Turning "Sites of Remembrance" into "Sites of Imagination" : The Case of Hideyoshi's Great Buddha

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THIS article analyses the significance of visual traces of certain historical visits and their relevance for an imaginary immersive digital reconstruction of a site fascinating for its historical and art historical significance and elusive in terms of potential reconstruction.

The city of Kyoto has led the way in Japan's urban landscape conservation, beginning with the 1919 City Planning Law.[1] This has generated debates over how best to reconcile historical heritage with the needs of a large, modern city.[2] Scholars have paid little attention

to the relationship between landscape conservation and historical sources or the compatibility of landscape conservation and new technologies such as augmented reality. To explore these issues, let us suppose that on the eve of the 2020 Olympic Games, Kyoto Municipality has launched a strong campaign to promote tourism. Part of the campaign is a multilingual, immersive application software (henceforth, "app") called "Shinraku," 新洛 ("new capital"), which overlays historical buildings on the present landscape. In this hypothetical scenario, from the municipality's perspective, the Shinraku app is one way to avoid the costs and criticisms of physically reconstructing historical buildings. Although such a technology might, in real application, offer alternatives to current debates about urban heritage, if the app were developed in line with historical sources it would face the same questions raised by any visual representation of a historical site, namely, how does the historical documentation (including the transcribed visual memory) of a physical site intersect with

1 For an administrative overview, see Kyōtoshi Toshikeikaku-kyoku Keikanbu Keikanseisakuka, ed., *Kyōto no keikan Landscape of Kyoto* (Kyoto: Kyōtoshi Toshikeikakukyoku Keikanbu Keikanseisakuka, 2009), http://www.city.kyoto.lg.jp/tokei/page/0000057538.html (accessed January 12, 2017).

2 Günter Nitschke, "Protection of Urban Place in Kyoto," in *Hozon: Architectural and Urban Conservation in Japan*, eds.

Siegfried R.C.T. Enders and Niels Gutschow (Stuttgart: Edition Axel Menges, 1998), 160–87; and Christoph Brumann, *Tradition, Democracy and the Townscape of Kyoto: Claiming a Right to the Past* (New York: Routledge, 2012).

social practices and historical change? Also, does visual memory support or contradict textual sources? A virtual reality app would also raise a new inquiry: do digital representations in fact create a material archive parallel to the object represented, especially when that object has disappeared?

This article addresses the foregoing questions by focusing on a site that has largely disappeared but was once one of the main attractions in the capital (making it a prime candidate for an immersive, digital reconstruction). The Great Buddha Hall (Daibutsuden 大仏殿) within the precincts of Hōkōji 方広寺 temple was originally part of a series of large public works through which the late-sixteenth-century ruler Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1536–98) left his mark on the urban landscape of the capital.[3] At twenty-four metres high, the temple's main icon was nine metres higher than the Great Buddha in Nara, which it was meant to rival.[4] It gave religious significance and positive political analogies to Hideyoshi's rule. The placement of Hōkōji on the slopes of the Higashiyama hills was part of a larger initiative of creating temple-towns (teramachi 寺町) on the outskirts of the historical capital.[5] Its proximity to the twelfth-century Hall of the Lotus King (Rengeōin 蓮華王院), more popularly known as the Thirty-Three-Bay Hall (Sanjūsangendō 三十三間堂), helped integrate the new temple into a pre-existing religious and aesthetic paradigm. The placement of Hōkōji facilitated its emergence as a famous site (meisho 名所) visited by a range of visitors, both local and foreign.

The changing and degrading material state of the Great Buddha Hall due to frequent fires and reconstructions, combined with the unreliability of its visual record in artistic representations, renders the task of its virtual reconstruction difficult. The hall and its main icon were destroyed and replaced three times by 1798, when it in effect disappeared and was replaced by a half-size reconstruction that also eventually burned down.[6]

Today, very few material traces of the original building remain. Chief among them is the main bell carrying the inscription that inauspiciously divided the characters of Tokugawa Ieyasu's last name, providing the pretext for the Osaka campaigns of 1614–15 that destroyed the Toyotomi clan.[7] As for the statue, only a scale model of the 1664 reconstruction survives.[8] Although this fragmentary record might prove challenging for the purposes of an immersive app, the Great Buddha Hall—as we shall demonstrate—provides an interesting case study on cultural memory, and the Shinraku app may be seen as another layering on the visual history of this "site of remembrance."[9]

At eighty-one metres long, fifty metres wide, and forty-five metres high, the Great Buddha Hall must have been an impressive sight. Archaeological reports and surviving architectural drawings allow us to imagine in basic terms its layout and appearance.[10] To attempt to recover the shock a first-time visitor would have experienced, however, we can turn to other sources as well, for example, one of the first detailed accounts by a foreign visitor (figure 1).[11] Certain details can be gleaned from this account, such as the offering of coins, and these could perhaps be scripted within an app. This study focuses on visual sources, however, and as I will

http://teapot.lib.ocha.ac.jp/ocha/handle/10083/4613 (accessed January 14, 2017).

7 Watsky, *Chikubushima*, 201–2.

8 Patricia Graham, *Faith and Power in Japanese Buddhist Art, 1600–2005* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 19–20.

9 From Pierre Nora's concept of *lieux de memoire*, designating cultural elements involving the preservation of memory within a specific community. See Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire," *Representations* 26 (1989): 7–24.

10 Graham, *Faith and Power*, 19; Ami Nobuya, "Hōkōji," *Kyōtoshi kōko shiryōkan bunkazai kōza* 219 (2010), http://www.kyoto-arc.or.jp/News/s-kouza.html (accessed December 1, 2016); and Kuroda Ryūji and Ishida Rie, "Tōdaiji daibutsudennai tateji itawari zu ni tsuite," *Kuon zasshū* 6 (2004), 1–11, 23–25, http://www.nara-haku.go.jp/archive/05.html (last accessed December 2, 2016).

11 John Saris, "The eighth Voyage set forth by the East-Indian Societie, wherein were employed three Ships, the Clove, the Hector, and the Thomas, under the command of Captaine John Saris : His Course and Acts to and in the Red Sea, Java, Moluccas, and Japan (by the Inhabitants called Neffoon, where also he first began and setled an English Trade and Factorie) with other remarkable Rarities, collected out of his own Journall," in vol. 3 of *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes* (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1905), 357–490, http://archive.org/details/hakluytusposthu91purcgoog (accessed December 2, 2016). The first account by a foreign visitor was that of Portuguese missionary Louis Frois, as discussed in Watsky, *Chikubushima*, 76–7; and translated in Murakami Naojirō, trans., *Iezusukai nihon nenpō*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Yūshōdō Shoten, 1969), 146–7.

3 Matthew McKelway, *Capitalscapes: Folding Screens and Political Imagination in Late Medieval Kyoto* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 179–80.

4 Andrew Watsky, *Chikubushima: Deploying the Sacred Arts in Momoyama Japan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004), 76–83.

5 Matthew Stavros, *Kyoto: An Urban History of Japan's Premodern Capital* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014), 162.

6 For a study of the visual history of the post-1798 reconstruction, see Kurokawa Marie, "Surimono ni miru Hōkōji Daibutsuden kaichō ni tsuite," *Ochanomizu ongaku ronshū* 9 (2007): 14–30,

Miaco is the greatest Citie of Japan, consisting most upon merchandizing. The chiefe Fotoqui or Temple of the whole Countrey is there, being built of free-stone, and is as long as the Westerne end of Saint Pauls in London, from the Quier, being as high arched and borne upon pillars as that is : where many Bonzees doe attend for their maintenance, as the Priests among Papists. There is an Altar whereon they doe offer Rice and small money, called Condriius (whereof twentie make one shilling English:) which is employed for the use of the Bonzees. Neare unto this Altar there is an Idoll, by the Natives called Mannada, made of Copper, much resembling that of Dabis formerly spoken of, but is much higher, for it reacheth up to the very Arch. This Fotoqui was begun to be built by Taicosania in his life-time, and since his sonne hath proceeded to the finishing thereof, which was newly made an end of when wee were there. Within the inclosure of the walles of this Fotoqui there are buried (by the report of the inhabitants) the Eares and Noses of three thousand Coreans, which were massacred at one time : Upon their grave is a mount raised, with a Pyramis on the toppe thereof ; which mount is greene, and very neatly kept. The horse that Taico-sania last rode on, is kept neare unto this Fotoqui, having never been ridden since, his hooffes being extraordinarily growne with his age, and still standing there.
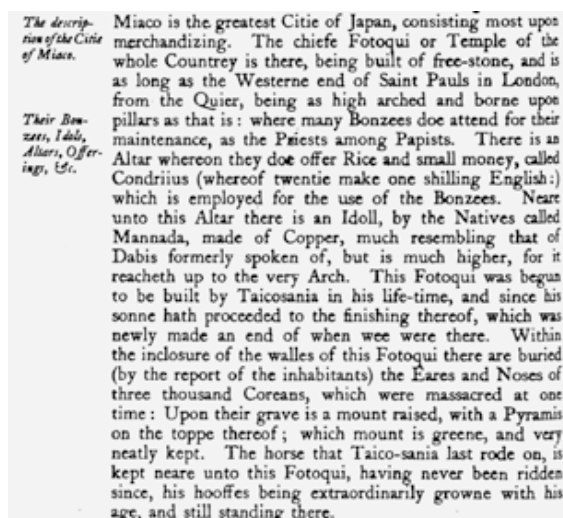
Figure 1. Fragment from John Saris, *The Eighth Voyage* […], 1613. Source: Saris, *The Eighth Voyage*, 470.

show they are most problematic.

The name "new capital" of the Shinraku app is an oblique reference to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century paintings on folding screens now grouped under the category of "Scenes of the Capital" (*Rakuchū rakugai zu* 洛中洛外図). The first visual depictions of Hōkōji appear on examples of such folding screens produced at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[12] Among the most celebrated examples are the so-called Funaki 舟木 screens (ca. 1622–24), which mark the appropriation of capital imagery by the new Tokugawa ruling family.[13] The temple's precincts are shown teeming with visitors, including what appear to be two foreigners with characteristic capes, high collars, and

hats.[14] The hall was still under renovation when the Funaki screens were being produced, and this discrepancy has been discussed in terms of a dichotomy between reality observed and reality desired.[15] Rather than a strict dichotomy, we might better understand the screens as blurring the line between reality and fiction. As the Funaki screens demonstrate, the offset between physical reality and visual depictions would have been part of the experience of visiting the Great Buddha Hall from very early on in its history.

By the end of the seventeenth century, the range and reach of depictions of the capital, and of Hōkōji's Great Buddha Hall in particular, diversified dramatically. This process has been discussed by the historian Beatrice Bodart-Bailey in connection with souvenir paintings of Kyoto in terms of a "diffusion of the cultural and artistic values formerly reserved for the aristocracy to a broader segment of the population."[16] This top-down diffusion model has been widely employed in research on Japanese art history; though useful, it presupposes strictly defined categories of elite and popular imagery. A more nuanced approach seems necessary, however, one that takes into account the diversity of images of this site as well as the multifocal agency of their audiences (travellers and administrators, and Korean, Ryukyuan, and Dutch visitors).

Some scholars have begun to address this issue. A 2008 article by historian Ronald Toby, for example, discusses the iconography of a nearby site associated with Hōkōji, the Ear Mound (Mimizuka 耳塚), where Hideyoshi buried the ears and noses of prisoners from his two Korean campaigns (1592–93 and 1597–98).[17] The article is a historical analysis of the diplomatic and symbolic significance of the Ear Mound for both the shogunal administration and the Korean envoys. Toby

12 One of the first depictions is found in a set of screens of around 1606 by Kanō Naizen 狩野内膳 (1570–1616) currently held in the Toyokuni 豊国 shrine in Kyoto. For images and more detailed descriptions, see Sandy Kita, *The Last Tosa: Iwasa Katsumochi Matabei, Bridge to Ukiyo-e* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 180–1; McKelway, *Capitalscapes*, 184–5, fig. 7.3; Watsky, *Chikubushima*, 214–6, 219–20, fig. 136; and http://www.kyotodeasobo.com/art/houmotsukan/toyokuni-shrine/01-toyokuni-by-oubu.html (accessed February 20, 2017).

13 Attributed to Iwasa Matabei, these screens were handed down through the Funaki family of Echizen 越前 province (modern Fukui prefecture). For excellent details, including the Great Buddha Hall and the scenes noted here, see the digital reproduction at http://www.emuseum.jp/detail/100318/001/045 (accessed January 18, 2017). See also Kita, *The Last Tosa*, 170–80; and McKelway, *Capitalscapes*, 193–5.

14 They appear on the left edge of the centre of the sixth panel of the right screen. For a discussion of foreigner iconography, see Ronald Toby, "The 'Indianness' of Iberia and Changing Japanese Iconographies of Other," in *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting and Reflecting on the Encounter Between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era*, ed. Stuart Schwartz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 323–51.

15 Watsky, *Chikubushima*, 219.

16 Beatrice Bodart-Bailey, "The Most Magnificent Monastery and Other Famous Sights: The Japanese Paintings of Engelbert Kaempfer," *Japan Review* 3 (1992): 43, http://id.nii.ac.jp/1368/00000389/ (accessed January 14, 2017).

17 Ronald Toby, "Kinsei no miyako meisho: Hōkōjimae to Mimizuka – Rakuchū rakugaizu, kyōezu, meisho annai o chūshin ni," *Rekishigaku kenkyū* 842 (2008): 1–12.

Figure 2. Romeyn de Hooghe. *Temple de Diaboth*. 1680. H. 39cm, w. 28.5cm. Double-spread book illustration. Copperplate print. Bibliothèque National de France, Réserve. DS 808 A 49. Source: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b2300064h/f60.thumbnail (accessed December 3, 2016).

draws attention to documents showing a reluctance on behalf of the Korean envoys to visit the Ear Mound as part of the itinerary prescribed by the shogunal administration. Japanese officials of the time, of course, claimed the opposite, and many artistic representations of the scene likewise showed enthusiastic Koreans visiting the site.[18] One folding screen celebrates the Korean delegation of 1682 by depicting it cavalcading toward the Ear Mound, whereas previous versions of the same image showed only golden clouds in this area.[19] In this case, the image seems to have functioned as a form of news and evidence of the Japanese elite's enthusiasm for the Korean visitors.

There remains a need for more in-depth considerations of the problematics of visual sources for historical analysis. For this study, I am interested in the Great Buddha's visual footprint—the visual archaeology of a monument no longer extant. One subset of the visual corpus that has received scholarly attention pertains to a visit by German physician Engelbert Kaempfer (1651–1716) as part of the delegation of the Dutch East India Company.[20] A detailed, hand-drawn sketch by Kaempfer survives.[21] It shows the Buddha statue with unprecedented accuracy, even including measurements and a human figure for scale. It represented a significant advance from the fanciful depiction by Romeyn de Hooghe in Arnoldus Montanus' *Atlas Japannensis* of a few decades earlier (figure 2).[22] But labelling de

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18 For example, Matsudaira Nobutsuna 松平信綱 (1596-1662), the official responsible for entertaining the 1636 Korean embassy, asserted that the honourable guests were eager to visit the Great Buddha Hall. Matsudaira Nobutsuna, *Matsudaira Nobutsuna no shojō* (Kyūshū Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 2009), http://www.kyuhaku-db.jp/souke/introduce/02_4.html (accessed December 1, 2016). See Toby, "Kinsei no miyako meisho," 4, for a partial list of depictions of the Great Buddha Hall and of the Ear Mound on *Rakuchū rakugai zu* folding screens.

19 Itakura Masaaki, ed., *Egakareta miyako: Kaihō, Kōshū, Kyōto, Edo* (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 2013), 70, 136.

20 Bodart-Bailey, "The Most Magnificent Monastery;" and Yu-Ying Brown, "Kaempfer's Album of Famous Sights of Seventeenth-Century Japan," *Electronic British Library Journal* (1989), http://www.bl.uk/eblj/1989articles/article7.html (accessed December 2, 2016).

21 Reproduced in Bodart-Bailey, "The Most Magnificent Monastery," 38.

22 Arnoldus Montanus, *Atlas Japannensis* (London: Thomas Johnson, 1670), 278–9, http://shinku.nichibun.ac.jp/kichosho/new/

Hooghe's image as erroneous, as I have implied in the preceding sentences, would not do it justice. It was a visual reconstruction of a text (*ekphrasis*) in line with the only equivalent experience accessible to the engraver: that of visiting a Gothic cathedral.[23] The issue of accuracy is minor compared to the regime of vision and the ideological agenda into which the image was co-opted.[24]

In turn, it is tempting to think of Kaempfer's sketch of the Buddha as the straightforward result of a direct gaze. Its sketched-from-life look, captions, measurements, and sense of scale suggest a concern with accuracy. While his observational skills were superior, one should also keep in mind that Kaempfer's interest in details such as the curly locks of the Buddha's hair might have reflected his theory that the founder of Buddhism was African.[25] Moreover, the measurements given by Kaempfer in the sketch and the textual description of the statue are a blend of his own observations with figures copied from a contemporary Japanese map of Kyoto.[26] And the sketch shows an impossible view: Richard Cocks had already described the statue in 1614 as "being of a wonderful bignes, the head of it reaching to the top of the temple."[27] The surrounding building would, therefore, have obstructed a full view of the statue. Kaempfer's sketch is the result of the experience of seeing the statue compounded with an elevated viewpoint that ignores the surrounding hall.

We can overcome the privileging of accuracy by focusing less on judgments of value and more on an understanding of the specificity of each visual representation. To do this, let us consider another set of images: a depiction of Hōkōji temple in an album painting acquired by Kaempfer during his trip to Japan and its adaptation on copperplate for an illustration in his 1727 *The History of Japan* (posthumously published). The original was a souvenir image made by so-called "town painters" (*machi eshi* 町絵師) that showed visiting pilgrims and commoners as well as the procession of a high-ranking official.[28] In Kaempfer's book illustration, however, the number of figures was reduced while their gestures were dramatically enhanced.[29] The result is an impression of artificiality and disconnected space, in large part because the illustration in Kaempfer's book transposed an already idealized depiction. Rather than valuing one as a more "truthful" image, it is desirable to consider the two images as testifying to different forms of visual representation.

As the foregoing makes clear, there was significant variation in the ways that visual sources could render the experience of visiting the site. One other example will further clarify this point. A lavish fan collected in an album now held by the Chester Beatty Library shows mostly pilgrims and locals enjoying a picnic in the temple's precincts (figure 3).[30] The Great Buddha statue's face is visible through the frontal window; however, surviving architectural drawings show that Hōkōji's Great Buddha Hall copied the style of the Great Buddha Hall in Nara's Tōdaiji temple, with one significant difference: while in the Tōdaiji building the window above the main doors allowed a glimpse of the main statue's face from afar, in the Hōkōji building the window was placed much lower, meaning that the statue's face would have been visible only from much closer.

books/01/suema00000000bd.html (accessed December 1, 2016). See also Antoon Ott, "Romeyn de Hooghe as a Designer of Prints for the Publisher Jacob van Meurs," *Delineavit et Sculpsit* 34 (2010): 20–27.

23 A precedent is found in the illustration of a Japanese idol in Lorenzo Pignoria, "Seconda parte delle imagini de gli dei indiani," in Vincenzo Cartari, Cesare Malfatti, and Lorenzo Pignoria, *Le vere e nove imagini de gli dei delli antichi* (Padoua: Appresso Pietro Paolo Tozzi, 1615), xxxvi, https://archive.org/details/levereenoveimagi00cart (accessed December 1, 2016).

24 The illustration was then adapted for a book on religious pluralism. See Bernard Picart, *Illustrations de cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde*, vol. 5 (Amsterdam: J.F. Bernard, 1728), 142, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b23005558/f218.item (accessed December 1, 2016).

25 Donald Lopez, *The Scientific Buddha: His Short and Happy Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 28–9.

26 Beatrice Bodart-Bailey, "Kyoto Three Hundred Years Ago," *Nichibunken Newsletter* 9 (1991): 11. I thank the author for sending me this article along with astute comments.

27 Edward Maunde Thompson, ed., *Diary of Richard Cocks, Cape-merchant in the English Factory in Japan, 1615–1622: With Correspondence* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1883), 200, https://archive.org/details/diaryrichardcoc00unkngoog (accessed January 12, 2017). Also cited in Watsky, *Chikubushima*, 218; and Michael Cooper, ed., *They Came to Japan: An Anthology of European Reports on Japan, 1543–1640* (Ann Arbor, MI: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1995), 337–8.

28 Reproduced in Bodart-Bailey, "The Most Magnificent Monastery," 37. See also Brown, "Kaempfer's Album," 94.

29 Jörg Schmeisser, "Changing the Image: The Drawings and Prints in Kaempfer's *History of Japan*," in *The Furthest Goal: Engelbert Kaempfer's Encounter with Tokugawa Japan*, eds. Beatrice Bodart-Bailey and Derek Masarella (Folkestone: Japan Library, 1995), 132–51.

30 See the black-and-white reproduction and description in Chester Beatty Library, *Chesutā Bītī Raiburarī emaki ehon kaidai mokuroku* (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2002), v. 1, 251; v. 2, 125. For a discussion of the evolution of fans with views of the capital, see McKelway, *Capitalscapes*, 33–45.

Figure 3. Hōkōji Temple. Seventeenth century. H. 24.8cm, w. 11.5cm (album folio h. 61cm, w. 31cm). Fan mounted on album. Ink, colour, and gold on paper. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin. CBL J 1003. Courtesy of the Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

The fan thus combined two different views: a distant one showing the building from afar, and a close view of a visitor catching a glimpse of the Buddha's face as he approached the building—it amalgamated a distant view of authority and administration with a close view of personal experience. In this way, the image evoked a multi-dimensional visual experience.

This is even more obvious in another folding screen that depicts the temple precinct's walls as a hexagonal shape, not the rectangle reported in archaeological papers.[31] This feature might be due to the fact that the statue was surrounded by an octagonal fence,[32] making it seem to a visitor that the surrounding building was also octagonal. Moreover, in this folding screen depiction the walls of the lower part of the building were visually removed, leaving only the columns and a view of the lotus throne. Such depictions manifested an embodied gaze that compounded sense impressions of the temple's large surface area into a single, composite visual space. As visual testimonies of the experience of visiting the site, they are important to consider.

Historical maps of the capital, another type of visual source, offer further insights. Kaempfer himself obtained one, now held by the British Library, which was later adapted into an illustration for his posthumous *The History of Japan* (figure 4). Kaempfer's visit coincided with a spike in the production of maps of the capital.[33] The version obtained by Kaempfer gives prominence to the Great Buddha Hall—besides the large hall itself, the map also includes information on the size of its various parts.[34] The itemization of the statue's individual components further enhances the perception of its gigantic character.[35] Even the description of the Thirty-Three-Bay Hall is prefaced by the characters for "Great Buddha," suggesting that what is now a World Heritage Site was then considered an appendage to its more famous neighbour. The map of the capital included in Kaempfer's *The History of Japan* reflected the German visitor's

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31 "Famous Sites in the Higashiyama District," reproduced in Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, *Miyako no sugata: Rakuchū rakugai no sekai: Tokubetsu tenrankai Heian kento sennihyakunen kinen* (Kyoto: Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 1997), 128–9.

32 Bodart-Bailey, "Kyoto," 11.

33 Kinda Akihiro and Uesugi Kazuhiro, *Nihon chizushi* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2012), 160.

34 Donald Shively, "Popular Culture," in *The Cambridge History of Japan, Volume 4, Early Modern Japan*, ed. John Whitney Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 738.

35 Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (London: Duke University Press, 1993), 88–9.

Figure 4. Hayashi Yoshinaga. Hōkōji Temple, Sanjūsangendō, and Mimizuka. Detail of *Kyō ōezu*. 1686. H. 166cm, w. 125cm. Hand-coloured woodblock print. National Diet Library, Tokyo. Honbetsu 12–27. Source: http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1286223 (accessed December 3, 2016).

Figure 5. Ikeda Tōri and Nakamura Yūrakusai. Hōkōji Temple and Mimizuka. Detail of *Kaisei Kyō machiezu saiken taisei*. 1831. H. 174cm, w. 138cm. Multi-coloured woodblock print. C.V. Starr East Asian Library, University of California, Berkeley. F29. Source: http://archivision-subscription.lunaimaging.com/luna/servlet/s/5kzqa2 (accessed December 4, 2016).

itinerary but also the features of its source map by including Hōkōji among the very few sites given visual prominence and captions.

Maps of the capital adopted one of two strategies to deal with the disappearance of the Great Buddha Hall in 1798. The first strategy was nostalgic: some of the maps showed the Great Buddha Hall in its former glory as a form of compensatory visual reconstruction.[36] The second strategy was elegiac: other maps acknowledged the fractured history of the Great Buddha Hall by showing an empty dais where the Great Buddha Hall once stood (figure 5). The text accompanying this image mentioned only the building's establishment in 1588 and its loss to fire in the seventh month of 1798—it read like the biography of a now-lost icon. Its representation of absence carried an elegiac tone that contributed to the aura of a "site of remembrance."[37] We can find contemporary examples of both strategies, too: the nostalgic in the forceful reconstruction of Gyeongbok Palace in Seoul, and the elegiac in Michael Arad's *Reflecting Absence* memorial to the destruction of New York's World Trade Center.[38] Strategies of dealing with loss matter considerably to heritage stakeholders, and an immersive app such as Shinraku would require that its developers take into account how it might contribute to this negotiation of site-specific memory.

Almost three centuries after John Saris, another English visitor witnessed a peculiar type of nostalgic reconstruction. Osman Edwards (1864–1936) describes watching "the Miyako-odori, a spectacular ballet with choric interludes."[39] This "capital dance," as it literally translates, constitutes a "site of remembrance" that was invented for the 1872 Kyoto Exhibition (*hakurankai* 博覧会) and aimed mainly at tourists in the wake of

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36 For example, Yokoyama Kazan, *Karaku ichiran zu* (Kyoto, 1808), http://www.rekihaku.ac.jp/education_research/gallery/webgallery/karaku/karaku.html (accessed December 1, 2016), discussed in Uesugi Kazuhiro, "Karaku ichiran zu," *Shīboruto ga Nihon de atsumeta chizu*, ed. Onodera Atsushi et al., special issue of *Chiri* 738 (2016): 81.

37 Nora, "Between Memory and History," 19.

38 Robert Garland Thomson, "Authenticity and the Post-Conflict Reconstruction of Historic Sites," *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship* 5, no. 1 (2008), 64–80, https://www.nps.gov/CRM-Journal/Winter2008/Winter2008.pdf (accessed December 1, 2016).

39 Osman Edwards, *Japanese Plays and Playfellows* (London: William Heinemann, 1901), 106.

the capital's move to Tokyo.[40] Edwards comments on alleged plans to construct a "monumental tomb" to Hideyoshi: "whether they succeed or not, the Hideyoshi monument was a subject so rich in suggestion, so popular in itself, so complex in its appeal, that the poet of the Miyako-odori could not wish for a better or more burning theme."[41] This was likely the 1899 edition of the dance, which was themed on the exploits of Toyotomi Hideyoshi and performed only four years after Japan successfully waged the first Sino-Japanese war in Korea.[42] Edwards describes one scene, which depicted the Great Buddha, as "elegantly illustrative of the Buddhist theme of impermanence in transition." The final climactic scene follows:

> The Hideyoshi monument, as it partly is and wholly shall be, rises tier above tier on heaven-scaling stairs, approached by temples and groves which will one day vie in splendour with the carven gateways, the gigantic cryptomerias of Nikkō. In a joyous finale the dancers pose, wreathed about the central summit of the monument, while cascades of red and green fire play on them from the wings; then, strewing the steps with cherry-blossom and waving provocative clusters in the faces of the spectators as they pass, the double stream of geisha flows back with graceful whirls and eddies between banks of deafening minstrelsy; the curtains rustle down, the fires flicker out; the Miyako-odori is no more.[43]

The former glory of Hideyoshi's architectural project was reimagined "out of cotton and paper and Bengal lights" at a time when Kyoto was seeking to reaffirm itself as the capital of Japan. Jotting down his impressions from "the strangers' gallery," Edwards was inadvertently repeating a familiar pattern—his foreign gaze functioned as a pivot for the Japanese audience, adding value to sites in the capital and, by extension, to Japan itself.[44]

Just as before, Kyoto will be keen to reaffirm its status leading up to the 2020 Olympics. This effort would be bolstered by commissioning an immersive app like the hypothetical Shinraku I have been referring to in this article. Nostalgic reconstruction has not lost its appeal, after all—the nationalist nostalgia movement currently gaining momentum in Japan's political realm may well see it very fit to convert the opening ceremony into a re-creation of Japanese history, which would include famous buildings and cultural icons. The pageantry format of the "capital dance," for example, could very conveniently be adapted for the opening ceremony of the Tokyo Olympics.

Still, digital apps, even when commissioned by the authorities, need not contribute to this nostalgia by "waving provocative clusters in the face of spectators." An app might instead re-ritualize the space of Kyoto as a "medium of remembrance."[45] It would be a step forward from academic research and conservation policies that only perpetuate the loss of a "site of remembrance" by archiving it. Instead of honouring the archive and adding to the parallel corpus of representations, an app such as Shinraku would insert a new layer of interaction at the intersection between memory and architecture. It would allow users to engage with the historical experience of visiting a famous site such as the Great Buddha Hall. The app could even populate the sites with people dressed in historical garb and simulate the courtyard bustle suggested by many historical images.[46] Users could be given the option of being a Korean, Dutch, or

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40 Eiko Hiroi, "The Creation of Exotic Space in the Miyako-odori: 'Ryūkyū' and 'Chōsen,'" in *Music, Modernity and Locality in Prewar Japan: Osaka and Beyond*, eds. Alison Tokita and Hugh de Ferranti (Burlington: Ashgate, 2013), 269.

41 Edwards, *Japanese Plays*, 111.

42 This was also part of a larger state program of re-affirming the legacy of Hideyoshi that included the 1875 reconstruction of Toyokuni shrine, which enshrined Hideyoshi's deified form within the precincts of Hōkōji, as well as the 1897 construction of Kyoto National Museum on a site immediately south of Hōkōji. See Takagi Hiroshi, "Kindai Nihon to Toyotomi Hideyoshi," in *Jinshin sensō: 16-seiki Nitchōchū no kokusai sensō*, eds. Tu-hǔi Chǒng and Kyǒng-sun Yi (Tokyo: Meiji Shoten, 2008).

43 Edwards, *Japanese Plays*, 114-5.

44 An early-Meiji-period view of the Great Buddha Hall for a foreign audience is found in Yamamoto Kakuma, *The Guide to the Celebrated Places in Kiyoto & The Surrounding Places* (Kyoto: Niwa, 1873), http://db.nichibun.ac.jp/en/d/GAI/info/GG031/item/020/ (accessed January 13, 2017). See also Sherry Fowler, "Views of Japanese Temples from Near and Far: Precinct Prints of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Artibus Asiae* 68, no. 2 (2008): 276. Buddhist statuary had been used to promote Japan's image overseas as early as the Vienna Exhibition of 1873, for which a life-size replica of the Great Buddha of Kamakura was built. Noriko Aso, "New Illusions: The Emergence of a Discourse on Traditional Japanese Arts and Crafts, 1868–1945" (PhD Diss., University of Chicago, 1997), 32.

45 Nora, "Between Memory and History," 7, 12.

46 J. Kang, "AR Teleport: Digital Reconstruction of Historical and Cultural-Heritage Sites Using Mobile Augmented Reality," in *2012 IEEE 11th International Conference on Trust, Security and Privacy*

Japanese visitor and follow historical routes particular to each demographic. The map interface could also imitate the look and signs of old maps of Kyoto while still being customizable.[47] Overall, it could be less about an accurate reproduction of how the Great Buddha Hall looked and more about how it might have felt to experience it—the Shinraku app could help turn "sites of remembrance" into "sites of imagination."[48]

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