

Imaging Japanese Religion in the Classroom: Mandala, Manga, Pizza, and Gardens¹

Mark MacWilliams
St. Lawrence University

How does my research influence my pedagogy? As a teacher of Japanese religions at a small liberal arts college, I realized long ago that I wasn't teaching in grad school. Few of my students can speak or read Japanese or have ever traveled to Japan. So, chances are I'm not going to be teaching a small seminar on pre-modern Buddhist pilgrimage focusing on original texts in the classical vernacular. Yet, in teaching undergraduates, I keep Shunryu Suzuki's comment in mind: "In the beginner's mind there are many possibilities, but in the expert's there are few."² The trick is how to trigger those possibilities. How do I open the door to a subject that is totally new and perhaps even strange? What do I find so fascinating in my own research that will also fascinate my students?

What first grabbed me about Japan was its rich visual culture. By "visual culture," I mean, as David MacDougall defines it, "any of the expressive systems of human society that communicate meanings partially or primarily by visual means."³ Of course, there are all sorts of "expressive systems" that can draw our attention. When I first visited Japan, what caught my eye was the exotic. I was entranced by the plastic food on display in the windows of a Matsuzakaya Department restaurant in Tokyo, something I'd never seen in the small town where I grew up. I also remember my first Bullet train ride being amazed by the view of Mt. Fuji from the window—so much bigger than I had imagined from the travel brochures. Both are examples of what the anthropologist John Urry has called "the tourist gaze." Seeing the real Mt. Fuji and those delicious looking replicas of fresh sushi attracted me because I

was seduced by the various “strategies of desire” that lie at the heart of the modern tourism industry. Look at any Internet travel site on Japan and you will probably find images of Mount Fuji, geisha, sushi and the like prominently featured. I was immediately seduced by that *faux* sushi that looked so delicious I rushed through the doors to taste the real thing. Such objects of the tourist gaze are powerful because we readily project our own fantasies onto them, filling them with meaning and value.⁴ To my eyes, my first Japanese meal was far more than just an odd-looking plate of raw fish,⁵ and Mt. Fuji was not just another big mountain. As a tourist, I saw them as icons of Japaneseness—that exotic other that I had traveled so far to see (figure 1). In the end, the tourist gaze tells us more about ourselves, particularly our orientalist fantasies about Japan, than anything else.



Figure 1.

That being said, the tourist gaze does point to the richness of Japan’s visual culture. It is something that “entices beyond other forms of communication”—a point recently noted by anthropologist Joy Hendry in her study of Japanese gardens.⁶ In my own research, I’ve realized that the iconographic (literally, “writing in images”) plays a vital role in Japanese religions.⁷ In my work on pilgrimage, popular religious culture (especially *manga* or comic books), and Zen temple gardens, I focus on two key questions: First, in what ways do the Japanese use

visible cultural forms to communicate religiously? Second, what approaches are effective for interpreting the subtly spiritual dimensions of Japanese visual culture? Not coincidentally, these same questions also lie at the center of my teaching, especially in my “Religious Life of Japan” class, a general 200-level survey class from prehistory to the present.

Initially, questions like these leave my students cold. On the surface, they appear academic, seemingly having nothing to do with their own lives. Of course, this is untrue. My students have all seen religious images, and have probably asked themselves what they mean and why people use them. But before I can proceed teaching about Japanese visual culture, I need to start where they are: Students need to explore how they themselves see. In the chapter, “On the Lost Art of Seeing,” in his wonderful book, *Gardens: An Essay on the Human Condition*, Robert Pogue Harrison observes that the “faculty of human vision is not neutral. It is subject to the laws of historicity as are our life-worlds, our institutions, and our mentality.”⁸ Our history, culture, and lives shape the way we see the world. At the outset, I want them to realize how they share a “historicity” that shapes their vision, and, especially, their vision of religion. Such an immediacy of perspective is where we all begin, but what we must also transcend if we want to comprehend how the Japanese use visual culture to express themselves religiously. In terms of seeing the sacred, my students perceptivity may work fine in America, but fails miserably to see religiosity in Japan.

To achieve a broader perspective, students need to think about what they mean by “religion.” Usually the first thing that pops into their minds is the Bible. For something to be religious, there has to be a scripture. This assumption reveals a naïve view of religion that is conditioned by their own predominantly Jewish-Christian heritage. Of course, privileging texts over images owes its origin to the iconoclastic heritage of Western Protestantism, dating back to the sixteenth-century radicals of the Reformation like John Calvin. Religion, however, even within the Protestant tradition, let alone Japan, is more than simply

scriptures. All I have to do to prove this is to take them to view our college's chapel, a beautiful space with stained glass windows inspired by the Universalist faith. In my class on Japanese religion, my major goal is to examine what art historian David Freedberg has called "the power of images" in an East Asian context, to be sure, but also to get them to see the iconographic as a key feature of religion generally.⁹ This goes a long way to correcting how I first studied religion in college. I still remember my first Japanese religions class, which was organized to cover the key "scriptures" of Dōgen, Shinran, Neo-Confucianism and Shinto throughout the semester. Such a "Great Books" approach has, at least by me, been relegated to the dustbin of old course files, since it has been attacked by many scholars as rooted in a Protestantized view of religion.

While using images in the classroom seems easy enough, particularly at a time of playing video games and surfing the Internet, I have learned that it is anything but. My pedagogical problems reveals how "historicity" conditions people's vision. Most students often seem more comfortable scrutinizing computer screens than the three-dimensional world surrounding them. This "wholesale desertion of the visible world," Harrison argues, has become today's dominant way of seeing. We are bombarded with images from mass media culture that makes us visual literate, but in a specific and limiting way. Living in an age of "mechanical reproduction," as Walter Benjamin has called it, we have learned to easily negotiate a world replete with flickering, transient images—photography, TV, contemporary cinema, and the Internet. Over familiarity with that world skews our ability to see another. Beyond the industrial, the mechanical, and the electronic is the natural world. Our classrooms often close the doors of perception to this world outside. And, as a consequence, do we miss something when we visit a Zen temple garden, a visual collaboration of the gardener's genius with the creative power of nature?

I have noticed that tourist's gaze done quickly on the Kyoto tour is usually mediated through the view screen of a digital camera. She or he may capture a few pictures, but misses

what Harrison calls “the appearance.” This appearance is a vision of boundless space and the depth of time that a temple garden gradually discloses to the patient viewer. Gardens that are hundreds of years old are “places of self-discovery.” They are sacred sites rich in history, rooted in the natural cycles of life, designed for meditation and contemplation that transcend the momentary and objectified photograph that is hastily snapped. Alan Sponberg has described the deeper view of appearance as an ecstatic form of visualization. In Mahayana Buddhism, this is specifically identified with meditational practices that are basically eidetic: “The practitioner seeks a state of enhanced sensation by throwing himself into an alternative reality rich in aesthetic and emotional detail.”¹⁰ To comprehend temple gardens as sacred spaces, they require more than a quick glance to perceive what gives them their emotional and aesthetic richness.¹¹

So, how do I make my students aware of such alternate modes of perception? How can they gain insight into what religious art historian David Morgan calls “the sacred gaze,” that is, the way visual culture is used to express and construct a people’s experience of spiritual realities? To learn new ways of seeing, I have to do more than, as one student caustically commented on Rate Your Professor.com, waste time by showing endless slides from research trips. It is easy to fall into such a trap in the hope of jazzing up lectures. A better strategy is to use images sparingly, avoiding simple show and tell presentations that my students call “art in the dark.”

By contrast, in class, I explore Japanese religion actively rather than passively. Images are objects of inquiry instead of eye-catching illustrations. In studying religious visual culture, I also show how to investigate “not only the image itself but also its role in narrative, perception. . . intellectual classification, and all manner of ritual practices. . . thereby understanding the image as part of the social construction of reality.”¹² Any class worth its salt enriches students’ understanding by contextualizing what they see. The image must be situated within a detailed study of the culture and history from which it comes. However, my

specific pedagogical conundrum is this: How do I do this? How can I utilize the images of Buddhist statues, pictures of temple gardens, Shinto shrines and festivals, and so on effectively—as part of the nuts and bolts of a class session?

Here I take inspiration from Roland Barthes. It was Barthes' "exploration of 'mythologies' in the 1950s that revealed a complex world of hidden sign systems" in images, broadening his analysis to include not only film, but also advertising and other forms of popular culture.¹³ In the case of Japan, his classic study, *Empire of Signs* (1982), demonstrates his hermeneutical approach. For Barthes, the most ordinary of things reveal more than initially meets the eye. Take for example, that most pedestrian of Japanese foods—*sukiyaki*. Barthes's point is that *sukiyaki*, produced right before one's eyes at the table, communicates layers of significance by visual means. Despite or even because of its ordinariness, that simple fare can lead to a deeper understanding of that stew that is Japanese culture—at least for those who study it closely.¹⁴

Most of my students have never eaten *sukiyaki* so, besides my initial map tour, which is in itself an interesting exercise (how many of our students really know where Japan is located?), what do I do? In the first unit, I explore the question: "What do we mean by Japan and Japanese religion?" I have them read, for example, the historian Jackson Bailey's well-known essay, "Japan on the World Scene: Reflection on Uniqueness and Commonality." Bailey points out that it is easy to fall into one of two traps when studying Japan: "We tend either to talk about the uniqueness of Japanese culture and note how different the Japanese are from everyone else, or to look for the common heritage of all human beings and gloss over the peculiarities."¹⁵ That is, we either see Japan as something completely different, the exotic other, or go to the opposite extreme, seeing it as the same old same old. Bailey's point is that the truth lies somewhere in the "muddy middle."

What better way to explore Bailey's point than by analyzing an image that is deeply familiar. I show students an advertisement from a Japanese pizza restaurant, one of the chains like Shakey's

and Domino's, that are ubiquitous in Japan these days (see figure 2, courtesy of Greg Tavares).¹⁶ Yes, the ad displays something it calls pizza, but this "Japanese version" appears



Figure 2.

very different from what one might see on American TV. It is not easy for students to identify what kind of pizzas are being advertised in the picture. When I translate some of the types in the ad—for example, "Hot Dog Pizza," "Potato Gratin Pizza," and "Curry German Pizza" (with potatoes and bacon as toppings)—they are very surprised. I also cannot resist showing them one of my own favorites, Japanese Domino's new croissant crust pizza, which combines shrimp, sea urchin cream, paprika, smoked salmon, cream cheese, and basil into a mouthwatering gastronomic delight. While these ingredients (except for the sea urchin cream perhaps) are known to them, Japanese Domino's novel combination makes their pizza different in fascinating ways. It leads to interesting questions, such as, why does Domino's new croissant pizza have seafood as a major ingredient? It may be obvious to me, but the fact that Japan is an island country where the bounty of the sea (*umi no sachi*) remains an important part of the contemporary diet is news to my students. As toppings on this pizza, this basic fact appears right before their eyes. Moreover, the wide selection of pizza types and combinations (German, American, Italian and Japanese) also teaches something about Japan's long and complex history of cultural influences from abroad. Pizza perfectly illustrates Bailey's key point that we must take the

“muddy middle” when looking at Japanese culture. It’s “pizza” but it’s not my American style kind of pizza!

Needless to say, my pizza example also shows that “Japanese culture” as a homogeneous and integrated entity is a fiction. Masao Miyoshi has recently noted that “the overwhelming majority of Japanese place excessive importance on their collective identity, which is presented as ‘singular’ in the sense of single/homogeneous and unique/exceptional.”¹⁷ And yet, this view of a singular Japanese culture is a “modern artifact” that emerged when Japan became a modern nation state. According to intellectual historian Tessa Morris-Suzuki, rather than there being anything called Japanese culture, there are multiple traditions that serve as the “raw material” combining in the ongoing process of reinterpreting, reinventing, and interweaving of ideas, practices, and institutions.¹⁸ It is this changing construct of “Japan” throughout Japanese history that we must investigate. As we have seen, pizza is quite *apropos* as an example of this dynamic creative process of cultural creation. What kind of pizza will the Japanese serve up next?

How does this point relate specifically to the study of Japanese religious traditions—folk religion, Buddhism, “Shinto,” new religions, Christianity, and so on? Throughout the semester, I offer a sampling of the rich visual culture of these different traditions to highlight their complexity. In one unit, for example, I show this intricate intermixing of traditions by looking at Japanese Zen temple gardens. Students find this fascinating because they usually don’t think of gardens as religious. But in Japan they often are—at Tōfuku-ji, Myōshin-ji, Nanzen-ji, and the Daitoku-ji, etc.—gardens are an intrinsic part of the spiritual tableau of these temples. Why?

Of course, Zen temple gardens embody the Mahayana doctrine of the non-duality—samsara is nirvana, nirvana is samsara, this world is nothing other than the Buddha nature. They also emphasize a key theme that we find again and again in Japanese religions: that the natural world is also the realm of practice, or, in the words of the early great Zen teacher and gardener, Musō Soseki (1275-1351) in his *Dream Dialogues*, “One who distinguishes between the garden and practice cannot

be said to have found the true Way.” Much of this class unit focuses upon how gardens have evolved throughout Japanese history. The Zen vision of gardens differs from what you would see in the paradisiacal Pure Land gardens of the Heian period such as at the temple of Byôdô-in.¹⁹ As François Berthier has recently observed,

The gardens of the Heian period reflected the vicissitudes of human life, whereas the Zen monks rejected transitory phenomena and worthless appearances. They stripped nature bare in order to reveal its substance’ their bare bones” gardens expressed universal essence By reducing nature to its smallest dimensions and bringing it back to its simplest expression one can extract the essence. And it is by seizing the essence of nature that the human being can discover his own “original nature.”²⁰

So, by tracing the development of gardens from the Heian through the Muromachi periods, one can analyze the changing character of Japanese Buddhist visual culture. Moreover, the gardens of the Zen Gozan temples reveal the complex interweaving of traditions in Japanese religious life. To see them as only “Buddhist” misses the fact that they combine several levels of religious meaning. Appreciating such a garden means also being aware of the elaborate Chinese religious symbolism, like rock groups that suggest the paradise isles of the Immortals (Hôrai), for example, or the influence of early Shinto shrine design in the white gravel of the dry landscape (*karesansui*) that is also found in the *himorogi*, the area indicating the presence of the *kami*.

I also like to use images taken from my own research to teach students to think critically about religion. For example, I show some slides from my fieldwork of holy sites (*reijô*) of the bodhisattva Kannon along the Kantô Chichibu pilgrimage circuit. With its sacred geographies, icons, and souvenirs paraphernalia, how does Chichibu’s visual culture mold Japanese pilgrims’

spiritual experiences? When I observe pilgrims reciting the *Heart Sutra* before a temple, I note that the setting in which they pray is visually complex (figure 3). While the Kannon icon usually remains hidden (*hibutsu*) inside the hall, there is still plenty outside to see. Prominently placed above the pilgrims, for example, is a facsimile of a popular Meiji period work by the *ukiyo-e* artist Umedo Kunimasa, his *Hyakuban Kannon reigenki*. This illustration relates the miracles, sacred founders, and powers of the main image (*honzon*) at the Kannon temple. I like to show this photo of pilgrims worshipping before Umedo's picture to explore the ritual dynamics of Japanese pilgrimage.



Figure 3.

However, before I ask students what questions they have about this photo, we start off with a discussion of the posters they have in their dorm rooms. What do they put up? Where do they place them? Why have they put them up? What kind of image do they convey about who lives in the room, etc.? This inevitably generates some provocative discussion which leads into a discussion of the pilgrimage photo. Students invariably

raise some interesting questions: “Why is the painting placed before the pilgrims?” “What is this painting’s function?” “Do pilgrims look at it?” “What does it signify to them?” “How does it represent the temple’s origin story?” Umedo Kunimasa’s *Hyakuban Kannon reigenki* reveals that illustrations are not just decorative, but are an important form of religious communication. Students learn that, as part of the ritual field of worship in the Chichibu pilgrimage, such pictures are ubiquitous, making them a vital part of the pilgrim’s experience. Using my photo is effective for raising questions about religious ritual, visualization, myth, and miracles that the academic study of religion explores as a matter of course. More generally, it raises the issue about the role of images as a means of devotion, of disseminating information, and of gaining insight into reality.

My photo is also effective in another way. It warns students to proceed with caution. One must always be wary of interpretative traps. Here, one could easily fall into what Johannes Fabian calls the trap of “visualism,” that habit of thought, particularly among “eyeball” anthropologists, that knowing always occurs through “visualizing” another’s culture or society.”²¹ This is a basic premise of the empirical approach: visual knowing “almost becomes synonymous for understanding” most anything. Yet, in my example from the Chichibu pilgrimage, students can realize that over-relying on what one can see in the front of the temple overlooks what lies hidden within. While icons are displayed in Japanese Buddhism, they are often not. In my photo, neither the pilgrims nor my students can see the main icon of the temple. It is a sequestered image, not “viewed” in the same way as, for example, statues of Shiva in Hinduism, which are readily available for devotee’s *dars’an* at Hindu temples, or that Buddhist statue my students have seen in a museum somewhere. Why is the Kannon icon hidden? Why have Chichibu pilgrims traveled such a long way only to pray before the closed doors of the temple hall? These are important questions to ask (that, by the way, have no easy answer).

One thing is clear: seeing is not necessarily believing, let alone fully understanding what is happening here.²² Kannon

icons are frequently not visible as devotional objects of worship, nor are they present as visual resources for conveying Buddhist doctrines. A didactic functionalism, so basic in Hindu iconography, and also for the Christian tradition as well is absent here. As Diana Eck has observed, Hindu temple icons of Shiva and Vishnu typically provide a “visual theology” for their worshippers.²³ In the early Roman Catholic Church, Pope Gregory the Great decreed that images of Christ and the Virgin Mary were not for homage (*adorare*) but instruction. This was true even in the supposedly iconoclastic Presbyterianism of my childhood; I vividly remember the pictures of Jesus I colored in my Sunday school coloring book. These pictures usually illustrated the key moral virtues of the savior, virtues that my church hoped I would emulate in my own life.²⁴

But at Chichibu temples, except on rare occasions, Kannon main images remain hidden inside their cabinets (*zushi*). What we can learn here is that religion is not all that meets the eye. As Dietrich Seckel has noted in his classic monograph, *Before and Beyond the Image*, the “Buddha stands beyond the outward manifestation of people, gods, and all pother things because he is transcendent (*lokottara*), gone beyond the world of phenomena limited to ordinary perception. . . .”²⁵ If buddhas and celestial bodhisattvas are beings who are non-being by virtue of attaining supreme enlightenment, then visualizing them is, at some level, a “falsification,” although the Mahayana tradition describes this as an expedient means (*hōben*)²⁶ Hidden images of buddhas and bodhisattvas may ritually symbolize this view by their absence. This example reveals the limitations of perception to grasp spiritual truths—both for pilgrims and the researchers who study them.

This is not to say that “visual theology” is absent in Japanese religions. In my Buddhism unit, I explore didacticism by looking at Buddhist mandalas used for *etoki* or visual sermons. What is a mandala? According to Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis, it is a circle, disk, or sacred center that is marked off, a kind of cosmic ground or map that “lays out a sacred territory or realm in microcosm, showing the relations among the various powers

active in that realm and offering devotees a sacred precinct where enlightenment takes place.”²⁷ Mandala, such as the dual mandala (*ryôkai mandara*), are particularly important in the Shingon and Tendai schools of Buddhism for meditation and ritual practice. In the scholarly literature, they are often characterized as aids to visualization, a graphic means to identify and ultimately merge oneself spiritually with the Buddha represented symbolically in the mandala.

However, in popular Buddhist pilgrimage, they can also serve as handy visual aids for teaching Buddhist truths. Along the Chichibu route, many temples, which were founded by Shingon and Tendai holy men, are understood as mandalized spaces illustrating the Buddhist Dharma.²⁸ To explain what a mandala is and does, I like to show a painting from Chichibu’s temple number 32, Hôshôji, located in the mountains of Ogano Machi (figure 4). This painting reveals that the temple’s grounds are a



Figure 4.

giant mandala. It was drawn by a 19th century parishioner, Handa Kurajirô. It shows a cliff shaped like a boat upon which images of Dainichi Nyôrai and Kannon are enshrined, a depiction of how the sacred precincts appeared to Chichibu pilgrims at that time. What I ask my class is this: Given their knowledge of Buddhism, what key symbols and beliefs are displayed in this picture of the temple precincts? Students quickly observe that the boat or raft (*yana*) crossing the sea of suffering is one of

the time-honored metaphors for the Buddhist path. This is but one of several symbolic associations they can discover in Hôshôji's mandalized sacred geography. Students, like the Chichibu pilgrims of the past, can identify the key Mahâyâna doctrines of salvation. They can also gain a better understanding of the different ways mandala were used. Here, the picture is not a visual aid for ecstatic meditation for realizing that one is no other than the Buddha, but was used in sermons (*etoki*) for converting and educating pilgrims who visited the temple.

But how do you get students inside such a mandala? How do you get them to understand the model of the cosmos it reveals that was part of the worldview of pre-modern Japanese people? I have my students look at another example, the *Kanjin Jukkai mandara*, which the Kumano nuns in the 17th century used for lay preaching. The *Kanjin Jukkai mandara* portrays the ten worlds of existence including the *rokudô*, six realms of transmigration and, especially, the Blood Pool Hell for women. Fortunately, there are many resources presently available for teaching this mandala. A lavishly illustrated site designed by the Kumano Field Museum is on the Internet,²⁹ and there is also available a useful DVD, *Preaching from Pictures: A Japanese Mandala* by David W. Plath and Ronald Toby.³⁰ I assign a group of students to do special in-class presentations. They are responsible for a fifteen-minute presentation that explains the mandala's key symbols, how it was used by the Kumano nuns, and the key Buddhist teachings found in the painting. After this, I divide the class into five groups with each responsible for drawing a part of the *Jukkai mandara* only, in this case, using the campus in which they live, St. Lawrence University, as the scene for the painting. The students draw images of SLU's ideal of the Pure Land, the enlightened heart of the university, hell, the wheel of samsara, and the human realm. Figure 5 shows one of the images drawn by students, their vision of the wheel of life. In their drawing, the different realms of existence have been replaced by the various dormitories students live in from their first year until graduation. By drawing the wheel of life of their school, students have fun, but they also think about key



Figure 5.

Buddhist lessons—that life is a path, that life is transient, and so on. They also directly discover how mandala can be powerful modes of expression. As a final part of the project, I have them put up a Buddhist mandala exhibit, making posters that we display in the hall of the religion department so they can teach other students what they have learned.

So what is the value of teaching through images? In my Japanese religions survey class, students learn new ways of seeing that makes them more self-conscious of “the historicity” of vision. Are there different ways of seeing the world? My class also challenges them to think about religion: In what ways is it more than a collection of sacred writings? What does it mean to have a “sacred gaze”? Naturally, as a humanities course, my goal is always to encourage self-reflexivity—to reflect on what shapes their vision of the world and how what they have learned has changed their own ways of seeing. If I have achieved this, I’ve done my job.

Endnotes

¹I would like to thank Russell Kirkland, University of Georgia, and Stuart Young, St Lawrence University, for their useful feedback on earlier versions of this essay.

²Shunryu Suzuki, *Zen Mind, Beginner’s Mind: Informal Talks on Zen Meditation and Practice* (New York: Weatherhill, 1970), 21.

- ³David MacDougall, "The Visual in Anthropology," in *Rethinking Visual Anthropology*, eds. Marcus Banks and Howard Morphy (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 283. Or as Marcus Banks and Howard Morphy define it, it is those "processes that result in humans producing visible objects, reflexively constructing their visual environment and communicating by visual means" (21).
- ⁴David Crouch and Nina Lübbren eds., *Visual Culture and Tourism* (New York: Oxford, 2003), 8. See also John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* (London: Sage Publications, 2002).
- ⁵That sushi signifies Japaneseness despite its now global marketing as a fad food is entertainingly discussed in Trevor Corson's recent book, *The Zen of Fish* (New York: HarperCollins, 2007).
- ⁶Joy Hendry, "Pines, Ponds, and Pebbles: Gardens and Visual Culture," in *Rethinking Visual Anthropology*, eds. Marcus Banks and Howard Morphy (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 240.
- ⁷See MacDougall, "The Visual in Anthropology," 283.
- ⁸Robert Pogue Harrison, *Gardens: An Essay on the Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), p.115.
- ⁹See David Freedberg, *The Power of Images* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991); see also David Morgan, *Protestants and Pictures: Religion, Visual Culture, and the Age of American Mass Production* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).
- ¹⁰Alan Sponberg, "Meditation in Fa-hsiang Buddhism," quoted in Mimi Hall Yiengpruksawan, "Buddha's Bodies and the Iconographical Turn in Buddhism," in *Buddhist Spirituality: Later China, Korea, Japan, and the Modern World* ed. Takeuchi Yoshinori (New York: Crossroad Publishing Co, 1999), p.397.
- ¹¹Harrison, *Gardens*, p.118.
- ¹²David Morgan, *The Sacred Gaze: Religious Visual Culture in Theory and Practice* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 2005), p.30.

- ¹³MacDougall, "The Visual," p.283.
- ¹⁴Roland Barthes, *Empire of Signs*, translated by Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), 19.
- ¹⁵Jackson Bailey, "Japan on the World Scene: Reflection on Uniqueness and Commonality." In Cogan, John J. and Schneider, Donald O., eds. *Perspectives on Japan: A Guide for Teachers* (Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1983), p. 76.
- ¹⁶For interesting posts on this matter, see James "Japanese Pizza," *Japan Probe*, December 1, 2007, which discusses the Pizza Hut's "Winter Double King." <http://www.japanprobe.com/?p=3281> and "Domino's Pizza Japan unveils Croissant Crust Pizzas!," *Japan Probe*, January 2, 2007. <http://www.japanprobe.com/?p=859>.
- ¹⁷Masao Miyoshi, "Japan is not Interesting," in Japanese Studies Association of Australia, *Papers of the 10th Biennial Conference of the Japanese Studies Association of Australia* (1997), p.17
- ¹⁸See her *Reinventing Japan: Time Space and Nation* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1998), pp.8-11.
- ¹⁹Mimi Hall Yiengprukswan, "The Phoenix Hall at Uji and the Symmetries of Replication" *The Art Bulletin* 77 (December, 1995): 647-72..
- ²⁰François Berthier, *Reading Zen in the Rocks* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press,2000), pp.5-6.
- ²¹Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), p.106.
- ²²Two recent books that attempt to explore the question of the hiddenness and secrecy of icons are Sarah Horton's *Living Buddhist Statues in Early Medieval and Modern Japan* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007) and Bernhard Scheid and Mark Teeuwen, eds. *The Culture of Secrecy in Japanese Religion* (London: Routledge, 2006).
- ²³Diana Eck, *Darsan, Seeing the Divine Image in India* (Chambersburg,PA: Anima Books, 1981), p.30.
- ²⁴See Gregor Goesthals, *The Electronic Golden Calf: Images, Religion, and the Making of Meaning* (Cambridge,MA:

- Cowley Publications, 1990), pp.23, and David Morgan's *Visual Piety: A History and Theory of Popular Religious Images* (Berkeley : University of California Press, 1998).
- ²⁵Dietrich Seckel, *Before and Beyond the Image*. Trans. Andreas Leisinger (Zürich: Artibus Asiae, 2004), p.11.
- ²⁶*Ibid.*, p.11.
- ²⁷Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese Mandalas: Representations of Sacred Geography* (Honolulu, HA: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), p.2.
- ²⁸See Alan Grapard, "Flying Mountains and Walkers of Emptiness: Toward a Definition of Sacred Space in Japanese Religions," *History of Religions* 21 (February, 1982):195-221.
- ²⁹Kumano Field Museum http://kumano-world.org/english/anfi_e/mainmenu.html.
- ³⁰This is produced by the Asian Educational Media Service, Center for East Asian and Pacific Studies, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, (2005).