reading of texts, a process that began with the national literature scholars and continued throughout much of the twentieth century,[5] was part of the same broad relegation of the Sino-Japanese tradition to marginal status that shaped several canonical views of *Heike*. Its effect has been to render

many aspects of Nara period texts invisible, including ideas pertaining to yin-yang correlative cosmology and the Daoist pursuit of immortality, two subjects examined at length in Chapters 2 and 3.

Heike *and Competing Spatialities*

Far more than a rhetorical style for speaking about the emperor, the ideal of the sage ruler was a refraction of a specific ideology or practice of royal authority, embodied in a form of historiography (official histories), styles of poetry (in *Man'yōshū* and *Kaifūsō*), and ritual and symbolic activity (housed in the Yin-Yang Bureau). Over the course of the Nara and early Heian periods, these and other practices enforced a center–periphery view of space, but this was only one facet of a complex spatiality that interacted with a succession of ideologies of royal authority. By the mid-Heian period, under an increasingly dominant Buddhist episteme,[6] the ideology of the sage ruler was being displaced by a different spatial practice underpinned and supported by a variety of Buddhist doctrines, including ideas pertaining to defilement in Pure Land and later by nondual doctrines such as original enlightenment doctrine in the early medieval period. It is in the interplay between this earlier symbolic practice of royal authority and the shift to a more dominant Buddhist ideology from the mid-Heian period on that changes in the character of ritual space and the space of the body can be more readily grasped. As already noted, by the mid-Heian period, yin-yang masters, formerly under the authority of the tennō, were performing rituals whose ultimate effect was to inhibit the tennō's religio-political authority, even if they enhanced his symbolic sacrality as a ruler. One ritual performed by the yin-yang masters from as early as the mid-Heian period was the Seven Shallows Purification (*nanase no harae*). Performed along waterways inside the capital and at specified points throughout the provinces, the Seven Shallows Purification involved transferring defilement from the tennō to an effigy that was then cast into a stream of flowing water, symbolizing the expulsion of defilement from the central space. This was only one of many similar rituals performed at the borders of the capital district and at other specified sites, which continued to enforce a centered space. In the sphere of representation, however, the middle-kingdom ideology, with its view of a refined center and barbarous periphery, was gradually overlaid by a parallel set of ideas that equated the center with purity and the peripheries with defiled spaces inhabited by demonic beings.

By the early medieval period, this spatiality was further complicated by the representation of Japan as a "small country of the borderland," in which Japan was transformed from a center into a physical and metaphorical embodiment of liminality, which valorized the border as a site of dangerous yet numinous powers. This coincided with the full assimilation of defilement to the domain of Buddhist doctrine and practice and the apogee of Buddhist authority, which attempted to enforce its hegemony even over the body and person of the tennō. Much of Part Three of this study is taken up with an analysis of this complex spatiality and its play of contradictory symbolic codes, which achieves maximal play in the *Heike* textual corpus. Thus, in addition to the ideal of the sage ruler, who governs over a harmonious centered realm, there is the child emperor Antoku, a defiled emperor whose death by drowning at Dan no ura can be understood as a literal enactment of the Seven Shallows Purification in which the emperor's body is cast into the water. Other figures, like the retired sovereign Go-Shirakawa and Taira no Kiyomori, take on characteristics of a royal authority capable of trafficking in the defiled periphery.

Heike *and Narrative Assemblages*

Another area of concern in this study is the elements that combine into various narrative forms, broadly encompassing everything from sacred utterance, or what I refer to as nomadic speech, orthodox oral narrative (myth or *furukoto*), official history (*seishi*) and vernacular "fiction" (*monogatari*), and the medieval practice of commentary (*chūshaku*). I am especially interested in how these interacted with various kinds of ritual and ceremonial activity—that is, their performative aspects—and the role played by writing and forms of oral transmission in mediating them. Much of this material is taken up at length in the two chapters of Part Two and again in Chapter 8 of Part Three, which is devoted entirely to the apocryphal history of Kiyomori in *Heike*. Here, too, my initial point of departure was problems encountered in making sense of the complex narrative assemblages transmitted in the numerous *Heike* variants and the ways in which they interact with a Sino-Japanese tradition now intricately combined with Buddhist doctrinal debate, sermonizing, and storytelling. Earlier canonical views of *Heike*, which focused on the recited variant dictated from memory by Kakuichi, tended to emphasize either *Heike*'s affiliation to vernacular court fiction or the so-called warrior chronicle, which was held to have evolved into a vernacular

form from the early gunki composed in Chinese. Other theories emphasized those aspects of *Heike* that may have originated in shamanic utterance, mediating the spirits of those who had died violent deaths. My own approach has been to locate the entire issue of vernacular narrative, including nomadic utterance, in the broad framework of the same Sino-Japanese tradition that helped to organize the various symbolic representations of royal authority.

Another aspect of the eccentric canon constructed in Part Two of this study, therefore, is to provide a diachronic view of the ways in which the construction of a physical and metaphorical center played out in a clash between official and unofficial forms of discourse, the former exemplified in Chinese-style historiography, and the latter in various forms of marginalized orthodox speech (as in Imibe Hironari's *Kogo shūi*), the early warrior chronicle *Shōmonki* (*The Record of Masakado*), and vernacular narratives like *Ōkagami*, with the last two read as appropriations of and encroachments into the territory of the metaphorical center embodied in the court.[7] Here, however, I must emphasize that I am not reverting to a dichotomy between Chinese writing (foreign) and vernacular speech (indigenous). *Kojiki* and the *Hitachi fudoki*, for example, are read in Chapter 4 as participating in the same construction of a ritual center of authority as *Nihon shoki*. Rather, I am highlighting the dialogical tension between the two. By reversing a more canonical reading that has tended to essentialize the vernacular, I show how the vernacular, in the process of defining itself against a more dominant discourse in Chinese, took on some of the latter's attributes. This allows the so-called indigenous mode of oracular speech or shamanic utterance, a type of nomadic speech, to commingle in strange ways with the gossip, rumor, and small talk that are thrust outside the main ambit of orthodox or official history. It also allows vernacular "fiction" to be read as participating both *within* but also at the edges of official discourse. In *Ōkagami*, a vernacular history that dates from the late Heian period, this gives rise to a narrative assemblage that I have characterized as ambulatory history, foreshadowing those *Heike* variants that were in the custody of wandering reciters known as biwa priests. In its medieval form, ambulatory history, which encompasses the ensemble of *Heike* variants but also large parts of *Taiheiki* and the medieval tradition of "prophecy records" (*miraiki*), has a twofold character. On the one hand, it transmits potentially dangerous heterodox speech made up of rumor, gossip, oracles, and the utterances of threatening or demonic spirits that centers of authority often seek to control. On the other hand, it

belongs to a broader nomadization of late Heian and early medieval culture that parallels the emergence of rule by retired sovereigns, the social and religious phenomenon of the heteromorphic (*irui igyō*), and the reinvestment of borders as sites of power. Each of these topics is taken up at length in the three chapters of Part Three.

Some Theoretical and Methodological Issues

As a literature specialist with cross-disciplinary interests, I have drawn on a number of approaches from the fields of literary and cultural studies, which sharply distinguishes my work from the approach of many historians who have covered some of the same material and time periods. Thus, I have generally avoided the boundaries that have traditionally separated the disciplines of literature, history, and religious studies into isolated and autonomous domains. Like the new historicists and cultural geographers, rather than focusing on the text's neutral documentary value or on the text as autonomous literary structure, I have tried to emphasize the embeddedness of texts in the material conditions of their production (including their graphic form) and the ways in which they intersect with a variety of doctrinal, ritual, and symbolic practices.[8] In focusing on *representation* and *performance* rather than a narrative of "fact" and "events," I am interested in the ways power and authority are mediated through a variety of symbolic practices that cut across the false barrier that has been erected between "documents," which are held to transmit "facts" and reliable "evidence," and "literature," which is treated as an epiphenomenon. This latter practice has tended to enforce a sharp separation between literature (*bungaku*) on the one hand and history (*rekishi*) on the other, which has removed texts from their embeddedness in an ensemble of cultural practices, including ritual and ceremonial, and transformed them into abstractions in a discourse *about* rather than *of* the periods in question. By returning texts like *Nihon shoki* and *Man'yōshū* to their performative function (i.e., their embeddedness in an ensemble of cultural practices), we can better grasp their role in either enforcing or contesting specific ideologies of royal authority, irrespective of their historicity and factual accuracy.

   In my discussions of space, I have also drawn on the ideas of the French thinker Henri Lefebvre, whose work represents one of the most thorough attempts to theorize the production of space in its social, political, and historical dimensions. Lefebvre's conceptual terminology for describing space is

extremely fluid and not always used with consistency, but he provides three concepts—spatial practice (*la pratique spatiale*), representations of space (*les représentations de l'espace*), and representational spaces (*les espaces de représentation*)—which I have found useful in analyzing the complex spatiality of late Heian and early medieval Japan in Part Three of this study. A spatial practice can be characterized as a mode of activity whereby a particular view or "representation of space" is enforced. Thus, Lefebvre writes of how a "spatial practice of society secretes that society's space; it propounds and presupposes it, in a dialectical interaction; it produces it slowly and surely as it masters and appropriates it." Among the examples listed by Lefebvre are the network of roads that facilitated pilgrimages in medieval Europe, but it can also be understood as extending to forms of ritual practice. A representation of space, on the other hand, is "conceptualized space," or space that has been organized around various codes, as in the layout of an urban center in terms of Renaissance linear perspective and arrangements of architecture, where the monument or building is "embedded in a spatial context," which finds its analogy in the layout and architectural coding of ancient sites like Heijō and Heiankyō. Whereas representations of space tend to refer to the "dominant space in any society," representational space is Lefebvre's term for imaginary space, the lived space of people, which gets expressed in symbolic works, such as painting and other works of art and writing, but may often elude representation, remaining confined to the life of memories, dreams, and other images belonging to the submerged and hidden side of a culture.[9] Above all, it is Lefebvre's dialectical method, which allows for reversals and sedimentation of previous spatialities, that makes it especially productive as a mode of inquiry. Thus, an earlier practice of space that enforced the authority of the Daoist-sage type ruler lingers on as a representational space in the medieval idealization of the Engi era sovereigns, forming part of the medieval imaginary about royal authority. At the same time, as I show in Chapter 6, China held an ambiguous place in the medieval imaginary, alternately threatening site of the other and the figure for an emergent, decentered space of commercial and cultural exchange. Analyzed in this fashion, the space of a culture is seldom reducible to simple binary oppositions but is made up of competing and contradictory spaces that can coexist and even cooperate within a larger system.

My approach to texts and the problem of space differs therefore in significant ways from the recent study of the historian Bruce Batten.[10] Batten's

work is a detailed and illuminating discussion of the role played by boundary concepts in constructing Japan's identity as a geopolitical and cultural space. His work is especially informative on the shifting and fluctuating sense of political and cultural boundaries in Japan, illuminating, on the one hand, the oscillation between strong and weak centers over the long stretch of time extending from the Nara through the early modern periods and the distinctions, on the other hand, between boundaries as sharply delimiting the inside and outside of cultural and political space and the vague zonal frontiers where cultural and political space is blurred. In presenting his argument, however, Batten takes the approach that "it is important to distinguish between worldviews, on the one hand, and geopolitical realities, on the other."[11] The present study approaches the problem of space from a different perspective, treating as primary the constructive role played by ritual, doctrine, and the imaginative discourse of texts that Batten subsumes under his worldviews. I premise my argument on the assumption that worldviews or ideology cannot easily be separated from geopolitical or other "realities." In brief, worldviews, or what I prefer to call "imaginaries," are constituted in and through specific textual, ritual, and spatial practices that not only shape perceptions of cultural, political, and geographical space but bring it into tangible presence. Hence, the ritual capture of sacred speech embodied in the performative gesture of a text like *Kojiki* and later in enshrinement rituals such as the Kitano Tenjin cult (both discussed in Chapter 4), yin-yang practices aimed at driving out defilement, and the annual repetition of rites to expel plague deities at specified points along the boundaries of the Kinai region are all concrete instances of practices that both create and enforce a particular experience of space. Likewise, the medieval representation of Japan as a "small, defiled country of the border" is not merely a rhetorical flourish or literary embellishment but an aspect of complex symbolic practices that brought into being certain ways of thinking about and relating to space that helped, in this case, to enforce the authority of powerful temples.

Finally, in my discussions of space, the nomadic, and the related social phenomenon of the heteromorphic—a medieval sign of ambiguous sacrality often associated with a bizarre appearance and animal traits that are exemplified in dengaku ("field music"), the pack phenomenon of the marauding akutō ("evil bands"), and the eerie behavior of the demonlike creatures tengu—I have also drawn on the coauthored work of Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari. In their theory of nomadology, in particular, I have found a useful

vantage point for locating many of the social, political, and cultural phenomena pertaining to premodern ambulant populations that have been studied by Amino Yoshihiko and others.[12] Although geography prevented a classic nomadic culture from developing in Japan, the nomadic, in the extended sense of wandering, itinerancy, and vagabondage, is inseparable from the formation of centers and states. It is not surprising, then, that vagabondage and fear of the nomadic first emerged as a problem in the Nara period, a time of intense state formation. At once exterior to the state, or outside its cultural ambit, the nomadic, as Deleuze has shown, is invariably in conflict or at war with the state, at times even bringing about its deterritorialization. This allows a somewhat different reading of itinerancy and the related phenomenon of the heteromorphic (*igyō*), which have typically been viewed from inside the binary logic of the state, or what Amino has characterized in cultural terms as an opposition between sedentary agricultural and itinerant nonagricultural populations.[13] The bizarre effect produced by the heteromorphic, for example, which the center experiences as a confusion of its own categories, can also be viewed as belonging to the anomic or heterogeneous traits of the nomadic cultural assemblage, which stands outside the center's logic of inside–outside, high–low, and other binary oppositions characteristic of its hierarchical striated space. In this sense, medieval "sacrality," including aspects of original enlightenment doctrine, may be viewed as an effort to come to terms with the nomadization of the medieval state structure. These and other problems connected to the heteromorphic, space, and nomadic assemblages are examined in Chapters 4, 7, and in the discussion of Kiyomori's kaburo in Chapter 8.

Chapter Summaries

The eight chapters of this study are arranged into three parts. With the exception of Chapter 1, which deals with the modern academic discourse on yin-yang and Daoism, the first two parts move through the material largely in a diachronic fashion, whereas the three chapters of Part Three take more of a synchronic approach. The three interweaving themes are ritual, narrative, and space.

   The three chapters of Part One reexamine the role of yin-yang and Daoist practices in shaping the symbolic representation of royal authority in both texts and rituals of the Nara and early Heian periods. Rather than influences or expressions of literary borrowing, I treat these practices as part of

a hybrid cultural assemblage infused with yin-yang and Daoist elements. Chapter 1 begins the series with an analysis of how the construction of a modern academic discourse on China, exemplified in the work of Tsuda Sōkichi, paradoxically turned yin-yang and Daoism into objects of serious academic study while effectively removing them as significant factors in discussions of ancient Japanese religious practices, specifically as these bore on the tennō's authority in the ancient period. Chapter 2 looks at how yin-yang contributed to the symbolic language of royal authority by relating it to narrative structure in *Nihon shoki*, calendrical procedures, prognostication, geomancy, and the cosmogonic theories that informed the mythological portions of the chronicles. In Chapter 3, the discussion shifts to ritual and symbolic activity of a more Daoist cast, including the cultivation of immortality and the use of elixirs and their bearing on the ritual authority claimed by Temmu and other emperors. The second half of Chapter 3 takes up the problem of the Yin-Yang Bureau's transformation from an office initially engaged in enhancing the authority of the tennō into a ritual apparatus, now largely managed by private yin-yang masters, for managing pollution and expelling demonic infestations. Rather than the traditional view that understands this change as an indigenization of yin-yang, I relate it to contradictions in the ritual efficacy claimed by the tennō.

The two chapters of Part Two examine two groups of historical narrative: *Kojiki, Nihon shoki*, and the *Hitachi fudoki* in Chapter 4 and the vernacular historical tale *Ōkagami* in Chapter 5. In the first half of Chapter 4, I examine the two chronicles and fudoki as symbolic and ritual expressions of the tennō's claim to control space by monopolizing the authority to act as a mediator of sacred speech. The second half of the chapter examines how the construction of a religio-political center brought about a new awareness of the nomadic, understood as both itinerancy and volatile sacred speech, which now becomes the object of new efforts by the center to capture it ritually. In Chapter 5, I turn from space and ritual to the problem of written vernacular narrative as it emerges out of and then defines itself against the dominant discourse in Chinese, with sections devoted to *Kojiki* and *Kogo shūi*, but primarily focusing on the late Heian text *Ōkagami*, which is read as both a transmogrification and an early nomadization of court history that characterized the emergence of rule by retired sovereigns.

The three chapters of Part Three take up various aspects of late Heian and early medieval space, focusing on the interplay between centered, peripheral, and heterotopic space, the latter being my term for cryptic space or the

space of the Other in the early medieval period, which can apply to a sacred enclosure, border, or even the body in its heteromorphic aspect. Chapter 6 looks at the ambiguous place of both the warrior and China in the medieval imaginary, which is examined through the close reading of a number of episodes from the *Heike* variants, including several centered on Kiyomori and Shigemori that relate to the Taira's commerce with China. Chapter 7 examines how changes in the conceptualization of defilement over the course of the late Heian and early medieval periods transformed the character of ritual space, ultimately undermining an earlier practice of royal authority. This is analyzed in relation to dengaku, or "field music," a semiritualized entertainment, shifts in the codes pertaining to dress and the use of space, and the weirdness associated with the heteromorphic. In these sections, I draw on a variety of episodes from the *Heike* narrative tradition to illustrate how several contradictory images of the tennō coexisted in the medieval imaginary about royal authority. The chapter also looks at how the Buddhist doctrines of Pure Land and "hongaku" (original enlightenment) helped to articulate the shift from centered to peripheral to heterotopic space. Through the comparison of several *Heike* variants of the Kikai-ga-shima sequence, these sections explore some of the paradoxes and contradictions underlying the medieval imaginary of sacred space, focusing in particular on the ambiguous character of heterotopic space as typified by borders and liminal sites. Chapter 8 concludes the study with an extended analysis of *Heike* as an apocryphal history of Kiyomori, focusing on three episodes, the kaburo or "pageboy cuts," who served Kiyomori as spies, legends of Kiyomori's heterodox royal parentage in the "Gion Lady" episode, and the identification of Kiyomori as the reincarnation of the demon-subjugating general, Jie Taishi.