

**THEMES, SCENES, AND TASTE
IN THE HISTORY OF JAPANESE GARDEN ART**

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STELLINGEN

1. De situering van tuin en gebouwen van de paleizen uit de Japanse Heian tijd was het resultaat van bescheiden aanpassingen van de bestaande topografie.
(Dit proefschrift)
2. Planten werden in de Heian paleistuin geplant om een stemming weer te geven, niet omwille van een esthetisch beeld. Deze stemming berustte op het oproepen en herkennen van welbekende poëtische thema's, onlosmakelijk verbonden met bepaalde plantensoorten.
(Dit proefschrift)
3. Vroeg veertiende eeuwse tuinen in Japan, die vormgegeven zijn met gebruikmaking van Chinese kompositietheoriën uit de Song landschapsschilderkunst, zijn ontworpen door Chinezen.
(Dit proefschrift)
4. De opkomst van een groep van professionele, maar ongeletterde tuinenmakers in de tweede helft van de middeleeuwen in Japan, droeg bij aan het totstandkomen van een vormgeving die het scheppen van taferelen ten doel had, welke gewaardeerd werden op uiterlijke schoonheid.
(Dit proefschrift)
5. De Japanse 'droge landschapstijl' (karesansui) is als zodanig in de twintigste eeuw gedefiniëerd.
(Dit proefschrift)
6. Het valt op zijn minst te betwijfelen dat middeleeuwse tuinenmakers in Japan de bedoeling hadden de Zen filosofie tot uitdrukking te brengen. De gedachte dat de Zen filosofie met materiële vormen in een tuin tot uitdrukking gebracht wordt dateert uit de dertiger jaren van deze eeuw.
(Dit proefschrift)
7. De inrichting van de Japanse zestiende eeuwse theetuin was in de grond van de zaak funktioneel. De romantische beleving van de natuur erin was een in tweede instantie verleende betekenis.
(Dit proefschrift)
8. Het intellectuele karakter van de waardering van ruimtelijke komposities in de tuin in zeventiende eeuwse Japan, vloeide voort uit de eigentijdse romantische waardering voor de natuur en uit het esthetisch liberale klimaat bij de elite van 'nieuwe vrijgestelden' rond het keizerlijk hof.
(Dit proefschrift)
9. Het belangrijkste kenmerk van smaak is dat er over valt te twisten.
(Dit proefschrift)
10. Het vertalen van oud Japans in een moderne westerse taal, maar ook het maken van schetsen van oude tuinen, betekent onvermijdelijk een interpretatie van de ideeën en vormen uit de geschiedenis van de Japanse tuinkunst, en vooronderstelt daarmee een visie van de interpretator.

11. De hedendaagse Japanse tuinkunst profiteert slechts van haar rijke traditie voorzover de maatschappelijke kaders waarin het vak beoefend wordt de traditionele zijn.
12. Het 'vertikale' karakter van de menselijke verhoudingen binnen het Japanse universiteitsbedrijf geeft de ruimte voor het ontwikkelen van creatief wetenschappelijk onderzoek in Japan.
('vertikaal' n.a.v. Chie Nakane, "Japanese Society")
13. Het Christendom heeft de Europese tuinkunst in de loop van haar geschiedenis grotendeels gezuiverd van mystieke en esoterische elementen. Het Boeddhisme heeft dat in Japan niet gedaan.
14. Landschap is de materiële neerslag van een cultuur. Nederland kan alleen ingericht en klaar zijn als de Nederlanders dat ook zijn. Vooral dit laatste lijkt wel erg onwaarschijnlijk en daarmee ook het beeld van een 'af' Nederland.
(n.a.v. Dr.Ir.F.J.Breteler, Universiteitsraad, 29/9, 1988)
15. De drie ideaaltypen van Meeus leveren niet alleen een instrumentarium voor de ontwerpkritiek, maar ook voor de produktie van nieuwe kennis in de landschapsarchitectuur. Volgens de 'traditionele' vakbeoefening worden nieuwe vormen en beelden van landschap uitgedacht; de 'modernere' doorzien de rationaliteit van de bijbehorende processen en patronen; de 'postmoderne' vakbeoefening toetst deze aan de betrokken belangengroepen. Zo kan nieuwe, toepasbare kennis in het vakgebied gegenereerd worden.
(n.a.v. Johan Meeus, "Op zoek naar een instrumentarium voor ontwerpkritiek in de landschapsarchitectuur")
16. Een buitenlander, die de landschapsbeelden op de Nederlandse bankbiljetten beschouwt, moet haast wel tot de konklusie komen dat dit land niet alleen een grote traditie van landschapsarchitectuur heeft, maar het vak ook een grote toekomst te bieden moet hebben.
17. Het is voor de landschapsarchitect, in tegenstelling tot de architect, weggelegd om langzaam (maar zeker) te groeien met zijn werk.

Wybe Kuitert

"Themes, Scenes, and Taste in the History of Japanese Garden Art"

Wageningen, 13 april 1988.

SAMENVATTING EN KONKLUSIES

“Thema’s, Taferelen, en Goede Smaak, in de Geschiedenis van de Tuinkunst in Japan”

Het boek behandelt, in drie delen, drie perioden uit de geschiedenis van de tuinkunst in Japan. Het laat zien hoe de betekenis, die de tuin had voor de mensen van zijn tijd, wezenlijk verschilde in elk van deze drie perioden.

Deel één, getiteld *Themes*, “Thema’s”, gaat over de late Heian tijd, van de tiende tot het eind van de twaalfde eeuw. De oorsprong van de Japanse traditionele tuinkunst ligt in deze periode. De eerste hoofdstukken introduceren een aantal paleistuinen van leden van het Keizerlijke Hof in de hoofdstad Heian. Geen van deze tuinen bestaat nog; ze zijn alleen bekend uit beschrijvingen en afbeeldingen. Deze afbeeldingen laten ons niet alleen het uiterlijk van de tuinen zien, maar vertellen ook veel over het gebruik van de tuinen door de mensen aan het Hof. Een grote open plek vóór het belangrijkste paleisgebouw was het toneel voor feestelijke plechtigheden, op een grote tuinvijver grenzend aan de open plek werd met plezierbootjes gevaren. Eén van de paleizen, genaamd Tōsanjōden, wordt uitgebreid behandeld.

Een aantal tuinen uit de elfde en twaalfde eeuw bestaat nog in tempels, die ver weg liggen van de hoofdstad Heian. Deze tempeltuinen moeten beschouwd worden als behorend tot het traditionele type van de paleistuin. Dit is verduidelijkt met een hoofdstuk wat de overblijfselen van een twaalfde eeuwse tuin bij de tempel Mōtsu-ji behandelt.

Het aanleggen van tuinen was in de Heian tijd, wat betreft praktijk en theorie, nog in een primitief stadium. Niettemin bestaat er een uitgebreid theoretisch handschrift over tuinen, het elfde eeuwse *Sakuteiki*. Dit werk gaat uit van de typische ruimtelijke organisatie van de paleistuinen met vijver, uit die tijd, zonder dat het dit uitgangspunt overigens verder behandelt.

Deze typische ruimtelijke organisatie ontstond als gevolg van bescheiden ingrepen in de natuurlijke gesteldheid van het gemiddelde stuk grond in de hoofdstad, waarop een paleis gebouwd werd. De ruimtelijke organisatie van een paleistuin was daarom geen welbewust gekozen ordening. De typische, topografisch bepaalde, opzet wordt in de *Sakuteiki* gelegitimeerd door een filosofie, die voorspellingen geeft over de

geschiktheid van het terrein. De konklusie is gerechtvaardigd dat de *Sakuteiki* geen harmonie met de natuur predikt, of kunstgrepen door mensenhand afwijst, zoals de tekst tegenwoordig vaak geïnterpreteerd wordt. Ingrijpen in de natuur was voor de Heian tuinenmaker eerder een beangstigende zaak.

De *Sakuteiki* was een geheim manuscript over tuinen, van de hand van een edelman verbonden aan het Hof van de Heian tijd. Hij was een van de kleine groep adellijken die een duidelijke interesse voor tuinen aan de dag legde. Alle leden van deze groep behoorden tot de Fujiwara clan. Dit verklaart waarom de *Sakuteiki* geheim was; alle kennis verzameld door Fujiwara's was geheim. Hoewel deze groep adellijken wel veel theoretische kennis van tuinen had, is het niet waarschijnlijk dat ze veel verstand hadden van tuinen aanleggen. De *Sakuteiki* behandelt dit onderwerp oppervlakkig. Aanleg en onderhoud werd gedaan door naamloze lijfeigenen die bij de heerlijkheden van de adellijke grootgrondbezitters hoorden.

Zowel de *Sakuteiki*, als eigentijdse romans, zoals de *Geschiedenis van Genji*, geven ons een overtuigend beeld van de manier waarop man en vrouw aan het Hof de natuur waarnamen en waardeerden. Herinneringsbeelden uit de natuur waren in feite standaard beelden uit de klassieke literatuur van die tijd. Duidelijk naar voren komend waren bovenal de thema's uit de lyrische gedichten, die een ieder aan het Hof las en zelf ook schreef. Deze lyrische gedichten gaan voor een zeer groot gedeelte over beelden uit de natuur, zodat planten, bomen en andere natuurlijke elementen in de tuin bijna automatisch een lyrische betekenis kregen. De dichtertelijke schoonheid van planten, heesters, en bomen was kennelijk zo algemeen bekend, dat de *Sakuteiki* deze niet nog eens bespreekt, afgezien van een paar impliciete opmerkingen in de inleiding. We moeten konkluderen dat de landschapstillusie in de tuinen van de adelijkheid in de Heian tijd berustte op het oproepen en herkennen van de lyrische thema's. Deze thematische beelden werden overigens niet als tafereel in de tuin vormgegeven, het ging alleen maar om de essentiële onderdelen van het thema. Kompositie van vorm was wel belangrijk bij het ontwerpen van decoratieve komposities van rotsen in de tuin. De *Sakuteiki* spreekt in dit verband van 'landschapstaferelen zoals ze van nature zijn'. Dit begrip, zowel als de uiterlijke verschijningsvorm van de komposities van rotsen, doen een sterk vermoeden rijzen dat aan de vormgeving van rotskomposities theorieën uit de landschapsschilderkunst ten grondslag lagen.

Deel twee is getiteld *Scenes*, "Taferelen", en gaat over de middeleeuwen. De periode is in *Chapter 1* globaal vastgelegd als de veertiende en de vijftiende eeuw. Het aandachtsveld van het boek verschuift van het Heian

Hof naar de opkomende aristocratie van Zen-Boeddhistische priesters en machtige militairen. De kleine middeleeuwse tuinen, vóór de gebouwen waar deze adellijken, naar de nieuwe heersende mode, hun bijeenkomsten hielden, werden ontworpen om als een tafereel bekeken te worden.

Aan het begin van de veertiende eeuw is er een sterke invloed merkbaar van Chinese ideeën, met betrekking tot de landschapskunst, uit de Song periode (960 – 1279). De bestaande vijvertuin bij de Zen tempel Tenryū-ji laat dit duidelijk zien. De tuin is bedoeld om beschouwd te worden vanuit het hoofdgebouw van deze tempel, een Chinees ontwerpprincipe wat afwezig was in de Heian tijd. De vijver is bovendien te klein om er met bootjes op te varen. Een omvangrijke kompositie van rotsen, die een waterval voorstelt, ligt aan de vijveroever tegenover het hoofdgebouw. De stenen zijn zo gegroepeerd, dat er een diepteperspectief ontstaat. De manier waarop dit gedaan is verraadt een kundige toepassing van de Chinese theoriën omtrent het oproepen van diepte, middels perspectief, in de schilderkunst. Dit is, gezien in zijn tijd, zo revolutionair in de geschiedenis van de Japanse tuinkunst, dat het onmogelijk door een Japanner ontworpen kan zijn. Zelfs de landschapsschilders van Japan uit die tijd, begin veertiende eeuw, begrepen nog niet veel van de Chinese kompositie-theoriën. Musō Kokushi, een Zen priester, stichtte de tempel Tenryū-ji, maar het is ondenkbaar dat hij de tuin bij de tempel aanlegde of ontwierp. Ook andere tuinen, vaak aan hem toegeschreven, heeft hij niet ontworpen, noch aangelegd. Chinees geïnspireerde tuinen, zoals bij Tenryū-ji, moeten bedacht zijn door Chinese immigranten. Velen van hen waren cultuurdragers die uit China gevlucht waren na de val van de Song dynastie. Ze werden opgenomen in de vroeg-middeleeuwse Zen kloosters, die onder direct patronaat van de militaire regering stonden. Kloosters en regering vormden een snel opkomend, hecht politiek bolwerk. De kloosters waren gezaghebbende leerscholen van Chinese cultuur, waar de literaire werken over de landschapskunst ook deel van uit maakten. Zo stond niet alleen het maken van tuinen, maar ook de kritiek ervan, sterk onder Chinese invloed. Tuinen werden geprezen en geroemd met Chinese frasen.

Heel anders is de situatie aan het eind van de middeleeuwen, beginnende rond het midden van de vijftiende eeuw. Een typische vorm van bijeenkomst was modieus geworden bij de nieuwe elite van krijgsheren en priesters. Zij lieten daarbij aan elkaar de Chinese kunstvoorwerpen zien die ze bezaten, zoals porcelein, schilderijen, en dergelijke, alles geïmporteerd van het vasteland. Vaak bediscussieerde men onderwerpen uit de Chinese literatuur, of schreef gedichten in het Chinees. Een nieuw type architectuur werd ontwikkeld, aangepast aan de vereisten van deze nieuwe

culturele salon. De architectuur van de 'ontvangst-kamer' (*shoin*) was erop ingericht om de Chinese voorwerpen zo voordelig mogelijk uit te stallen. Het duidelijkst wijst hierop de ontwikkeling van een grote nis aan het korte eind van de zaal van de 'ontvangst-kamer'. Handboeken verschenen die vertelden wat, volgens de heersende ideeën, de beste manier was om de diverse voorwerpen op te stellen. Eén wand van de 'ontvangst-kamer' bestond uit schuifwanden, die volledig terzijde geschoven konden worden, om op die manier de tuin in volle glorie aan de aanwezigen te kunnen laten zien. Deze tuin, die zonder uitzondering vóór de 'ontvangst-kamer' lag, was niet bedoeld om in te wandelen, hij was klein en opgezet als een tafereel.

Binnen de kompakte en ommuurde woonstede's van de elite was het vanzelfsprekend dat de tuinen klein waren. Veel van deze kleine tuinen bestaan nog in kleine familie-tempels, wat eigenlijk het woonhuis en tegelijk bedrijf van een welvend priester is. Aan het eind van de middeleeuwen was er een explosieve groei in het aantal van deze kleine tempels, gepaard gaande met de verzwakkende positie van de militaire regering en de kloosters die het sponsorde. Binnen de familie-tempel was steeds een 'ontvangst-kamer' met de kleine siertuin ervoor. De bestaande tuinen die we nog kunnen bestuderen hebben steeds groeperingen van natuurstenen opgezet als tafereel, weinig beplanting en zelden of nooit ontworpen vormen van water, vanwege de beperkte ruimte. De typische verschijningsvorm van een tafereel in een kleine omsloten ruimte is opvallend en heeft in onze tijd veel aandacht getrokken. De determinanten van 'de' stijl, waarin deze tuinen aangelegd zouden zijn, zijn nog niet zo lang geleden gedefinieerd. Deze stijl-definitie uit de twintigste eeuw, *karesansui* genaamd, is kennelijk zo overtuigend, dat zelfs een aantal historische tuinen eraan zijn aangepast, en veranderd zijn. Het boek bespreekt de historiciteit en de kompositie van het tafereel van een paar van de kleine tuinen in familie-tempels.

Vooral het onderzoek naar de geschiedenis van de beroemde stenentuin in Ryōan-ji is opzienbarend, omdat deze tuin heel wat recenter is dan in het algemeen wordt aangenomen. Onlangs opgegraven overblijfselen van tuinen bij een woonplaats van een provinciaal heerser zijn in een hoofdstuk behandeld, omdat ze laten zien dat het ontwikkelen van een tafereelconcept niet alleen betrekking had op de kleine tuinen zonder water binnen de hoofdstad. Deze provinciale tuinen hebben ondiepe vijvers en watervallen met water. Dit ondergraaft de *karesansui* stijl-definitie.

Als gevolg van de toenemende dynamiek van de laat middeleeuwse economie ontstond er een klasse van landloze onaanraakbaren. Hen werd

alleen het vuile werk gelaten, zoals het verzorgen van de doden, het aanleggen van wegen, werken met grond en met tuinmaterialen. Velen ontwikkelden handigheid in het aanleggen van tuinen en sommigen trokken de aandacht van de geletterden. Als groep van professionele tuinmannen kwamen zij voor het probleem te staan van het ontwerpen van de kleine tafereel tuin bij de 'ontvangst-kamer'. Men kan veronderstellen dat zij, de oudere tuinen bestuderend, vooral de waterval komposities erg indrukwekkend vonden en het bovendien makkelijk herkenden als een landschapstafereel. De mogelijkheid bestaat dat zij ook in contact stonden met de laat middeleeuwse Japanse landschapsschilders, waarvan sommigen van eenvoudige afkomst waren. De schilders begrepen, en maakten nu volop gebruik van de Chinese kompositie theoriën voor tafereelen in landschappen.

De waterval kompositie in steen werd een populair thema in de laat middeleeuwse kleine tuin. Men bleef de tuinen roemen met Chinese frasen, soms expliciet het diepteperspektief prijzend.

De ontwikkelingen in de middeleeuwse tuinkunst zijn aldus gerekonstrueerd als het opkomen van een tuinconcept wat berust op het tafereel. De landschapsillusie in de tafereeltuin was de suggestie van een vorm, een herkenbaar tafereel, en niet een serie thema's met een impliciete lyrische betekenis, als in de Heian tijd.

Het laatste hoofdstuk, *Chapter 8*, van deel twee over de middeleeuwen, verduidelijkt mijn interpretatie van de middeleeuwse tuin als tafereel. Het bekritiseert ook de populaire interpretatie van de kleine middeleeuwse tuin, als zijnde een expressie van de Zen filosofie. Het belangrijkste argument van kritiek is het ontbreken van historische feiten, waaruit blijkt dat de middeleeuwse tuinenmakers de bedoeling hadden om 'Zen' uit te drukken met hun creaties. Een korte analyse van de wortels van de 'Zen interpretatie', zoals die nu overwegend in de populaire literatuur te vinden is, maakt duidelijk dat deze visie ontstond in het Japan van de dertiger jaren. De dreiging van nationalisme en de komst van de Tweede Wereldoorlog schiepen een intellectueel klimaat waarin de Zen interpretatie boven kwam drijven.

De titel van deel drie *Taste*, kan vertaald worden met "Goede Smaak". Dit deel behandelt de vroeg moderne periode, de eerste helft van de zeventiende eeuw. Praktijk en theorie van de tuinkunst ontwikkelden zich snel in deze tijd tot iets wat niet wezenlijk verschilt van onze eigen twintigste eeuw.

De economische vooruitgang van de laat middeleeuwse periode bracht een aantal koopmanssteden tot bloei. De oude hoofdstad Heian, nu bij de

moderne naam 'Kyōto' genoemd, was één van deze steden. In de modieuze, stedse kringen begon een romantische ervaring van beelden uit de natuur algemeen bekend en begrepen te worden in de loop van de zestiende eeuw. Dit was vooral door de werkzaamheden van reizende dichters, die het landschap buiten de stad begonnen te ondergaan als poëzie. Zij speelden een belangrijke rol in de salons van rijke kooplui, waar hun dichtkunst werd bewonderd en gepraktiseerd in hun gezellige bijeenkomsten. Men ontmoette elkaar in kleine tuinhuisjes, achter de huizen aan de straat. Bepaalde zaken, als een haard, een privaat, maar ook lekker eten en rijstewijn werden als onontbeerlijk beschouwd, ondanks het feit dat het luxe zeldzaamheden waren. Dit verhoogde niet alleen de gezelligheid maar maakte ook dat de ontberingen van de dichters op reis in de natuur als iets romantisch gevoeld konden worden, omdat dat nu gescheiden was van de luxe en het gemak van het dagelijks bestaan.

Krijgsmannen uit de plattelands provincies werden steeds machtiger tegen het eind van de zestiende eeuw. Het was onvermijdelijk dat zij in contact kwamen met de handelscentra in de steden en met de kulturele leiders ervan. Bij politieke ontmoetingen tussen militairen en stedelingen waren *omgangsvormen van het grootste belang*. Dit kreeg de vorm in een ingewikkelde etiquette rond het drinken van thee. De 'thee vergaderingen' vonden eerst plaats in de tuinhuisjes van de leidende stedelingen, maar het werd een gebouwtje wat meer en meer uitsluitend voor het formele thee drinken werd gebruikt. Een tuin werd er bij aangelegd, die in zijn stapstenen de, volgens de etiquette, korrekte manier van voortgaan aangaf. De theetuin was dus aangelegd vanuit een enkel concept, namelijk het in materiële vorm gieten van de etiquette; het was daarom niet langer een tafereel of een serie thema's als in de vroegere geschiedenis. De meesters van de etiquette, die zich met de theetuin bezighielden, maakten in de tuin vrijelijk gebruik van wat voor materiaal dan ook. Een tuin ontwerpen vanuit een abstract concept, alsook het vrij gebruiken van materialen, waren twee belangrijke stappen naar het totstandkomen van een moderne vorm van tuinkunst.

Het enkelvoudig concept van de theetuin werd overtroffen in de tuinenwereld van de zeventiende eeuwse stedelijke elite in Kyōto. Experts op het gebied van de thee etiquette, maar ook andere artiesten, estheten, rijke kooplui, en intellectuelen verzamelden zich rond de keizer, die door de provinciale krijgsheren volledig van zijn macht beroofd was. De krijgsheren slaagden erin een centrale regering voor heel Japan op te zetten. De elite rond het Hof was politiek machteloos, maar werd, om het bevriend te houden, financieel ondersteund door de centrale militaire regering. Onder de leden van de elite in Kyōto werd een houding van

wereldverzaking modieus. Daarbij hoorde een fantasievolle beleving van landschapsvergezichten, en van de natuur in de tuin. De fantasiewereld van de vroeg zeventiende eeuwse elite in Kyōto moet samen met de groeiende natuurromantiek in de steden begrepen worden als een belangrijke stuwende kracht achter de modernisering van de tuinkunst. Deze modernisering is duidelijk geïllustreerd met een paar merkwaardig onkonventionele ontwerpen van vroeg zeventiende eeuwse keizerlijke tuinen. De romantische waardering van vergezichten over weidse landschappen spreekt uit de vroeg zeventiende eeuwse tuinen die een vergezicht opnemen als deel van de totale kompositie. De tuin bij Entsū-ji is behandeld als illustratief voorbeeld.

Het produktieproces van de tuin werd modern vanaf het moment dat de diverse stadia in het bedenken en maken ervan de taak werden van verschillende, gescheiden groepen van mensen. Kobori Enshū, algemeen beschouwd als een soort universele tuinenkunstenaar, was in feite een hoge regeringsambtenaar, die aan het hoofd stond van een bureau dat de directie voerde over het ontwerp en aanleg van keizerlijke tuinen. Zijn rol wordt niettemin vooral duidelijk gemaakt aan de hand van het bouwproces van de tuin bij Konchi-in, een familie-tempel. De intellectuele en rechtstreekse symboliek van deze tuin laat eveneens een intellectueel tuin concept zien, zoals dat gewaardeerd werd in de hogere kingen. De elite in Kyōto ontwikkelde een abstrakt begrip van 'goede smaak' dat geïnspireerd was door de klassieke idealen uit de Heian tijd en door waarden uit de laat middeleeuwse stadskultuur. De schoonheid die Kyōto's estheteën onderkenden was een gemaakte vorm van eenvoud. Door de beperkingen, die inherent zijn aan eenvoud, in welke vorm dan ook, kwam onvermijdelijk de noodzaak tot intellectualisme en inventiviteit naar voren. Binnen de goede smaak van eenvoud waardeerden de estheteën inventiviteit hogelijk. Dit is duidelijk te begrijpen aan de hand van een analyse van de tuinen bij Kohō-an, waar Kobori Enshū van plan was te gaan rentenieren.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Name: Wybe Paul Kuitert

Born: 3rd of March 1955, Elkerzee, the Netherlands

Schools: Primary, secondary, high school in Amsterdam, graduated Gymnasium-B, 1973, Amsterdam

University: Agricultural University, Wageningen, the Netherlands:

- Bachelor's: 1978

Master's: 1982, principal subject: Landscape Architecture, secondary subject: Regional Planning

Work:

- Trainee at 'Urban Planners OD205', Delft, the Netherlands; six months, 1978/79
- at Japanese landscape design office 'Zoen Design' in Singapore; six months, 1979/80
- as free-lance landscape architect since 1975, irregular, various jobs, various scales

Research:

- General study of Japanese gardens throughout Japan; first contact with University of Kyōto, Japan, nine months, 1982/83
- Study trips to Korea and mainland China; two months, 1982/83
- Research Fellow at Institute of Landscape Architecture, University of Kyōto; Scholarships from Japanese Ministry of Education (Monbushō) 4.1984-3.1986; and from Japan Foundation 4.1986-5.1987
- Visiting Member of Department of Landscape Architecture, Agricultural University, Wageningen; eight months, 9.1987-4.1988.

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WYBE KUITERT

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PROEFSCHRIFT

TER VERKRIJGING VAN DE GRAAD VAN
DOCTOR IN DE LANDBOUWWETENSCHAPPEN,
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DR. C.C. OOSTERLEE,
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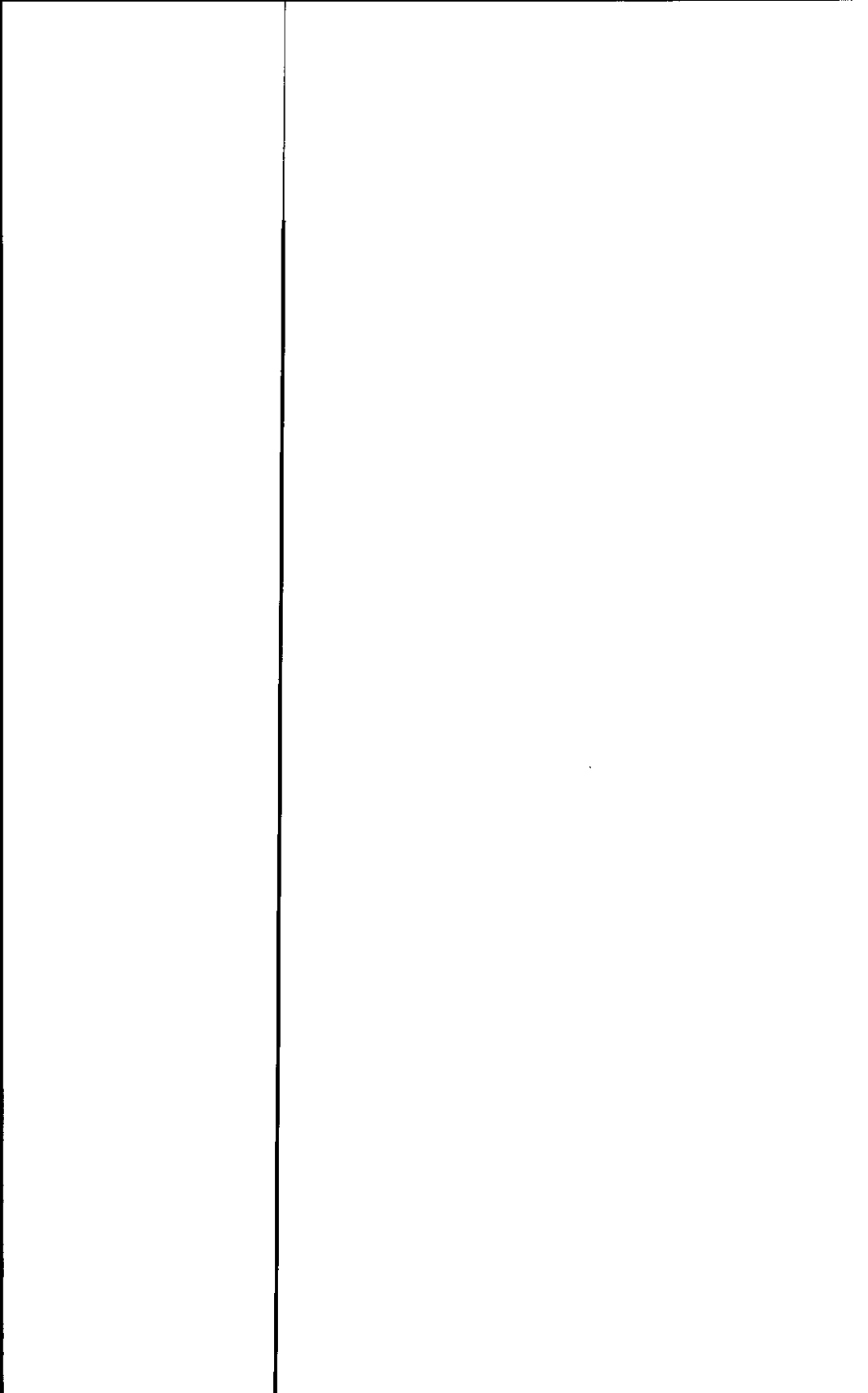
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PREFACE

Japanese gardens are, not only among landscape architects, well known as one of the more fascinating expressions of landscape art the world has to offer. It is regrettable that, in spite of their fame, the background of garden art in Japan is so ill-understood. Well known books on the subject offer not much more than superficial opinions on the symbolic meaning of Japanese gardens; at its best they tell us stories, hardly seeming to be probable, of garden making priests who expressed the profound meaning of the universe in the material forms of the rock gardens they supposedly made with their own hands. The research that led to the present work started, in all its ignorance, as an attempt to get beyond this popular comprehension of Japanese garden art.

One of the first steps was to do away with the view that takes the Japanese people as being fundamentally different from Occidentals. It is common philosophy among landscape architects that the Japanese created their gardens in harmony with nature and that Western man on the contrary conquered nature for which, as evidence, the formal French garden is usually presented. Although the present work does not touch upon such philosophies, it implicitly rejects them. It seems to me that an analysis of 'the difference' between Western and Japanese garden makers only confirms existing misunderstandings. Therefore I have departed from the viewpoint that the history of Japanese gardens must be interpreted as a story of people dealing with nature — whether conquering or in harmony with it — just as we speak about the history of garden art in Europe. In the present work, therefore, one comes across ideas found in Japan's garden history that are also common in the West, although it has not been my purpose to make these parallels explicit.

As a landscape architect I am, of course, above all interested in the garden as a product, something that is made by people to satisfy the needs of others. An owner of a garden may need it for certain reasons of utility. His needs can also be a worldly desire to display, or a craving for more abstract qualities — of beauty for instance — found in the arrangements of natural features in the garden. This way of looking at garden art is reflected in the book. It views gardens from the standpoint of the owner who wanted his needs to be fulfilled, and on the other hand from the point of view of the garden maker who knew how to create it.

It soon became obvious that only research into the history of the art

could give further insight into these questions, as all the famed gardens in Japan are old. But history is a difficult matter, particularly the history of anything like Japanese garden art. There is a great abundance of historic material: old descriptions of gardens, the old gardens themselves, not to mention the recent excavations that uncovered ancient garden sites. Studies on the subject, in Japanese and Western languages, fill many well-stacked book shelves, even when one does not consider the less serious works. It was clear from the very start that a choice had to be made and that I had to make a selection, if I was to make any sense out of the wealth of material.

Accordingly, I selected three main themes out of the many centuries that Japan's garden history counts; choosing subjects that seemed, at first sight, of interest for the modern landscape architect. First of all I concentrated upon the garden world that brought forth the first garden manual in Japan, the first probably in the world, the eleventh century *Sakuteiki*. Secondly, I made an inquiry into the little court gardens of Japan's mediaeval age that employ only bare sand, rocks and sparse plantation. This style of garden, referred to as *karesansui*, 'dry landscape', features abstract forms that appeal to the twentieth century designer. Finally, I was struck by some early seventeenth century gardens in Kyōto. The composition of forms in these gardens shows intellectual qualities that I found as modern as if from our times.

The history of Japanese garden art does not end in the seventeenth century. The eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century showed a decline in creativity and an increasing reliance on standard compositional ideas. The mannerism of this century-and-a-half went together with the growing popularity of the art. The techniques of gardening quickly developed into a nationwide professional practice. In this time a popular interest in the historical gardens came about. Many, more or less systematic, picture books were edited, in which many falsifications originate that have left their marks on research in the field until about the Second World War. From the 1860's on, a growing wave of information on Western garden art reached Japan, which brought forth a rich variety of forms and ideas. However, the traditional practice and forms of garden art continued to be meaningful and were by no means overwhelmed or replaced. Japanese garden art could continue to develop and is a living tradition even in our modern age of technology. This can only be understood in relation with the formative periods in its history. The early seventeenth century was crucial in this respect, because a practice of garden art came into existence in this period that was modern in many

ways. Things like the understanding of qualities of natural beauty, but also the social relations of the garden owner, designer, and maker in the seventeenth century cultural world of Kyōto are already established in a fully modern sense. This is the reason that the book is concluded with this period. However, to place the modernity of the early modern period in its context, to see the achievement and to understand how it came about, it proved to be necessary to include the parts on the ancient Heian period and those on the mediaeval age.

Searching for an answer to the question of modernity, the present book treats only the three fragments of Japan's garden history as mentioned above. It is therefore not a continuous record of all the events and evolutions of the past; neither is it a compilation of the single histories of each and every garden in Japan, although some exemplary specimens are treated at length.

For knowledge of the facts of Japan's garden history I have relied on the research of many respectable scholars. Some of these are professionally active in the field of Japanese garden history. The works of two of them are currently used, and I feel that they should be shortly introduced to the reader. I found the studies of Mori Osamu most reliable, they are to the point, if not somewhat dry. In the last twenty years or so professor Mori's research on gardens has departed from the excavation works he has guided. Earlier pre-war works rely more on documentary evidence.

The thirty-six volume work *Nihon teiensi taikei*, a title that can be translated as "An Outline of the History of Japanese Gardens", written by Shigemori Mirei and his son Shigemori Kanto should also be mentioned. It is a compilation of histories of almost all of the extant gardens of any significance in Japan. Many gardens have vanished and a great deal of information on the history of the art is found in documents that are not related to any of the still existing gardens; these points are not systematically dealt with in this work, although several chapters of a general nature try to compensate for this. It is, however, an important book of reference.

Both of the above mentioned authors treat the subject as a research into the factual history of the Japanese gardens. They give answers on questions of attribution and dating of gardens. One hardly finds any information about the significance gardens had to the societies and cultures in which they came about, something that I found most intriguing. However, other sources have covered this matter to a certain extent, as the reader will discover in the course of the book.

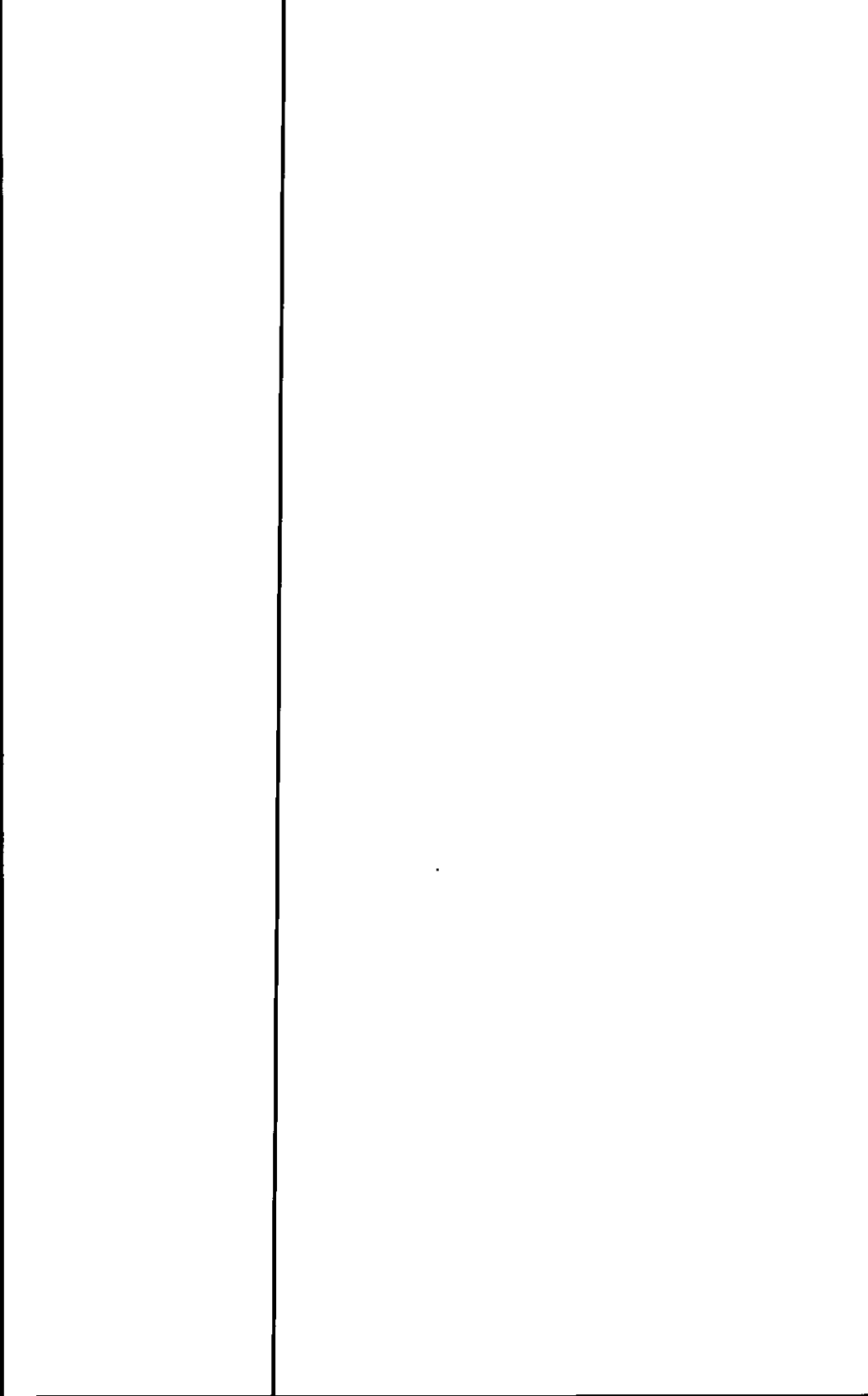
Looking back over the years that I have worked on this research and the book, I recall all the people who have helped me in various ways. Most of my gratitude is addressed towards my direct teachers, who in the course of time became good friends; to professor Nakamura Makoto, who understood better than I where the road I had chosen was leading to, and received me hospitably as a research fellow in his Institute of Landscape Architecture at the Kyōto University for almost four years; to professor Shirahata Yōzaburō from the same Institute, whose active interest and help with difficult Japanese was of great support; to professor Meto Vroom (Wageningen), my teacher of landscape architecture who, besides general advice, stressed the importance of illustrative maps, drawings, and photographs in the book, and who received me as a visiting member of the Department of Landscape Architecture at the Agricultural University in Wageningen during the last half year of my work; and to professor Willem van Gulik of the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden, who initiated me in the field of Japanese Studies, and whose active engagement and introductions greatly helped in setting up the research as a whole.

There are a large number of other people, friends and institutions, who have assisted in bringing this book about. I want to express my appreciation for assistance received: to professors Yoshida Hironobu and Yoshida Tetsuya; and also the students, and the staff members Jōdai Kazue and Mitsuda Michiyo of the Institute of Landscape Architecture at the University of Kyōto, who challenged me with their questions, and helped me in many ways to find the answers to my own questions, and not in the last place because they tested my Japanese and improved it whenever necessary; to Marc Keane, who read the manuscripts critically and corrected the English, likewise to Linda Beukers-Smith for the finishing touches in this respect; to professor Hara Toshihiko and professor Ishikawa Mitsunobu who both helped me reading old Japanese texts; to professor Wim Boot for valuable advice on the practice of research in the field of Japanese studies; to Itō Taiichi, professor Iwatsubo Gorō, Frans Rip, Takimoto Yoshihiko, and Philip Wenting, who all helped me with the various problems of word processing; to Umehara Chika who typed part of the manuscript; to professor Katō Kunio who through his seminars quickly introduced me in the history of Japan's architecture; to Noor Boeseman who helped me set up the research and provided me with many useful subject references; to Bernard Jeannel and professor Amazaki Hiromasa, who showed me the way to the Kyōto University; to the staff of the Foreign Student Service at the University of Kyōto; to Tamai Michiko of the Tourist Information Center in Kyōto; to the staff of the Japan-Netherlands Institute; and to Hoshi Masachiyo, miss Futahashi,

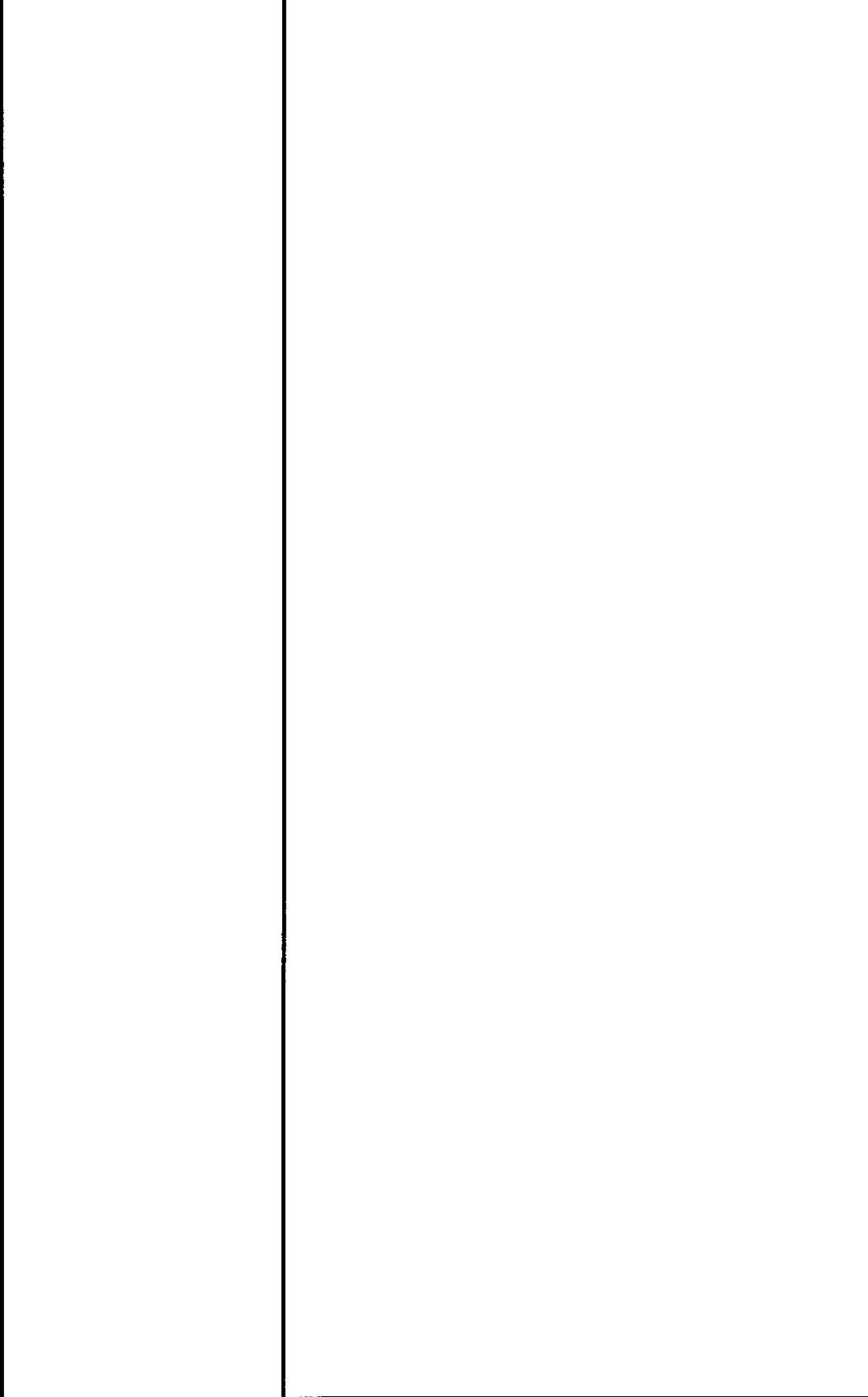
and mister Kajitani for teaching me many details of the art of gardening in — and the history of — the Imperial Gardens in Kyōto.

Last, but of course not in the least I would like to thank my parents, and my wife Noriko and my son Kense for their loving care and mental support. Without them this book would probably never have been written.

Notes to the reader: In Japanese the family name is followed by the given name, also in the present work. The current usage may deviate from this principle for certain historical persons, in which case I have kept to the existing practice. Also for romanizations I have adhered to the usual transcriptions of the Japanese and Chinese. Macrons, as in Tōkyō, indicate that the vowel *o*, sometimes also *u*, should be slightly prolonged in pronunciation.



PART ONE



CHAPTER I

THE HEIAN PERIOD: GARDENS AND ARISTOCRATS, AN INTRODUCTION

In the year 794 of the Christian era the seat of Japan's imperial government was moved to a newly constructed city, Heiankyō, or, the capital Heian. The name of the city is applied to the historical period of imperial reign that begins in 794 and lasted until 1185 when the dynasties fell and a military government came into existence. Although the emperor reigned, actual power was mostly in the hands of powerful ministers, who, with a few exceptions, were all members of a single clan, the Fujiwara. Making clever use of the existing marriage customs they managed in the end to completely dominate the imperial family, although they never laid claims to the imperial throne. The epoch of the late tenth and the eleventh century became the most glorious one for the Fujiwara regents. It is also the age when classical culture was brought to maturity. Garden art reached standards that proved to be the origins of a great tradition. This first part of the book deals therefore with this period of cultural flourishing, roughly the tenth and eleventh centuries.¹

It was first of all literature that attained great heights, not only setting classical standards for the following centuries, but also pervading the Fujiwara society itself. The Fujiwara's devoted themselves endlessly to composition of poetry, both in private and in company of others, for instance at poetry contests, where teams were called upon to compose on given themes. Tales and diaries, often written by women, formed the other half of Heian's flourishing literary world. But these works again are usually rich in poetry and poetic idiom.² Poetry was such an all-pervading medium that it was decisive for proper etiquette and even formed the vehicle for expressing human feelings.³ It is the conclusion of part one of this work that themes of poetry also affected garden art.

We will see in the course of the following pages how the Fujiwara's used their gardens as a stage on which splendid festivals and gorgeous ceremonies took place.⁴ Their gardens, like the buildings of the Heian palaces, formed an integral part of the elegant way of life of the Heian nobles. They never saw it as something separated from themselves and therefore did not appreciate a garden as an outside form. For them it was

emotionally experienced from within, immersed as they were in the beauty of their gardens. It is Heian poetry that bridged the gap between garden forms and human emotions. But before we reach this conclusion an inquiry is made into the actual appearance of the gardens and into the ways in which they came into existence.

CHAPTER 2

PALACE GARDENS

This chapter deals with the gardens as they existed in the later Heian period palaces of the noblemen. The actual appearance is reconstructed in order to give an idea of what these gardens looked like. In passing we will note how the palace gardens were used. We turn first to the palace architecture, of which the gardens formed a part.

2.1 PALACE ARCHITECTURE

In the early centuries of the Heian period the architecture of Japanese stately buildings was closely inspired by the Chinese model (fig. 1).⁵ The large compound of the Imperial palace for instance, in which ministries and other governmental institutions were housed, was laid out according to principles of monumental symmetry. Also the buildings themselves were in the Chinese style of painted wood and erected on stone foundations. The roofs were tiled. Off the central axis, deviating from the Chinese symmetry, laid the actual imperial residence (fig. 2). This was again a complex of buildings, in plan view symmetrically arranged. However, from the very origin of palace architecture in Japan the buildings of the imperial residence kept strongly to native traditions, and the Heian palace formed no exception. The buildings of the residence were of plain wood that was not painted; roofs were covered with bark shingles. Pillars were simply dug in the ground, in the old primitive way.⁶ In the later centuries of the Heian period the imperial residence began to depart from the symmetric lay out. Asymmetry and the overall appearance of unpainted wood became typical features. In due course, the imperial palaces came to inspire the designs of palatial residences of high ranking government officials.

The regular residence of a middle class aristocrat in the later Heian period occupied a plot of land of one *chō*, which equals roughly one hectare. It was surrounded by a wall with several gates, usually in the south, east and west, and not on the north side.⁷ In front of the main hall (*shinden*) was, as with an emperor's palace, an open space for the staging

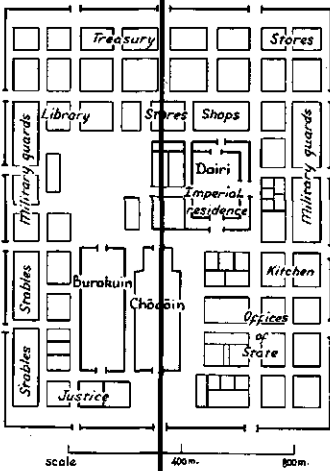


FIGURE 1. Plan of the large compound of the Imperial Palace, referred to as *daidairi*, or The Great Palace Enclosure. The Chōdō-in was an official audience hall with a large courtyard, the Burakuin was a compound for celebrations and contests. The Heian shrine in the centre of modern Kyōto is a nineteenth century reconstruction of the Chōdō-in at half of its original size.

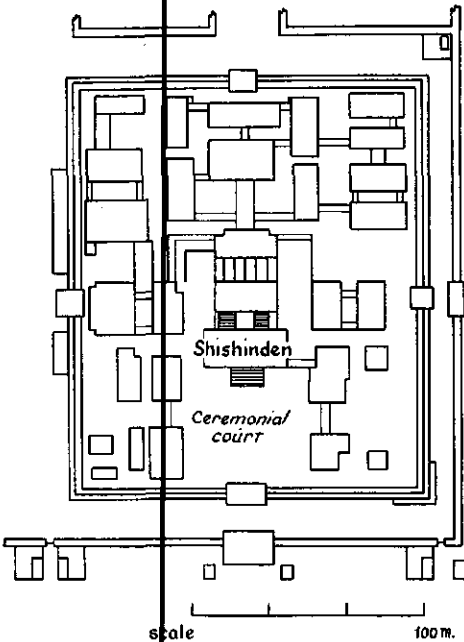


FIGURE 2. Plan of the Imperial Residence, the *dairi*. The Shishinden was the formal meeting hall where the Emperor daily held his discussions with primary officials. The present imperial Palace in Kyōto is an accurate nineteenth century reconstruction of the Imperial Residence.

of annual ceremonial festivities. On the east or west, and sometimes on both sides, of the south facing main hall were annexes (*tainoya*), connected to it with corridors (*watarirō*). From these annexes one or two galleries could lead into the garden towards garden pavilions, so that the whole complex of buildings surrounded the open site for the festivities. Gates in the garden galleries gave access to the site. All of the buildings were raised on pillars above the ground. In front of this complex of buildings was a large pond with one or more islands in it, something that was lacking in the more official imperial palace.

The palatial architecture of the Heian aristocrats was defined by Sawada Natari, an early nineteenth century scholar on architecture as a symmetric arrangement in his "Various Thoughts on Houses" (*Kaoku Zakkō*, 1842). An illustration went with the description in this source and became a standard illustration for publications on Heian gardens (see fig. 3). In spite of the prevalence of this representation of classical palace architecture, it must nevertheless be considered an idealized simplification showing a symmetrical lay out that may have been archetypical, but was hardly ever found in reality. More recent research has shown that palaces were mostly asymmetrically planned. Certainly they were not symmetric in the later Heian period, when many famous, splendid gardens were built. The nineteenth century illustration therefore does not serve our purpose with regard to symmetry, it only gives an idea of the appearance of Heian palace architecture with its halls and pavilions connected by galleries all standing elevated above the ground on stilts.⁸

A reason to refrain from symmetry when laying out a palace was the need to adapt to the natural topography of a site. Layout was of course also dictated by convenience of the organization of entrances, rooms and corridors. Finally, Japanese authors like to point out a dislike for symmetry in other aspects of Japan's cultural life, suggesting a more general aversion of symmetry in the Japanese genius.⁹ Be that as it may, organization of space in relation to the existing conditions, such as the topography of a site, must have played an important role in the formation of a certain freedom in lay out. One of the palaces of the Fujiwara regents will be described in some detail below to illustrate the above statement.

The Tōsanjōden Palace was inhabited by several successive generations of the Fujiwara clan. It was even so important that it was used at a certain time as a temporary residence for an emperor. The palace is often mentioned in contemporary sources or depicted in paintings. From sources like these its appearance can be understood in quite some detail, so that even a plan view was drawn of its main buildings (see fig. 4).¹⁰ The land on which the Tōsanjōden Palace was built was roughly a hundred meters

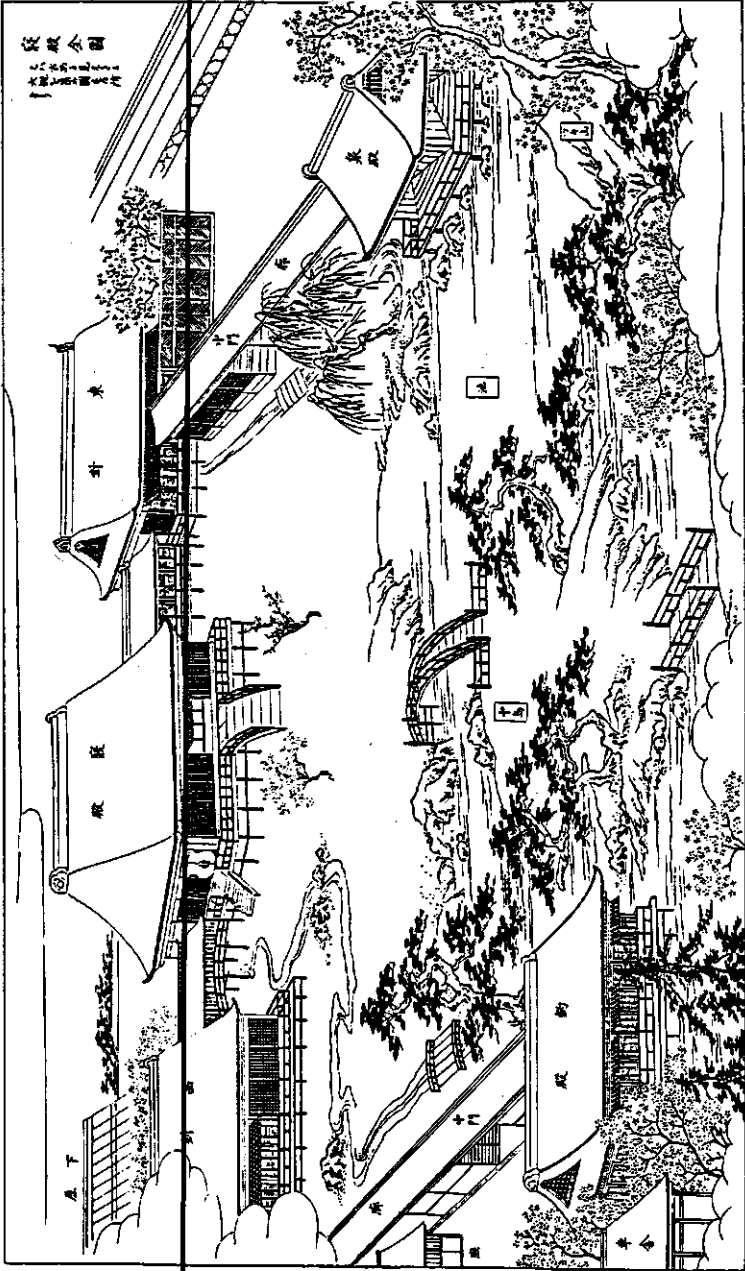


FIGURE 3. Representation of the Heian period palace architecture (*shinden-zukuri*) in Sawada Natari, *Kaoku Zakkō*, edited in 1842. It presents the architectural style of the palaces as a symmetric lay out with an annex to the east and the west from which galleries extend to garden pavilions built over a central pond.

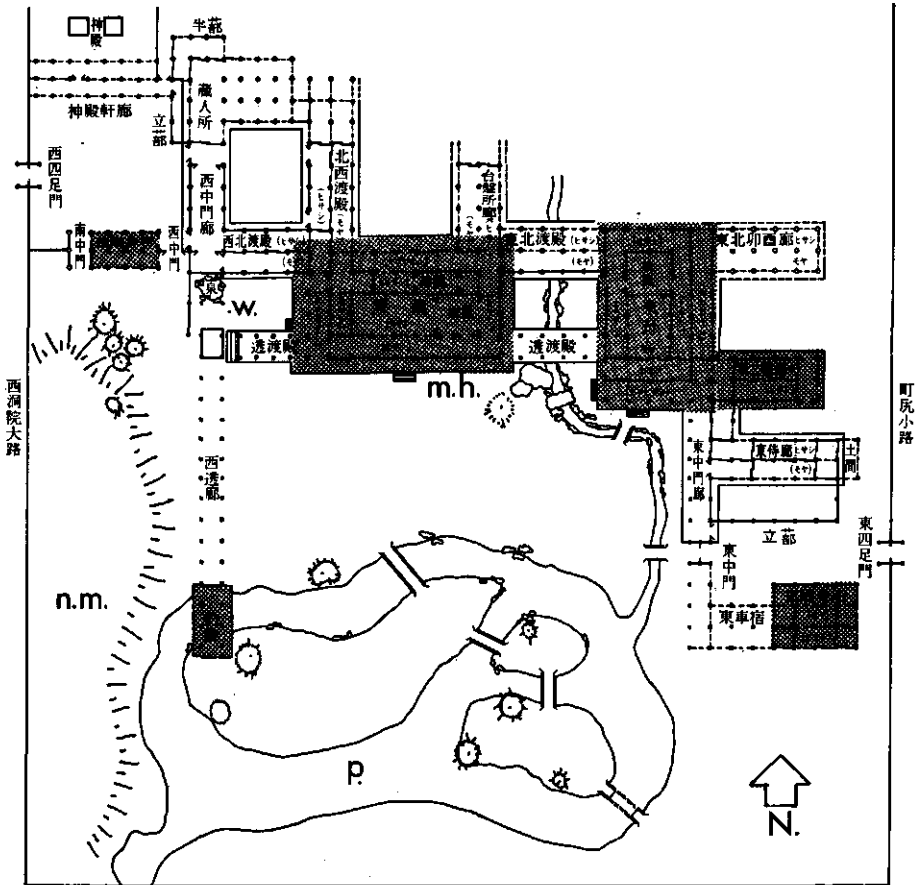


FIGURE 4. Plan of the palace Tōsanjōden. It shows the main hall, almost central, with the large annex on the east side situated on the right from it in the plan. The buildings face the pond with its three islands. Only the roofs of the major halls are indicated with a screen tone. Connecting galleries were also roofed. (n.m. = natural mound; w. = natural well; m.h. = main hall; p. = pond.)

wide from east to west, and twice as large from north to south. As for the plot of land, the palace was thus double the size of a middle class courtly residence. A wooded hillock with a spring at its foot, both natural features, were in the south-west corner of the plot.¹¹ Hillock and spring were incorporated as garden-like features in the total lay out. Slightly north of this was the main entrance in the west wall, together with connecting parts of the building used as an entrance porch, reception rooms, etc. The west side faced the nearby imperial palace, which must have been the motivation to locate the main entrance on this side. The seat of honour in the main hall lies on the eastern half of it, oriented towards the west. The seat was occupied by the host of the house, that would have been the Emperor himself at a certain period of time. The host faced the guests in this way, when they entered the main hall from the ante rooms connected with the entrance section of the whole compound.¹²

A garden pond lies to the south, which is the usual arrangement as we will see in a later chapter. Only one garden pavilion is present, though, that is the one on the west side. Looking from the seat of honour one had this pavilion directly in view. It formed a stage for musicians who played at festivals or it was used as a mooring place for pleasure boats. The use of the palace gardens is well illustrated by contemporary paintings that are discussed in chapter 2.3. One can imagine that the sight of the natural hillock was also appreciated so that this was another reason to locate the seat of honour facing it. Such factors were decisive for an asymmetric spatial organization of the palace buildings of Tōsanjōden.

2.2 PALACE GARDENS, TŌSANJŌDEN

The splendid residences of the Heian courtly nobles usually possessed a spacious pond garden such as at the Tōsanjōden Palace. One may speak in terms of a 'garden type' because of certain standard elements. The typical courtly garden had a pond with island(s), an open area in front of the main hall and a little garden stream emptying into the pond. The garden of the Tōsanjōden Palace will be discussed as a representative example of the aristocratic pond garden (fig. 5).¹³

Facing the main hall of Tōsanjōden laid the open area. It was, as always, covered with a layer of white sand.¹⁴ Behind it laid the pond with, in this case, three islands. Slightly off the central axis of the main hall laid the first bridge across the water leading to the largest island. This bridge was an arched one lacquered with vermilion. As usual, it was laid askew, diverging from a line perpendicular to the facade of the main hall. Two

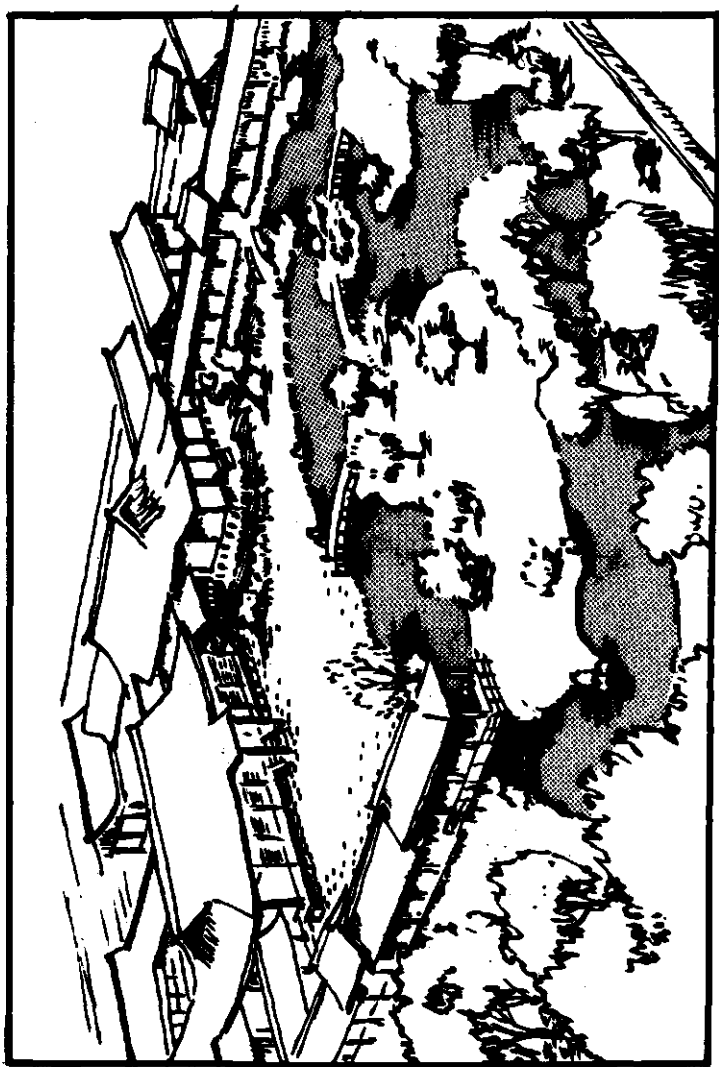


FIGURE 5. Reconstructed aerial view of the Tōsanjōden Palace and its garden. At the left-hand bottom corner is the natural mound. The main hall stands in front of the sand covered open space.

more bridges of more simple design connected the two remaining islands to the large one in front. Finally there was a bridge at the back, connecting the third island with the pond shore at the rear. The middle section of this bridge could be removed to let pleasure boats pass through, or maybe to block access to the islands from the back. A natural well existed at the foot of a natural mound in the southwest corner of the compound. This was a typical feature of the Tōsanjōden Palace, although gardens mostly had a natural source of running water. We will return to this point in chapter 4.3 of this part one.

The buildings of Tōsanjōden were arranged in such a way that the natural well laid below the point where the main complex was connected to the gallery leading to the garden pavilion. The water from this, reportedly overflowing, spring was led to the north under the buildings elevated on stilts, to run back towards the south under the annexes east of the main hall. From this point the stream was actually designed as a typical garden stream (*yarimizu*), with natural rocks set here and there in and along it. Running along the eastern side of the sand covered stretch, it finally emptied into the north-east corner of the pond. The ground around this stream was shaped in gently rising and falling low garden mounds that had some ground cover in which a sparse planting was set.¹⁵ South of the main hall the stream could be crossed by one stone bridge, a natural slab, and two plank bridges. Over these bridges one entered the sandy stretch, after having descended the stairs of the eastern annex, or after having entered through the gate in the eastern garden gallery.

Here and there along the pond shore there were simple arrangements of natural rocks. A few solitary trees stood on the sand covered open space. Otherwise planting was only found on the island, and on the ground forms at the stream. Apart from the natural wood on the hillock in the south-west, that was largely left as it was found, decorative planting and rock work was scattered and sparse, something that is confirmed by contemporary pictorial representations of gardens.¹⁶

2.3 PALACE GARDENS ILLUSTRATED ON SCROLL PAINTINGS

The appearance of the Tōsanjōden Palace was reconstructed from descriptions and depictions. I used it as a representative example to introduce some particular features of the Heian pond garden as found in residences of the courtly aristocracy. Illustrations of gardens in contemporary paintings give us a clearer idea of their appearance.

Illustrative depictions of Heian gardens are found on painted scrolls of

the period. These are in fact painted stories showing a series of scenes that stand in relation to each other.¹⁷ In rare cases written words will accompany the pictures, but at the scrolls in which we find the gardens illustrated there are no captions. Each of the scenes shows something that relates to the subject matter of the story told in the scroll as a whole. The scenes showing gardens are therefore first of all painted for their narrative purpose. The narrative message will be in the activities of the persons but to what extent the message lies in the garden represented remains a question. Small scale scenes of a romantic nature showing a few persons in the setting of an intimate garden carry without much doubt strong narrative messages. In these cases the subject matter of the scroll is always fictional.¹⁸ Such scenes show the more intimate courtyards at the back of the main hall in between buildings and galleries. A single tree, or a few low plants are all the garden-like details that are indicated.

Large scale scenes that show official, public, or historic occasions are less likely depending on illustrative methods. Such scenes are shown in the sections of scrolls discussed below. From these we may assume that they more or less faithfully show the real appearance of a garden in the Heian period.

The large open space in front of the main hall is the main ground for the festive or ceremonial gatherings of the nobles, the pond is used for boating, and the island and pavilions as a stage for musicians. These festive events originated from the perennial rites of the early emperors, when ruling was still a matter of magic and gods, rather than politics. In the late Heian period these had developed into something in between an official ceremony and an elegant festivity, that, to be honest, could turn into more prosaic celebrating.¹⁹

One of the annual ceremonial festivities staged in an aristocrat's garden is shown in a scroll painting titled "Picture Scroll of the Pony Contest at the Imperial Visit" (*Komakurabe Gyōkō Emaki*) (see fig. 6).²⁰ The scroll relates in pictures the historical visit that the Emperor Go-Ichijō (1016 – 1045) paid in 1024 to his chief advisor (*kampaku*) Yorimichi of the Fujiwara clan. The palace shown in this illustration was Yorimichi's Kaya-in Palace. More details about this place are known from other sources, details that will be discussed in a later section of this work. To entertain the Emperor and on the occasion of his visit a grand ceremonial contest of little horses was held. This standard festivity was always held on the fifth day of the fifth month in the lunar calendar, roughly corresponding to a day in July on our modern solar calendar. In spite of this indication of the time chrysanthemums are shown blossoming and the

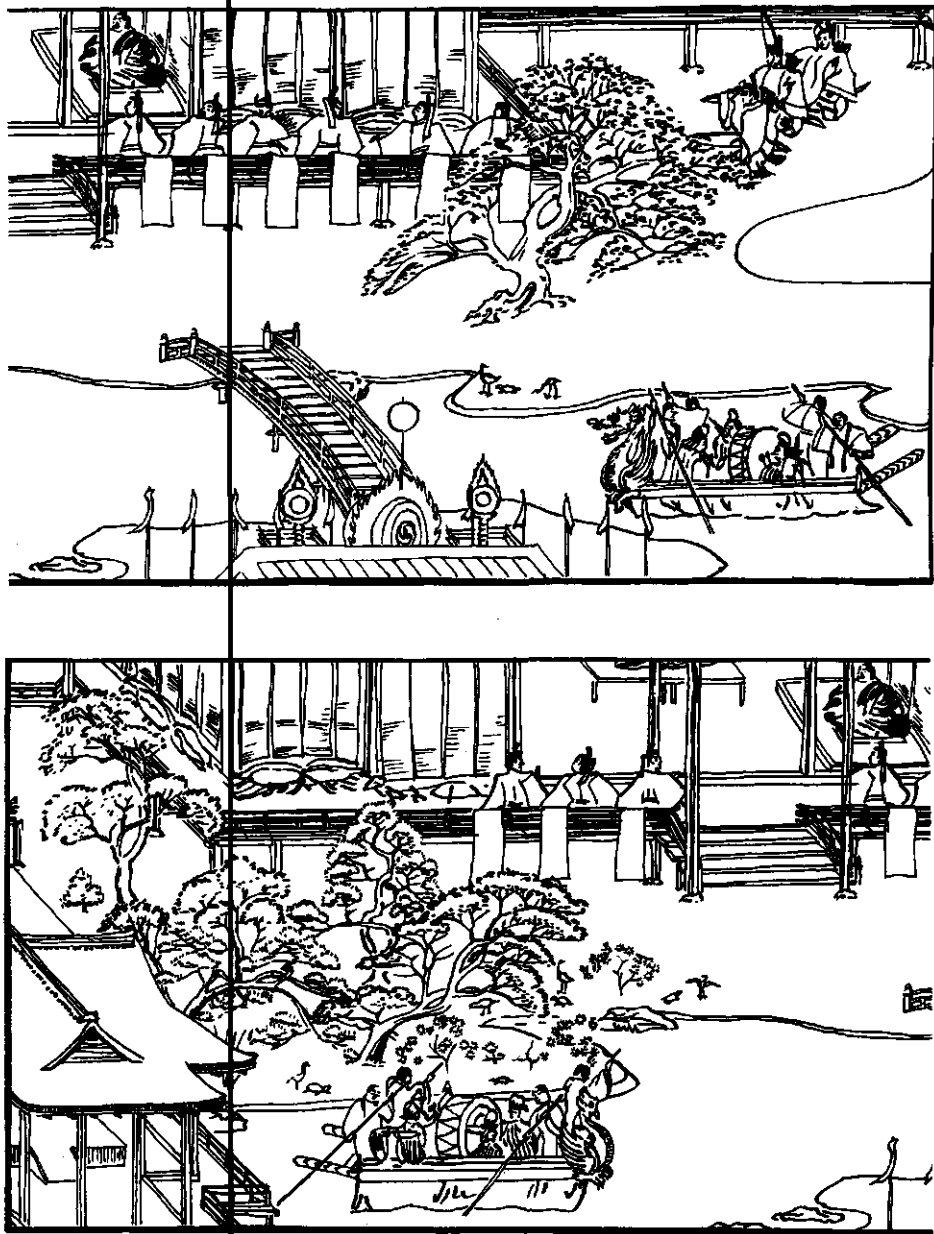


FIGURE 6. A scene showing part of the garden at the palace Kaya-in in the "Picture Scroll of the Pony Contest at the Imperial Visit" (painted fourteenth century). The illustration is described in the text (traced from a reproduction of the original).

leaves of maples are shown in autumn colours. The artist may have wanted to stress the beauty of the garden. In the middle of the picture, in the upper half, one may note the lower part of the main building of the palace. Stairs lead up from the garden to a square platform elevated above the floor on short legs. This is the seat of the Emperor, who is not visible. At his right side Advisor Yorimichi himself is seated, other nobles sit on the veranda. The cushion-like bags bulging out under the screens that hang in the open walls of the hall to the left and the right of the stairs are in fact not bags but the elaborate dresses of courtly ladies, not allowed by etiquette to expose more of themselves.²¹

At the left side of the picture, a gallery with a pavilion juts out into the garden and over the pond. A temporary platform is set up in the pavilion. In the garden pond in front of the main hall, two boats are poled about by young court pages with their hair done in a Chinese manner, as certain records state. One may also note the costumed musicians who sit in the boats, beating their drums and blowing their flutes. The boats, also in a Chinese fashion, have their sterns modeled as the heads of a dragon and a phoenix. An arched vermilion bridge leads to the opposite shore, likely an island, on which more drums are set up, as well as a temporary tent used, as we may guess, to house the drummers and other musicians.²² The shore of the pond is designed with inlets and peninsula's. Rocks are scarce. An interesting detail is the depicting of the couples of cranes and turtles that play here and there along the edge of the water. It can not be a realistic representation of live animals. Perhaps these are artificial garden figures as has been suggested or otherwise it is part of the painter's idiom with a deeper meaning.²³ Solitary trees of differing species stand here and there; maple and pine trees are determinable beyond any doubt, but other kinds of trees are also indicated.

A scroll titled "Picture Scroll of the Annual Rites and Ceremonies" (*Nenjū Gyōji Emaki*) shows the series of annual festivities and ceremonies celebrated among the courtly aristocracy. A section titled "Visit of the Feudal Lords to the Emperor" (*Chōkin Gyōkō*) shows part of a garden (see fig. 7).²⁴ The overall composition of the picture is similar to the one discussed above. Again only the lower sections of the main hall are shown and only the sand stretch and adjoining pond edge of the garden can be seen. It must have been the most practical way to represent any scene taking place in front of a main hall, the size of any scene on a scroll was limited and tended to be narrow and elongated. The palace, of which part is shown in this second picture, was the Hōjūji-den Palace, where the politically powerful Emperor Go-Shirakawa (1132 – 1198) was in

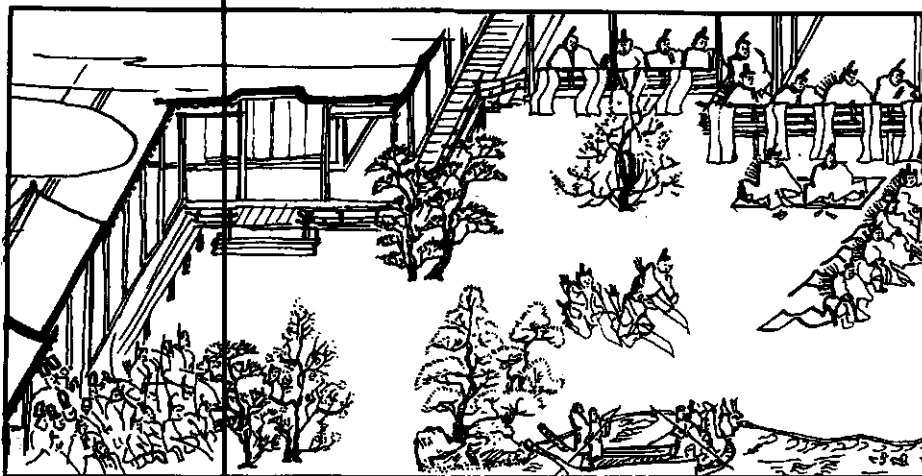


FIGURE 7. A garden scene from the palace Hōjūji-den as illustrated in the "Picture Scroll of the Annual Rites and Ceremonies" that is an early seventeenth century copy of a twelfth century original (1175?). The text describes the illustration (traced from a reproduction of the seventeenth century original).

residence after his retirement. In front of the main hall one sees the feudal lords ceremonially putting in an appearance in full armour.²⁵ One may discern in the same place as in the illustration of the pony contest just described, the square cushion on which the Imperial Highness would sit, although he is not depicted out of respect for his status. Again the courtly ladies are only shown as parts of their colourful robes. They are looking on from behind the hanging reed screens (*sudare*). Like in the preceding illustration guests are again entertained by the exotic sight of a phoenix-headed boat, poled around by four page boys; only one boat is shown though and no musicians are seated in it. At the lower edge of the illustration, in the right half, the ridge of a temporary tent is shown, under which the musicians must be seated, suggested by the fiery decoration of a huge drum. The tent with its musicians stands on an island, a vermilion lacquered bridge leads to it.²⁶ Rocks are set in arranged groups along the garden stream to the right and at a few points along the edge of the pond. Sparse planting can be seen in the open area in front of the main hall where the feudal lords are. Pines and cherries can be made out among the trees. A different representation of the same garden on the same scroll shows the same amount of trees and the same species at the same place. The appearance of this mansion, the Hōjūji-den Palace is known in detail from other sources as well. A model of the buildings has been made, but the miniature trees that were put on the model do not accord with the representation on the scroll (fig. 8).

Belonging to a slightly later period is a scroll titled "Picture Scroll of the Incarnations and Miracles at the Kasuga Temple" (*Kasuga Gongen Kenki Emaki*).²⁷ A section shows a residence of a Fujiwara governor called Toshinori (d.1309?) (see fig. 9). The representation is less stylistic and more natural than the preceding pictures discussed. It is more difficult to judge how reliable this one is as historical source because there is not the abundance of corroborating documentary evidence as was the case above.²⁸ The garden has many elements that we have already noticed. There is the stream that passes under some buildings before it flows into the pond. Along the stream, the ground has been shaped into gently sloping low garden mounds, clad with some ground cover and sparsely planted with solitary shrubs and trees of different species. Here and there rocks are set in unobtrusive groups. Revealing the wealth of the owner — besides the spaciousness and the rich decoration of the architecture — are a bird cage and some tray landscapes (*bonseki*, or *bonsan*), put on a tray in front of the veranda. These miniature landscapes were hardly produced at that time within Japan, and were exotics imported from the mainland.

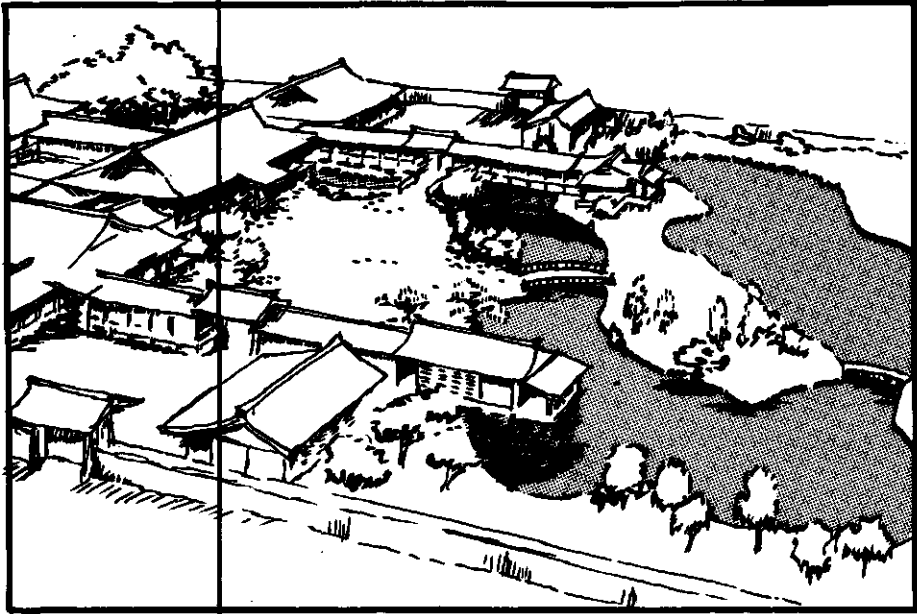


FIGURE 8. Reconstructed aerial view of the Hōjūji-den Palace, the resemblance to the Tōsanjōden seems striking at first sight, but they differ considerably in detail. Compare with figure 5.

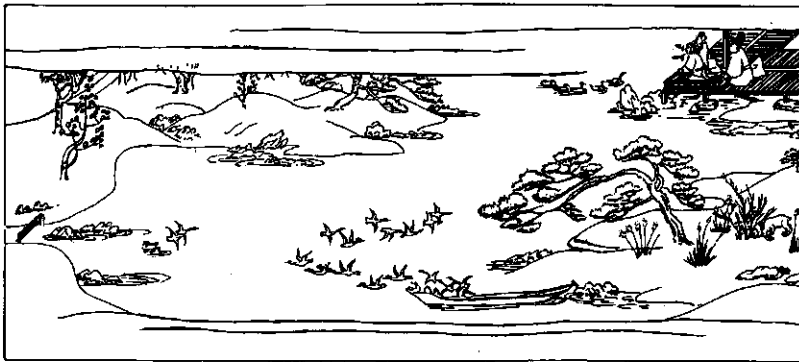
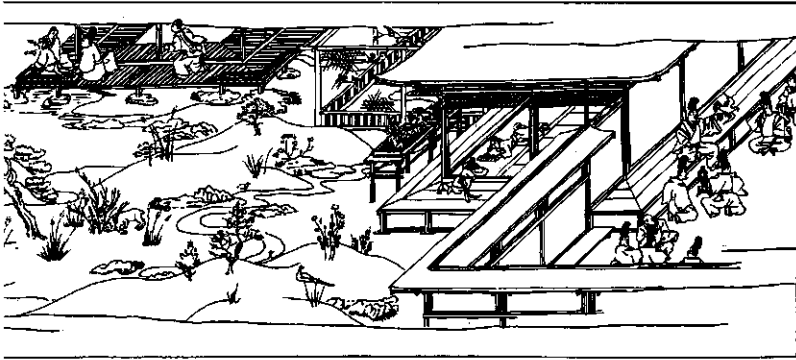


FIGURE 9. A view of the garden at the residence of governor Fujiwara Toshinori. Traced from a reproduction of the original "Picture Scroll of the Incarnations and Miracles at the Kasuga Temple", dated 1309.

A peacock and hen, and a hare, walk around freely. Mandarin ducks swim in the pond and fly over it. Across the pond stones are set up in more dramatic arrangements below a pine wood that closes off the garden and the section of the scroll.²⁹

A few more scroll paintings exist that are contemporary or of slightly later date and that depict residences of the rich. The elements and features shown in pictures of gardens are the same, like the garden stream with a few rocks, the undulating ground to the left and right of it, where a few solitary trees stand, the pond, etcetera.³⁰

CHAPTER 3

TEMPLE GARDENS

None of the historical palace gardens discussed so far has survived the ages. Sometimes it is possible to designate the site and sometimes garden remains can be found; but if so, these form only a minor part of the original total arrangement and usually they have not been left unaltered since the time of their construction. However, within temple compounds a relatively large number of rather complete Heian gardens still exists.

3.1 TEMPLE GARDENS AS ARISTOCRATIC CULTURE

The temple gardens were all constructed after the later half of the eleventh century or after the twelfth and are therefore of a slightly later date than the famed palaces. All are clearly within the definitions of the palatial pond garden so that it apparently was already a standard type of garden at that time. These temple gardens do not appear on illustrative paintings of the time.

The temples in which Heian period gardens are still found were built at some distance from the capital city, where they have been less likely to fall prey to destructive forces in times of disturbance and upheaval. Perhaps history has dealt more respectfully with temples than with palaces.³¹

Of course no planting remains from the long past Heian period. What remains is usually the pond and the island(s) with rocks arranged here and there along the shores. In some cases the main temple hall still stands, but often only the remains of it are found, in the form of foundation stones used under the main standing pillars. The location of the hall is always opposite the pond garden, exactly as in the residential palaces. The image one may form of the spatial relation that existed between the main hall and garden informs therefore not only about a Heian temple garden but also gives an idea on the atmosphere in the palaces. In recent years a lot of research has been done on these old temple gardens; rock arrangements, washed over with soil, even garden streams, have been excavated or otherwise been reconstructed. Complete and convincing reconstructions with the historic garden rocks at hand have been under-

taken. Some of these tangible specimens of Heian garden art will be treated below. As we will see there is a strong resemblance to what is known of palace gardens through other sources. The most important difference is a stronger emphasis on symmetry and axiality found in the layout of the ponds, islands and buildings of the temples. But apart from this, the other main principles are the same. For instance, the temple gardens also often have a garden stream with decorative rocks set along it.

The fact that temple gardens of the period should resemble secular palace gardens is because they were used in the same way. Temples where gardens are found were established by abbots and high priests of aristocratic birth to serve as their residence. Some of the gardens belonged to family temples of the Fujiwara clan.³² Gardens at temples served to entertain guests in the same way as in palaces. Ceremonial festivities were staged in the open space in front of the main temple hall, boating took place on the pond and temporary tents for musicians were set up on the islands in it. However similar as they may seem in this respect, there were differences. A main hall of a palace was the seat of the most honoured spectators at festive ceremonies. In temples, though, it was the place where Buddha statues were set up, that faced the garden and overlooked the pond and islands. One may presume that the sentiments at temple festivals would therefore have differed from the ambiance at palaces. There are in fact indications that it was the intention to evoke the atmosphere of a Buddhist paradise on earth.³³ But from descriptions of religious festivals it is clear that the materialization of this paradise was quite earthly. At a sutra reading ceremony in the Tale of Genji, a contemporary novel, extreme care is paid to the coloured robes of the priests, the music and accompanying dancing; the guests discuss all these magnificent things, rather than kneeling down in pious prayer.³⁴

Effectively one must view these pond gardens in temples within an old Far-Eastern tradition to plan temple complexes in monumental symmetric arrangements in which a Buddha figure occupied the main position.³⁵ The old complexes were monasteries that never had decorative gardens, though. The symmetry and axial planning of the lay out stressed their spartan character. The late Heian period temple garden retained a little of the monumental axiality of the early monasteries, but clearly underwent a strong influx of the cultural traditions of palace architecture; large scale pond gardens appeared as part of monumental temple architecture. The Buddha halls were less used at festivities than were the main halls of palaces. In temples more use was made of outdoor space, which may explain that ponds are a great deal wider than in palace gardens. Also the

open stretch in front of the main hall is more spacious at some temples, as the following paragraph shows. It discusses as an illustrative example a garden at a temple called Mōtsu-ji.

3.2 TEMPLE GARDENS, MŌTSU-JI

Far north from present Tōkyō lies Hiraizumi, a little country town that once was a brilliant centre of courtly Fujiwara culture. During the larger part of the twelfth century a northern branch of the Fujiwara clan had its palaces and temples in Hiraizumi, before it was crushed in 1189 at the downfall of the dynasties of the Heian period. The remains of several large temples here have remained largely undisturbed until today, since this place was rather separate from the cultural and political centres to the south and west.³⁶

Among the remnants in Hiraizumi is a garden pond with decorative rock arrangements at the site of the temple Mōtsu-ji. The garden remains at Mōtsu-ji must be qualified as some of the best preserved Heian period garden arrangements; it is worthwhile to treat them extensively.

The temple was established in 1117 by decree of the Emperor Toba (1102 – 1156) in accordance with a long-cherished desire of Fujiwara Motohira (1100? – 1157).³⁷ Emperor Toba became a reigning, infant emperor in 1107 and abdicated fourteen years later, and ruled from behind the screens. It was not an unusual procedure for an emperor to rule in this way. Cloistered emperors (*insei*), as they are called, tried in fact to curb Fujiwara power.³⁸ That Mōtsu-ji could be established as a temple shows therefore that political weight was still on the Fujiwara side in 1117.

The temple initially escaped the 1189 rampage when most of the other palaces and temples in the neighbourhood fell prey to the flames, nevertheless it burnt down as the result of an accident not long after that.

The large, flat stones that served as foundation for the pillars that supported the floors and roofs still indicate the place where the temple buildings stood. South of what must have been the main temple hall lies an open space roughly fifty meters square. It corresponds, of course, to the sand covered stretch in front of the main halls in palaces, although it is almost twice as large as the open area at the Tōsanjōden Palace (fig. 10). The pond is also large. It measures about 180 meters in the east-west direction and ninety meters across from the northern to the southern edge, at a point in front of the main hall. There is also an island. The south-east shore was, as excavations revealed, paved with rounded stones to suggest a beach. The edge of the pond has been restored accordingly. A pro-

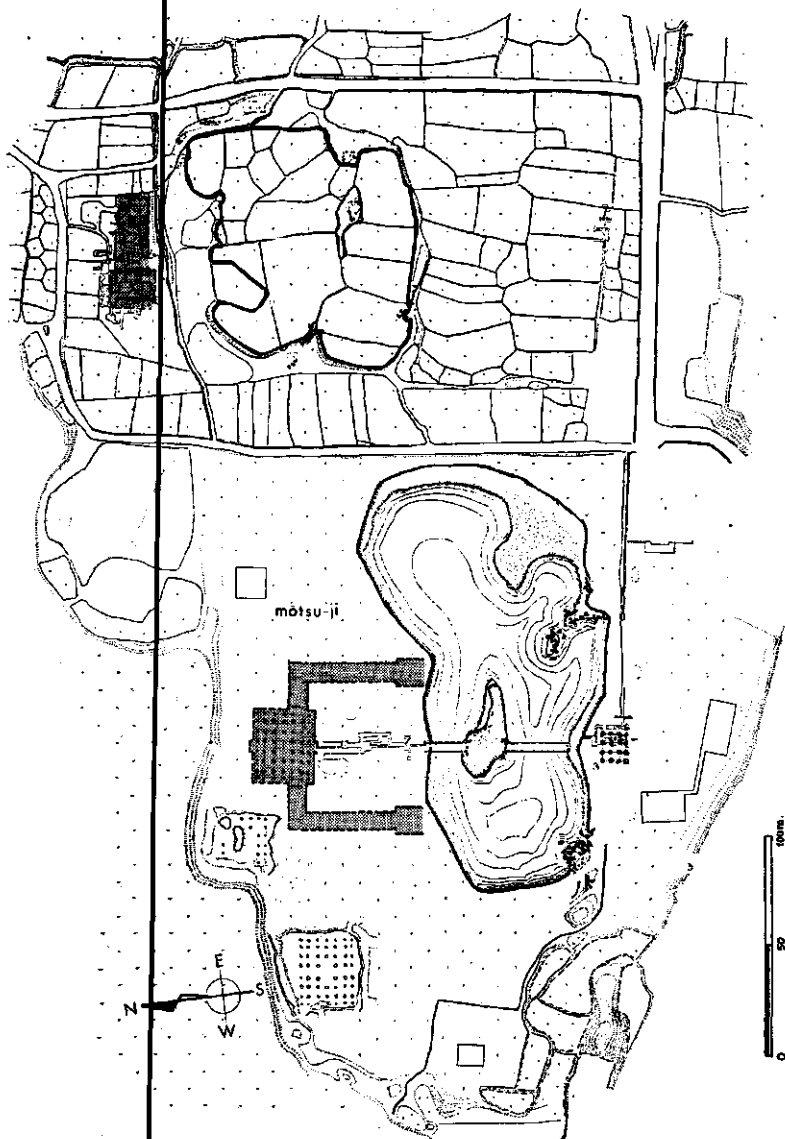


FIGURE 10. Plan of the garden remains at Mōtsu-ji and the neighbouring Kanjizaiō-in. The western half of the plan shows the large pond of Mōtsu-ji and the location of its main hall with galleries and kiosks. The rectangle in the eastern half of this plan was the site of the temple Kanjizaiō-in belonging to Fujiwara Motohira's wife. At the time of the drawing of this plan (1950's) the site was still in agricultural use, one may note the rounded parcels of the rice fields. In the northern part of the rectangular site the location of two Buddha halls is indicated. The pond situated to the south of these has recently been reconstructed.

truding embankment on a central position in the southern pond edge, indicates the position of a bridge that once led to the island. Remains of bridge pillars were found under the water level. One could enter the garden through a southern gate, just in front of this bridge. Foundation stones still indicate its position. A second bridge connected the island with the northern shore, so that one could proceed to the main hall over the island on a route that also formed the central axis. A procession over the bridges and island towards the main hall with its Buddha statues must have formed a part of the protocol at ceremonial festivities.³⁹ The gate for daily use was in the east wall of the compound. The southern edge of the pond features two large rock compositions, roughly fifty meters to the east and west of the main, south gate and the bridge (fig. 11). At the south-east a peninsula stacked with rocks juts out into the water, terminating visually in a rocky islet set a little apart from this projection. A slanting cliff on the islet sticks up to about two meters above the water level. Its sturdy, phallic appearance contrasts markedly with the placid surface of the garden lake. The expanse of the water extends in the gently rising beaches at this eastern side. West of the bridge at the southern side of the pond is another group of rocks. A solitary hillock comes close to the water edge and rocks are arranged on it stepwise; the lowest ones lie in and below the water. The whole comes up to four meters or so above the level of the pond. Closer inspection shows that rounded rocks are laid horizontally at the water edge, partly submerged, whereas craggy rocks stand vertically and higher to retain the slope. Forgetting that this is a garden, one sees a strikingly realistic miniature representation of a natural coast of sand-polished rocks beneath the crags of ventifacts.⁴⁰

The west side of the pond has filled with silt. It must have extended some twenty meters or more, although it was probably shallow. Two pavilions stood on the north embankment, east and west of the place where the bridge began. Their location is still indicated by some remaining foundation stones. They were connected with galleries to the main Buddha hall. From the site of these pavilions one commands a fine view over the expanse of the water and the respective rock arrangements at the opposite shore. At the time when the temple still stood these two pavilions were referred to as 'The Sutra Storage' (Kyōzō) and 'The Bell Tower' (Shōrō).⁴¹ It is unlikely, however, that they ever actually contained sutras or a bell. The names recall the old symmetrically laid out monasteries, in which a sutra storage and a bell tower indeed took positions to the left and right of a central axis. But in that arrangement there was never place for a decorative pond garden. When compared to a plan view of a palace, for instance the reconstructed map of Tōsanjōden, one sees that both



west



east

FIGURE 11. The 'rough seashore' rock arrangements at the southern pond edge of Mōtsu-ji, east and west of the main gate (twelfth century).

pavilions at Mōtsu-ji belong to a tradition of monumental palace architecture. They must have been open structures used to enjoy the garden.

From a reservoir in the north-eastern quarter of the site ran a garden stream. Its paved bed and accompanying garden rocks have been excavated recently. This stream entered in the north-eastern corner of the pond, not far from 'The Bell Tower' pavilion. It is likely that the place where the stream enters the pond was designed on purpose so as to enjoy the sight and sound of fresh water from the pavilion. Contemporary records speak of boating parties on the garden pond. 'The Sutra Storage' pavilion was probably used as a mooring where one entered the boats or waited for them. This was one of the usual functions of this western garden pavilion in palaces.⁴²

Remains of three other temple gardens, related to Mōtsu-ji in form and history can be found in the region. They were established by close family members of the same Fujiwara Motohira, who founded Mōtsu-ji. All are of a smaller scale.⁴³

CHAPTER 4

NOBLES AND THEIR NATURE: THE BEGINNINGS OF A GARDEN THEORY

The last chapters on the Heian period intend to clarify the identity of the garden makers as well as to discuss the theories on the art of garden making that existed at that time.

4.1 GARDENING AS A NOBLE PURSUIT

In contemporary documents few names appear of noblemen who were reportedly actively interested in the art of garden making.⁴⁴ There is for instance a certain Enen, or E-Ajari Enen, which means something like Painting-Priest Enen.⁴⁵ He was an officially appointed painter of religious subjects — records of the 1020's relate of his activities in the field — but his name is also mentioned several times with regard to the construction of the garden at Kaya-in. The garden at this palace of the Imperial Advisor Yorimichi of the Fujiwara clan is discussed in a previous section that describes an illustration from the "Picture scroll of the Pony Contest at the Imperial Visit".

Painting-Priest Enen was actually not just a priest, he was of Fujiwara stock himself and not of the lowest branches. He was of the same generation as Yorimichi, their respective grandfathers were brothers. Although Enen carries clerical names he must therefore be considered an aristocrat among the aristocrats.

The name of another priest, Jōi, also returns quite often in the documents. Tokudai-ji Hōgen Jōi is his full name, High Priest Jōi of the Tokudai-ji temple.⁴⁶ Jōi is also closely related to the Fujiwara clan. Tokudai-ji was in fact a family temple of the clan, he was therefore in Fujiwara service. That almost inevitably supposes that he was of Fujiwara birth, as the important posts were always occupied by clan members. Sources indeed confirm this, although with some ambiguity. He was either a grandson or a great-grandson of Advisor Yorimichi from the Kaya-in Palace. In 1134 it is reported that he worked on a garden at a temple Hōkongo-in in which he set up stones and made a garden stream. In another instance he worked together with a certain Minamoto Morotoki,

on the garden at an imperial palace. Jōi taught gardening techniques to several others; and in fact a lineage of garden teachers and disciples descended from two of Jōi's pupils.⁴⁷ It forms the origin of a rather large group of garden technicians known as Stone Erecting Priests (*ishitatesō*). They were of common or even low social standing. In the early mediaeval period they formed a group of semi-professional gardeners mainly involved with the placing of garden stones. Their activities centered in the temple Ninna-ji. Chapter 7.2 of part two on the mediaeval period discusses a garden book that they wrote.

In priest Jōi of Fujiwara birth we find therefore a channel through which Heian aristocratic knowledge on gardening theories was transmitted to lower layers of society in later periods of history.

Jōi's uncle (or the brother of his grandfather, according to certain sources) was most active of all the Fujiwara's involved in gardens (see fig. 12). This man, Fujiwara Toshitsuna, was a son of Yorimichi from the Kaya-in Palace. Toshitsuna most likely also compiled the garden manual *Sakuteiki* that is the subject of the next chapter, therefore I will discuss this person in more detail.⁴⁸

Fujiwara Toshitsuna, who's dates are tentatively given as 1028 – 1094, was born as an illegitimate son of Fujiwara Yorimichi, son of the great Fujiwara Michinaga. Toshitsuna's mother later married the governor of the province of Sanuki, the provincial Tachibana Toshitoo. Toshitsuna therefore also carried the family name Tachibana. Toshitsuna's family line was not completely impeccable.⁴⁹ Since good lineage and a high position in the Fujiwara family tree were important social values in his circles, his birth may have been a psychological factor explaining his unusually profound search into the art of garden making. Later in his life, in fact, he was taken again as an acknowledged child of Yorimichi.

Toshitsuna was appointed a post as a high steward of one of the provinces; but it is likely that he installed some deputy in his place, as he remained living in Fushimi, a river port south of the capital Heian. His residence was located on a beautiful scenic spot that later became the site of a retired emperor's palace.

Toshitsuna is known to have written poetry and some literary criticism, but distinguished himself above all in the field of gardens. When he was a boy he had accompanied his father Yorimichi on his inspection visits to the sites where his palaces were built. Thus he had seen the works on the Kaya-in palace in progress, where Enen also was involved; and he had visited the construction site of a palace known as Byōdō-in. Here he heard all kinds of advise and gained insight in aspects of garden making that would provide the basic subject matter for his garden book. In the twelfth

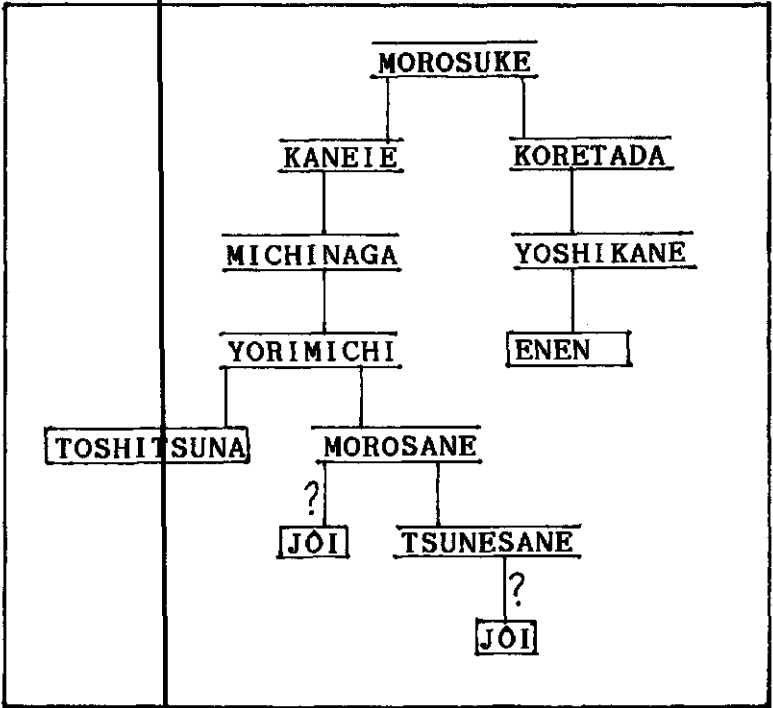


FIGURE 12. Diagram showing the blood relations of the Fujiwara members Toshitsuna, Enen, and Jōi — actively interested in gardens — who are mentioned in the text.

month of 1093 his mansion burnt down and the manuscript that recorded this catastrophe also deplors the loss of the garden. Soon after Fujiwara Toshitsuna himself passed away.⁵⁰

Enen, Jōi, and Toshitsuna were three outstanding men among a limited number of nobles that had an interest in matters of garden making. It must also be understood that the number of built gardens was also small. By observing, and being somewhat involved with, the construction of one or two gardens some nobles achieved a reputation in the field, but it would be an overstatement to say that they were garden artists or garden professionals. This kind of ad-hoc amateurism is well illustrated in a section from the contemporary novel the Tale of Genji:

Genji gave orders for finishing the house. Since word had been sent that he would be at his Katsura villa, people had gathered from all his nearby manors, and presently sought him out at Ōi. He set them to clearing the garden. "What a jumble. It could be a rather distinguished garden — but why take the trouble? ..." Personally supervising the work of clearing the brook that ran from under the east gallery, Genji had thrown off his cloak.⁵¹

Although Prince Genji apparently shows some active enthusiasm for the work in the garden, it is actually the men that do the work. It does not take too much imagination to see that they also do the regular maintenance, a less exciting occupation for a nobleman. The fact that great gardens were made in the Heian period must have been because of expertise found among nameless labourers. These people belonged to the land on which they lived as a kind of bondsmen that could be called upon whenever necessary.⁵² An interesting account dated 1018 tells of the hundreds of people summoned to haul some large garden rocks, pulled over rollers running on boards that were laid out.⁵³

Another document lists over a hundred names of high ranking government officials who presented decorative rocks for the garden that was to be built at a palace called Kujōden.⁵⁴ These officials must have consulted underlings on the qualities of the stones that they wanted to present. There must have been people who searched for the stones and transported them to the site. These will again have been the men of the land that knew the places in the forests and the hills where stones suitable for a garden could be found.

The following paragraphs deal with Toshitsuna's note book on garden making. The manuscript, strikingly, does not treat the technical aspects of garden construction. When technical details are touched upon these are

always discussed from a point of view of an onlooker, or supervisor. These are the things that Toshitsuna must have experienced when visiting the construction sites of the palaces of his father.

4.2 A NOBLEMAN'S STUDY, THE GARDEN MANUAL *SAKUTEIKI*

The garden manual *Sakuteiki* exists at present in the form of a handwritten text on two scrolls. The original is kept by the Tanimura family in Kanazawa but facsimile re-editions exist.⁵⁵ Words of the text are drawn with ink on the paper making use of a soft brush. The letters are written in a fluid, running style using a lot of the phonetic Japanese *hiragana* alphabet rather than the ideographic characters. This way of using brush and language, known as the cursive script (*sōsho*), was particularly favoured in courtly, aristocratic circles, where much stress was laid on its elegance of expression.⁵⁶

The manual has been known as *Sakuteiki*, which means "Notes on Garden Making", since the late seventeenth century. Its oldest title, though, is *Senzai Hishō*, "Secret Extracts on Gardens".⁵⁷ To conform to the existing practice I will also use the name *Sakuteiki* rather than *Senzai Hishō*. The latter, older title gives food for thought. Why should information on gardens have been secret?

I think it must be explained against a social-psychological background, and it is worth the trouble investigating this because the nature of the secrecy of Japan's garden books changes in the course of the centuries.

The basis for political power structures among the Heian ruling aristocracy was family lineages. One inherited important posts in government rather than gaining them through other apparent merits or capacities, such as soundness of decision making or an unusually good intelligence. The assignment of government posts in China on the contrary was based on the merits of the person involved. Histories of China speak of its 'meritocracy', or 'merit system'.⁵⁸ Heian's government was not a meritocracy. One needed family ties, preferably Fujiwara, if one aspired to success in politics. Intelligence and knowledge, were not of primary importance to the individual when inheriting posts. But for the Fujiwara's as a group, after all a ruling oligarchy, it was of utmost importance to keep knowledge, of whatever nature, within their own ranks. A free traffic of knowledge was not desirable; on the other hand, transmitting it secretly backed up the existing hierarchy, the lineages of personally favoured descendants. Within this practice it was only natural that information on garden making should also be kept secret.⁵⁹ One may even

assume that Toshitsuna's ardour when compiling his *Sakuteiki* was stimulated by the reality that he was creating his own body of secret knowledge, so that he could contribute something to the Fujiwara supremacy and ensure his own position. His bastard-Fujiwara birth and later recognition as a true son of Fujiwara Yorimichi could be related to this contribution he made to the body of Fujiwara secrets; however, nothing concretely supports this hypothesis.

Seen in the context of the still rather fragmented world of garden making, one cannot but be impressed by the profound insight eleventh century Toshitsuna shows in his garden book into theoretical principles of garden design. Also the systematic arrangement of bits of information into more or less consistent chapters is striking. But no information at all is given on the techniques of planting or transplanting, on trimming trees or maintaining garden plants. We read nothing about techniques of hauling stones, preparing the steady foundations on which they stand in the garden, etcetera, etcetera. In short, Toshitsuna had looked at garden making from a distance.⁶⁰ The contents of the *Sakuteiki* are too theoretical and at points even too intellectual to call it a manual on garden construction. Toshitsuna is only one of the noblemen that showed an interest in gardens and happens to be the one who wrote and whose notes have been transmitted to later generations.

Most intellectual is the introduction of the *Sakuteiki* and it is tempting to introduce a little of it here. Some fundamental and universal principals of garden design and creativity in garden art are formulated in a comprehensive manner. It says:

When you place stones (for a garden wk.), it is first and foremost necessary to grasp the overall sense.

— Following the topography of the site and seeing how the pond lies one must think over the particular aesthetic sense of all parts of the place. Then recall landscape scenery as it is found in nature, and seeing how different all the parts of the site are you must place the stones by combining these impressions.⁶¹

The overall sense to be grasped touches upon a main principle in garden design of achieving a sense of unity. Any landscape design has to be created in a singleness of thought or consistency of idea.⁶² The question for the aesthetic senses of a site seems to be none other than the search for the 'genius of the place', a point of major consequence in landscape design of any age.⁶³ Toshitsuna's phrase touches also upon a fundamental mechanism of creativity in garden design. Creation is regrouping of men-

tal images, making not yet existing associations of ideas, and give a form to these.⁶⁴ The post-modern designer of our days turns to mental images of existing garden styles and recombines these into new creations.⁶⁵ In the artistic world of the capital Heian, archetypical garden images — well known traditional imagery of compositions of garden materials — were found mostly in nature itself, because there existed as yet hardly a tradition of garden art; although the garden book urges to study the past. The following phrase in the introduction of the *Sakuteiki* says:

— Take as a model the creations left to us by the famous men of old; and, considering the suggestions of the owner of the house (where the garden is to be made, wk.), one must create, exercising one's own aesthetic senses.⁶⁶

The relation between the wishes of an owner and the aesthetic ideas of the designer is also one of the classical problems in garden design. One cannot but conclude that Toshitsuna's words are well thought out, his *Sakuteiki* is a serious private study.

It is clear that much more can be said about concepts like 'landscape scenery as it is found in nature' and 'one's own aesthetic senses', as these ideas were developed in the limited world of the Heian aristocracy. Speaking of it in terms of the twentieth century as I did above does not give much historical insight. Chapter 4.4 of this part returns extensively to the introduction of the manual *Sakuteiki*. Here it was only briefly introduced to illustrate Toshitsuna's intellectual standing. Compared to this philosophic preface, the rest of the manual is less profound. Although it remains concerned with theoretical ideas, these are mostly individual notes or ideas on garden lay out, that are, without further comment, grouped in consistent sections. The following treats these sections one by one.⁶⁷

The first part deals with typical problems that occur in the early stages of the construction of a garden. Decisions on the location of the pond, the island(s) and its bridges have to be made. Implicitly it becomes clear that the *Sakuteiki* addresses the typical pond garden of a Heian aristocratic residence.

Then follows a section on various modes in which one may design a garden. Types of landscape scenery are discussed under headings as "The Mountain Stream Style", "The Pond-Pool Style", etcetera, from which principles of ground form and stone work are derived. Only in a few cases are some brief ideas given on planting, for example:

The Ocean Style. One has to make the appearance of a rough seacoast.

For this rough seacoast one places a number of pointed rocks, only a little separated from the actual water edge, in a disordered way. From these rocks that extend from the water edge as if they grew from it, other stones stand further off the shore. It is a good idea to set a few isolated rocks still further away. The stones have the appearance of being washed out, as one must imagine that they are on a place where they are exposed to the merciless forces of the waves. Finally you must show a sandbank or a white beach here and there, and some pines and other trees should be planted.⁶⁸

Without any doubt this advise was taken by heart by the makers of the rock arrangements at the pond edge in the garden of Mōtsu-ji⁶⁹ The composition of the large rock groups at the south edge of the pond, conform on many points with the advise of *Sakuteiki*. This confirms that it was known as a design idea. Standard ideas on ocean scenery existed that relied on a standard image of a rough seacoast (fig. 13). Rough seacoasts in reality are different from place to place according to the differing forces of wind and water, the changing mineral qualities of the rocks exposed to it, and other things like that. In the *Sakuteiki* nevertheless, the idea of "The Ocean Style" is reduced to a precisely defined form of one type of rough seacoast. The mental image belonging to "The Ocean Style" is therefore a typification, an idealization of reality.

"The Ocean Style" is one among a series of such idealized archetypes. Others discussed in the *Sakuteiki* are "The Mountain Stream Style", "The Broad River Style", and so on.⁷⁰ In this way it becomes an idiomatic range of languages of form. A catalogue from which the designer may choose the associative image that inspires him. Most illustrative for my point is a mode to design a garden titled "The Reed Hand Style" (*ashide no yō*).

"Reed Hand" is the name of a style of fluent calligraphy not unlike the flowing handwriting in which the *Sakuteiki* itself was written.⁷¹ The Reed Hand was used to write poems on small landscape paintings showing marshy reed lands. The letters and words of these applied poems were expressly stretched and elongated so as to match in an aesthetically pleasing way the lines that were drawn to represent the reed stalks in the landscape scene. Written words and painted landscape had to combine into one harmonious work of art. The reeds as well as the other things of nature — rocks, shoreline, birds, the waves of the water — in such landscape miniatures were drawn in a soft and fluid way to make sense as an artistic form in combination with the handwriting. It is this soft and gentle landscape that Toshitsuna has in mind when he writes how a garden scene like the Reed Hand should look:

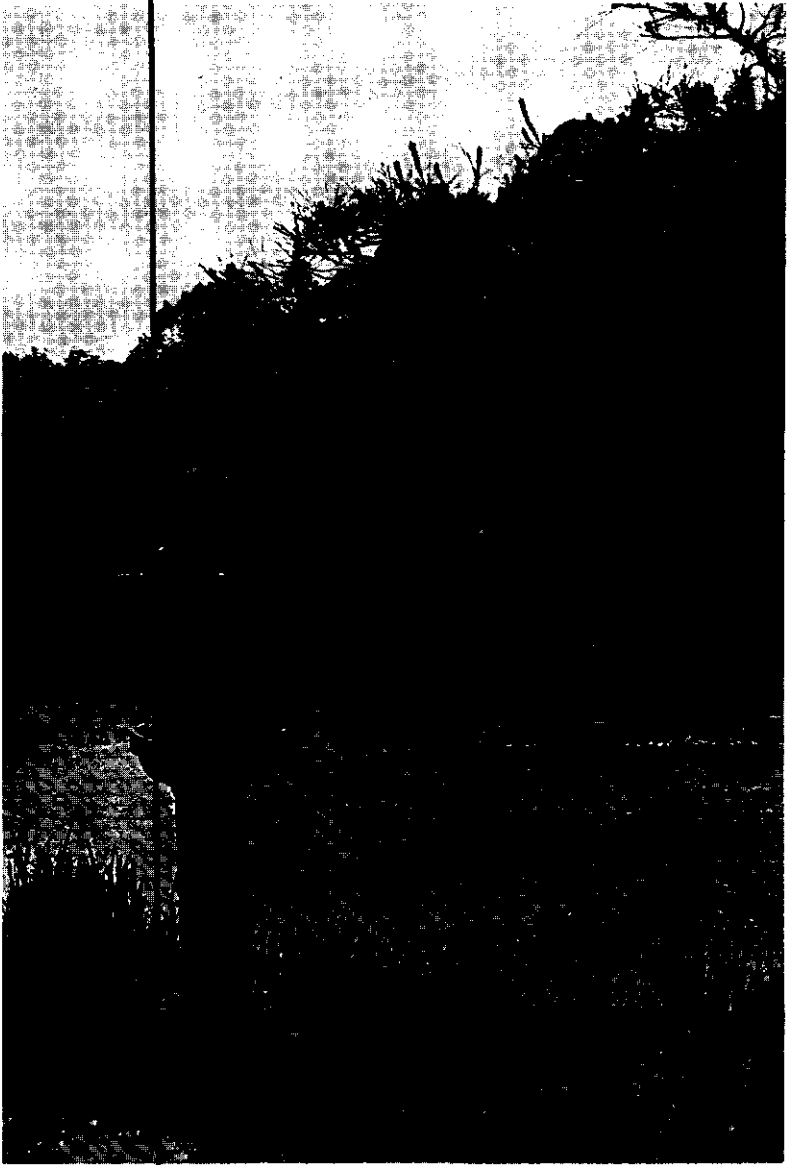


FIGURE 13. Rock arrangements of the 'rough seashore' type in the pond at the temple Jōruri-ji (mid twelfth century).

The Reed Hand Style. Garden mounds must not be high. Stones are placed here and there where sloping ground forms come to an end or where the ground comes at an end at the pond edge. Provide small plants like low grass bamboos and sedges. Choose soft forms when planting trees, so willow and plum. Always use laying stones for the Reed Hand mode. They can be laid in a triangular arrangement like the Chinese character *pin*. Such stones must be associated with little plants that do not grow up high, nor lush.⁷²

The Reed Hand mode discloses best how the division Toshitsuna makes must be evaluated. The 'Styles' are idealized landscapes of the elegant and intellectual aristocrat, and not copies of actually existing geographical landscapes.

The next section in the *Sakuteiki* discusses the design of shorelines at ponds, and of streams, and islands. These are likewise divided in idealized types that serve as an inspirational mental image. Thus we find passages headed like "The Field Island", or "The Rocky Shore Island".⁷³ All are associated with a particular detailing of groundforms, rock work and again only briefly on plants. The following paragraphs in the *Sakuteiki* treat the construction of various types of waterfalls. Nine standard ways of having the water fall are discerned, like the "Running-Falling" way, or the "Linen-Falling" in which water is made to fall as a thin sheet.⁷⁴

Then there is a long section on the lay out of the garden stream. It clearly treats the typical stream in the palace garden as it is discussed in the chapters 2 and 3 of this part. Toshitsuna makes some reference to certain theories of divination in this section on the stream. Chapter 4.3 covers this extensively.

The next section in the *Sakuteiki*, again relatively large, is a range of instructions in the art of placing stones. It is titled "Oral Instructions on the Placing of Stones", so that we may assume that Toshitsuna recorded only what had existed as a non-written tradition. In fact some individuals are noted in the text as sources of information. One comes across 'a Chinese' (*sōjin*), a certain Hiroataka, and Enen, the Painting-Priest whom I introduced before.⁷⁵ Hiroataka and Enen associated with each other since both were painters in imperial service.⁷⁶ In another section of his notes Toshitsuna states that Enen gave him some texts on the placing of stones. There must have been an exchange of information among the noble garden enthusiasts. A reputation could therefore have developed and it is likely that Toshitsuna was known as a garden fanatic.

With some shorter sections the *Sakuteiki* closes. We read about superstitions and divinations on the position of types of trees in the

garden. I will return to this in the next chapter on the theories of divination. Then there is a section on the constructing of wells, as well as some personal notes from Toshitsuna. This is of bibliographical importance. He relates his boyhood visits to the Kaya-in palace and speaks of Painting-Priest Enen, who passed on some documents about the placing of stones to him. At the end of the second, and last, scroll the manuscript has the following colophon in a different handwriting:

Morning of the twenty-seventh day of the sixth month, summer 1289.
Overcome with ennui I unrolled this and read it completely.

signed with the self-modest:

Old and stupid me (*gurō*).

and an unreadable signature. Then it is written:

This writing belongs to Nochino Kyōgokudono. It is a precious treasure. It must be kept secret — it must be kept secret.⁷⁷

with a different unidentified signature.

The comment of these two readers is one of respect. At least they were that impressed that they took the trouble to write some comment and sign it. Nochino Kyōgokudono, meaning the Lord of the Late Kyōgokudono Palace was Fujiwara Yoshitsune (1169 – 1206). The colophon writer assumed that the writing was his. It was therefore originally believed that Yoshitsune was the writer. But from the personal notes in the text of the *Sakuteiki* it becomes clear that Toshitsuna was the author.

This short summary of the contents of the *Sakuteiki* notes the most important characteristics of the work. Profound theoretical insight precedes a systematic collection of stray notes on the practice of garden planning. A series of ideal images of nature are summed up as ideas that may inspire one towards concrete design.

These are the notes of an aristocrat who had seen gardens being constructed, and supervised the construction of some himself. Toshitsuna had heard a lot of information from others and studied some documents that he got from Enen.⁷⁸ He also incorporated theoretical ideas from Chinese books as the following pages show that treat the ideas on the divination of sites found in the manual *Sakuteiki*.

4.3 DIVINATION AND ADAPTING TO NATURE

The *Sakuteiki* makes clear in its introduction that the planning of a garden was a matter of reflecting upon the aspects of the site. The garden book was written sometime in the late eleventh century. At that time all the courtly gardens that existed were of the pond and island type and were within, or close by, the capital of Heian. As most gardens to which Toshitsuna could refer were therefor designed on the same kind of site, an inquiry into the specific characteristics of the topography of the land of the capital Heian is made in the present chapter. The standard lay out of a palace garden according to the *Sakuteiki*, and the topography of the capital Heian are perfectly in accordance with each other. Although it is difficult to see which one existed first, it is at least clear that both reinforced each other. What resulted was a fixed planning scheme on which not only all the pond gardens in the capital relied, but also the later gardens of the period in other parts of Japan.⁷⁹

The valley in which the city Heian laid — the valley in which at present Kyōto lies — drains off towards the south-south-west. The average fall of the land is about five or six millimeters per meter, in the northern half of the plain a little steeper, up to one centimeter per meter.⁸⁰ The usual size of a site for an average middle class court noble's residence was about 120 to 120 meters (= one *chō*), on which the land fell therefore anywhere from sixty centimeters up to a meter.⁸¹

A paragraph from the *Sakuteiki* on the garden stream notes:

When one establishes the levels for a water course, the land should fall about three percent, in order to let the water flow by itself. Then the stream will run without stagnation, gently murmuring.⁸²

Following the manual's advise of a three percent fall, the sixty to a hundred centimeters fall — of an average 120 meter site — would only allow for a stream length of twenty to thirty-three meters. It follows that the stream would only run on a relatively short section of its course crossing over an average plot. Water would be largely stagnant over the rest of its course. The *Sakuteiki* continues in fact:

... towards the end of the course of the running water, even if there is no room for further grading, the water will flow nevertheless being pushed forward from behind.⁸³

Other sections are similarly suggestive of the problem of keeping the water running, aptly illustrating the restrictive reality of the topography of the

capital Heian. The typical site sloped down towards the south-south-west. When a stream was to be designed in the garden, the non-running parts of it could theoretically speaking be stagnant on the higher, northern half of the site, or on the lower, southern half. If located in the north a dam had to be built, or a basin to be dug, which would make for an unnatural appearance, since the water level of the pond, would be high, maybe higher than the low lying land on the southern side. Another way could be to collect the water on the southern side of the site, with the running part of the stream located above it, coming from the north. In this case one would look upon the surface of the water when standing on the higher, northern side of the site. This way seems more natural, and can be achieved with less effort. This is even more evident when one considers the particulars of a site in relation to the urban structure of the capital. The city was designed as a grid with north-south and east-west running streets. A site was square and surrounded by walls.⁸⁴ In heavy rains the natural surface drainage would have the water collecting in the lower, southern half of this square. The *Sakuteiki* advises:

When a pond is to be dug and stones are to be placed, you should first examine the natural lay of the land and then in accordance with the circumstances (*tayori ni shitagatte*) dig and shape the pond, construct the islands, and determine the flowing-in and flowing-out directions of the pond water.⁸⁵

The meaning of 'the circumstances' is without any doubt the natural circumstances of a site, that is in this case the lower, damp, or even swampy southern half. The following sections in the manual implicitly depart from a situation of a pond in the southern half of the plot. Nowhere is it explicitly stated that the pond should be in the south; this southern location of the pond seems hardly to have been consciously chosen. Accordingly it is difficult to speak of a design intention. More extensively discussed on the next pages is the swampy condition of the whole of Heian's valley. There we will see that natural ponds were in fact already present at many of the palace sites. The *Sakuteiki* departs at a certain point also from the situation of a pond existing before the rest of the garden is made; without any further introduction it says:

Whether an island is provided for or not depends on the conditions of the site, and whether the pond is narrow or wide...⁸⁶

Situations existed in which the size of an already existing pond was decisive for the construction of an island in it or not. Topography dictated theory, design followed nature which meant to adapt to it unconsciously,

rather than to chose a design policy fully aware of it.

When advising on the garden lay out the manual resorts many times to Chinese theories on the divination of sites. In the *Sakuteiki* the theories are referred to as the Four Gods Doctrine (*shishinsetsu*).⁸⁷ In the doctrine four mythical beasts from Chinese mystic lore guarded the four cardinal directions of the compass. The White Tiger guarded the west, the Blue Dragon the east, the Red Bird was in the south and a black creature with the body of a turtle and the head of a snake guarded the northern direction of the hemisphere.⁸⁸ It formed in fact part of a more complicated Chinese set of thoughts that, for instance, also dealt with the four seasons (fig. 14). East where the sun rises was thought of as representing spring, south where the sun is in its zenith stood for summer, west for autumn, north for winter. It was further elaborated so as to fit in the Five Elements of Chinese science. 'Wood' stood in the same position as spring and east; 'fire' was in the south; 'metal' in the west and 'water' in the north. In the usual circular configuration a middle position was introduced for the fifth element 'earth'. Twelve animals of the zodiac and other fundamental features of the empirical world, like colours and hours were set in the scheme. It was thought of as an overall scientific theory that could explain the cosmos.⁸⁹ Even more, it formed a basis of reasoning with which nature could be manipulated. The theory of the Four Gods, in particular, was made into a set of practical principles on the lay out of a house. Whether true or not, it was believed that if a house was built on a site with a topographical configuration in accordance with the principles, good health, long life and fortune was ensured.⁹⁰

The topography of the capital Heian is discussed below in more detail followed by a reconstruction of the planning scheme as it is laid down in the *Sakuteiki*. As shown the scheme follows the topographic characteristics of the typical site in the capital Heian, but never consciously choses this as the best way.

The grid of roads and streets that formed the basis of the capital's urban structure was oriented on the east-west and north-south lines of the compass (see fig. 15). Two canals crossed the city, running from the north to the south along straight lines. These canals drained off any surplus rain-water, but also served as channel for a few natural rivers that crossed the city area. Their natural courses were dammed and the water they carried was led through the artificial canals.⁹¹ The alluvial deposits of the rivers remained in place, of course. Particularly the deposits in the river bed complex of the old Takano river and its branch the river Kamo consists of sandy layers, of which many were still carrying much water in the Heian period. These old alluvial systems with their feeders, dead branches

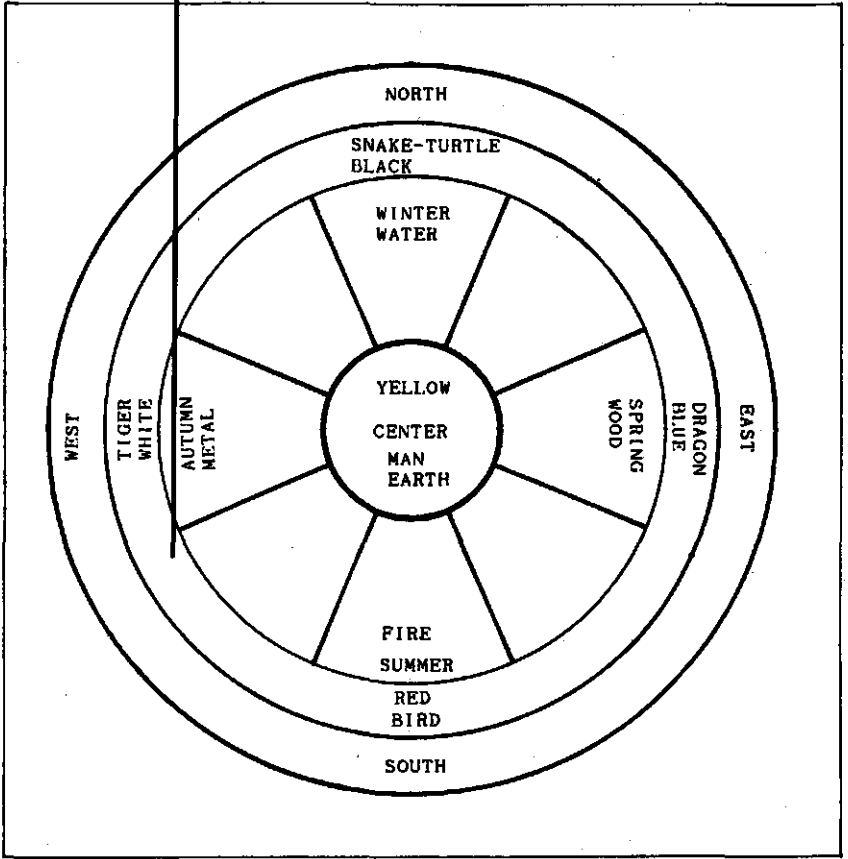


FIGURE 14. A schematic representation of Chinese cosmos-explaining thought.

and subsoil aquifers run largely from the north-east to the south-south-west directions of the capital. The parts of the city where the rivers had run possessed therefore many natural springs, little streams and stagnant pools.⁹² All the running water followed generally speaking the direction of the natural geology, taking courses from north-east to south-south-west.

Sites with a natural stream or spring were above all favoured as sites for building a palace, not only because of the presence of clear drinking water, but also because the water was used for the garden.⁹³ With only a few exceptions all the Heian palace gardens that we know of at present, were situated on the geological deposits of the old Takano and Kamo rivers. Speaking in general for this area, a natural stream, if present, would run therefore from the north-east towards the south-south-east. For the square sites of the urban grid this means that a stream would enter on the north or on the east side, and would leave the lot of land over the south or west boundary. The advice of the garden book *Sakuteiki* on the course of the garden stream complies remarkably with the actual situation, and further legitimizes this most obvious lay out with geomantic principles. These principles are consistent throughout the manual and form a standard planning scheme:

The outlet of the pond or the garden stream should be led towards the direction of the sign *hitsuji-saru* (that equals the south-west wk.). This is because the water coming from the direction of the Blue Dragon (east wk.) must be washed out in the direction of the White Tiger (west wk.).⁹⁴

Or another, longer section:

First of all you have to stabilize the course at the source of the water. The Book says that the regular flow starts from the east and runs through the south towards the west. Running from the west to the east is the unnatural reversed flow. Therefore it is always flowing from the east to the west. The auspicious stream starts from the east, and leaves from the south-west after passing under the house. This is to wash out all kinds of evil with water from the direction of the Blue Dragon (the east, wk.) towards the path of the White Tiger (the west, wk.). The owner from this house will be saved from many epidemic diseases and bad syphilis and enjoy a carefree and long life until an old age.

When fixing upon a site, one takes corresponding to the doctrine of the Four Gods the left side from where the water is running as the Blue Dragon (i.e. water should run from the east, wk.). This being the case,

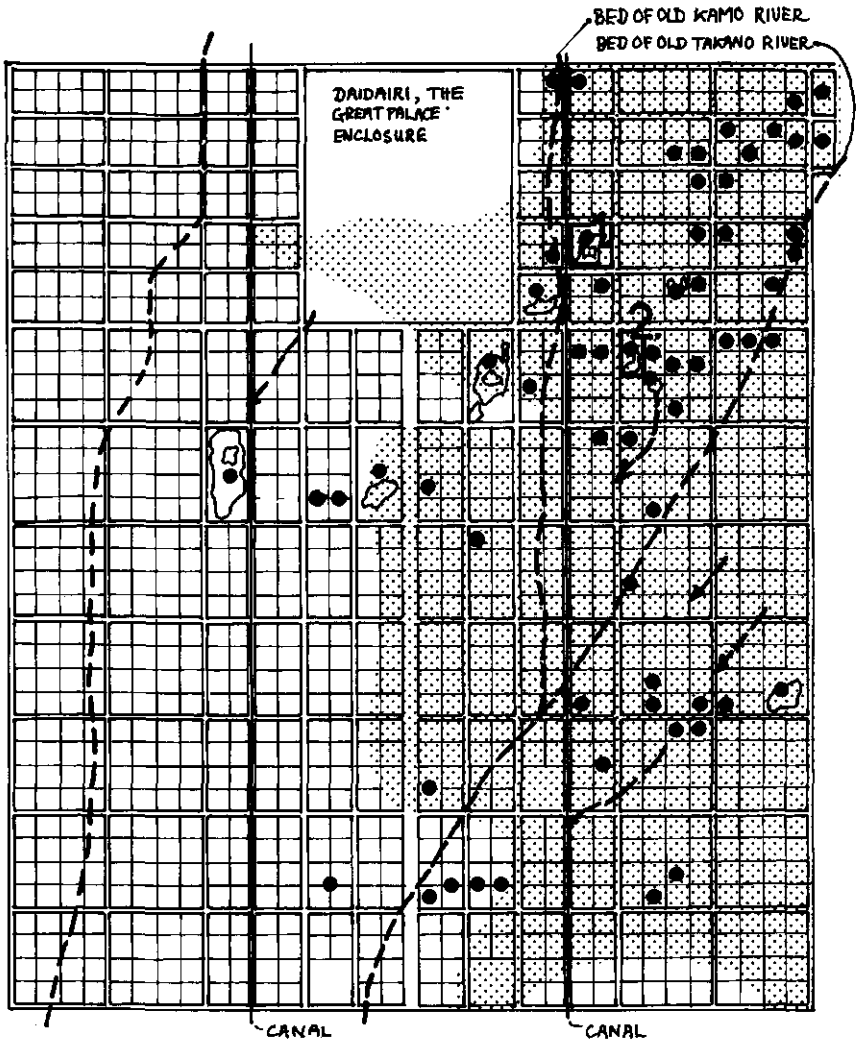


FIGURE 15. Reconstructed plan of the ancient capital Heian showing the grid pattern of streets. The Great Palace Enclosure (Cf. fig. 1) is situated in the northern part of the city. Aquiferous formations of coarse sands are indicated with a screen tone, old river beds with broken lines. The large ponds on some sites can be distinguished. The sites of the important aristocratic palaces (indicated with dots) are, hardly without exception, located on the aquiferous formations. (1. = site of the palace Kaya-in, 2. = site of Tōsanjōden.)

the water comes out from under the buildings at the east, and must be led through the south towards the west. Even when coming from the north it must be sent around to the east and then to the south-west.⁹⁵

The Book mentioned here is probably the classic Chinese diviners' manual *Zhia Jing* (Han dynasty, BC.206 – AD.220) from which the text in the *Sakuteiki* seems almost literally copied. Toshitsuna perhaps had a copy at his disposal.⁹⁶

In the quotations it is advised to have the water run over the site exactly as it should following the typical natural drainage of the capital Heian, that is from a north-eastern direction to a south-western one. Further it must be led through the south, before it leaves the site at the west side. In the south was the pond which was, as the above discusses, also the most logical and obvious location from a point of topography. As such it is an implicit and basic idea in the *Sakuteiki*. 'Led through' means therefore led through the pond. The stream should, according to the manual, enter the pond garden at the eastern side of the space enclosed by the buildings. Other sections of the manual clearly depart from a main hall located opposite the pond that lies south of it and speak of the 'south garden' (*nantei*).⁹⁷ Thinking of climate control it was most appropriate to locate a building on the northern side of a lot and have its main, open facade facing the south. And because the southern half was also the lower, damp part of a plot, locating a building on the northern half was simply most logical and natural.

The planning scheme of the *Sakuteiki* seems perhaps to be the result of sound thinking, but complying to the natural physics of a site needed the confirmation of mystic theories to become acceptable. What's more, syphilis and epidemic diseases became one's penalty if the rule of complying to the site was violated. The manual's planning scheme was therefore not to sound in its thinking, but it was the result of adapting to an environment that was still felt as potentially dangerous. The point of departure was a negative one; the Heian period garden maker did not seek harmony with nature because he thought it would result in benign after-effects. Given the typical topographical situation in the capital, only slight changes were to be made to make it suitable as an outdoor space. Slight as these were it was felt that they had to be reinforced by geomantic theories. In reverse geomancy reassured that the site, as it was, was all right and did not need to be changed considerably.⁹⁸ In the geomantics of the Heian period garden theory one still senses a fearful awe for nature.

The role Chinese geomantics played in Japanese garden making diminished in the course of later centuries, perhaps because the fear of

nature waned. What eventually proved to be classical standards set by Heian noblemen were not the fears but rather the blessings they found in the nature surrounding them. They recorded the aspects of nature they loved in lyrical poetry with themes of birds, flowers, and plants. The next, and last chapters of this part one treat these themes and how they influenced garden art.

4.4 THEMES: AN INTERPRETATION

So far we have discussed the actual appearance of the Heian gardens and the people and other factors decisive in their making. One of these factors was the topography of the capital city itself that proved to be a determinative in the planning of a garden lay out. The last chapters on the period deal with the Heian appreciation of natural beauty in the garden and how this related to garden making.

The appreciation of natural beauty was most directly expressed, and is most directly understood by us, through contemporary written opinions. A large amount of literature of the time exists in which one may read how the Heian nobles phrased their feelings of delight towards nature as they perceived it. One novel is particularly abundant in references to garden scenery and some parts of it will be quoted. This is the Tale of Genji.⁹⁹ It was written around the turn of the millennium by a court lady Murasaki Shikibu (978? – ...). It is fiction, to be sure, but gives an image of what life was like. The main character in the first half of the novel is Prince Genji. It is speculated that this figure was modeled on the historical Fujiwara Michinaga, the most powerful of the Fujiwara leaders. Prince Genji personifies all the ideals of the elegant nobleman in the courtly world.¹⁰⁰ In his gardens that are described in the novel one may also sense an ideal world. As we are, in the present chapter, in search of concepts of beauty, which are by definition ideal, the Tale of Genji must be valued high as a source in this respect.

Prince Genji's largest palace is a place called Rokujō. It is the setting not only for many ceremonies and parties, but also for most of the endlessly intriguing love affairs. The palace is in fact the residence of four courtly ladies, four of Prince Genji's foremost concubines. One must imagine this palace as a complex arrangement of halls and annexes connected by galleries, in short, an elaborate form of the kind of architecture that is described in one of the first sections of this work. Of interest is the idea of four divisions within the residence, each comprising the living quarters for one of Genji's four ladies. These four quarters are also each dedicated

to one of the four seasons. At first sight it vaguely reminds one of the Chinese cosmos-explaining theories, that were also concerned with dividing four seasons over the four directions of the compass. But it is immediately clear that Genji's intentions are far more poetic. He assigned the south-west quarter laid out to give the utmost effect in autumn to a lady indicated as Akikonomu, which literally means 'with a liking for the autumn'. The north-west quarter was meant to be most beautiful in winter and was given to someone indicated as 'the lady from Akashi'. Akashi is a region at the coast near modern Osaka. In lyrical poetry it always carried many connotations of the loneliness of a wintry landscape, when colours become monochrome and nature is silent.¹⁰¹ North-east, dedicated to the summer, was for a concubine called 'the Lady of the Orange Blossoms', that indeed bloom in the summer months. South-east, at last, was for lady Murasaki, Genji's most favourite and designed to be most beautiful in spring.¹⁰² Several times in the Tale people discuss the question, which season is best, more in particular, what is better spring or autumn. It is always concluded that autumn was better.¹⁰³ Perhaps because of that Genji, very diplomatically, assigned this season to his second favourite lady, giving second best, spring, to his most favourite.¹⁰⁴ The first long passage in which the garden at the Rokujō Palace is described runs as follows¹⁰⁵:

The wishes of the ladies themselves were consulted in designing the new gardens, a most pleasant arrangement of lakes and hills. The hills were high in the south-east quarter (dedicated to spring, wk.), where cherry trees were planted in large numbers. The pond was most attractively designed.¹⁰⁶ Among the plantings in the forward parts of the garden were cinquefoil pines, red plums, cherries, wisteria, Kerria, and rock azalea, most of them trees and shrubs that are enjoyed in spring.¹⁰⁷ Touches of autumn too were scattered through the groves.

In Akikonomu's garden the plantings, on hills left from the old garden, were chosen for rich autumn colours. Clear spring water went singing off into the distance, over rocks designed to enhance the music. There was a waterfall, and the whole expanse was like an autumn field. Since it was now autumn, the garden was a wild profusion of autumn flowers and leaves, such as to shame the hills of Ōi at Saga (the hills at the river Ōi flowing through the fields of Saga were well known for their beautiful autumn colours, wk.).¹⁰⁸

In the north-east quarter there was a cool natural spring and the plans had summer in mind. In the forward parts of the garden the wind through thickets of Chinese bamboo would be cool in summer. The

trees stood thickly as in a hillside forest, their tickets attractively recalling the countryside in the mountains.¹⁰⁹ There was a hedge of mayflower, and there were oranges to remind the lady of days long gone. There were wild carnations and roses and gentians and a few spring and autumn flowers as well. A part of the quarter was fenced off for equestrian grounds. Since the fifth month would be its liveliest time, there were irises along the lake. On the far side were stables where the finest of horses would be kept.

And finally the north-west quarter: beyond a mud wall to the north were rows of warehouses, screened off by Chinese bamboo. Thickly planted pines would be beautiful in new falls of snow.¹¹⁰ The chrysanthemum hedge would certainly show itself most beautifully in the morning frosts of early winter.¹¹¹ A stand of big oaks stood proudly in among deep groves with mountain trees which one would have been hard put to identify.

With this quotation a wide range of garden images is introduced, differing in each quarter. The four gardens were designed to be at their best in a designated season. It is largely through a choice of plant materials with strong seasonal characteristics that the seasons are expressed. Even subtleties other than seasonal aspects of plant growth are introduced to enhance the delights of each season. A cool natural spring, appreciated most on a hot summer day is present in the summer quarter. Relying on a more abstract evocation of coolness is the plantation of Chinese bamboo; wind rustling through its leaves creates a cooler feeling than a soundless breeze. Chrysanthemums are chosen for the way in which they show themselves covered with white frost, rather than for their flowers. All these aspects are of such a subtle sensitivity that the enjoyment of the seasonal beauties must have been far more important than a mere division in four quarters, each with a season. In other words it is not just a matter of lay out, a whole appreciation of nature is in discussion.

The idea of dividing a garden in four quarters, each for one season appears as well in other Heian period tales. In those, summer is always in the south, winter in the north, spring in the east and autumn in the west.¹¹² The question emerges whether the idea was a literary fiction or an actually existing practice. From other less fictional and more historical sources it is clear that several of the famous palace gardens of the time were laid out divided in four parts each set apart for one of the seasons. We came across the palace Kaya-in that was depicted in one of the scroll paintings. It was extensively reconstructed from about 1021 on, at the time when Fujiwara Yorimichi lived there; he was, as will be remembered,

the father of Toshitsuna the writer of the *Sakuteiki* garden book. The garden of Kaya-in was laid out 'so that one can see the four seasons in the four directions', according to one source.¹¹³ Murasaki Shikibu, wrote the Tale of Genji in the years around 1000, not too long before the works at Kaya-in started. She is also known to have been troubled by the more indiscreet proposals of Yorimichi's father, Fujiwara Michinaga.¹¹⁴ It can hardly be wrong that she was familiar with the old Kaya-in palace and the plans for its garden. It likely inspired her description of Prince Genji's garden at the Rokujō Palace.

The early twelfth century palace Toba-dono of the Emperor Toba was likewise divided in four sub-palaces each dedicated to one of the four seasons. Autumn trees were, as in Genji's palace, planted on a hill. A hillock known as The Autumn Hill laid until recently in a western part of the rural scenery where the palace once stood. The expanding city of Kyōto has taken over the site at present.¹¹⁵ The Autumn Hill is a piece of tangible evidence that this garden with the four seasons had a concrete division of seasonal trees in four quarters. The details of the garden at the Toba-dono Palace must have been of the nature of the designs in Genji's Rokujō Palace. We can not be sure, however, whether this was inspired by the already well-known Tale of Genji, or whether it stood within a more general tradition.

The garden book *Sakuteiki* refers indirectly to the idea of dividing a garden in four seasonal parts when it says:

Except for the cardinal points — The Blue Dragon (east), White Tiger (west), Red Bird (south), and the Black Snake-Turtle (north) — any kind of tree can be planted at any place. But men of old have said that one ought to plant shrubs bearing (spring) flowers in the east and trees with autumn leaves to the west.¹¹⁶

The *Sakuteiki* also keeps autumn in the west and spring in the east.¹¹⁷ From the above we must conclude that a practice existed to allocate parts of a garden to the appreciation of the particular delights of each season.

Another section in the Tale of Genji describing the same garden at Rokujō Palace is quoted below. It gives important clues in understanding the Heian aristocratic delight found in the seasonal details of nature. The passage tells of a party held in spring, when the garden was very beautiful. The green of the mosses, the trees on the garden hillocks, and the sight of the islands in the pond provided enough excuse for building two boats and organizing a boat party. The text reads:

Genji had carpenters at work on Chinese pleasure boats, and on the

day they were launched he summoned palace musicians for water music. Princes and high courtiers came crowding to hear. ... Numbers of young women who were thought likely to enjoy such an outing were rowed out over the south pond, which ran from Akikonomu's south-west quarter to Murasaki's north-east, with a hillock separating the two. The boats left from the peninsula at this hillock. Murasaki's women were stationed in the Angling Pavilion at the boundary between the two quarters. The dragon and phoenix boats were brilliantly decorated in the Chinese fashion. The little pages and helmsmen, their hair still bound up in the page-boy manner, wore lively Chinese dress, and everything about the arrangements was deliciously exotic. The boats were poled to the middle of the pond, it was really as if coming to an unknown land in the middle of the ocean. ... The boats pulled up below the cliffs at an island cove, where the smallest of the hanging rocks was like a detail of a painting. The branches caught in mists from either side were like a tapestry, and far away in Murasaki's private gardens a willow trailed its branches in a deepening green and cherry blossoms were rich and sensuous. In other places they had fallen, but here they were still at their smiling best, and along the galleries wisteria was beginning to send forth its lavender. Yellow *Kerria* reflected on the lake as if about to join its own image. Waterfowl swam past in amiable pairs, and flew in and out with twigs in their bills, ... Evening came.

*kaze fukeba
nami no hana sae
iro miete
koya nani tateru
yamabuki no saki*

The breezes blow,
the wave flowers brightly
blossom
Will it be the Cape of
Yamabuki?

*haru no ike ya
ide no kawase ni
kayōran
kishi no yamabuki
soko mo nioeri*

Is this the lake of spring
where flows
the River of Ide
that Yamabuki should plunge
into its depths?

*kame no ue no
yama mo tazuneji
fune no naka ni
oisenu na o ba
koko ni nokosan*

There is no need to visit
Turtle Mountain
'Ageless'
shall be the name
of our pleasure boats

Poem followed poem. The young women seemed to forget that the day must end and they must go home.¹¹⁸

The party continued all through the night and well into the next day. Then a sutra-reading ceremony was held, where eight little girls, dressed up as birds and butterflies, performed a dance on music. Later one boarded the boats again. The writer paints in the quotation above an impressionistic image of the garden. It is a dream world of natural beauty, a hazy mist of soft colours. Out of this certain details of nature emerge quite explicitly: a willow that trails its branches, the smallest of the hanging rocks, etcetera, etcetera. It is series of elements, rather than a total scenery of the garden that is described. Most explicitly noted is the reflection of the flowers of the *yamabuki* (*Kerria japonica*) on the surface of the pond. The courtly ladies are so excited about this that they even start composing poems. To be sure they recognized a lyrical theme (fig. 16). The image of *Kerria* flowers reflecting upon the surface of the water was in fact a classical theme of poetry. In an eight century anthology of lyrical poetry, known as the *Manyōshū* the following lyric is presented:

<i>kawazu naku</i>	<i>Kerria</i> flowers
<i>kamunabigawa ni</i>	will soon be in bloom,
<i>kage miete</i>	their shadows falling
<i>ima ka sakuramu</i>	on the waters of the river Kannabi,
<i>yamabuki no hana</i>	where frogs croak. ¹¹⁹

Also at the time when the *Tale of Genji* was written it was a well known theme, the following poem was written at about the same time:

<i>sawa-mizu ni</i>	In the swamp-water
<i>kawazu naku-nari</i>	the frogs are croaking,
<i>yamabuki no</i>	the reflected image
<i>utsurou kage ya</i>	of the <i>Kerria</i> flowers
<i>soko ni miyuramu</i>	must be visible to them down
	below. ¹²⁰

The ladies in the boats also recited a poem on the turtle mountain; it also relies on a literary theme, although it is not originally from lyrical poetry. It refers to legendary mountainous islands that were carried on the back of turtles swimming in an ocean far away. Immortal, ageless fairies lived in these mountains. Originally a legendary story, it became used as a theme in poetry.¹²¹ Literary sources other than the *Tale of Genji* also have instances where people start writing or reciting poetry prompted simply by the unconscious recognition of a lyrical theme seen in a garden.¹²² The

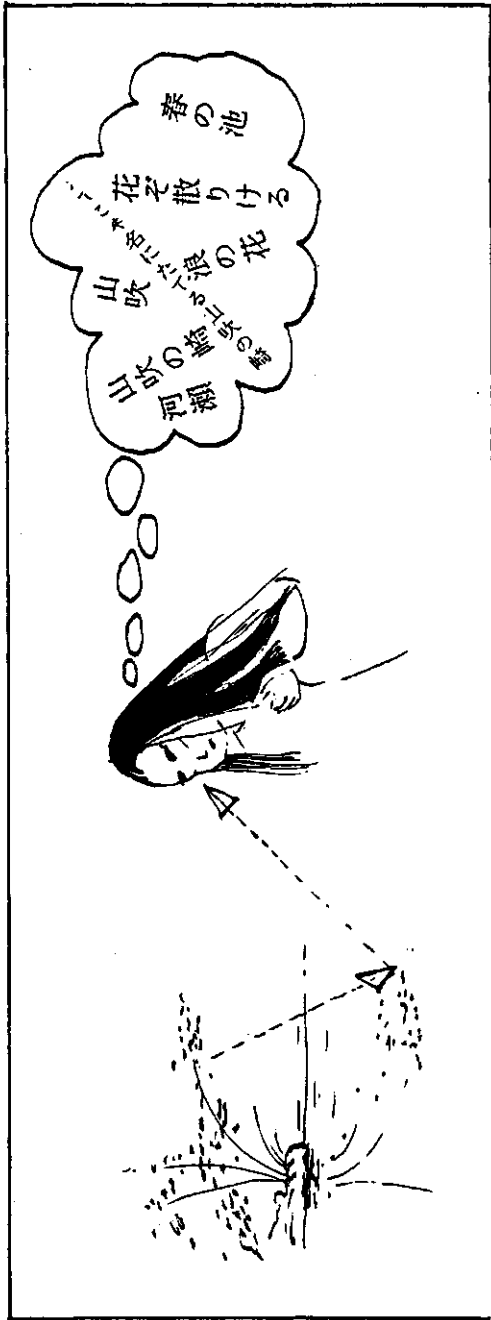


FIGURE 16. Man's mind, filled with poetry, recognized garden images as poetic themes. The reflection of Kerria flowers on the surface of the pond was recognized by Genji's ladies as poetry.

Tale of Genji is nevertheless extremely abundant in its use of poetry. Murasaki Shikibu, who wrote the Tale, speaks of herself as 'so wrapped up in poetry that other people hardly exist'.¹²³ Indeed she must have been gifted with a sense for poetry, since the Tale is full of lyrics that convey messages that could have been equally well said with non-poetic phrases. And as it was her intention to show the world in its most beautiful colours, there can be no doubt that poetry formed part of this beauty. A closer look at the descriptions of the garden at Rokujō shows even more poetics. The names of flowers that are listed for each of the four seasons are in fact standard epithets in classical poetry.¹²⁴ These epithets (*makura-kotoba*) were used to evoke in a condensed way the atmosphere of the season with which the poem dealt. These seasonally related poems were recited in accordance with the actual time of the year. In the above quotation the season is spring, and standard spring epithets are, for instance, cherries and Kerria. A willow trailing its branches is an example of more extended, standard spring imagery. The same phrase is found in poetry concerned with spring.¹²⁵ The particulars of the division of the Rokujō palace garden in four seasons derives also straight from the canons of poetry. Spring evoked with cherries on hillocks, summer with the shadow of thickets in a country village, autumn with fields and maples, and winter with snow in the pines were all given themes of classical lyrics.¹²⁶

Murasaki's ideal garden was a world of lyrical beauty. Appreciation of natural beauty in the world of Genji meant, therefore, the delight that was felt when recognizing themes known from lyrical poetry. Does this, as a hypothesis, hold true for all of Heian's garden world?

An intriguing question is, of course, whether it was the garden maker's intention to present natural beauty in the garden in form of recognizable lyrical themes. The following aims at proving this. This is what the *Sakuteiki* advises in the last of its three maxims — the first two were quoted before — that specify the overall concept of garden making:

Think over the celebrated scenic places (*meisho*) of the provinces and absorb mentally their attractive points. The general air of these places must be created (in the garden wk.) metaphorically copying (*nazorae*) their attractive points.¹²⁷

The celebrated scenic places were actual places that were famous for their scenic beauty. This scenic beauty was the beauty of the place at a particular time of the year, when certain seasonal aspects were most prominent. These seasonal highlights were of course mostly, but not exclusively, phenomena of the natural vegetation.¹²⁸ The fame of these places did not originate in the amount of tourists that traveled to it, but rather in the

number of times that the place was lauded in classical poems.¹²⁹ We have already come across several of the standard scenic places in the previous pages. The rivers Ide and Kannabi were famous because of their Kerria flowers. More than the flowers themselves it was their reflection on the water that was the substance of the fame of the rivers. A rather ephemeral image, which shows the poetic nature of fame in this case. The autumn colours in the garden of Lady Akikonomu were 'such as to shame the hills of Ōi'. The hillsides near the river Ōi were well known as a place with beautiful maple colours in autumn. Judging from the introduction of the *Sakuteiki* one may conclude already that it had been Genji's intention to make a comparison with the hills of Ōi.

Lengthy lists of famous places were compiled by the Heian literary men and women. They formed an important part of the literary criticism and the theoretical treatises on poetry that were written.¹³⁰ Even the landscape painting of the day was, to a great extent, concerned with representing the celebrated scenic places. The chamber screens on which the landscapes were executed were set up at ceremonial festivities and often served to rouse up the poetic feelings and inspire the writing of poems. The artistic intention of the landscape painter was in this respect the same as of the garden maker. Evoking the poetic aspects of celebrated places was primary.¹³¹

The *Sakuteiki* specifies quite precisely that 'the general air' of the celebrated scenes must be recreated in the garden 'metaphorically copying' their 'attractive points'. It was certainly not the idea to represent a miniature copy of a famous place in the garden. The Tale of Genji exemplifies what was meant by 'general air' and the metaphorical copying of 'attractive points'. It was only the reflection of the Kerria flowers that reminded the ladies of the poems on the River Ide. It was not the actual river landscape that they found attractive, it was only the ephemeral poetic atmosphere of the Kerria reflection.¹³² Only the lyrical theme, in its most literal and condensed sense, was recreated in the garden.

The celebrated scenic spots, as I have said, were famous because of their seasonal natural beauty; usually plants in bloom or autumn colour. The place name became inextricably associated with the plant. Likewise, most plants became associated with certain geographical locations. For instance, it was common knowledge that maples went with a hillside and pine trees with a distant mountain, as it was said in the poems of old. The writer of the Tale of Genji knew also that Kerria should reflect upon a water surface. The poetic principles of plants were so commonly known, that it was not even the purpose of a book on garden making to discuss these principles. It will be recalled that advice on planting is remarkably

scanty in the manual *Sakuteiki*. The poetic principles of plant life could easily be translated, as mental images, to the artificial situation of a garden. It would have been very difficult to reconstruct the actual river scenery of Ide in the garden, but it was very simple and logical to have *Kerria* reflecting on the water of the pond. Creation was not to transport a geographic scene into the garden, but to render a mental, poetic image into a garden view.

The problem of planting in garden making was therefore not a problem of design theory. It was not concerned with form or shape, but far more it was a question of exercising one's poetic senses. With this conclusion the portent of the introductory phrases in the *Sakuteiki* becomes clear:

When you place stones (for a garden wk.), it is first and foremost necessary to grasp the overall sense.

— Following the topography of the site and seeing how the pond lies one must think over the particular aesthetic sense of all parts of the place. Then recall landscape scenery as it is found in nature, and seeing how different all the parts of the site are you must place the stones by combining these impressions.

— Take as a model the creations left to us by the famous men of old; and, considering the suggestions of the owner of the house (where the garden is to be made, wk.), one must create, exercising one's own aesthetic senses.¹³³

To be sure, the advise to study the creations of men of old is commonly found in treatises on the art of writing poetry as well. The particular 'aesthetic sense' of a spot has to be understood, to which recollections of landscape scenery have to be matched. With the above analysis we now know that 'aesthetic sense' equals 'poetic sense', or even 'lyrical meaning'. Thinking over the particular aesthetic sense of any spot must in fact be translated as 'thinking over the lyrical aspects of any spot'.¹³⁴ For the 'aesthetic sense' the Japanese word *fuzei* is used in the text that at the first instance where it is used contains aspects of discernment on the part of the beholder, but also aspects of the appearance of the spot. The same word is used shortly after that when the manual advises to create exercising one's own aesthetic senses. At that point 'aesthetic senses' only refers to the mind of man, or, more precisely, of the garden maker. The same word has therefore a double meaning. It is used to denote characteristics perceived in the material world of the garden, as well as to indicate an intentional faculty of the garden maker to create beauty. To state it simply, it means both 'beautiful appearance' and 'aesthetic feelings'.¹³⁵ The aesthetic feeling — the lyrical meaning — that a site evoked in the mind

was clearly perceived as of the same level as the site itself. Site, its lyrical feel, and man's poetic feelings were discussed in the same terms. The word used for it, *fuzei*, should therefore not be translated as 'taste'. I would like to reserve the word taste for a more abstracted and intellectual appreciation of gardens in which taste is a conscious faculty of judging and discerning beauty, separate from innate qualities of the perceived.

The Heian nobles did not experience their values of beauty as a set of specified qualities of beauty. It must have been a vague but strongly emotional feeling not to be named more concretely than 'sense'. The Japanese word *fuzei* is a compound word made up of the two characters for 'wind' or 'air' and for 'feeling' or 'emotion'. Though semantically it is not correct to derive the meaning of a Japanese compound word from its constituting characters, it is illustrative in this case that the aesthetic sense of a garden could not be more concretely indicated than a 'wind of a feeling'.

The word *fuzei* is only used a few times more in the manual where it always carries the same meaning. A fifteenth century garden manual that is discussed in chapter 7.2 of the next part of this work, part two, also employs the word, but with great frequency and in a concrete sense to mean 'appearance', or 'beautiful appearance'. The Heian lyrical meaning of garden views became more concrete in due course of time.¹³⁶

The introduction of the manual *Sakuteiki* gives an other concept that deserves our attention; namely, reflecting upon the aesthetic sense of any spot in the garden, one had to combine this with recollections of 'landscape scenery as it is found in nature'. It is my opinion that the term 'landscape scenery as it is found in nature' (*shōtoku no sansui*) refers first of all to the naturalness of the arrangements of rocks and water, such as was discussed before when we spoke of the rock arrangements at Mōtsu-ji's pond shore. The term also refers to the archetypical images of nature found in the series of 'Styles', found in the *Sakuteiki*. A short textual analysis of the way in which the concept 'landscape scenery as it is found in nature' is used in the *Sakuteiki* confirms our idea.

Some person has said that stones placed by man can never excel the landscape scenery as it is found in nature. However, having seen many provinces, there may have been spots which I thought of as excellent, but close by there were often unattractive things. But if some one constructs a garden, he only studies these attractive points and models thereafter, leaving out — and not placing — these worthless stones.¹³⁷

The quotation shows that 'landscape scenery as it is found in nature' and 'unattractive things' consist of stones. Another passage shows that the

term refers to scenery that is of limited size. Because it is also one of the places where Toshitsuna uses the idea of 'aesthetic sense', I will quote all of the section. Although not completely at the end of the manual the quote has the characteristics of an epilogue. Toshitsuna:

I thus have noted down, without discussing right or wrong all the matters of placing stones as I have heard them the last years. Painting Priest Enen was initiated in the secrets of placing stones. These documents were also passed on to me. I therefore could study and understand the main principles, although aesthetic sense is never exhausted and there still are many points that are beyond my understanding.

But in recent years there is really no one who knows these things in detail. One merely looks a little at landscape scenery as it is found in nature, takes measures of it, and starts the works (in the garden wk.) without taking care of the taboos.¹³⁸

Landscape scenery as it is found in nature was something that could be measured, as we may guess from the above, to copy it in the garden. It can therefore not have been of a very large scale. Another piece of advice in the manual applies 'as it is found in nature' (*shōtoku no*) directly to a waterfall scene.

The width of a waterfall has nothing to do with its height. When we observe waterfalls as they are found in nature we notice that high falls are not necessarily wide....¹³⁹

The term 'landscape scenery as it is found in nature' refers in the manual to landscape scenery of water and rocks and in particular to small scale views of them. These views had a certain naturalness that could be observed in actual nature. We may call to the mind the naturalness of the wind and water beaten rough sea coast in the garden at Mōtsu-ji. Rough sea coasts and waterfalls are in fact also themes of poetry. But the poetic themes that related to plants were never seen as a design problem dealing with shape, whereas the themes of landscape scenery as it is found in nature are clearly seen in the *Sakuteiki* as a problem of form; measures can be taken, and the quotation on the waterfall speaks of width and height. 'Landscape scenery as it is found in nature' as a concept strongly suggests that ideas on landscape painting lie behind it.¹⁴⁰ That Painting Priest Enen is mentioned in the same passage may also point to this. However, he was a painter of religious subjects, and not of landscapes.¹⁴¹ But landscapes were, in fact, executed as a background to certain religious paintings, and it is possible that Enen's ideas on stones in the garden had

a connection to the theories on painting these background landscapes. These backgrounds could namely represent rocky landscapes, sometimes with a waterfall.¹⁴² Landscape painting and its theories would strongly influence the designing of forms in the garden in the following centuries. The next part treats this extensively. At this point I conclude with the supposition that the term 'landscape scenery as it is found in nature', as given in the *Sakuteiki*, is an early forerunner of the landscape painter's view found in the garden art of the mediaeval period.

Crucial in the above interpretation of 'landscape scenery as it is found in nature' as a term relating only to the naturalness of rock arrangements is my translation of *ishi o tateru* as 'the placing of rocks', its literal meaning. The regular textual analysis of the *Sakuteiki* never hesitates to state that this Japanese is a pregnant idiom serving to mean 'the building of a garden'.¹⁴³ In this sense the term 'landscape scenery as it is found in nature' extends to the naturalness of all other parts in the garden, including plant material. As small a difference in textual interpretation as this may seem, it touches nevertheless upon Heian garden art as a whole. It is my opinion that the art was in a formative stage, a period of primitiveness in which garden making was only an adaption of the naturally existing streams and pools of the capital Heian and the decoration of these with garden rocks. It was the re-formation of a site into an elegant space to stage festivities, contests and boating parties. The plants that were planted were hardly considered to be something that belonged to this re-formation. Trees and shrubs were planted to provide for an elegant 'wind of a feeling'. It was feeling and not form that was their purpose. Because of this the garden plantings illustrated on the scrolls appear to us, used to formal compositions, as botanical collections rather than as beautiful designs.¹⁴⁴

If one speaks of garden making in the Heian period, one must not imagine it to have been the modern practice in which the garden is created as a 'turn-key' product that changes the appearance of a site into a new, overall conception. However impressive the emotional appreciation is that the Heian nobles had of their gardens, as a theory of planning and construction it was still a fragmented practice. Thus *ishi o tateru* must be translated as placing stones, because it was not more than that.

The *Sakuteiki* has served as an important garden manual for Japanese garden makers of all ages. Also present-day garden scholars, Japanese and also some Western ones, often discuss the manual for the practical messages it has for the modern garden maker. Of course it is perfectly all right to interpret the text in this way. That Japanese garden makers are, for instance, well aware of their traditions, must be partly due to this kind

of commentaries. But if one studies the manual in its historic context its meaning can not have been the same.

Within the present technology-oriented culture of our urban societies the advice of the *Sakuteiki* on adapting to nature, and of being inspired by natural scenery as it is found in nature, is refreshing in its antithesis to our ugly world.¹⁴⁵ Seen in this modern way the manual's naturalness is an anti-man-made naturalness.¹⁴⁶ However interesting this may be for the modern philosophy of garden art, it is historically not correct. Seen in the perspective of its time the Heian courtiers had no reason to be against man-made artificialities in their gardens. Emotions rejecting the artifice of man are recent.

The course of history, and later chapters of this work show, for instance, that with the discovery in the seventeenth century of mathematical approaches towards architecture and site planning also straight artificial lines became fashionable in garden art. Man-made artifice became to be appreciated at that time. In the Heian period such artificialness was not yet discovered, neither were the nobles aware of the fact that they could design it consciously. The plea for naturalness as it can be read from the *Sakuteiki* term 'as it is found in nature' was not an urge to refrain from man-made artificialness.

4.5 THE POETIC IDEAL OF LONELINESS

The meaning that things of nature gained from poetry, was the basis of the aesthetic sense of which the *Sakuteiki* speaks. This meaning can be reconstructed by studying poetry. We now know, for example, that the flowers of the *Kerria* were considered most beautiful when reflecting upon the surface of the water. The aesthetics of Heian garden art can therefore not be understood without knowledge of its literary background. It is interesting that the aesthetics of poetry itself, as discussed in many contemporary treatises on the art of writing poetry, were not valid in garden art. Values of beauty in poetry were established qualities to which a poem had to conform, but these values were clearly too abstract to have any direct impact on the Heian period garden theories.¹⁴⁷ Only indirectly, through the meaning that things of nature gained from poetry could poetic aesthetics enter garden art. In later centuries the Heian period ideals of beauty in poetry came to influence the designing of gardens in a direct way. This last chapter 4.5 therefore introduces some ideas on the aesthetics of Heian poetry.

The first explicit statement regarding the ideals of poetry was given in

an introduction to the early tenth century poetry collection the *Kokinshū*, that enumerated the circumstances under which men of old composed poetry.

When they thought of their bygone days of manly youth, or retained bitter feelings about the one time of maiden bloom, it was with poetry that they comforted their hearts. Again, when they looked at the scattered cherry blossoms of a spring morning; when they listened on an autumn evening to the falling of the leaves; when they sighed over the snow and their hair as silver waves reflected with each passing year by their looking-glasses; when they were startled into thoughts on the brevity of their lives by seeing the dew on the grass or the foam on the water;...¹⁴⁸

These words demonstrate how in poetry nature reflected human feelings of melancholy. It is the melancholy of time passing by, as can be perceived in the passing of spring, or of beauty fading away, as felt in the scattered cherry blossoms. The inevitable cyclical processes of nature made the Heian nobleman sadly aware of the frailty of his own existence.¹⁴⁹ This melancholy became an important part of the code of beauty, above all in poetry.¹⁵⁰ It is the reason that autumn, the time of fading nature, became the most favoured season as we can read in the Tale of Genji.¹⁵¹

In poetry melancholy became a set quality with which poems were appraised. It often turned to images of fading cherry blossoms or other flowers. Sometime in the twelfth century, a variant kind of melancholy became accepted as an aesthetic quality. It is a melancholy primarily associated with loneliness. In poetry it is evoked through an imagery that is monochromatic: distant, and misty mountains, withered grasses, cries of a night-bird, and so forth. The tones of black, grey, and brown in these images are always connected to loneliness. This aesthetic quality was called *sabi*.¹⁵² The poem that historically engendered the recognition of *sabi* as an explicit quality of beautiful poetry runs:

sabishisa wa
sono iro to shi mo
nakarikeri
maki tatsu yama no
aki no yūgure

Loneliness —
the essential colour of beauty
not to be defined:
over the dark evergreens, the dusk
that gathers on far autumn hills.

Such was the beauty of loneliness. The lyrical beauty of *sabi* only came to be directly expressed in garden art in the seventeenth century. Aesthetics in Heian garden art were not yet consciously developed. Chapter 5.3 of part three returns to this point.

CHAPTER 1

DEVELOPMENTS IN MEDIAEVAL GARDEN ART IN THEIR HISTORICAL CONTEXT

1.1 FROM A COURTLY TO A MILITARY ARISTOCRACY: THE KAMAKURA PERIOD (1185-1334)

The centuries following the Heian period witnessed the rise to political power of a warrior class and the decline of the Heian courtly aristocracy as rulers.¹ Agricultural production rose steadily thanks to the slowly growing use of iron tools and animals for traction. It also became possible to collect two harvests of rice a year so surpluses could be traded.² More contact with neighbouring Korea and China meant the establishing of port towns and trading cities, though still of minor significance. With the formation of a merchant class that followed, society in general became more open and people more mobile. Coins, imported from China, were increasingly used as currency, craftsmen became a distinct group.³ This meant that the old manor-like landholdings, closed hereditary units that paid their rents to the imperial government in the capital Heian gradually loosened the ties with the capital. Becoming more and more autonomous they could start to manage and administrate their own business. It seems almost inevitable that the manors began to assert their independence, if not to defend it against aggression from neighbouring landholders.⁴ Parallel to the weakening control of the central government in the capital, struggles between local groups increased. This laid the foundation for the formation of an independent and self-conscious warrior class.⁵ Even if the Heian courtiers had not failed to understand the course of history, they were simply by the decadent nature of their manners and culture unable to cope with it. At certain disturbances in the capital city the court called in support from provincial warrior clans. But these supporting groups only gained more strength through these events; not only materially, because of being well paid for their services, but above all psychologically, having supported the weakening imperial government. When finally in the thirteenth century an emperor tried to restore imperial rule and plotted against the warrior government in formation, this adventure turned completely to the profit of the warriors.⁶ By then already an impressive

political power they took this insurrection as an excuse to clean out the capital city and to confiscate large landholdings. By distributing these to loyal retainers the position of the military rule became so firmly established, that from this time onwards no imperial government regained absolute power over the country.⁷ In a 'trial and error' process that covered the one-and-a-half century of the Kamakura period the military organization developed as a pragmatismal government system.⁸ It was based in the military capital Kamakura, from which the period derives its name.

Culturally the Kamakura period forms an interlude between the flourishing Heian courtly culture and the later mediaeval period of the Muromachi period that is again straightforwardly Chinese influenced. Signs of a reorientation, an adapting of culture to the new social and political realities can be discerned.

The waning of the classical period is felt in the increasing popularity of the *sabi* qualities in court poetry still produced. The coming of a new age is foreshadowed in temple architecture, which is almost literally copied from the Chinese example.

As for religion the times seemed to demand individual faith and endeavour. The new popular Jōdo and Zen sects of Buddhism could offer such religious experiences.⁹ Besides, Zen had the cachet of being a high class religion. In its homeland, China, it was practiced by many intellectuals who even had connections to the Chinese imperial court.

Zen was introduced in Kamakura in the thirteenth century and its meditative training was practiced by the highest rulers, the regents of the military government. The new religion had not yet sufficient cultural impact to influence the garden art of Japan. A contemporary plan of the Kenchō-ji temple in Kamakura shows the strictly Chinese planning scheme of a mountain monastery (see fig. 17).¹⁰ At the back of the halls that make up the monastery a garden arrangement can be seen that is reminiscent of the Heian palaces. A pavilion extending from the Large Guest Hall juts out over a garden pond spanned at the rear by a decorative bridge. This building and garden at the back would have served to receive important guests. For the rest, the only garden-like arrangements are the rows of juniper trees lining the main axis, which is completely within the Chinese tradition.

1.2 THE FORMATION OF THE SCENIC GARDEN: THE MUROMACHI PERIOD UNTIL THE ŌNIN WAR (1334-1467)

In the beginning of the fourteenth century another attempt at restoring

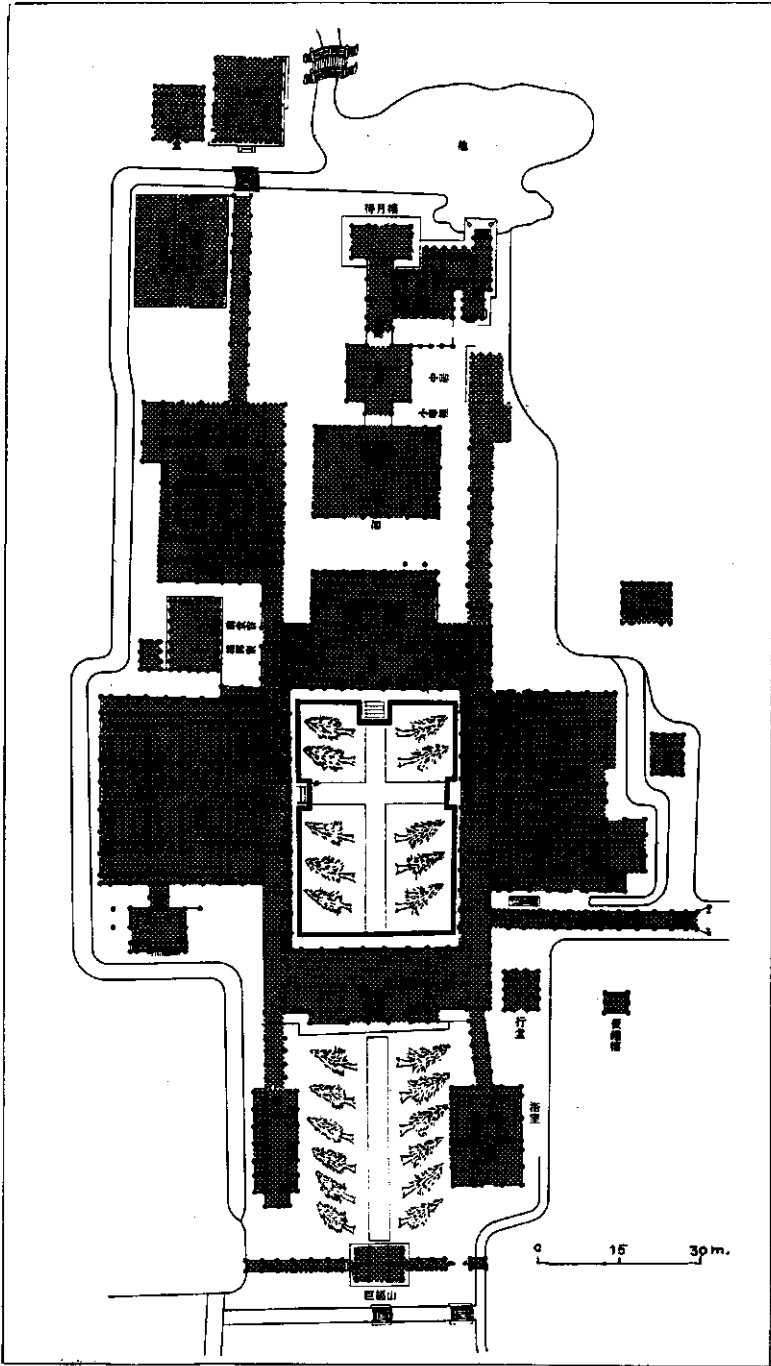


FIGURE 17. Plan of the temple Kenchō-ji in Kamakura. The main gate gave on to the approach that, lined with junipers, led to the main Buddha hall (adapted from the early fourteenth century original).

Imperial power was made by emperor Go-Daigo (1287-1339), first supported but later frustrated by a Kamakura general. The latter, Ashikaga Takauji, after installing his own puppet emperor decided to choose the capital Heian as location for his government, and called himself 'shōgun'.¹¹

Even in the face of the decline in power of the emperor and his court, the capital of Heian, by now generally known as 'Imperial Capital' or Kyōto, was still a vital centre of fine, but courtly arts. The move of Ashikaga Takauji to the imperial capital itself can therefore first of all be seen as significant of the self-consciousness of the warriors as a social class. It meant on the other hand, nevertheless, that they were suddenly and directly confronted with the rich classical traditions of the Kyōto court.¹² One gets the impression that they intentionally began to cultivate their own cultural heritages to reinforce the position of the new shogunate government, in order to assert at least culturally what they could not reach politically: complete control over all of the country.¹³

The new cultural position of the Kyōto warriors drew from several sources. First of all elements from the traditional courtly culture were adopted. Secondly there was a strong renewed influx from Chinese arts and culture thanks to the increasing trade with the continent. Finally elements from the arts of the common people were patronized and gained a status as aristocratic.

The institution of Zen with its many connections to the mainland was pre-eminently fit to offer cultural prestige. Within the old capital city, brimming with the old aristocratic traditions of the Heian court, only Zen and its priests had a culturally competitive position because they were the carriers of the brilliant Chinese cultural traditions.¹⁴

The old Heian courtly life had found an important part of its stage in the palace garden. The early mediaeval military as new rulers did not break with this idea.¹⁵ All the gardens, in palaces as well as in Zen temples that they sponsored, remained of the classical pond and island type. But they were steeped in a new Chinese flavour. Under the guidance of Zen priests typical Chinese architecture — like zigzag running galleries, two storied pavilions to view the garden from above, etc. — was added to the garden scene (see fig.18). Zen priests composed verses written in Chinese on plaquettes that were hung over gates and entrances to draw attention to the atmosphere of the garden scene.¹⁶ Although remaining within the classical garden tradition of the pond and island, there was one fundamental change. Buildings were found within the garden, whereas the Heian palace had faced the garden in an arrangement in which architecture and garden were two separate parts of a total arrangement. The

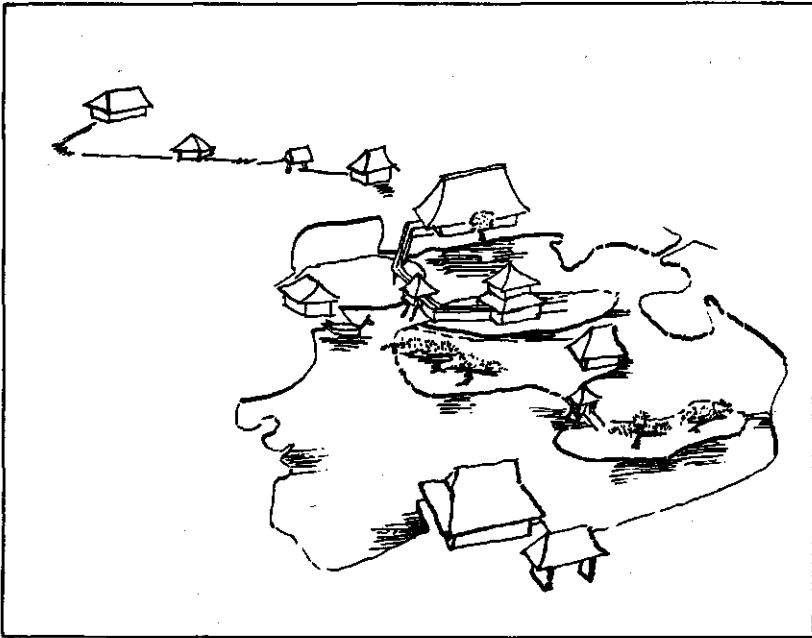


FIGURE 18. Sketch, that gives an idea of the buildings in the early fourteenth century temple Saihō-ji. Note also the cherry tree in front of the main Buddha hall, the boat mooring and the pines on the islands, that were reportedly covered with white sand. None of these buildings remains, the place has grown over with trees and is at present popularly known as the Moss Temple (*kokedera*).

mediaeval garden of the pond and island type was no longer the stage for outdoor ceremonies and parties, it became the setting for the architecture itself. The festive or ceremonial gatherings of the aristocrats also began to take place indoors, so that the garden became automatically a thing to be viewed as outdoor scenery.¹⁷ This was basic to the main achievement in mediaeval garden art, the establishment of a scenic garden style. 'Scenic' in this respect does not necessarily refer to the image of actual natural scenery, but solely to the outward compositional qualities of a garden view, however imaginary. The scenic quality of the mediaeval garden is therefore defined in contrast to the Heian period garden that showed hardly any concern for designed form, for the composition of a garden view.

Some of the early mediaeval gardens of the pond and island type show such scenic aspects. But this conception of garden art is much better exemplified in the small courtyard gardens of the cultural elite, the Zen priests and high class warriors. Consequently this part concentrates on the small mediaeval garden, rather than on the developments in the classical pond and island type. The gardens of the pond type were still built as palace gardens, but now for the residences of mediaeval wealthy military men or constructed as settings for the early Zen temples in Kyōto.

The small gardens showing a design conceived as a scene are to be the found facing larger halls used for ceremonial or cultural gatherings. I will refer to them as 'gardens of the scenic type' or 'small mediaeval gardens'. Though they were sometimes enclosed, the term 'courtyard garden' places too much emphasis on the enclosing aspect which is not important within the framework of this thesis. In recent literature on mediaeval garden art the qualification 'karesansui', or 'dry landscape garden' is generally used. The term refers at present specifically to gardens employing certain garden materials, rather than determining the mediaeval achievement of the scenic composition. Nevertheless my terms 'small mediaeval garden' and 'garden of the scenic type' include the mediaeval 'karesansui' type of garden.

The following chapters attempt to reconstruct the development of the mediaeval garden as a garden conceived as a scene. Besides involving research into the establishment of an appreciation that recognizes the outward appearance of a garden as 'scenic', also an inquiry into the formation of a design theory to compose a garden as 'scenic' has to be made.

The role of the shōguns as patrons of the arts is culturally most important in the first half of the Muromachi period. The money to this end came first directly from the provinces, but facing the increasing power of local

groups who needed the money themselves the Kyōto shogunate turned to the Kyōto citizens. A group of moneylenders and pawnbrokers was used more and more by the warrior government as a fiscal agent. In the later Muromachi period these rose to such an importance in society, that as for these times rich citizens must be viewed as patronizing arts.¹⁸

The office of the eighth shōgun Yoshimasa ended in the turbulent period of the Ōnin civil war (1467-1477). In and through this war solidarity grew among the Kyōto citizens. This amounted to systems of self government also found in some other cities.¹⁹

Culturally it meant a predominance of urban, more popular arts over the aristocratic shogunate's arts, setting the tone for the following centuries. Thus, cultural-historically, Yoshimasa's reign and the Ōnin war were a period of significant change, because no shōgun after this would exert any influence of importance on mediaeval culture. The following chapters will speak of this period as late mediaeval. The times when shōguns were patronizing arts — until the first half of the fifteenth century — will be referred to as early mediaeval.

CHAPTER 2

LANDSCAPE CONSCIOUSLY CONCEIVED AS ART: SONG CHINA

Scenic forms of garden art require a consciousness on the part of the garden maker that elements of nature can be formed and shaped into an aesthetically pleasing garden scene. The landscape painters of China's Song dynasty (960-1279) possessed such a consciousness and their paintings and the body of criticism belonging to these are without any doubt linked to Japan's mediaeval scenic garden style. It is likely that a scenic garden style existed in Song China as well, and that there has been a direct influence of Chinese ideas of gardening. However, we are badly informed about the actual practice of garden making in Song China; an inquiry into landscape painting offers us a better insight.

2.1 SONG SOCIETY AND LANDSCAPE PAINTING

The Song dynasty in China covers the late Heian and early Kamakura periods in Japan. The dynasty witnessed unprecedented economic growth, the founding of a stable money economy and rapid urbanization. Wide spread commercial activities also included book printing. Painting began to be viewed as an art rather than a craft.²⁰ The revising of the Imperial Academy of Painting favoured this greatly. Also the activities of great scholar-painters upgraded the status of painting from a craft to an intellectual's pastime.²¹ Scholarship was favoured because of a shift in the government system from rule by a hereditary aristocracy to an 'aristocracy of merit' selected through an examination system.²² The scholar-government officials soon made up an elite social class. Many of them were also active as amateur painters, besides being great thinkers. Specifically monochrome ink painting was popular, because it did not require complicated techniques of execution. Produced with simple means, aesthetic effect became a goal, rather than a perfect representation.

Several of the scholar-painters occupied themselves with the theoretical problems of representation in painting. Theory and execution — literature and painting — were closely related activities of the cultured gentleman. Judgments on paintings as well as added poems, colophons or superscrip-

tions betray this close relationship. Compilations and selections of these were edited.²³

Earlier, more mystical thought on the effect of representation in a painting was reinterpreted by Song scholars; they discovered that it could reflect the personal creativity of the painter and be a result of his talent.²⁴ Awareness of self expression and a personal style is clearly present in the works of painting and letters of the Song literati.²⁵ Generally speaking, it made a non-conformist, personal approach in art respectable, as is found among the Song priest —, and monk-painters from the 13th century onwards.²⁶ To be mentioned at this point is the scholar and government official Su Dongpo (Su Tung-p'o, 1037-1101) active as a painter of bamboo, rocks and trees. Some of his remarks are found again in the Japanese mediaeval records concerning garden art. Besides, the Chinese ideal of the cultured intellectual as a 'homo universalis' inspired the higher classes of early mediaeval Japan in some respects.

More direct influence of Chinese landscape art on Japanese mediaeval gardening will be due to the imported Song landscape paintings, and its body of literary criticism that reached Japan from the early fourteenth century onwards.²⁷ Production of landscape painting in Song China was not found among the literati, but at the Imperial Academy and in the Zen temples around the capital Hangzhou (Hangchow) of the Southern Song dynasty. Specifically this capital and period formed the source of the Chinese influence on mediaeval Japanese landscape art.

Late thirteenth century Hangzhou, therefore after the Song dynasty, is described by Marco Polo as a bustling trade city where the higher classes enjoy a relaxed existence. Besides mentioning many gardens, Polo also includes a description of the former palace of the emperor with its many courtyards and concubines. As the Mongol Kublai Khan was then ruling, the palace of the Song ruler was deserted. Polo's description must be considered illustrative of the previous Song dynasty as well.²⁸

The flourishing of garden art and landscape painting in Song China can be easily understood as expressing a romantic view on nature contrasting to, but also stemming from, the agitations of Hangzhou's city life as it is described by Marco Polo.

The landscape paintings from the Imperial Academy show very well the achievements in the formulation and application of compositional theories;²⁹ the amateur landscape scribbles and paintings by literati and priests exemplify the inspiration of Song landscape painting. Nevertheless the same inspiration is found in the landscapes from the Imperial Academy, like the same compositional schemes are to be found in the painting of the literati and priests. The Zen temples were not isolated from

Hangzhou's cultural world, neither were they exclusively inhabited by priests of the Zen sect.³⁰

For reasons of clarity I will discuss some of the compositional ideas, taking material illustrative of composition from the academic paintings, while the inspiration of Song landscape painting will be illustrated with landscapes stemming from the Zen temples around Hangzhou.

2.2 SONG LANDSCAPE PAINTING'S INSPIRATION

Song China's social and political constitution favoured scholarship. It was the great age of revising and reviewing older thought and philosophical ideas. In sophisticated thinking, correct conduct for the individual was contained in one single synthesis with the creation of the universe, as well as the magnificence of the phenomenal world of real nature, including again man, his civilization and history.³¹ The treatises on these thoughts drew not only from philosophies of past times, but also from the ancient speculations of a 'scientific' or cosmos-explaining character, such as the Yin/Yang theories. Finally also Buddhist ideas, mystic Taoism and simple superstitions were included. Such speculative syntheticism had brought the infinity of cosmos and eternity in close connection to daily life.

Communion of the individual with a macrocosmic universe had been the ideal of Taoists of old. To attain this they had devised certain meditations and breathing techniques. These became now to be practiced also by the literati and by painters. The intangible, magic Taoist notion of macrocosmos was now transferable to a more intellectual level of infinity in time and space. With the achievements in philosophy as background, nature was perceived by painters and poets more profoundly as ever before as something of depth in space and infinity of time.³²

Perceivable and comprehensible in the far distances of actual landscapes, respectively in the cycle of the changing seasons, it is exactly these two ideas that form the main inspiration of Song landscape painting. In the traditional mountain scene depth and distance had been expressed by means of overlapping mountains, separated by layers of mist. These were now consciously constructed as fore-, middle- and background, and employed as three or more planes in the painting. Depth was for instance added by a stream running from an unknown background to the foreground, at the bottom of the painting, as if flowing towards the spectator. This foreground was now artistically enforced by adding some architecture or tiny human figures, often crossing a bridge that usually

connects the two mountainous side scenes.³³

Specifically after the move in the 1120's of the capital to the southern regions of China, the landscape painters were more and more inspired by the soft end gentle landscapes of the south.³⁴

The beauty of the partly man-made scenery around the new capital Hangzhou included wide expanses of water, like Hangzhou's West Lake and the river Zhe Jiang with its sand flats almost touching the city. The Dong Ting lake and the confluence of the rivers Xiao and Xiang some distance to the west of the capital made for other scenic beauty of water landscape. Besides the traditional mountain scenery such vast expanses of water became increasingly used as a theme in landscape painting. Distance of space and infinity of time is again what the paintings evoke. The water surface of a lake would merge with the sky in a misty, undefined distant horizon. To give an effect of depth a little boat, an island or promontory, would seem to float on the water in the fore- or middle ground. Infinity of time would be suggested for instance by birds, a troop of gees flying to their winter roost, or other phenomena of nature suggesting the cycles of the seasons. Poems or verse-like superscriptions written on the paintings greatly helped the painter in expressing his message.

Needless to say that remote from everyday life a strong romantic quality can be ascribed to the landscape painting of Southern Song.³⁵ This is clearly illustrated with some sections of the scroll *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xian* by the 13th century priest painter Mu Xi (Mu Ch'i) (fig. 19). The painting, imported to Japan, was highly appreciated, as can be judged from the seal of shōgun Yoshimitsu attached to it.

2.3 COMPOSITION IN SONG LANDSCAPE PAINTING

Not only the Zen priest painters, but also the landscape painters of the Imperial Academy painted inspired by the ideas of infinity in time and space. Nevertheless it is here that the establishment of the compositional schemes and other rules of the canon of painting took place. Landscape painting had been a subject of intellectual discussion already for many centuries. But the earlier mysticism is now replaced by rather clear theories on, for instance, the problems of composition.³⁶ The activities of the literati painters were of course instrumental in this respect.

Major progress in landscape painting is the increasing consistency of the composition, as well as a convincing perspective of depth. In the traditional Chinese landscape painting a central perspective with one common point of convergency was never used. Instead depth on the flat surface of



FIGURE 19. A scene of the *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang*, attributed to the Chinese painter Mu Xi. Shown here is a detail taken from the view titled "Bell Sound from a Temple Veiled in Evening Mists". The roofs of the temples can be made out among the trees that are almost completely covered in the haze. The suggestive effect is clear.

a painting is attained through the methods of diminishing size and indistinctness of the objects further away. In other words a linear perspective with no fixed vanishing point is used in combination with a distance perspective inherent to the human eye and atmospheric circumstances. Trees further away are smaller, vaguer, less detailed. Distant mountains appear in Chinese landscape painting as misty, the lower part not painted as if invisible, covered in haze.

The lack of one central point of convergence allows for free composition of scenes all over the surface of the painting. Nevertheless, some kind of idea of perspective lay behind the earliest Chinese landscape paintings; they have some perception of depth. Based on this older practice the painter Guo Xi (Kuo Hsi, 1020-1090) formulated his theory on the composition of perspective.³⁷ In order to suggest depth his theory gives three different compositional schemes using differing directions of view of an imaginary spectator looking at the landscape in the painting (see fig. 20).

One is a compositional scheme in which a towering mountainous landscape is seen as looking from below upwards. This is the so called 'high distance'. The composition of 'deep distance' is the second scheme. It shows a frontal picture of, usually, an almost inaccessible ravine-like landscape scene. We can look into its depth from an imaginary vantage point as if floating in the air in front of it. It shows a foreground down below in the lower parts of the picture and a far distance somewhere in the middle, deep in the perspective.

The third is the direction of view called 'level distance'. The perceiver seems to be looking down from a rather high stand point, the scenery stretches broadly away from a near to a far distance. The picture usually has a foreground on which we can imagine that the artist was standing when painting the landscape.³⁸

Only one or two, in unusual cases three or more together, according to Guo Xi's theory clearly defined viewpoints can thus be applied in one painting. This limitation in the use of viewpoints makes for the consistency of composition in Song landscape painting. Depth of perspective was created by painting overlapping planes, imagined to be at differing distances from the standpoint of the onlooker. In distant planes trees and mountains are drawn smaller and less detailed than in the planes in the foreground. The planes are separated by mist or by water in form of a broad river or a lake. All the overlapping planes had to be painted next to, or on top of each other (fig. 21). Specifically in compositions employing the deep and the high distance schemes, planes had to be painted on top of each other in order to evoke an effect of depth. Consequently, as for the format of the painting itself, quite some height was needed. Ver-

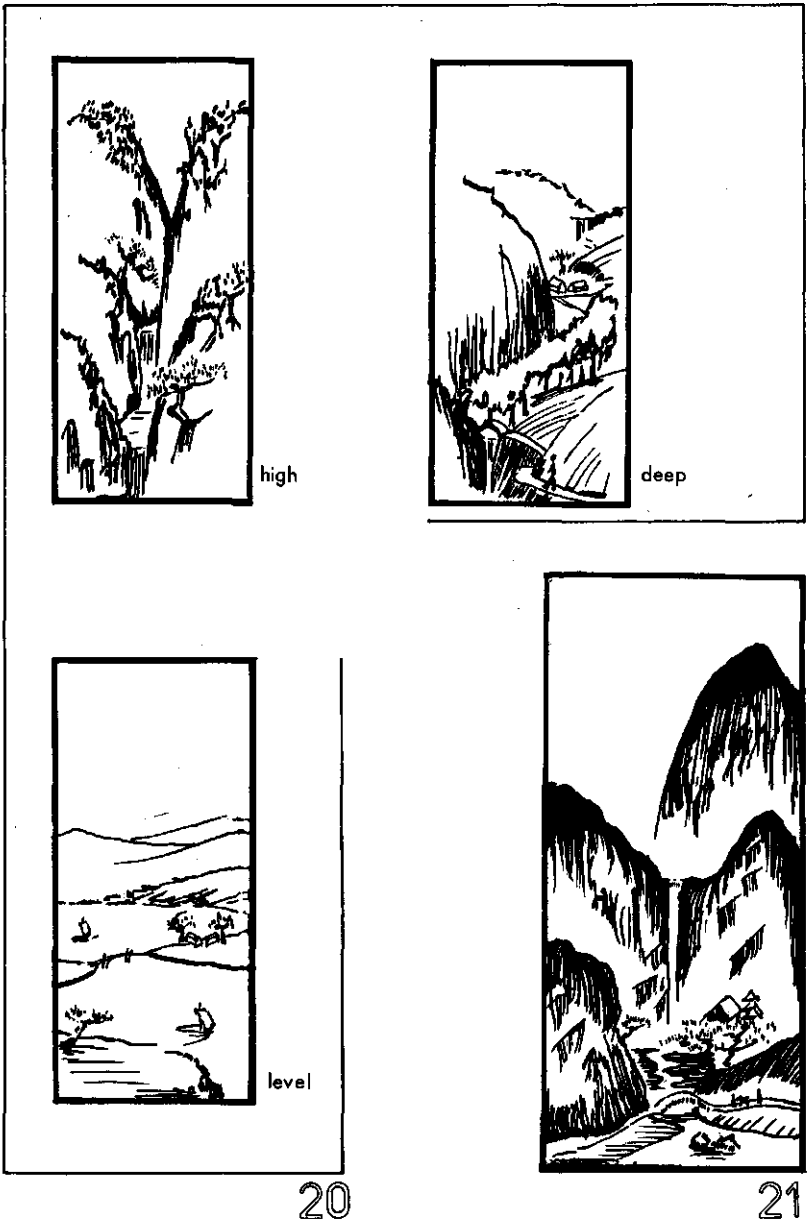


FIGURE 20. Three sketches that demonstrate the idea of high, deep, and level distance. See the text for further explanations.

FIGURE 21. Sketch that demonstrates the Chinese technique of achieving depth in a painting. Planes of view are painted on top of each other, separated by white space that suggests mist and distance. Bridge, human figures and trees in the foreground are drawn proportionally larger than the buildings in the background.

ticality of composition is therefore a characteristic feature of Song landscape painting.

In criticism of these days, landscape paintings were expressly praised for their convincing depth perspective in a consistent composition.

Su Dongpo's close friend Huang Dingjian added for instance to an otherwise anonymous landscape painting:

The streams and mountains are deserted; the view is open and extending for thousand miles...³⁹

Another critic, Deng Chun (Tēng Ch'un), remarked in a treatise, published in 1167 on certain landscapes by the emperor Huizong (Hui Tsung 1082-1135):

every square foot (of the area of the painting) opened a vista of a thousand miles...

Probably this is more the jargon of the period than an objective criticism on the imperial paintings. Above all particular, small sized landscape paintings that gained popularity these days betray the full mastery of perspective and composition techniques. On these small landscapes the praise 'A thousand miles in a square foot of space', became a common saying. Successfully evoking depth was an important point in criticism. But there was also the artistic intention to evoke depth and long distances. This is exemplified in titles of Song landscape paintings. Note for instance the painting by Xia Gui (Hsia Kuei) titled *A far-off Clear View over Streams and Mountains*, or a painting said to be his named *The River of Ten Thousand Miles*. Some of the works of this academic landscape painter found their way to mediaeval Japan. Some paintings of his contemporary, Ma Yuan, working in the same mainstream landscape style are also mentioned in Japanese mediaeval catalogues of painting.⁴⁰ Ma Yuan was praised for his unilateral compositions; landscapes with only one side scene, depth and infinity suggested on the opposite half of the painting (fig. 22).⁴¹

Some intrinsic qualities of Song landscape painting can be thought of as having prompted its easy acceptance and even high appreciation in mediaeval Japan. The formal compositional ideas, as well as the literary appreciation of depth perceived in painting, could easily be transferred as intellectual matter together with a general body of literary knowledge. The early mediaeval military and priestly circles were highly interested in literati like Su Dongpo. Besides this, the dreamy qualities of the Song landscapes are even today easily grasped, as they probably also were in mediaeval Japan.⁴²



FIGURE 22. Section of an academic Chinese landscape painting that illustrates compositional ideas that were employed in the rock arrangements for waterfalls in Japanese gardens. The landscape painting belongs to a set of two that is believed to be from the Yuan period (1280-1368). It is kept in the temple Eiho-ji that was founded by Musō Kokushi, whose dates are largely contemporary to the Yuan period. (Cf. chapters 3.2 and 4.2)

When the Mongols in the course of the thirteenth century gradually took over the ruling power in all of China many artists and intellectuals had reasons to look for a better place to live and work. The age old examination system that had encouraged scholarly and artistic pursuits was disassembled. The Imperial Academy was closed.⁴³ Some painters retreated, some were fired from official government service. And as wealthy rulers in Japan were interested in Chinese culture and arts, some went to Japan. Here they found a comfortable life and recognition not in the last place thanks to their ties to higher circles, perhaps even to the imperial court of China.

Chinese priests of the Zen sect, especially, found a warm welcome in Kamakura and Kyōto, as Japan's cultural innovation went by the name of Zen. At first, only specialists in Zen religious matters were invited to reside in Kamakura temples. But with the growing consciousness of being new rulers in Japan, the cultural contents of Zen became increasingly interesting to the warriors. And after the shogunate had moved to Kyōto, with its tradition of a brilliant imperial courtly culture, the cultural side became so important as to overshadow the religious teachings of Zen.

CHAPTER 3

EARLY ZEN IN JAPAN

3.1 POLITICAL AND CULTURAL ROLE OF THE ZEN INSTITUTIONS

The old esoteric Buddhism of the court, the metaphysics of which were elaborated in impressive ceremonies and decorative architecture was simply irrelevant to the changing conditions of society in the 13th and 14th centuries. It had no message for fighters in war and simple people suffering under the effects of it. The new interpretations of Buddhism returned to individual faith as a core of teaching and religious experience; this was quite in contrast to the clerus of the old sects that solved problems with rites and ceremonies. Simple piety is essentially the teaching of the new popular sects. The new Zen sects aimed at a private search for truth or the reason of existence through meditative training.⁴⁴

The Japanese monks and priests that went to China to study Buddhism usually had some personal discontent with religion as it was taught or practiced as a motive for their journey. In China, almost automatically they came into contact with Zen, the only Buddhist sect that had survived to a reasonable extent the previous persecutions of Buddhists. These Zen temples, mainly the ones in the hills around the capital Hangzhou, had however admitted in a syncretized manner several other Buddhist teachings, now not heard elsewhere, as well as Taoist superstitions and mysticism. Therefore also in many of the writings of the early Japanese Zen priests we come across again this mixing of thought.⁴⁵

The priest Eisai (also Yōsai, 1141-1215) was originally from a sect of the old esoteric Buddhism. He traveled two times to China where he, apart from Zen, again came into contact with esoteric teaching. After returning to Japan, he continued his studies on esoteric Buddhism, strengthened by his experiences in China, trying to restore earlier teachings of it in connection to Zen. Parts of these older, ninth century teachings formed certain techniques of mystic contemplation, that found a new parallel in Zen's meditative training. Eisai founded the Rinzaï sect of Zen in Japan. The origins of this Zen sect were closely connected with one of the existing sects of esoteric Buddhism.

The esoteric Buddhist sects had always propagated their role as benefac-

tor to the state, to secure patronage from the ruling classes. This became also necessary for the, now competitive, new Zen sect. This must be the background of Eisai's tract with the title *Treatise on Spreading Zen Buddhism and Protecting the Nation*.⁴⁶

The full flourishing of Zen syncretized with the older esoteric sects began with the move of Shōgun Takauji and his government to Kyōto. In the old capital it was confronted with the courtly esoteric Buddhism of the Heian court aristocracy. The esoteric teaching included in Rinzaï Zen gained recognition. As for its religious contents the new Buddhism had a conciliating effect, bringing together the two aristocracies now residing in Kyōto.⁴⁷

Confronted on the other hand with the distinct courtly culture and the remains of its political power structure the military government took far reaching measures to oppose the new religion as the shogunate's own cultural and political stronghold against the monasteries of the old esoteric Buddhism. These monasteries, specifically the ones in Nara and on Mount Hiei, northeast of Kyōto, were powerful and militant, defending the old political system of the imperial court.⁴⁸

Takauji established an institution of Zen monasteries spread over the whole country. Strongly advising, if not actually commanding Takauji in this, was the Zen priest Musō Kokushi (1275-1351). This monastic system devised by Musō was, shortly after Takauji's death, replaced by a similar one, called the Fives Monasteries (*gozan*).⁴⁹ The organization of the Five Monasteries was more hierarchy-oriented than the previous institution. The division of the Five remained powerful well into the fifteenth century. Its strength was that it, as a nationwide religious institution, formed an extension of the shōgun's power. It was basically a division of governmental patronage, not only in matters of religion but also of culture in general. An important reason of existence of the Zen monastic institutions in the early mediaeval period was therefore political. This soon made for trends towards secularization, specifically of the Kyōto based Zen of the Five Monasteries. The following chapters search for a historical and cultural context of the mediaeval garden art, rather than a religious one.

3.2 THE IMPORTANCE OF MUSŌ KOKUSHI FOR THE EARLY MEDIAEVAL GARDEN ART

The name of Musō Kokushi is connected to many historical gardens. In the following we will come across sources that state that he 'made' gardens, which seems doubtful considering his political importance. A

few attributions are, judging from the date of the garden and Musō's dates, clearly falsified. A closer inquiry into his person is necessary at this point.

Musō Kokushi was not of particularly high birth although his father was remotely related to the imperial family. His parents died when he was only a boy and his younger years were a somewhat restless search for knowledge and religious experience.⁵⁰

As most earlier Japanese Zen priests, Musō Kokushi also received his first teachings in the old esoteric Buddhism. In 1292 at the age of twenty he went to Kamakura, where at that time Zen was flourishing, sponsored by the military regents. He studied Zen under three disciples of the Chinese priest Lanqi Daolong (Rankei Dōryū in the Japanese pronunciation), who was sponsored by the highest Kamakura regent in person. When Yining, another Chinese priest showed up in Kamakura in 1299, Musō went to study with him. Yining taught in most of the Five Monasteries, and was actually sent by the Mongol Kubilai Khan himself as a gesture of good will, after the latter's failed attempt to conquer Japan.⁵¹

Musō therefore was taught by some of the best Zen teachers Japan could offer at that time.

Yining was probably the first Chinese priest who also promoted more cultural studies. Yining was an amateur landscape painter and an expert calligrapher, who wrote in a flowing style, appreciated by Japan's courtly circles. Furthermore he laid stress on the study of Chinese classical literature. Musō's interest in Zen Buddhism was without any doubt also motivated by the access it gave to Chinese culture in general. A particular passion for gardens and architecture can be distinguished from his time with Yining onwards. Musō very openly reveals his interest in material culture in a later quoted chapter he wrote on the art of landscaping and the use of drinking tea, a beverage of great exclusivity in the early middle ages.⁵²

Later, already rising to the height of his career, Musō personally undertook steps to open the official trade with China again. Nevertheless Musō remains fully Japanese; he could not speak Chinese, he never traveled to China.

In Musō's recorded dialogues with Tadayoshi, the brother of shōgun Takauji, as well as in other texts from his hand, we can feel his intellectual attitude. Problems of culture and religion Musō solves by reasoning. With him we find no trace of a Zen religious attitude. The dialogues resemble in no respect the cryptic question/answer games of the early Chinese Zen-patriarchs.⁵³ Neither does anything in Musō's dialogues recall a strict

monastic discipline of meditation, that should lead to enlightenment.⁵⁴ Unlike the traditional Zen priest, always teaching in personal confrontation with only a few disciples, he had many disciples, a number tentatively given as 1300. This, of course, added greatly to his fame. He attracted so many students because of his practical and reputedly friendly approach when teaching. Musō managed to become a 'country teacher' (his honorific title *kokushi*) mostly because of his pragmatic way of dealing with students whether monk or aristocrat.⁵⁵

Musō's affection for nature and gardens is clear from his own writings as well as other literature from the period.⁵⁶ Few contemporary records suggest a more direct engagement in building or designing gardens, but these are not reliable as a historical source.⁵⁷ Moreover, generally speaking, the gardening activities, ascribed to him don't surpass the addition of buildings or repairing of older gardens.

Anyhow, Musō was a man of such high political standing that it is questionable whether he would have had direct influence on any garden work at all. Designers and builders of gardens, working for him would have done this out of great honour. Even if they would have liked to get known, they will not have attracted very much attention standing next to one of the leaders of the Five Monasteries.⁵⁸ Besides, garden designers hardly appear in written records of these times, giving free play for later ascribing.⁵⁹

Therefore it must be concluded that Musō Kokushi did not 'build' any garden; it is also unlikely that he designed any. In the best case he would have suggested the renovation of certain gardens, without however having had any direct influence on the design.

Musō Kokushi is above all of importance to the mediaeval garden art inasmuch as he inspired the wealthy military to have gardens laid out. In this he differed from other high-ranking mediaeval Zen priests, like Gidō Shūshin and Sesson Yūbai, in the specificity and amount of his enthusiasm towards garden art.⁶⁰

CHAPTER 4

THE EARLY MEDIAEVAL CHINESE INSPIRATION

The course of the mediaeval period in which the attitude towards nature changes towards a more modern one begins with a period of strong Chinese inspiration, not to say imitation. This is noticeable in the appreciation of natural scenery. But also garden art and its appraisal relied on the Chinese model.

4.1 LANDSCAPE SCENERY AND ITS CHINESE LITERARY INSPIRATION

Historical records describe the Chinese immigrant priests contemplating the landscape of Japan. Notable is their interest in Mount Fuji, visible from Kamakura, the centre of early Zen Buddhism. The mountain with its strikingly beautiful shape had of course not been unnoticed in previous centuries.⁶¹ For the Chinese however it would have been viewed within the whole context of mountain romanticism that pervades Taoism, landscape painting and the Chinese Zen.⁶²

The earlier mentioned Lanqi Daolong had arranged together with another Chinese priest Wuxue Zuyuan (1226-1286, Mugaku Sōgen, in Japanese) a grotto halfway up the mountain behind Kenchō-ji, the main Zen monastery in Kamakura. An opening commanded a fine view of Mount Fuji, and with this sight the Chinese priests practiced their meditations.⁶³ Wuxue was one of Musō's spiritual fathers. When Musō was called to head another temple, Zuisen-ji in Kamakura he had a look-out built on the hill behind this temple. From this look-out, a pavilion called 'One View', one could see Mount Fuji as well. A little lower, facing the main temple building a cave and pond were cut out in the soft natural stone.⁶⁴ The pavilion of Musō, then already an important Zen priest, became so famous that a large amount of verses were written about it, some of these by Chinese priests. Most sites of Musō's earlier dwelling places command fine views, nevertheless the similarities with his teachers' grotto are so obvious, that the 'One View' pavilion must be thought of as Chinese inspired.

The pavilion overlooking the scenery of a natural or urban landscape

is also common in the Song garden. All the same there is an important difference in its use. The Chinese literati used to drink, joke and write poetry with friends in such look-outs. They were places to enjoy nature in a leisurely way. The Japanese mountain pavilions were in the early middle ages apparently not used for purposes of leisure and pleasure, but served probably more as a status symbol. Japanese early mediaeval priests wrote poems about each other pavilions, rather than in the buildings when visiting each other.⁶⁵

Later, in his Kyōto years Musō had again a look-out built on the hill at the back of the Saihō-ji temple. This pavilion was called 'Reduced Distance' (*Shukuen*). The name has reference to the Song perception of landscape that was known, at least, as a literary idea. 'Reduced Distance' will refer to a far distant scenery captured and reduced to one view.⁶⁶ The pavilion offered actually four views through four openings in it. Gidō Shūshin (1325-1388), disciple of Musō and leader of his lineage after the latter's death, described the scenic beauty viewed from the pavilion as 'if in a painting'.⁶⁷ Similar passages written by Musō or his scribes speak of scenery around temples as 'heaven opened paintings', or more freely translated, 'heaven created views'.⁶⁸

Perceiving natural landscape as scenery, as a painting-like image, betrays an intellectual way of perception, in which intellectual is contrasted with an emotional appreciation that would speak of feelings, colours, smells, etc.

Similar intellectual perception could be exemplified by Musō's usage of the phrase 'surplus mountain, water remaining' (*zansan jōsui*). The term appears in recent Japanese literature on landscape painting and garden art where it is usually explained as referring to techniques of composition. It supposedly derives from Chinese composition schemes in ink-landscape painting that were concerned with the matching of the opposed identities of black and white; more specifically it was the balancing on the paper or silk of wide expanses, surfaces representing water or misty sky, to the dark volumes of mountains. This balance is fundamental to compositional schemes that employ much white as for instance the Xiao-Xiang paintings.⁶⁹ The phrase 'surplus mountain, water remaining' is in this view one of the ways to state this problem of balance in the composition of ink landscape painting. Be that as it may, I could not find any evidence in sources on Chinese history that this term refers to composition in landscape art. It appears in the writings of Song literati — among others of Su Dongpo — and seems only to contain poetic connotations of past glory when viewing certain historical landscape scenes.⁷⁰

'Surplus mountain, water remaining' appears again in connection with

Musō Kokushi, where it is used in descriptions of scenery seen from certain pavilions. In another early mediaeval passage, not by Musō, it is used for describing garden scenery. It seems nevertheless a little premature to conclude from this that techniques of composition from Song landscape painting were used in designing gardens.⁷¹ A proper conclusion seems that among a few early mediaeval Japanese Zen priests perceiving of natural scenery began to be an activity of contemplation in which they referred to Chinese literature and its more intellectual worldview, rather than to Heian lyrics and the emotional perception. Around this time the verb 'to borrow' began to be used in descriptions of sceneries that 'borrowed' a view over a natural landscape from a pavilion or a garden.⁷²

As all this was in the first instance literary borrowing from Chinese classical literature, it remains a question whether it was any more than just that. Besides, these instances seem rare, the great bulk of the early mediaeval descriptions of views from pavilions keep after all to the traditional Japanese literary themes of cherry blossoms and autumn colours.⁷³

It is clear, however, that at least the thought that landscape scenery could be appreciated for its own sake was born.

4.2 SCENIC ASPECTS IN THE GARDEN AND THEIR CHINESE INSPIRATION: TENRYŪ-JI

Not only natural landscape, but also gardens became appreciated for their view. This can be grasped not only from historical descriptions of gardens, but also from still extant gardens. The garden at the temple Tenryū-ji, in eastern Kyōto will be discussed as a representative example.

The decision to found the temple Tenryū-ji was made in 1339 in order to solace the soul of Emperor Go-Daigo who had died in his exile. It was Musō Kokushi who instigated shōgun Takauji to do so.⁷⁴ Two political aspects related to the foundation of this new Zen temple should not be left unnoticed. Of course not only the soul of the deceased Emperor was to be consoled; also the courtly aristocracy as a whole had to be mitigated, and building a temple to the emperors commemoration was an emotionally well calculated and politically not very dangerous measure. However, on the other hand it asserted the new military leadership once more by choosing a spot that was praised to the utmost in the courtly lyrics.⁷⁵ The Ōi river, with the autumn colours on the hills on the point where it enters the valley of Kyōto, was lauded over and again in the classical poetry. It belongs to the traditionally celebrated scenic spots and appeared for instance in an earlier quoted section of the Tale of Genji. The choice of this

area with such high emotional courtly values to construct a new Zen centre must be interpreted as a clear statement of power of the new leaders.

Together with other famous scenery in the neighbourhood, like a natural waterfall, and a famous long bridge known as Togetsukyō that crosses the Ōi river, also the spot with the maples was included in a widely extending temple complex.⁷⁶ Shōgun Takauji even had cherries taken from Yoshino, the place of emperor Go-Daigo's exile, and had them planted on the maple covered hill. The whole temple tract was clearly not intended to serve as a Zen establishment for monastic training.

The actual building works started in 1340. On the site where the temple buildings were to be constructed had been courtly palaces, like the thirteenth century Kameyama Dono of a retired Emperor Go-Saga.⁷⁷ One of the annexes of this palace was located on or close to the famous mediaeval garden that one can visit today.⁷⁸ However it is unthinkable that the garden dates back any earlier than the fourteenth century. The design is so obviously based on Song period concepts of Chinese garden design that it must have been built at the foundation of the Tenryū-ji. The temple belonged in fact to the group of temples set up by Takauji and Musō Kokushi and was soon taken up as one of the Five Monasteries. It was therefore a centre of learning in Chinese Song culture, for which a garden in the Chinese style was most appropriate.

Most clearly inspired by Chinese Song landscape painting is the waterfall and gorge rock composition of the pond garden (see fig. 23).⁷⁹ As for the history of gardens in Japan, it betrays rather revolutionary innovations. The typical waterfall composition of the Heian period was very simple in its construction. It consisted of few stones over which water was made to fall. Compared to this the waterfall of the Tenryū-ji is unusually high; the steplike construction is also not found in the typical Heian garden waterfall.⁸⁰

In its composition the rock arrangement shows the same principles as the Song landscape paintings. First of all, the height of the composition parallels the verticality of the typical Song mountain landscape painting. As opposed to the Heian period landscape scroll, the usual Song scroll was vertically unrolled, hanging on a wall, rather than lying on a desk. As discussed before vertical length of the painting was related to the composition of planes to evoke depth of perspective.

Furthermore the Tenryū-ji waterfall shows a strong foreground, artistically enforced by a horizontal stone bridge. Such bridges spanning the foreground and connecting the left and right side scenes are found also in the Song landscapes. In the stone composition the side scenes, in fact the sides of a gully cut in the slope, are made to seem massive and impressive

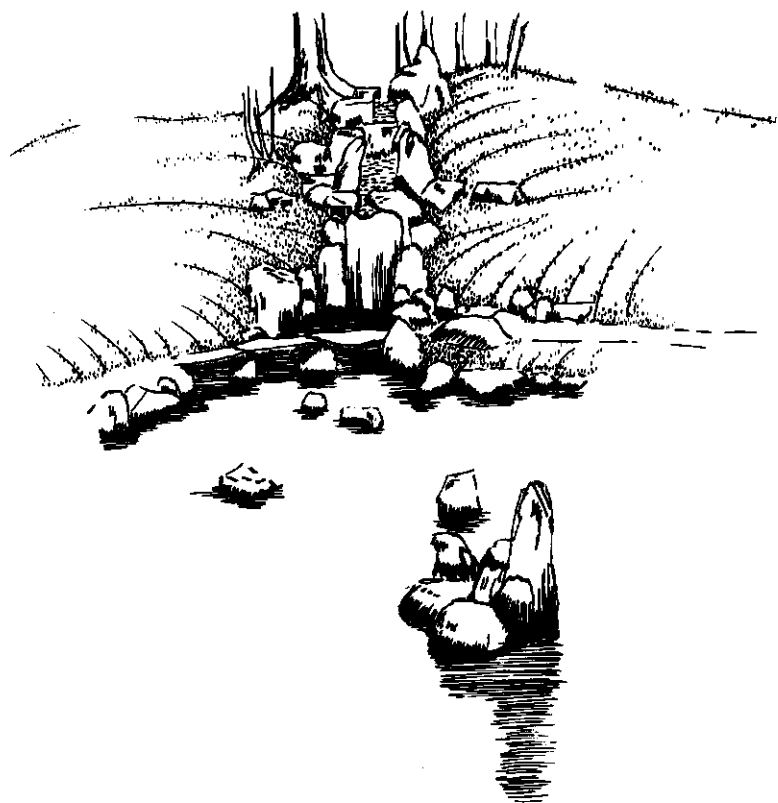


FIGURE 23. Sketch showing the compositions of natural rocks for the waterfall in the garden at the temple Tenryū-ji (early fourteenth century). A little islet lies in the foreground, a stone bridge spans the middle ground in front of the stepped waterfall. Compare with figure 22 to see the resemblance with the composition of the same kind of scene in Chinese landscape painting.

with big boulders, put up at the edges. In between, a far distance is visualized in the upper step of the waterfall. A misty quality is enhanced by the shade of the trees that hang over it now. A craggy island floats with its image mirrored on the water surface, in front of the stone bridge. In a Song landscape painting it would rise out of the mists. This little island catches the sunlight fully, it gives a clear image as opposed to the shadowed formations in the background. We might wonder nevertheless, whether the trees in the fourteenth century were as important in directing the light as they are at present.

It is questionable whether the colour of the stones was intentionally chosen to resemble the tones in Chinese ink painting. The colour is mostly in the blueish range. These stones are a blue-green schist from the Kishū region. The laborious transport, along the coast by ship and up the rivers (past presentday Ōsaka) to Kyōto, suggest a conscious choice of Kishū schist as garden material. Even more because many blue-blackish or brown-black stones can be found in the riverbeds of Kyōto.⁸¹ The lower step of the waterfall features at a conspicuous point in the composition a reddish Kishū schist. It is very likely that one sees in the waterfall composition of the Tenryū-ji temple garden a fashionable use of conspicuously coloured stones, rather than a choice of colour related to Chinese ink painting.⁸²

However, in another aspect the garden of Tenryū-ji shows a more important effect of continental influence. The garden and above all the waterfall composition across the pond is meant for contemplation. It is meant to be viewed from the abbots' quarters that are facing it (fig. 24).⁸³ The garden of the Tenryū-ji is not designed to be appreciated from within the garden itself. No boating parties are to be made on its small pond. It is to be perceived from without, like a painting. Thus, the Tenryū-ji garden is historically important in that it shows a first convincing example of conceiving a garden as a material work of art that can be appreciated. Nature in this garden is no longer a setting, a background for parties or an inspiration for enjoyment of natural beauty in form of lyrical themes. It is nature, designed by man as form.

In this respect the garden shows further parallels to continental garden design, apart from the waterfall arrangement described above. A little to the right of it, when seen from the main hall, is found another miniature gorge at the pond shore, again spanned by a bridge. It consists of one single slab though, the 'gorge' is also smaller. A path connects the two bridges and continues along the curves of the pond shore. Rocks, set up at the edge of the water serve as an embankment, but also border the path on the other side. Other natural stones are set up in rows to retain the soil

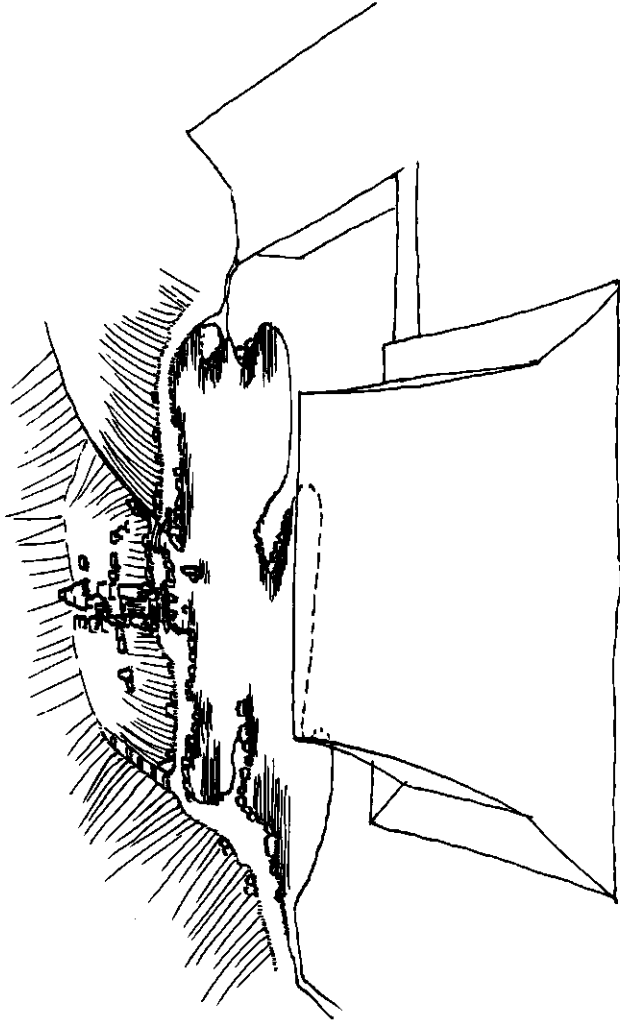


FIGURE 24. Aerial view showing the rock arrangements in Tenryū-ji's garden, when seen from the main hall of the temple. The main waterfall composition is set in a low artificial mound; to the right of it is another, miniature gorge-like arrangement crossed with a one-slab stone bridge. Note also the rows of rocks, set up as retainers. The pond is too small for boating, and the whole is clearly constructed as an imaginary landscape to be viewed from the building.

from the slopes that border the path on the side opposing the water. The width of the path that runs between the slopes of the hillocks and the water of the pond, varies from place to place. To the left, when seen from the main hall, it gets as wide as to be called terrace, rather than a path. The design idea of stepwise embankment or retainers out of standing rocks, with pathways of variable width is clearly Chinese.⁸⁴ Also in the Chinese concept the path with its varying width includes little bridges that cross outlets of miniature gorges, that face a garden pond and a main building. The scale of the Tenryū-ji garden, including its main buildings is also very similar to the size of comparable Chinese types. What makes for a completely different image though is the sparse use of stones with simple shapes in the Tenryū-ji garden. It looks less artificial than the rockery gardens in China.

Many writers on Japanese garden art ascribe the garden to Musō Kokushi. This relies probably in most cases on popular 18th century garden books that give this attribution.⁸⁵ It dates initially back to a passage in a fourteenth century epic chronicle, *Taiheiki*, that states that he made the garden. However the general characteristics of this work, set up to be an heroic journal, do not make it very reliable as an historic source.⁸⁶

Neither can a record of the ground breaking ceremonies performed by Musō, nor the Chinese verses he wrote on the scenery of the temple compound, be taken as proof that he built or designed the Tenryū-ji garden. Theories of Song landscape painting are skilfully applied in the waterfall arrangement at the pond shore. Generally speaking this, rather sudden appearance of so strongly Song influenced rockwork, cannot be ascribed to an indigenous Japanese like Musō. Musō himself could not have had such detailed knowledge, he did not paint, he never went to China. Besides, Song landscape painting was not yet imported on a large scale; a catalogue of the 1320's mentions only four landscapes, that would not have necessarily been mountain and gorge scenes, such as created at Tenryū-ji's pond edge. The Japanese painters only hesitatingly experimented with the new perspective of landscape.⁸⁷

This will suffice as evidence to state that only an immigrant could have been well enough informed on the techniques of composition in Song landscape art to be able to apply them in a garden design. This could have been the earlier mentioned Yining, or somebody related to him. As an official ambassador of the new Chinese ruler Kubilai Khan, he must have had persons in attendance who might have been familiar with gardening techniques. Besides the waterfall arrangement the concept of pond and hillock, with winding pathways in between rows of rocks used as retainers

is so typically Chinese in concept, that one also hesitates on this point to attribute it to an early mediaeval Japanese.

Further evidence to attribute the design to a Chinese artist is the so called 'carp stone' halfway up the waterfall (fig. 25). At the side of the upper step of the waterfall is a curved stone with a split tip, quite suggestively representing a fish jumping up the rapids. It is generally accepted that this stone relates to the Chinese legendary story of a carp that, after successfully ascending the gorges of the Yellow River at Lung Men (which means 'Dragon Gate'), will turn into a dragon. In China it was a metaphor for passing the examinations giving access to important positions as officials in the government. Passing the examinations was passing the Dragon Gate. A carp leaping out of the water is a common motif in Chinese art.⁸⁸

This would lead to another hypothetical attribution of the waterfall rock grouping to the Chinese Lanqi Daolong, perhaps better known under the Japanese pronunciation of his name, Rankei Dōryū. This Chinese Zen priest came to Kyōto for three years to deal with questions on Zen matters at the court of ex-emperor Go-Saga, whose palace, as mentioned above, was located at the present site of the Tenryū-ji temple. Two other temples that Lanqi Daolong revived during short periods of residence also have the same type of 'Dragon Gate' waterfall and in Kamakura, in the temple Kenchō-ji where Lanqi lived permanently, is a picture representing such a Dragon Gate scene with a jumping fish.⁸⁹

Again, no documentary evidence exists that proves his engagement in constructing these Dragon Gate waterfalls. And as holds true for Musō, Lanqi was a very high ranking priest, who certainly would not have handled the garden stones himself.

Chronologically speaking the Dragon Gate Waterfall appears as a design scheme in about the same time as the foundation of the temples concerned, that is the early fourteenth century.⁹⁰ Only after more than a century later this typical waterfall arrangement reappears, but then the technique of Song landscape painting is already completely accepted and understood among the Japanese painters of the academy. Dragon Gate waterfalls appear for instance in gardens ascribed to the Japanese painter Sesshū, a virtuoso painter of Song style landscapes and well informed on techniques of composition.⁹¹

Early mediaeval Song style waterfall rock arrangements of the type referred to as Dragon Gate — as at Tenryū-ji — are anachronisms. They must be ranked as imports alongside the Song landscape paintings that were introduced in the early fourteenth century. Such landscape art was greatly admired in the shōgun's aristocratic circles, but not well enough

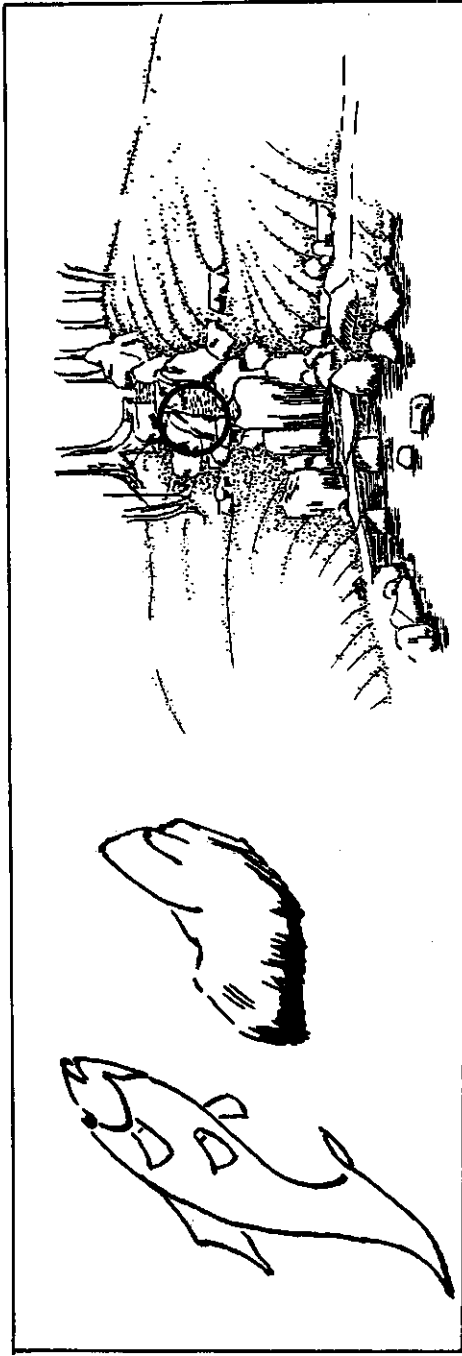


FIGURE 25. The 'carp stone' and its location at the waterfall in Tenryū-ji. The stone is compared to a schematic representation of the typical, academic way in which the jumping carp was shown in Chinese painting.

understood to have been produced by indigenous artists. Musō Kokushi had many disciples and as a crucial figure in the establishment of Zen and the Five Monastery organization, the Dragon Gate waterfall would certainly have brought about a more continuously lasting garden design principle if built by Musō himself. A possible Chinese attribution left aside, it is safe to conclude that Musō Kokushi did not build the waterfall composition at Tenryū-ji. Neither did he design it.

4.3 THE MEDIAEVAL SCENIC GARDEN AND ITS APPRECIATION

In the literature on the history of Japanese gardens I found some mediaeval records that express a spectator's appreciation of a scene on seeing a garden.⁹² These statements are treated chronologically on the following pages. Remarkable is at first sight the wonder expressed at perceiving an awe inspiring landscape scenery contained within the limited size of a landscape garden. Needless to say that this idea is Chinese inspired.

On viewing the garden of a certain priest Dokusho in 1346, the Zen priest and poet Sesson Yūbai said, as is recorded:

A little group of fist-big stones makes the effect of a thousand miles.⁹³

This Sesson Yūbai had lived in China for more than twenty years and was one of the eminent figures in Chinese learning at the Five Monasteries.

Some decades later another priest, who had held important posts in the Zen centres Tenryū-ji and Kennin-ji and was well informed on Chinese matters, had a garden built for Musō's successor, Gidō Shūshin, when he retreated. The latter praised his garden in 1384 as follows:

The suggestive effect of thousand cliffs and ten thousand valleys is evoked on a tiny piece of land east of the house.

In the same year the shōgun Yoshimitsu himself visited Gidō in his retreat. Then a poetry gathering was held, in which three or four courtiers and some odd ten or more priests also participated.⁹⁴ One of the guests had brought with him a scroll painting titled: *New Illustration of the Tiny Scene of a Ravine in the Mountains*, as a source of inspiration for the poetry occasion. The title of this scroll seems again to indicate that an impressive mountain scene was rendered well on the small format of the scroll. The atmosphere was inspiring and amiable, as the passage closes.⁹⁵

In a passage dated 1466, a somewhat similar idea is expressed again. It

praises the small garden of a sub-temple of the Shōkoku-ji, a monastic temple ranking high in the Five Monastery hierarchy. This garden was made by Zen'ami, who was under direct patronage of the shōgun Yoshimasa. The record says:

The far and near distant peaks and gorge are unusually superior, seeing this one gets not satiated and before one realizes it one has forgotten to go back.⁹⁶

At this time miniaturized landscapes in the form of *bonzan* tray landscapes, forerunners of the present day bonsai miniature trees, were appreciated by the same shōgun Yoshimasa.⁹⁷ Again these are viewed as suggestive of an awe inspiring landscape scene. A record of 1466 notes:

Little water, little waves, seen far away, it looks like the spirit of an estuary mountain of ten thousand miles.⁹⁸

Similar passages from other sources exist. Actually this *bonzan* tray landscapes became a kind of craze: a gathering where all the temples of the Five Monastery group set up the tray landscapes they possessed is recorded in 1463, shōgun Yoshimasa was present for an inspection.

The last quotation is taken from the late 15th century Chinese verses of the Zen monk Hannyabō Tessen on the garden at his retreat:

The five highest mountains soar against an ant stack, the wide ocean looks down on a frog hole... Directions of far and near have no boundaries, as if 30.000 miles are contained within a square inch.⁹⁹

Although most of the passages quoted are records written by Zen priests, members from the military elite around Yoshimasa's time also voice their appreciation of impressive mountain scenery perceived in small gardens or in miniature tray landscapes, becoming popular at the same time, the end of the fifteenth century.

A more general notion that relates to the formation of the scenic garden is the conception *kasenzui* or 'mock landscape'. From the beginning of the fourteenth century onwards the word *kasenzui*, or *kazan*, 'mock mountain', began to appear rather often in the mediaeval records to denote a garden.¹⁰⁰ The word *kazan* has also been used throughout the history of the Chinese garden, pronounced *jia shan* to indicate man made rocky hillocks. As for the Chinese garden history *jia shan* is translated as 'artificial mountain', or 'mock mountain'.¹⁰¹ Analogue to the usage in theory of Chinese garden history I translate *kazan* as 'mock mountain' and *kasenzui* as 'mock landscape'. In the earliest records of Chinese garden history the mock mountains seem to have been built by Taoist

magicians, constructed as a pile of earth in which rocks were set. Later, particularly during and after the 'rock craze' of the tenth to twelfth centuries the mock mountains were constructed solely of rocks piled on top of each other. In the southern Song period specifically the area around Hangzhou was known for its stone workers specializing in building mock mountains.¹⁰²

The following addresses some records on the mock landscape, that shed more light on the formation of a scenic type of garden. Documentary evidence gives not enough substance to conclude anything in the concrete as for the appearance of the mock landscape. However, the Chinese inspiration is clear. It is further remarkable that again many of the records relate to the person of Musō Kokushi.

In 1333 Musō had a mock landscape laid out facing the east side of Sansō-in that was a sub-temple of Rinsen-ji. It is not exactly clear what this garden looked like. From an admonition of Musō in the written house rules, that still exist, of the Rinsen-ji temple it can be concluded anyhow that it concerned a small scale garden. Musō mentions the mock landscape in the same section as in which he stresses the usefulness of vegetable gardens laid out by monks themselves within temple compounds. One gets the impression that Musō intended to say that also the mock landscape could be built by monks themselves.¹⁰³

Tadayoshi, the earlier mentioned brother of the shōgun Takauji, had built for himself a new residence in 1345. A mock landscape garden was designed within the compound where white camellia was planted; Sesson Yūbai, the Zen priest and expert on Chinese literature, who's verse was quoted above, wrote a poem about it. Musō also wrote a verse on the beauties of this garden. It speaks of misty clouds clothing the peaks, a range of a thousand mountains and ten thousand hills. This impressive description must be ranged among the other quoted sections of the 'ten thousand peaks' pattern. Poets were invited to come over and poetry gatherings were held.¹⁰⁴

This is all very similar to the previously given record by Gidō from 1384. An omitted preceding sentence runs:

It is a skillfully made mock mountain.

and continues as quoted:

The suggestive effect of a thousand cliffs and ten thousand valleys is evoked on a tiny piece of land east of the house.

Also in this case the garden is described in connection to a poetry gathering.

A more abstract idea on the actual appearance of the mock landscapes is given by the first lines of Musō's verse *Ode to the Mock Landscape*:

Not even a grain of dust is raised,
 Yet soar the mountain ranges.
 Not even a drop of water is there,
 Yet falls the cataract.¹⁰⁵

A landscape scenery of soaring mountains and rushing cataracts suggested not even by the smallest rock nor a drop of water seems to refer in this poetic exaggeration to an abstract execution of the dry landscape style as it is known through dry landscape gardens of the late fifteenth century onwards. The dry landscape style (*karesansui*) used only sand, stones and sparse planting to compose an abstracted garden scene.

Many years later, around 1400, a high steward of the military government, Hosokawa Mitsumoto, possessed a small retreat that looked out upon a mock landscape. The shōgun Yoshimitsu himself came down for a visit. Both enjoyed wine, practiced meditation, and the latter called the garden "the number one view of the whole Kitayama district", an exceptional praise because the shōgun only recently had moved to this district to reside in his new palace that was still being extended continuously. The record of this states explicitly that the retreat was a small pavilion, for the rest it gives no particulars on the garden.¹⁰⁶

A certain Ryūsai had built a mock landscape for another Zen priest, Gakuin, who was a follower of one of Musō's more important disciples (Zekkai Chūshin). This must have been around the first half or the middle of the fifteenth century. A verse-like description speaks of ten thousand scenes gathered in a small space. It further states that the natural scenery of mountains and valleys is in the heart of the one in search for truth.¹⁰⁷ The search for truth must be interpreted as a strife to live the life of a cultured gentleman in the Song literati tradition. The connection of natural scenery to a cultured behaviour is found among Musō Kokushi's ideas. A century later it shows the after effect of his ideas on landscape gardening. In a later chapter I will return to this point.

The records given in this chapter show that gardens, specifically smaller ones were now also appreciated. The use of a new imported word 'mock mountain', or the derived form 'mock landscape' shows that the garden had become a model, an imitation of nature that was appreciated as a man made arrangement, as designed form. Specifically a close up view, as presented in a small garden, was appreciated as a sublime mountainous scenery. This kind of garden consisted first of all of artfull arrangements

of garden rocks. That the military and priestly elite, wealthy enough to afford splendid spacious gardens, also could develop a taste for a garden of limited size is first of all due to the elevated status of the small garden in mediaeval Japan. The new reputation of the small garden was high thanks to its high status in Song China. Chinese government officials who were literati and sent out to head an office in the countryside, used to have a small garden and lauded its rustic, simple beauty in verses that came to Japan among the imported literature. Poems of the Tang poet Bo Juyi on the rock, the bamboo, peony, and banana tree in his garden were classic in Song China, and must have been well known among the early mediaeval Zen priests in Japan.¹⁰⁸ The small landscape scene more in general gained a new standing through the literary canon of Song painting, that valued a sublime landscape perceived in a small painting. Furthermore, some of the early mediaeval Zen priests were active as amateur painters. They painted, within the Song literati tradition, simple ink-sketches of a rock with some bamboo or a tree beside it.¹⁰⁹ The small garden in mediaeval Japan would never have emerged among the elite without its Chinese background.

CHAPTER 5

THE SMALL SCENIC GARDEN IN LATE MEDIAEVAL TIMES

Several developments made for a rather different situation after the second half of the fifteenth century. The shogunate's power was declining, as was the position of the Five Monasteries. This meant an end to the monopoly position of Chinese learning that had exclusively been practiced in the Monasteries. Japanese versions of temple management came to replace the strict monastic hierarchy of early mediaeval times. Small privately managed subtemples, not found within Chinese monasteries, were an expression of this. New styles of architecture were developed to suit the changing needs of the cultural salon. Song culture had also been absorbed to such a degree that Song landscapes were now produced by Japanese painters who fully understood its canon. The practice of garden art changed accordingly.

5.1 THE MEDIAEVAL CULTURAL SALON

As new rulers the military staged parties and organized meetings where displaying one's art treasures, not to speak of one's literary education, stressed one's wealth and status. Specifically after the shogunate's move to Kyōto the character of these meetings changed from the early imitation of the typical Heian courtly poetry gatherings and the like, to a more distinctively different type of gathering. Starting from Musō Kokushi the mediaeval Zen priests owed an ever growing part of their reputation to a non-religious knowledge of Chinese literature and art. Knowing and interpreting Chinese literature, and understanding if not even performing continental arts, like ink painting, became an important part of a priest's life and vocation.¹¹⁰ Zen temples became a salon for all kinds of cultural activities, poetry- and tea sessions. The military elite soon engaged in similar patterns and the new style cultural meeting is found in temples as well as in palaces.

After the recommencement of the official China trade in the early fourteenth century, Chinese painting and pottery came to underline the distinct character of the mediaeval cultural salon of the new elite. It is the

lavish display of imported exotic Chinese goods that is most obviously different from the classical pattern¹¹¹ The architecture of buildings where meetings were held changed with the changing characteristics of the salon.¹¹² In the course of the centuries a typical style, the so called *shoin* architecture, or 'reading room' architecture came into existence. The reading room (*shoin*), or its early mediaeval forerunner the meeting hall (*kaisho*), was the usual place for receiving and entertaining guests. These were found in places where gatherings of a cultural character took place, in the residences of high ranking priests, as well as in the palaces of the shōgun. In late mediaeval times the reading room style (*shoinzukuri*) became a more general residential style of the upper classes.¹¹³

A clear indication of the changing function of architecture was the appearance of a typical alcove (*tokonoma*) in which to hang scroll paintings or to display pottery or flower arrangements, embellishments enhancing the cultural atmosphere. Early evidence is part of a scroll painting dated 1351 that shows officials and a priest at a poetry gathering in the latter's residence. Two flower arrangements, a low table to unroll scrolls, and a set of three paintings with evidently secular themes, decorate the short end of the room (fig. 26). A section of the same scroll painting dated 1482 shows already the fully developed alcove, where similar decorative arrangements are displayed.¹¹⁴ This alcove is generally found in the abbot's chambers of the later fifteenth century. From the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries onwards it became a feature of residential architecture. The practice of displaying sets of three paintings in combination with flower arrangements and/or incense burners was common in temples as well as secular architecture from this time onwards. Systematic manuals on the arrangement of such interior decoration appeared, written by advisers to the shogunal salon (fig. 27)¹¹⁵

Another novelty in interior architecture was the use of sliding screens, set in rails to divide rooms. Landscapes, but also genre paintings as well as dragons, tigers, etc. were executed in the Song style on them in washes of ink. Painted sliding screens were already an architectural feature in the early fourteenth century, as can be judged from several paintings depicting interiors of the time.¹¹⁶

Another feature of the reading room architecture is the possibility to open the outer wall consisting of sliding screens over the full length, allowing a full view on the outside garden scenery.¹¹⁷ The interior is only open on the side that faces the garden, and as the garden is enclosed, except of course for the side that faces the building, the interior of the room and the outdoor garden become one unit of space. The architecture of the garden forms therefore an important feature in the definition of the

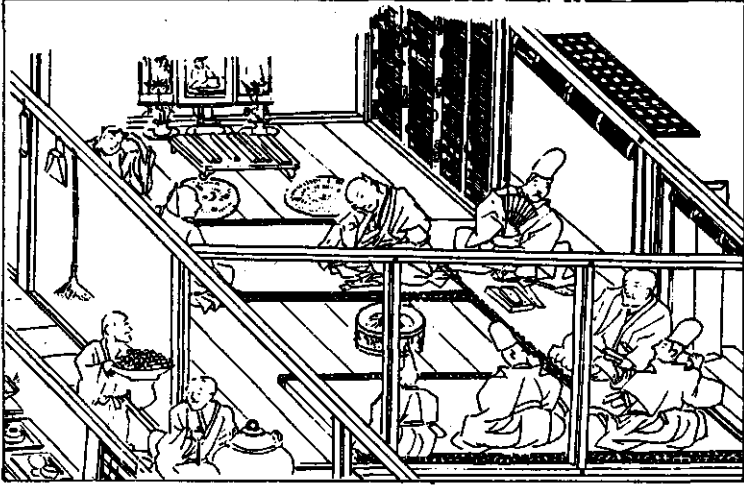


FIGURE 26. Early fourteenth century section of a genre scroll *Boki-e*, about the life of a priest Kakunyo, that gives an impression of the cultural gatherings of the time (tracing from a reproduction of the original). The text describes the scene further.

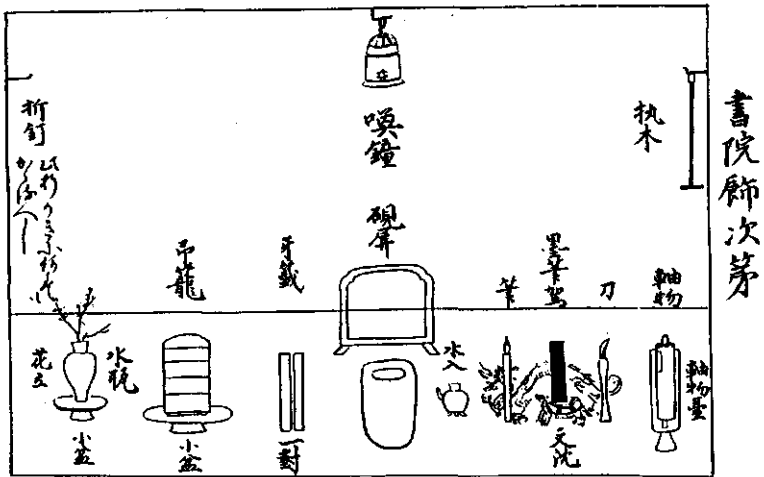
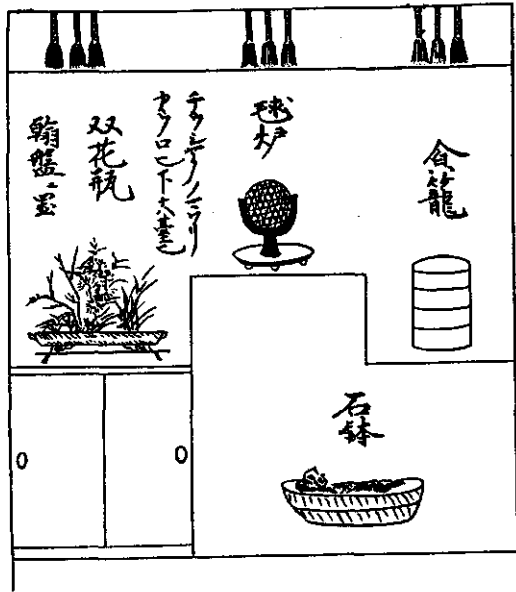


FIGURE 27. Two illustrations in a manual on the interior decoration of the reading rooms where meetings were held. It shows the way in which objects of art had to be displayed (tracing from the original *Kundaikan sa-u chōki*, 1511).

reading room architecture proper. Records of gardens adorning warriors' and priestly residences appear from a rather early date onwards. In the preceding chapter we saw that they were often described in connection with the recording of a cultural session, the names of people attending, etc. It must be concluded therefore that the early mediaeval garden formed part of an overall cultural prestige of a warriors residence as well as of Zen temples.

5.2 THE SUBTEMPLE

Meetings of a cultural character took place in residences of priests or high class warriors. In the course of the fifteenth century this function as well as the architecture became clearly defined and established.

At the same time a rapidly growing trend to establish minor temples (*tatchū*) within the greater compounds can clearly be distinguished (see fig. 28). Several small mediaeval gardens designed as scenes still exist within such subtemples. In fact these are the only small mediaeval gardens that remain up to the present day. As Chinese temples continued to be conceived as monasteries with a central management, the small subtemple garden must be particularly Japanese. A short digression into the general characteristics of the subtemple is necessary.

Individual priests started their own subtemple with a few disciple-monks. The economic background was in many cases the maintenance of the graves of an important warrior or of families belonging to a geographical unit, much like a parish. The formula worked well and many of the famous temples had more than hundred subtemples within their confinements. Restrictive regulations became necessary. In the mid fifteenth century the temple Shōkoku-ji allowed for only 13 subtemples on its grounds. Nevertheless under different titles such small scale Zen centres continued to be built.¹¹⁸

Although depending as for its mere existence on the good-will of the higher abbots and priests of the compound, the subtemple was on a smaller, daily scale a rather economically independent unit within the larger compound. On its limited area many functions had to be combined. This induced a spacial layout of several buildings and yards of different size and appearance, serving various needs, grouped within the limited area of the subtemple. In mediaeval society every residence with some status had with fences and walls to be guarded against robbers and vagabonds. Also the subtemples were more or less compactly hemmed in by walls or hedges.¹¹⁹

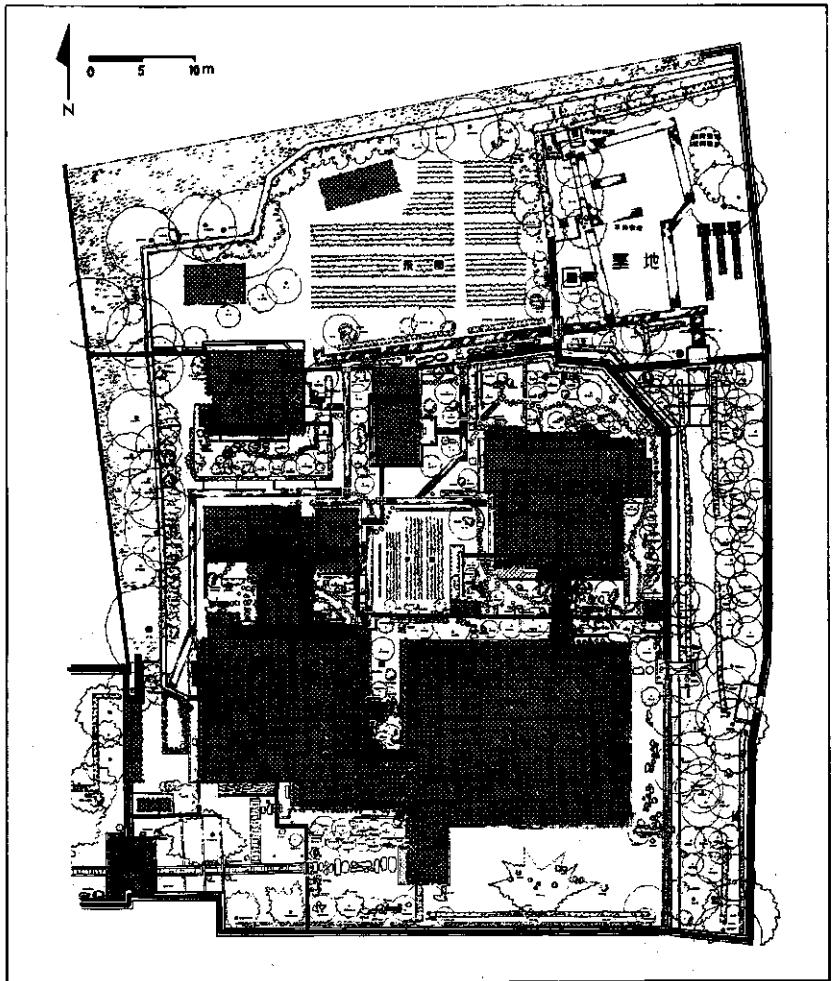


FIGURE 28. Plan of the subtemple Shinju-an in Daitoku-ji, Kyōto. Buildings are indicated with a screen tone, walls with thick, black lines. The plan shows the typical spreading lay out of the buildings of a subtemple that greatly vary in size. In between the buildings and walls are a great number of small yards, some of them made into a decorative garden, as can be seen to the south and the west side of the main hall that lies in the south-west corner. A grave yard is found in the north-west quarter. The area in use as a vegetable garden is indicated with a texture of waving lines. (Plan dated 1956.)

As the main building we find either the abbot's chamber (*hōjō*) or guest building (*kyakuden*). Both are usually built in the 'reading room' architectural style (*shoinzukuri*). An altar and sometimes a small statue of the founder or another deified person would be housed here. Simple religious ceremonies were performed in front of it and modest gatherings of a more social or cultural character in the adjoining rooms. The altar in the main building usually faces south. Besides the main building also an entrance porch, the abbot's residential quarters, a graveyard, a vegetable garden, as well as other small decorative gardens were squeezed in between walls and buildings.

5.3 SMALL SCENIC GARDENS IN SUBTEMPLES AND THEIR HISTORICITY

Small decorative gardens can be found in any narrow space or corner between the buildings of the subtemple. However a sanded courtyard invariably faces the main hall on the south side. Garden designs in this southern yard must be dated as late mediaeval or later when it had lost its function as a space for certain rituals.¹²⁰ Garden arrangements that face the more private study rooms at the back, that is the east, north, or the west side, can be of an older date.

Out of practical and economic reasons, such as the cost or trouble of maintenance, all decorative gardens of subtemples are small. Because of the nature of the subtemple they are also enclosed.¹²¹ Enclosing frames of the garden are sometimes walls, or, cheaper, screening hedges or loose vegetation. Within this frame, which in most cases only functions as a blank background, the garden design is presented. The regular design consists of a simple arrangement of rocks and sparse planting on a ground cover of sand, gravel, or moss. More wealthy subtemples can have a larger garden with a pond and/or a teahouse.

The maintenance of the subtemple garden was usually done by the monks themselves, although richer subtemples could employ paid labour. For instance the early summer picking of old pine needles from the branches appears a few times in records relating to the garden at Shōkoku-ji's subtemple Onryōken. This is in fact a technique of detailed trimming. One of these records, an entry dated 1489, states:

The pine tree in the garden of Onryōken taken in the hand. 'Petty men' ordered to take of the old needles of the pine tree.¹²²

Because of the small scale and private character of most of the gardens

in the subtemples, changes in the design have naturally occurred in the course of time. Nevertheless out of reverence towards the founder and his lineage these changes are usually gradual extending over the centuries.

More recently the dry landscape style (*karesansui*) has become a clearly defined style, with a rather strict program for its garden materials. This must be attributed to the activities of Shigemori Mirei (1896 – 1975), who actively redefined the dry style in the first half of this century and made many dry landscape gardens, also in a few famous Zen temples in Kyōto. He wrote a great deal on the definition of the 'style'.¹²³ Accordingly some older subtemple gardens have been face-lifted to conform to the definitions of the Kyōto *karesansui* style;¹²⁴ this is specifically conspicuous in the changing of the ground cover from sand or moss into the white granitoid Shirakawa gravel (see fig. 29). One can have doubts about such changes, although documentary evidence exists of white sand being used in other mediaeval gardens.¹²⁵

Another unstable factor is the position as well as type of enclosure and buildings, rebuilt after fires or simply renovated or extended.¹²⁶ This influences specifically the spacial orientation of the garden towards its spectators.

Plant material dies of course and must be replaced now and then. The broad-leaf evergreens that prevail at present in the small dry gardens are an heritage of fashions of later times. Aesthetes of the seventeenth and later centuries preferred the subdued qualities of the broad-leaf species as found for example in the tea family. These shrubs have little inconspicuous flowers. The mediaeval choice of plant material was much more colourful as is clear from the garden manual *Sansui* as well as from diary records. The plum tree was a favourite. Like of course the cherry and the pine tree. Azalea's are often mentioned, but also *Euonymus*, *Kerria*, and even apricot and peach.¹²⁷

Most constant, though not completely fixed, are the groupings and arrangements of natural rocks. As rocks were also the basic material of a mediaeval garden design it is in particular these arrangements that show us the mediaeval approach in gardening.¹²⁸

It is remarkable that none of the small mediaeval gardens that have remained up to the present day in Kyōto is to be found in the temple compounds of the Five Monasteries. Perhaps their history, closely related to, if not dependent on the warrior class and their changing fortune, was too turbulent to stand the ages. Neither does any of the small gardens still exist that were, according to records, found in warrior residences before the Ōnin War.

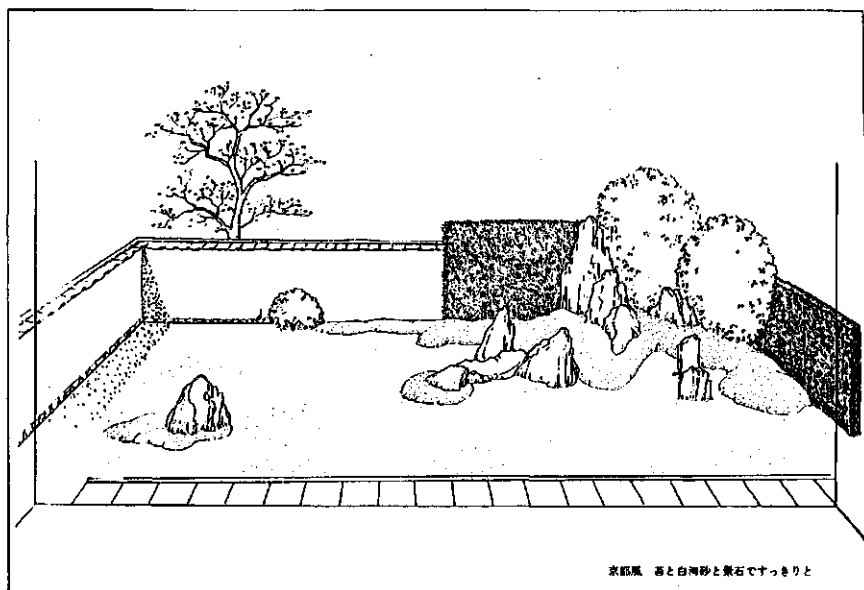


FIGURE 29. 'The Kyōto style' defined in a recent Japanese student's handbook on garden design; without stating it, it shows one of Shigemori Mirei's *karesansui* gardens in an abbreviated sketch. This figure demonstrates that Shigemori's definitions of the *karesansui* style have become largely accepted and belong to the common heritage of today's Japanese garden designers. It explains the face-lifting of some of the old gardens.

Besides a few larger mediaeval pond gardens, seven small mediaeval gardens still exist in Kyōto, apparently well preserved. These are all to be found in the subtemples of two compounds, Daitoku-ji and Myōshin-ji, or their related branch temples.¹²⁹

These two make up for a separate Rinzaï Zen branch that in the early mediaeval period was mainly sponsored by the imperial family. These two monastic temples were never ranked among the Five Monasteries group patronized by the military government.¹³⁰

It is clear from historical records that the Five Monastery subtemples already had small gardens within their compounds from the early fourteenth century onwards. However, the historical ones that remain, all date from around the sixteenth century and in some questionable cases probably from the end of the fifteenth. Nevertheless, the Daitoku-ji and the Myōshin-ji compound were founded in the early fourteenth century, but they avoided initially the cultural activities of the Five Monasteries. Only one of their priests visited China and on the whole the position of the early mediaeval Myōshin-ji and Daitoku-ji was one of quiet conservatism.¹³¹ The monastery Myōshin-ji only started to flourish after the mid-fifteenth century. Daitoku-ji became important as a cultural centre at about the same time when the famous priest, poet, painter and popular figure Ikkyū (1394 – 1481) was appointed head-abbot. At that time Daitoku-ji was already, to a large extent sponsored by the rich merchants from Sakai via the person of Ikkyū. It became an important focus of the cultural sphere of the tea ceremony in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹³²

The small gardens in Kyōto that still exist can, as for their overall composition, be divided in two groups; the ones that use a waterfall theme as a garden scene and the ones that use a more abstract theme to compose a garden scene. These abstract themes, such as the Buddhist Triad rock arrangement (*sanzonishigumi*) belong to an old mainstream of rock arrangement concepts. Their ancient origins lead back to animistic beliefs of stones embodying gods (*iwakura*). Their appearance was in mediaeval times still awe inspiring and so called worshipping stones (*reihaiseki*) were laid in front of these to stand on when paying reverence to these rocks groups.¹³³ The waterfall arrangements, of which one was treated before, stood largely outside the animistic tradition. They were hardly seen as imbued with spirits, although the name of a Buddhist god Fudō is often applied to one of the larger stones in the arrangement.

Dry waterfall rock arrangements are found as main theme in the gardens of the subtemples Daisen-in, Taizō-in, Reiun-in and Shuon-an. The dilapidated Kyū Mon'ami garden showing a rock arrangement representative of a waterfall can be counted among this group. Besides the

main waterfall theme these gardens also employ other subordinate themes.

The gardens at Ryōan-ji, Shinju-an and Ryōgen-in employ exclusively more abstract compositional themes. The often repaired Funda-in and Rokuō-in, (a garden difficult to date) can be counted among the group with the abstract themes. A few small mediaeval gardens in other parts of Japan, less well preserved and documented can be classified accordingly.¹³⁴

Although not representing a landscaped scenery in the strict sense the gardens composed on an abstract theme are nevertheless designed to be viewed as scene. An analysis of their composition reveals that also the abstract designs of the late mediaeval small subtemple gardens were composed as a three dimensional scene to be viewed from a building.

CHAPTER 6

SOME HISTORICAL SMALL SCENIC GARDENS

The gardens at the subtemples Ryōan-ji and Daisen-in are most famous among the above mentioned subtemple gardens. They attract incredible amounts of visitors which makes them important enough to treat them extensively. Nevertheless their value in illustrating my point is questionable, because both can hardly be taken as designs of mediaeval origin. This will be followed by an exposition on two other more modest gardens that can be dated with certainty. The Reiun-in subtemple garden shows a small scenery garden with a dry waterfall as theme. The garden of a provincial ruler, Asakura, shows a waterfall composition as well and can also be dated without any doubt. Because this garden employs a shallow pond, it illustrates that the achievements in the establishing of a scenic concept of garden design should not be thought of as to be limited only to the dry, *karesansui* style. In addition, this provincial garden will give the opportunity to focus briefly on the developments outside the cultural centre Kyōto.

6.1 THE SUBTEMPLE DAISEN-IN

Within the Daitoku-ji compound the Daisen-in subtemple is one of the more important ones; in the temple hierarchy as well as for the fame of its garden. A garden arrangement that is probably late mediaeval is found in the northeast corner of an enclosure, facing a reading room. Packed within its limited area a waterfall scene is created employing rocks and some clipped shrubbery that shade the upper parts (see fig. 30). The composition resembles in many aspects the scheme of the Tenryū-ji waterfall composition. However, actual water is not present here and is called up in the mind by white gravel raked in patterns representative of waves. There are small rocks in the very foreground, followed by a low stone bridge. Directly behind this, two massive stones rising to 2 or 3 meters height, enforce artistically a middle plane, to give way on the right side to a background representing a waterfall cascading down in a few steps. The massive rocks in the middle plane can be thought of as representing



FIGURE 30. The dry waterfall rock arrangement in the garden at the temple Daisen-in. Comparison with figures 21 and 22 shows the Chinese inspiration, a bridge enforces the middle ground, the waterfall 'falls' from the right, from behind the large standing stones.

a mountainside according to the Song high-distance perspective. Seen in this way the dry waterfall to the right is constructed to form a deep distance. The consistent building up of the scenery with planes evokes a perspective of depth which is clearly the same as in the Chinese composition schemes of landscape painting.

The view as a whole is arranged to be viewed from the reading room adjoining the garden to the west. A typical technical trick in this respect should not be left unnoticed. A rather big rock with a flattened top, shining with about the same brightness as the polished veranda, is set close to it and at exactly the same height and parallel to the veranda edge. This stone visually connects the garden scene of rocks to the architecture of the buildings. Seen from the reading room this stone forms the foremost part of the foreground of the actual garden scene. Similar foregrounds are also found in the lowest section of the typical Song landscape painting. There they give the spectator, after he has moved his eyes to the higher parts of the painting, the impression to be himself standing on the foreground rock of the painted scene.

The subtemple Daisen-in within the compound of Daitoku-ji was founded in the early sixteenth century by a priest called Kogaku (1464 – 1548). The first main building, an abbots' chamber was completed in 1513.¹³⁵ The records that relate the life and work of priest Kogaku, a kind of biographical eulogy written in 1551 a few years after his death, suggest his engagement in gardening. A passage states that he planted rare trees and erected impressive stones to create the effect of a landscape scenery. This has been taken as proof that Kogaku had at least a hand in the building of the garden.¹³⁶ Assuming that priest Kogaku had built the garden or part of it, the present garden is nevertheless far too academic in its composition and far too technically perfect to have been built by a Zen priest/gardening amateur in his spare time. From other contemporary records it is clear that Kogaku was a person free from pretence and far from having liked any posh decoration, such as the lavish rockery of the garden. The section of his biography must be viewed as invented posthumous praise.

In addition the layout of the present buildings has changed considerably in the course of the centuries; if there was a garden in Kogaku's times, it would have been at a different place within the subtemple complex and not at the location of the present famous garden.¹³⁷

From several early seventeenth century records it can be concluded that the stones from another garden had been moved to Daisen-in in the late sixteenth century, and were erected there again in the same composition.

This dismantled garden had been built by, as is recorded, Sōami and belonged to the Mibuchi family, retainers to the shōgun. The reason for moving this garden must be thought of as stemming from the rather complicated blood-relationship of the priests of the Kōtō-in subtemple to upperclass warrior families like Mibuchi, Hosokawa and shogunal Ashikaga. Kōtō-in, also within the Daitoku-ji compound is subservient to the Daisen-in, which makes it imaginable that there existed motives to give contributions.¹³⁸

Which parts of the garden were moved or whether the garden as a whole was moved is not clear. Nevertheless the name of Sōami, applied to the original garden might be a clue. Sōami was an ink painter skilled in landscapes, so the composition of a waterfall landscape in stone would not have been a difficult design concept for him, or for the people working under his name.

Other characteristics of garden design of late mediaeval or early modern times — that is around the late sixteenth century, the time of the moving of the garden — are the big size of the rocks in the middle plane of the waterfall rock composition, as well as the more advanced technique to employ these as middle plane and not as background.¹³⁹ If not the whole garden, it will at least have been the waterfall composition that was moved from Mibuchi's residence to Daisen-in. It can be reconstructed that the moving must have taken place somewhere between 1574 and 1582, when Sōami was already dead (d. 1525). The skill with which the composition is matched to the buildings suggests again that the garden was moved by true professionals. Probably 'Sōami' was at that time already an euphemistic brand name for gardens built by professional, but outcast gardeners; it can not be an honest attribution to the painter Sōami, for whom no records exist showing he was also active as a gardener.¹⁴⁰ Professional gardeners from outcast origins play an important role in landscape design from the fifteenth century onwards. In a later chapter their role is extensively discussed.

Some rocks in the garden of Daisen-in are either later additions or might have belonged to a garden in Kogaku's time. These play no role of importance in the contemplation of the main cascade theme, that is our concern at this point. The inclusion of the other gardens around the main hall to form an allegorical series of a mountain river emptying into the wide ocean is a recent conception.¹⁴¹

6.2 THE SUBTEMPLE RYŌAN-JI

The temple Ryōan-ji is a branch of the Myōshin-ji compound. It forms in itself again a minor compound with several smaller subtemples, a large pond garden, and Ryōan-ji proper.

The famous rock garden faces the Ryōan-ji main hall on its south side; at the back is a smaller garden with a little pond facing the reading room. The following pages deal only with the rock garden (see fig. 31).¹⁴² It is enclosed on the south and west side by an unusually low wall that has a worn texture matching well the tones of the natural rocks. Above the wall, pines and other trees, partly screen the sky. To the east, and left side when looking from the veranda, the garden is fenced off by a thin wall over which the roof of a decorative gate can be seen. A rock arrangement at this point seems to have become squeezed in by the construction of the gate and fence. The cut granite slabs that outline the expanse of raked gravel in which the rocks are, is set at distances to the walls and fence that are different on all three sides. The purpose of this is not clear. These two observations lead to the conclusion that the enclosure and probably also the building were not constructed at the same time as the arrangements of garden rocks.

Apart from this, the composition of the volumes of rocks on the white field of gravel is skillfully accomplished. It reminds one in its studied balance of volume and blank space of the compositions of Eight View paintings or other works from the Chinese priest painters. This kind of balance in composition was shortly treated in chapter 4.1 when dealing with the term 'surplus mountain, water remaining'. Let us discuss a little painting called *Kakizu*, *Picture of Kaki Fruits*, popularly attributed to the Chinese Zen priest painter Mu Xi (see fig. 32). The painting appears in fact only in written annals in the late sixteenth century, at about the same time of the founding of the subtemple where it is kept. Its distribution of black and white, volume and space is rather studied and static. A dark-coloured fruit takes the middle position; two that are left white take the outer positions, with grey coloured fruits taking places in between. The space at the left side of the middle kaki fruit is balanced by another grey one, put lower in the picture, also coloured in a slightly darker tone of grey. The six fruits in their arrangement are put in the lower half of the area of the picture, thus providing stability to the composition as a whole in its balance to the empty space in the upper half.¹⁴³

The composition of the stone garden at Ryōan-ji can be discussed in the same terms (see fig. 33). The group on the far left is the biggest volume in the whole composition. This group consists of five stones and its main



FIGURE 31. The stone garden at Ryōan-ji and its visitors.

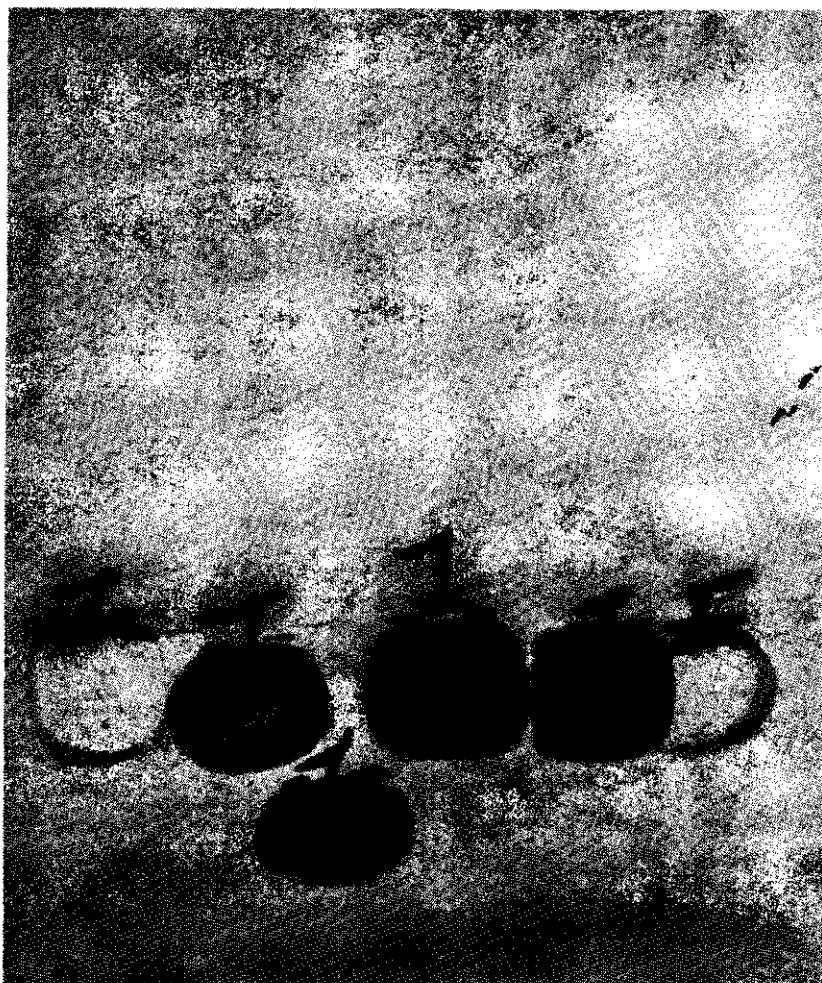


FIGURE 32. *Picture of Kaki Fruits*, attributed to Mu Xi. See the text that describes the composition.

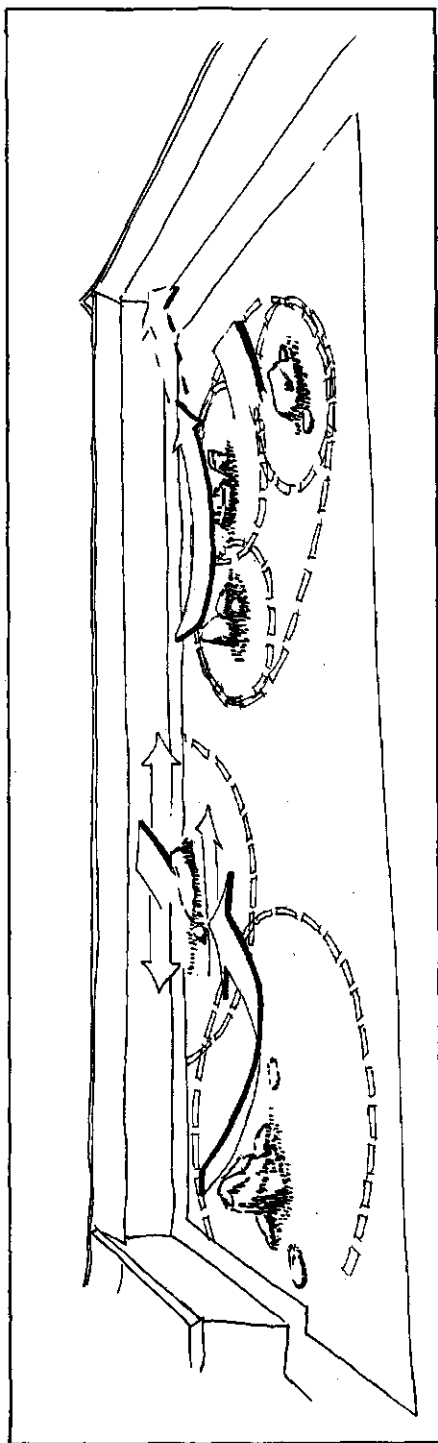


FIGURE 33. The composition of the rocks in Ryōan-ji's garden analyzed. See the text.

stone is the largest rock of the fifteen that the composition employs. This large rock itself has again its main weight to the left, sloping down to the right side. A very low stone at the extreme right of this group of five extends this movement from left to right. Compared to the other four groups, this group with the most weight has most white space of gravel surrounding it.

The volume of this group of five is counterbalanced by the three smaller groups on the right. Also the area of white gravel around this group is balanced by the white around, and in between, the three groups to the right. In its movement this biggest group is echoed by the long stone at the garden wall at the back, a small stone in front of it taking up the movement and leading it to the right, most massive side of this elongated stone. It gives the impression of being deeply buried. The elongated shape of this stone parallel and close to the garden wall, connects the garden as a whole more strongly to the wall which thus becomes a part of the garden view.

The rock group in the middle of the five groups, nevertheless already on the right half of the field of gravel, starts up again the movement from left to right; in the balance of its weight and its main contours it is somehow a smaller version of the largest group of five to the extreme left.

The neighbouring group of two again echoes the movement but through its expressive form, somewhat resembling an animal, it carries the movement almost over the boundaries of the graveled expanse. However, a group at the right hand in the foreground closes the composition off with an indifferent direction and the poise of its balance only slightly to the right.

Starting from the left our eyes are led through the garden to the rear and, back again to the front, to the right hand corner.

It is of course possible to 'read' the composition from the right to the left considering the biggest group as a conclusion. But from the left to the right seems more natural and became, from the seventeenth century onwards the standard direction in garden compositions of this type.¹⁴⁴

The complete absence of any planting material, aside from some moss at the base of the rocks and the trees seen over the wall is not found in other mediaeval gardens. The walled in courtyard, using only sand and rocks, became a more general design concept only in the late Edo period, that is the end of the 18th and the early 19th century.¹⁴⁵

The temple Ryōan-ji was founded and later visited by great men of Japan's history. Many historical documents exist therefore that sometimes, as an aside, refer to 'a' garden. The garden is at present not insignificant and attracted for instance 700,000 visitors in 1984. Any

modern treatise on the famous rock garden tends to speculations and hypotheses, that are therefore difficult to check. The following paragraphs try to treat only the more significant landmarks in its history.¹⁴⁶

In the Heian period the site of the temple compound Ryōan-ji had belonged to a branch of the Fujiwara clan. The large pond constructed by damming it as a reservoir reminds us of its courtly history as a summer palace. In 1450 the site was taken over by Hosokawa Katsumoto, who served as deputy to the shōgun in several offices. He founded on the site the Ryōan-ji temple as a branch of the Myōshin-ji, but the complex was burnt down during the Ōnin War. Katsumoto died in 1473 and his son Masamoto rebuilt the temple at the very end of the same century. It is not clear whether any garden was constructed at that time facing the main hall. First descriptions of a garden, clearly describing one in front of the main hall, date from 1680–'82. These describe it as being a composition of nine big stones, laid out to represent 'Tiger cubs crossing the water'. In two of the three records all by the same scribe the design is attributed to 'Katsumoto himself' in the other to Sōami. Both attributions must be thought of as falsified to avoid naming the nameless stone workers.¹⁴⁷ These records further state that the main hall, being the original reading room of Katsumoto was 8 ken (ca. 15m.) wide and 5 ken (ca. 9m.) deep. The garden with the nine stones from the late seventeenth century will have matched in composition and size the the 8 ken wide hall. As the present-day hall is 12 ken (22m.) wide, it is clear that the garden of that time did not resemble the present garden which in fact now has fifteen stones.¹⁴⁸ A description from a different source dated 1689 again describes the garden as being composed of nine stones put up by Katsumoto himself and states further that the 'wondrous appearance left and right' cannot be matched, probably as a garden design, by any ordinary man. In later, early eighteenth century records, the description of the garden as 'Tiger cubs crossing the water', returns.¹⁴⁹

A great fire destroyed all of the buildings in 1779, and the question becomes important whether the garden, however it looked, was damaged and redesigned, or not.

Two 'aerial' views and one plan, all dating from a few years before the fire show a corridor running through a courtyard garden in front of the main hall. Both views, woodblock prints, were made by the same person (see fig. 34, and fig. 35).¹⁵⁰ One of the views shows some roughly drawn rocks in the garden with the superscription 'Tiger cubs crossing the water'.

A well designed garden seen on the left and right when walking along the corridor that leads through it would explain the 'wondrous sight on

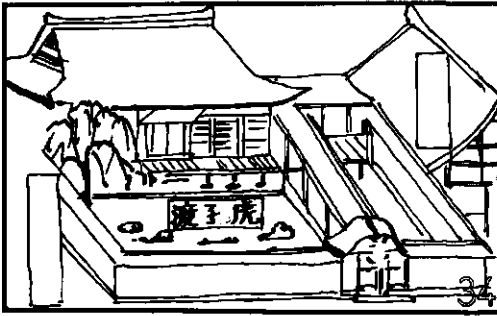


FIGURE 34. View of the garden at the main hall of Ryōan-ji, the caption says "Tiger cubs crossing (the water wk.)" a weeping cherry is shown at the left-hand corner of the building (redrawn from a reproduction of an undated print *Rakuhoku Ryōan-ji* by Hara Zaiko; cf. fig.35).

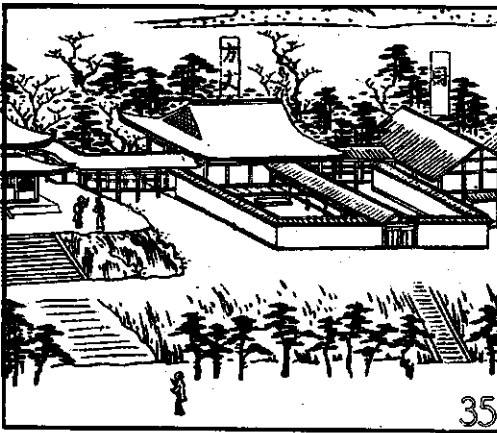


FIGURE 35. View of the main hall of the temple Ryōan-ji with the walled-in courtyard in front of it. A corridor runs straight through the front garden (section from an illustration dated 1780 by Hara Zaiko that shows all of the temple compound).

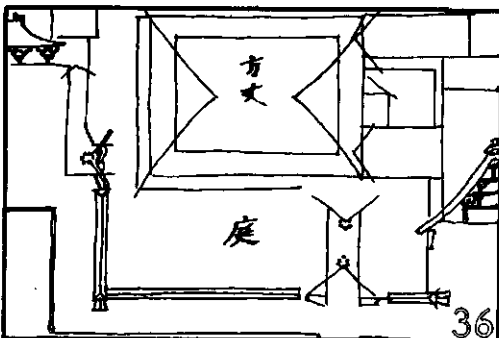


FIGURE 36. Plan, supposedly dating from 1791, of Ryōan-ji's main hall with its front garden (redrawn from a reproduction).

the left and right' in the 1689 record.

The plan view dating from just before the fire shows a 13 ken (ca 24m.) wide hall, with about the same width of the one rebuilt after the fire (see fig. 36). The present-day garden would fit very well in the courtyard drawn in front of it. This nevertheless would imply that the hall was rebuilt or extended in-between 1681 and 1791, the date of this plan, from 8 to 13 ken. No scriptural evidence exists of such a major change, which is strange.

Assuming anyhow that the main hall before the great fire was 13 ken wide, it is very possible that the garden as it stands at present existed in the earlier eighteenth century. The most eastward stone group would have served a double function, facing the visitors who would enter through the corridor, as well as making up part of the total arrangement of the stone groups. The four smaller stones around the big boulder suggest such a double function. Nevertheless it would not have been the same garden as the one in the late 17th century descriptions, speaking of nine stones.

All the pictorial evidence of the situation before the fire shows a gate in line with the southern wall surrounding the yard in front of the main hall. At present this decorative gate is set several meters to the back with a few granite steps in front of it to take up a difference in height of about 80 centimeters. It is the garden scholar Hisatsune, specifically, who draws what seems to be the proper conclusion. After the fire the site of the buildings and gardens were filled with about 80 centimeters of soil. This hypothesis is sufficiently supported by other reasoning and research on the site.¹⁵¹ Therefore it must be concluded that most of the stones were removed and put back again at the renovation after the fire in the late eighteenth century. Only the big rock at the back, in which are carved two names of late fifteenth century stone workers, gives the impression to be deeply rooted and might thus simply have been buried. These two men are also known from records.¹⁵² The other stones are mostly put up as seeming to float, that is narrowing to their base. This is, speaking from a point of stone laying technique and taste, a feature from late Edo period (1600 – 1865) rock arrangement.

It is particularly Hisatsune who questions the role of the garden maker and enthusiast Akisato Ritō, who was active in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.¹⁵³

Akisato published several books on gardens the most famous maybe his 'Celebrated Gardens and Sights of Kyōto' (*Miyako rinsen meisho zue*). This work from 1799 gives a full view of the garden, just as it looks today, followed by a description (see fig. 37). Probably to impress the reader with the beauty of the garden, tiny figures of four priests and a samurai war-

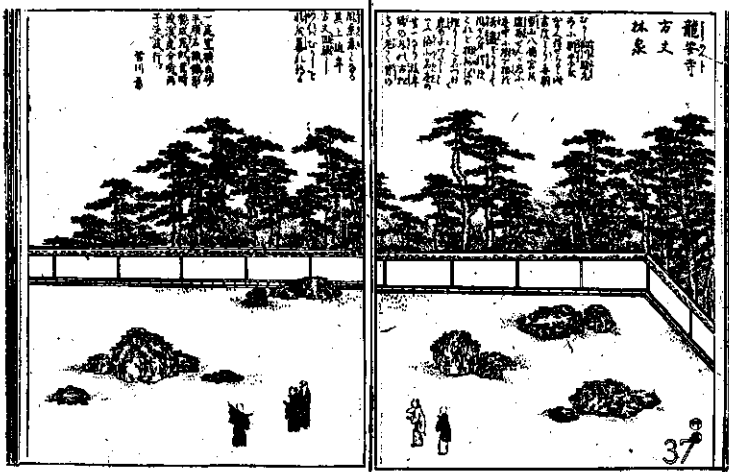


FIGURE 37. View (dated 1799) of the stone garden at Ryōan-ji: it looks largely the same as it is today. The caption reads: "Ryōan-ji, Garden at the Main Hall. In olden times Hosokawa Katsumoto had his country villa built here. Whenever he was present he would, from his reading-room, bow in worship every morning in the direction of the Hachimangū Shrine on the Otokoyama Hill. In order not to obstruct this view no trees were planted in this garden and it consists merely of stones. The scenery thus evoked was made by Sōami, who called it 'Tiger cubs crossing the water'. It is the number one garden of northern Kyōto. In later years the old pine trees outside the wall have grown too tall, the view of olden days was destroyed. Moreover, the main hall was recently devastated by fire. One yearns for the past beauty."

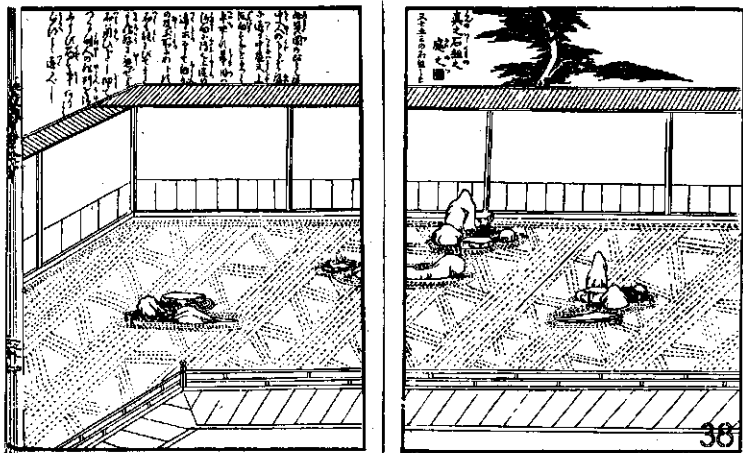


FIGURE 38. An explanation of a fifteen-stone design, resembling the composition of stones in the garden at Ryōan-ji (wood-block print, dated 1828). See the text.

rior, completely out of scale are seen walking between the boulders apparently discussing its qualities. Here the garden is again ascribed to Sōami, although the same writer, Akisato, had attributed it earlier, agreeing with the other common assumption, to Hosokawa Katsumoto. Later, in his *Sansui Teisoroku*, (1819), Akisato even ascribes the garden to Musō Kokushi.

In Akisato's gardening manual *Tsukiyama teizōden (gohen)* from 1828 the writer gives as his own existing works, among others, the garden designs of two subtemples of Myōshin-ji, the head temple of Ryōan-ji. Further the Ryōan-ji temple records state that Akisato visited the temple and made a copy drawing of the garden with fifteen stones in the 'shin' style. Although not clearly dated, this will have been after the fire. It would therefore be only natural that he was also consulted for the rebuilding of the Ryōan-ji garden after the fire in 1797. However, in none of his publications do we come across any proof of his contribution to the reconstruction of the Ryōan-ji garden. But Akisato was the most famous garden expert of his times and the Ryōan-ji temple garden was also famous, and important because of its long history and the important names connected to it. If Akisato worked on the garden he will, in cooperation with the temple management, not have made his role clear. Despite this, several indications in his later works point at his engagement in the reconstruction.

The illustration in 'Celebrated Gardens and Sights of Kyōto' shows clearly the fifteen stones as we can see them at present, nevertheless the written description speaks of 'ten marvelous rocks', apparently to make a step from the earlier nine stone records to the fifteen of 1799.

A very similar fifteen stone design appeared in his 1828 garden manual *Tsukiyama teizōden (gohen)*. The picture shows a walled in garden where fifteen stones are put up in the 'shin' style (see fig. 38). Apart from the spacing of the individual groups, that in themselves also do not resemble the Ryōan-ji stone garden, the direction of the movement of the total composition is reversed. However, the concept is the same as in the Ryōan-ji garden; a pine tree is hanging over the wall in the sketch. The picture intends to illustrate a design scheme, but it is nevertheless given among other examples of actually existing gardens. Moreover it is on a page following the Myōshin-ji gardens that Akisato made himself.

A final point might be added that shows the problems Akisato encountered at the renovation. Because the site of the buildings and the yard had been filled in, the mud wall surrounding it came to function partly as a retaining wall. Whether or not rebuilt after the fire, it could not be made any higher than before without a drastic and expensive change in its

construction.¹⁵⁴ Seen from the outside the wall has a normal appearance, but seen from the main hall it is, because of the landfill, unusually low and therefore proportionally thick which strongly accentuates the roof. As the verandah of the rebuilt hall on the other hand is high — it has an extra, lower step — a view came about through some old trees behind the wall over the surrounding landscape. This, probably non-intentional, view that was not there before, was certainly appreciated in Akisato's times, and he notes it down in his description. No records on this view exist before this date.¹⁵⁵

There seems hardly any doubt that Akisato had a hand in the consultancy or redesign in the late eighteenth century. Probably he added stones taken from the small court at the east side of the corridor.¹⁵⁶

Assuming even that Akisato faithfully rebuilt the original as he had seen and registered it, the present garden still differs apparently from the late seventeenth century descriptions.

Within the framework of this thesis the conclusion that the Ryōan-ji garden is not fully reliable as illustrative material of the mediaeval garden art has to be drawn. Nevertheless this conclusion is important enough to retain the present paragraph as part of this thesis.

6.3 THE SUBTEMPLE REIUN-IN

Reiun-in is a subtemple within the Myōshin-ji compound. The late mediaeval garden found within its walls faces two sides of a modest chamber.¹⁵⁷ Two small reading rooms in the northern half of this building face the main part of the garden, that is further enclosed by a wall, and on its left — that is the west side — by wooden fences. A door opens here upon the veranda that extends from the building to the garden (fig. 39). The garden view of rocks calls to the mind a small cascade falling from between standing rocks, followed by a stream running to the left which is suggested by a movement leftward in the groupings of the rocks. The direction of the composition, that is from left to right, is the same as in the Ryōan-ji garden.

What adds interest to the Reiun-in garden is that the cascade theme, emptying to the left, is repeated three times in succession, in one contiguous rock arrangement. Starting from the west and moving over the veranda to the east the garden shows the theme three times using some standing rocks as 'side scene' for the previous as well as the following cascade mouth.

In all their simplicity the cascades of the little garden possess elegant

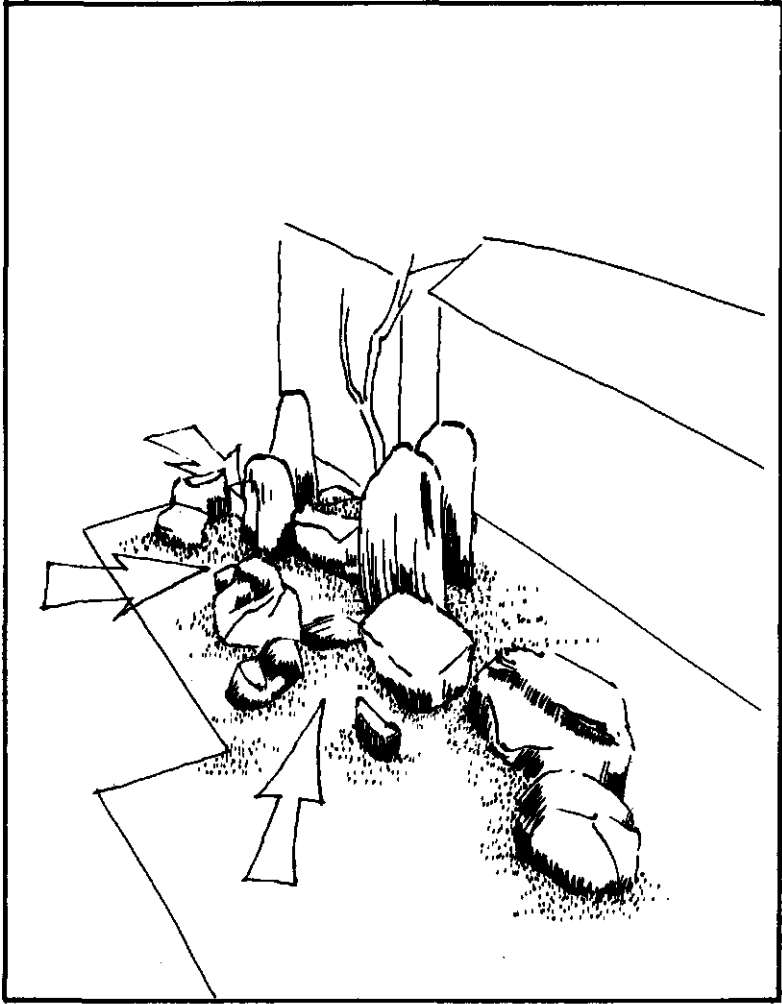


FIGURE 39. The small scale rock compositions of the garden at Reiun-in, note the three-fold cascade indicated with arrows.

qualities rather than the overpowering effects of the Song inspired Tenryū-ji and Daisen-in waterfall compositions.

The subtemple Reiun-in was founded in the early sixteenth century, when the power of the shogunate was waning.¹⁵⁸ Its founder was the 25th abbot Daikyū Shūkyū of the temple Myōshin-ji, to which Reiun-in belongs. This abbot was a respected man, among the people who consulted him were the deputy of the shōgun, Hosokawa Takakuni, and the Ashikaga shōgun Yoshiharu (in office 1521 – 1546) himself. In the early forties of the sixteenth century Emperor Go-Nara visited Daikyū several times in the Reiun-in temple to discuss Zen matters. Around this time, in honour of his visits, the garden and the little reading room facing it were built, a date tentatively given as 1543. A temple record states that it was Shiken Saidō from Shōkoku-ji who made the 'landscape view' in the garden.¹⁵⁹

It is related that this Shiken Saidō was a great reciter of texts and would lead the chorus at ceremonial occasions with his loud voice. More important is the information that he painted in the 'splashed manner' (*hat-suboku*), that uses diluted ink, wetting the paper to produce a soft and hazy effect. This technique was specifically well developed by Sesshū, who's fame is of a slightly earlier date. He died in 1506.

The garden has gentle qualities that can easily be seen as relating to the 'splashed manner' landscapes. Moreover its composition using several standpoints betrays a painter's eye. There are no reasons to doubt the attribution of the design to Shiken. That it is very different from the rugged waterfall arrangements of two hundred years earlier must be interpreted as the arrival of a new view on nature and garden art. The Reiun-in garden belongs already partly to the garden art of early modern times.

6.4 THE ESTATE OF WARLORD ASAKURA

The Asakura clan was one of the many provincial rulers backed up by the shogunate. They moved to the Ichijōdani valley, which lies some two hundred kilometers to the north-east of Kyōto, in 1471 after having been promoted to the higher rank of military governor (*shugo*) over the province Echizen.¹⁶⁰ However, rivalling clans, reduced to lower ranks by this promotion, continuously threatened the Asakura's, who never managed to gain absolute control over their domain; several other strongholds always remained within it. In the neighbouring province the governor had been killed in a peasant uprising (*ikkō ikki*), not uncommon in later mediaeval times. The new domination by a fanatic Jōdo sect of Buddhism supported

by the peasants, was another continuous threat at the borders of Asakura's domain. In spite of all this troubles the family remained loyal to the central government in Kyōto and frequently dispatched troops to help the shogunate, plunged into a deep crisis since the Ōnin War. When the state of affairs in Kyōto became untenable, Yoshiaki, who was to become the last Ashikaga shōgun, fled to the Ichijōdani valley in 1566.

This was of course a great honour for the Asakura's and Yoshiaki was lavishly welcomed. Just at that time a weeping cherry in the family's local Rinzai Zen temple was in full bloom, and a poetry gathering with this happy event as theme was held.¹⁶¹ Probably specially for this occasion the temple garden was built. Arrangements of garden rocks still exist on the site, although no architecture remains. Yoshiaki soon left the Asakura's to join forces with Nobunaga, the first of three great generals that would unify Japan. Nobunaga marched towards Kyōto and installed Yoshiaki as his own shōgun, after entering the city. The latter was not satisfied with this minor role and plotted against Nobunaga, once again joined by the Asakura and other clans. It turned out to be a great failure and the last Asakura leader committed suicide in 1573. This was the end of the house of Asakura. Their castle town went up in flames. Nothing but archaeological artefacts remain up to the present day.

Culturally speaking provincial rulers felt of course an urge to live a Kyōto-style life, as the above instance of the poetry gathering illustrates.¹⁶² That this, in the case of the Asakura warriors, was not merely parvenue imitating, seems to be proved by excavations on the site. An extremely large amount of sherds of high quality pottery was found, among which were even imports from China. Also jewelry, Chinese coins, and recovered tobacco pipes seem to show that the family was of quite a cosmopolitan orientation. The Ichijōdani valley lies rather close to Lake Biwa, an important mediaeval shipping route; Kyōto in fact lies across the lake only some two hundred kilometers to the southwest. Of course also the strong ties with the shogunal family would have helped in the forwarding of luxurious goods to Ichijōdani. The Asakura family must be thought of as belonging to the cultural spheres of Kyōto.

The excavations uncovered a small mediaeval town. Many ramparts, rammed earthen walls, and gates betrayed its military character. The main street was lined with a neat row of fenced in residences of retainers, where sometimes remaining rocks reveal the presence of old garden arrangements.¹⁶³

A few larger gardens are found on the site where the main estate, of the governor Asakura himself, once stood (see fig. 40). The arrangements of natural rocks show a formalized, clearly Kyōto-inspired, style such as can

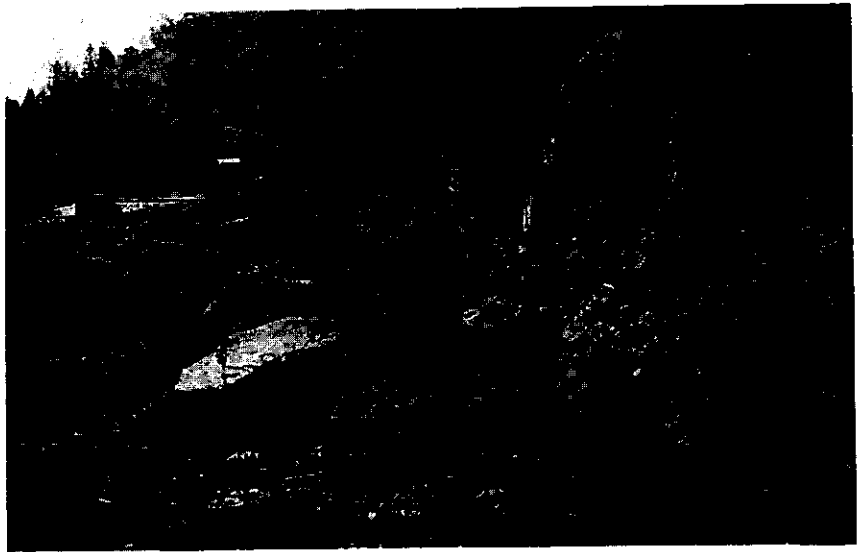
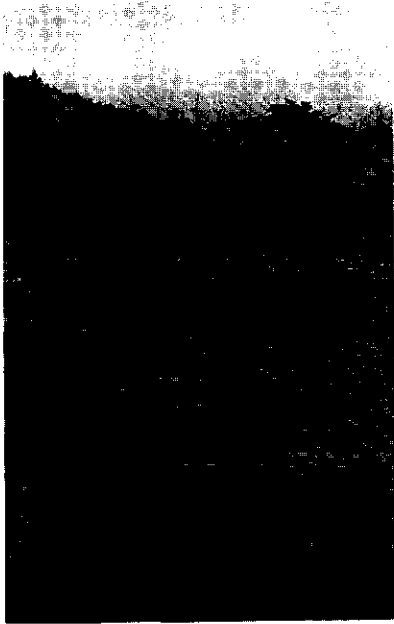


FIGURE 40. Some impressions of the remains of the gardens that existed within the main estate of the governor Asakura. (top left: flowerbed, entrance gate to estate in the background; top right: waterfall stone composition at the annex Shuhōkan; bottom: garden pond with rocks at the Yūdono Hall.)

be seen in the *Sansui* manual. It is however somewhat debased in its manner; very large, main rocks are set up next to little side rocks, that are too small to give harmonious proportions. This is found in all the larger gardens, that are also similar in their conception, employing a shallow pond with one main waterfall theme, and one or two one-slab stone bridges crossing it.¹⁶⁴

Therefore we can assume that the gardens were made by the same person(s), and that there probably existed a locally established practice of garden making, like a gardeners' family, or maybe even a little guild, that most likely had a trainee-master relation with a gardener in Kyōto, or was otherwise informed on Kyōto-design techniques through a copy of a manual.

Within the walls of the main estate, at the far back when seen from the entrance, lies a little garden. The hill behind forms a back-drop to the garden view (see fig. 41).

It faces the remains of two annex buildings that have been interpreted as a meeting hall (*kaisho*) and a teapavilion (*sukiya*).¹⁶⁵ Such buildings were used for games and parties, and for receiving guests. From this complementary layout of a little garden and buildings alone can be concluded that we are dealing with a garden that was appreciated as a view. But also the garden itself shows a formal composition that clearly has to be viewed as a scene from the buildings, much like the Daisen-in garden treated before. Across a shallow pond a small waterfall is made that employs three steps (fig. 42). Water, collected from the hillside behind, is led in it through straight ditches, paved with rocks. At the right side of this waterfall stands a large, flat stone, facing the teapavilion. Two stones accompany it on the left and right at its base. These are too small to make for balanced proportions. A big block lies in the middle of the water as an island, but again too large for the size of the pond. A one-slab stone bridge must have been on the left of the waterfall arrangement; there a path with steps runs up the slope at the back of the wall, vaguely reminiscent of the Tenryū-ji arrangement.

Pollen analysis (!) of soil around the excavated rocks showed dominant presence of *Weigelia hortensis* and *Rhododendron indicum*, low flowering shrubs neither subtle nor conspicuous, also not specifically connected to the traditional literary traditions. Both are native in this region, but in different habitats. Other places within the main estate showed dominant plantations of *Rhododendrons* (in rows), *Albizzia*, *Buxus* (rows), and *Hydrangea* (rows) that must have been intentionally used as garden plants. The selection of planting materials in mediaeval garden art again appears to have been rather colourful.¹⁶⁶

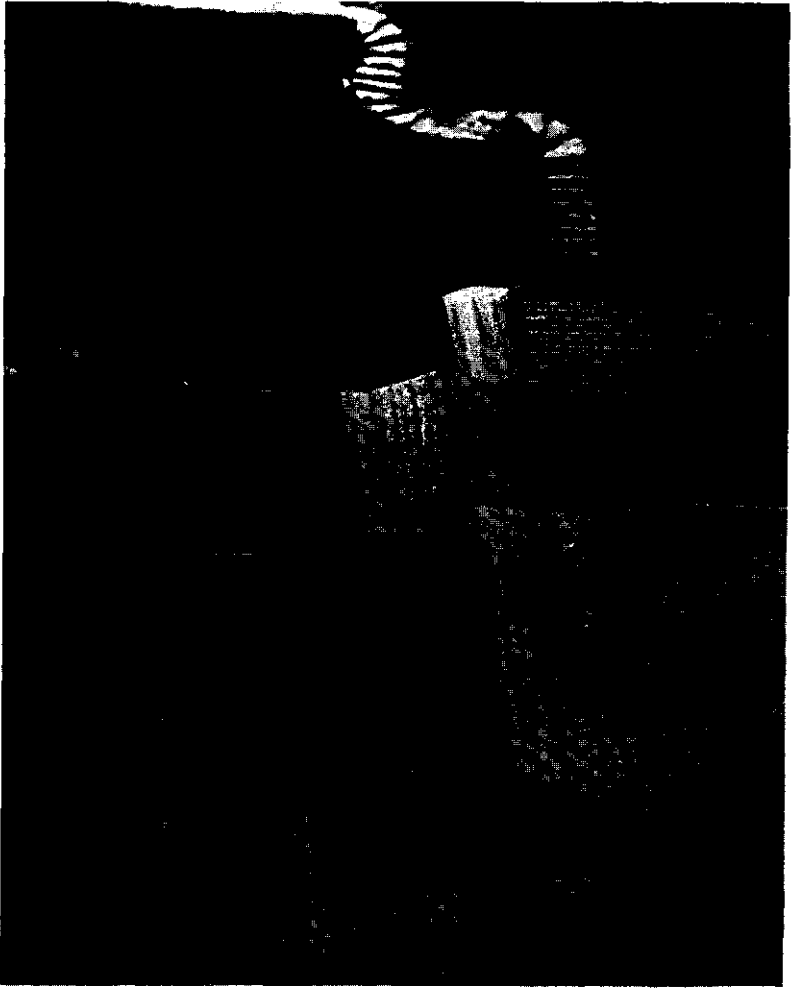


FIGURE 41. Part of a model that reconstructs the appearance of the main estate of the governor Asakura. The little pond garden discussed in the text can be seen behind the fence.



FIGURE 42. View of the small pond garden in the Asakura main estate. A large stone stands at the right side of a three-tiered waterfall (late 15th century).

CHAPTER 7

LATE MEDIAEVAL GARDEN MAKING

Earlier chapters made clear how an appreciation of the garden scene was expressed. I treated some exemplary gardens that showed what shape a composed garden scene took in late mediaeval times. The present description of mediaeval garden art will be completed with a search into the practice and theory of garden making. A clear image of this emerges only from the second half of the fifteenth century on. It is with this period that the following chapters deal.

7.1 LOW CLASS GARDENING PROFESSIONALS

With the dissolving of the system of the manorial landholdings of the Heian period, inevitably the practice of garden construction changed. Prince Genji could call on the low-class people that belonged as bondmen to his estate Katsura to help cleaning the garden at Ōi Villa. They were part of his property as were the trees and fields and as we can guess there was simply no thought of getting around this statute labour.¹⁶⁷

But in the course of the mediaeval period things changed. The lower classes, who were at disposal at any time, clearly confined as a labour force to a certain estate, were replaced by classless people without clear geographical ties or origins.¹⁶⁸ The west of Japan, now a rather dynamic centre of overseas trade and other economic activities, had naturally a higher percentage of such landless outcasts than the largely rice-growing provinces with a stable agricultural structure in the east. When the military government therefore moved to Kyōto, to the west, this class of outcasts came into focus.

The mediaeval group of outcasts is extremely heterogenous. Within the group, generally called 'despised people' (*senmin*) as opposed to 'public people' (*kōmin*), there is again a complicated hierarchy so that we come across many different titles and names. What unified them was their forced expulsion to the lowest positions in society, that must be due to the economic and political dynamics of that society. The only labour they were permitted to do was dirty and heavy.¹⁶⁹ Outcasts served as a kind of undertaker on the battlefield, as butchers or leatherworkers since kill-

ing, and handling carcasses became thought of as polluting. Also working with earth was considered impure and there are records of outcasts working on road-building or making earthen walls. Many records are also found of outcasts active in handling garden materials.¹⁷⁰ Although entitled differently in the contemporary records they are in modern works on garden art generally headed under the title 'riverside gardeners' (*sen-zuikawaramono*).¹⁷¹ As this title suggests these people lived on the riverside, a wasteland because of unpredictable floodings, dirt, and insects in summer; but, no control was exerted here and no taxes were collected.¹⁷²

From the beginning of the fifteenth century the instances where their engagement in gardening is recorded increase. Their task shifts gradually from heavy labour to include, in the course of the fifteenth century, more and more actual design work.¹⁷³

The new military aristocracy was socially not so strictly hereditary noble as were the Heian courtiers. It is likely that the warrior aristocrats had a more open mind on the point of class distinctions. They were able to distinguish skill in craft disconnected from social rank. For the riverside gardeners who had no rank but the lowest, this was a way to social ascent.¹⁷⁴ Nobody knew to whom they belonged or where they came from; nothing to lose, only by excelling in skill could they catch the attention of a rich sponsor.

This is one reason for the markedly technical orientation of mediaeval garden making. Skill in garden technique, in composition, proportion and the like could be acquired by simple rationality. And exactly such outward aspects were highly valued in the cultural salon of the new elite, that depended so much on display and decoration. On the contrary the Heian period garden relied much more on its almost esoteric theory, on the geomantic schemes, the taboos, and on a literary lyrical appreciation. The technical orientation of mediaeval garden art will be extensively illustrated in the chapter on the garden manual *Sansui*.

Taking advantage of the classless position of the riverside gardeners, they were widely employed by the warrior aristocracy as 'spies', spotting garden trees or stones of outstanding beauty in the gardens of retainers. The lord, on being informed of the existence of such garden materials, would buy or more likely confiscate them for his own garden.¹⁷⁵ Mediaeval garden history is in part characterized by the continuous moving of stones and trees of celebrated beauty. It must be seen as an aspect of the somewhat parvenue taste of the warrior aristocracy.¹⁷⁶

With the move to Kyōto yet another mechanism brings the riverside people to the fore as professional gardeners. In previous times low ranking priests of esoteric Buddhism had erected stones in a shaman-like tradi-

tion related to the early Shinto folk belief, thereby half professionally engaging in garden construction. Now that the concurrent Zen sect had monopolized the patronage of the new aristocracy, most garden building activities required the consent of the Zen clergy. The gardener/priests of the esoteric Buddhist sects were excluded. However, this also meant that the new elite of Zen priests and military had to turn to other groups of garden professionals. This must also be a background for the rise of riverside people as gardening professionals.¹⁷⁷

Quite a few are known from the records by name.¹⁷⁸ This proves that they were valued by the literate for the garden works they engaged in. A record dated 1489 gives the name of riverside gardener Matashirō. In a discussion whether certain garden stones should be set on top of a mound, he supposedly said that it should be no problem because stones are found on top of the natural hills around Kyōto as well.¹⁷⁹ This was a remarkably practical and self-confident answer in times when conventions and taboos were still the main rules in garden design. It is also significant that it is recorded. A similar practicality is betrayed in other records where the same Matashirō questions a fixed design principle.

The traditional doctrine had a stream running through the garden from the (north)east to the (south)west. This was the only direction to have any water running through a compound, as is stated for instance in the manuals *Sakuteiki* and *Sansui*. All the same the direction may be reversed according to Matashirō, complying, he reasoned, to the direction of the spreading mission of Buddhist teaching that went from west to east.¹⁸⁰

Another point of veritable design critique by a riverside gardener also concerned a traditional taboo found in the *Sakuteiki*. The taboo says not to plant a tree in the middle of a square courtyard; it would make a configuration similar to the Chinese character for distress or difficulties (written as 'tree' in a square) and therefore bring problems to the owner of the garden. Nevertheless the gardener reasoned lucidly that if the owner of the house is a woman and the tree a cherry tree there should be no evil effect. Because a woman is Yin (female) and a cherry tree pushes it flowers in spring, which is Yang, both would fit well and be of mutual benefit.¹⁸¹

Noteworthy is the adhoc applying of the Chinese cosmos-explaining Yin/Yang theory directly to the practice of gardening, which is very similar to the reasoning found in the contemporary *Sansui* manual. The above anecdote shows that at least this gardener was well at home with the ways in which gardening theories were to be applied. However, the riverside gardeners did not produce any manual, nor is it likely that they possessed one. The garden manuals stem from other circles of society; probably most of the riverside gardeners could not read or write.¹⁸²

That we are dealing with a general phenomena and not just with a few instances of riverside gardening professionals engaging in garden design, is proved by records that show contemporary irritation with their apparently wide spreading activities.

In 1427 riverside gardeners were no longer allowed to enter the precincts of the Imperial Court, because:

They are dirty people.¹⁸³

Mediaeval traditionalists of later date also complained that,

they have no experience or true knowledge at all of (the traditional rules of) landscape gardening. They make gardens, place stones, and plant trees on the surface; they talk, passing judgements on wrong or right, say this is a failure, this is wrong, etc...¹⁸⁴

This will suffice to show that we are dealing with riverside gardeners that were recognized by the literate as a group, so that we also can assume a more generally recognized social status of the riverside people as Japan's first professional gardeners.

A similar background of low birth though not always as low as the riverside gardeners is held by the artists whose name included the title 'a' or 'ami'. In a previous chapter the name of Sōami was mentioned. Also Zen'ami, a famous mediaeval gardener, referred to earlier, belonged to this group. The 'ami artists' moved around in the highest circles; in the diaries relating the affairs of the late fifteenth century shōguns we come across many ami-names.¹⁸⁵ All of them were, in principle at least, priests of an Amida Buddhist sect, but very soon 'ami' was more a title than a reference to a religious function. Their priestly title must be seen in relation to their association with the high cultural elite. Also the ami artists came initially from a commoner class or even outcast layers of society. Becoming a priest and shaving one's head was one way of passing by the social class distinctions, as these in principle did not exist in the temple sphere.¹⁸⁶

At the shōgun's court the ami artists served many functions. The ones that were general arbiters of taste like Noami had a sense of judgment for imported Chinese objects of art, because they also engaged in the China trade. It is known for instance that Senami, the grandfather of the famous tea ceremony performer Rikyū went to China with a list of the goods desired by the shōgun. The ami artists were the ones who actually handled the precious imported scrolls and ceramics. They took personal care of the embellishments of the shogunal salon. Noami and his grandson Sōami

must be considered the best experts on Chinese painting of the time. They worked on catalogues and descriptions of the imported Chinese paintings.¹⁸⁷

Zen'ami was an active garden maker from riverside birth, and somehow forefather of the earlier mentioned Matashirō.¹⁸⁸ Many other riverside gardeners must be considered his disciples.¹⁸⁹ Zen'ami was highly esteemed by the shōgun Yoshimasa himself, if not even considered a friend. There is for instance a reference of Yoshimasa inquiring after the already aged Zen'ami when he was severely ill.¹⁹⁰

The name of an earlier riverside gardener can be connected to the person of Zen'ami, before he assumed the ami title. Zen'ami appears in the annals only after a rather advanced age. If this is correct then Zen'ami was recordedly active in the years 1433 – 1471. Among the gardens that he made or maintained are some subtemples of Shōkoku-ji, as well as the shōgun's palace Muromachi-dono.¹⁹¹ It is one of his Shōkoku-ji gardens that was praised with the earlier quoted phrases:

the far and near distant peaks and gorge are unusually superior, seeing this one gets not satiated and before one realizes it one has forgotten to go back.

Although all the late fifteenth century ami artists were basically specialists in their fields it is quite likely that they associated with each other, as they were housed together in the same quarters of the shogunal palace. Further one can imagine that they had free access to the painting collections of the shōgun as Sōami recordedly knew best what it contained. This will lead to the hypothetical statement that Zen'ami was inspired to built his garden based on a compositional scheme derived from Chinese landscape painting.¹⁹² He could have learned how to employ far and near planes of view in a garden landscape composition from Sōami, who was considered the most skilled in landscape painting among the shōgun's group of painters, or otherwise from Geiami from whom some landscape paintings exist that employ similar compositional schemes.

This seems the right point to return to the problem of attribution, now that it has been explained who actually made the mediaeval gardens. Hardly any of the gardens of the time that remain up to the present day can be attributed without any doubt to specified garden makers. But there is a great deal of contemporary evidence that many kinds of people from very low birth were active as professional gardeners. It must be concluded that, generally speaking the same class of nameless gardeners also built the unattributable gardens. Due to their unrespectable backgrounds it was

simply not proper to register their names. Gardens showing a technical perfection in composition would have been made by such low-class professional gardeners. Not a few of such technically designed gardens appear in Edo period garden books under the euphemistic, but falsified, attribution 'said to be made by Sōami'.¹⁹³

It seems too simple to say that the riverside gardeners, as they appear in the late fifteenth century, were the driving force behind changing ideas on gardening and its aesthetics. But because of the extensive role they played in garden construction they will have quickened the demystification of garden art and, what is clear without doubt, have brought it closer to its technical perfection. Moreover, as gardening professionals emerge as persons with a name, a better interpretation seems to be that we witness the formation of landscape gardening as a specialized profession.¹⁹⁴ This conclusion has interesting consequences. It means the separation of a body of knowledge on gardening from other spheres of society. Garden making is no longer inevitably connected to religious mysticism or to lyrical poetry as it had been in the Heian period. Some of the above anecdotes show an early stage of this separation in the form of critique on the old taboos.

Within professional circles time is ripe to develop an exclusive craftsmanship of gardening. This necessarily meant that this craftsmanship had to be demonstrated, as this is basic to any professional performance. As for garden art it is the use of garden materials and their composition into a garden view that makes for visible craftsmanship, recognizable by outsiders. Developing a technique and recording such knowledge to be able to perfect it, becomes a basic requirement in such professional specialization. It is therefore not just by accident that the first manual that treats garden making as a practical problem dates from the late fifteenth century.

This manual, the *Sansui*, treats the composition of a scenic garden view as well as the technical use of garden materials such as rocks and plants, in detail.

7.2 THE MANUAL *SANSUI NARABINI YAKEIZU*

The full title of this late fifteenth century manuscript is *Sansui narabini yakeizu*. For practical reasons I will refer to it as the *Sansui* manual.¹⁹⁵

The importance of the *Sansui* manual should not be overstressed. Unlike the manual *Sakuteiki* that broadly covers as a theory the reality of

the Heian period garden world, as it is known at present the *Sansui* manual relates just to a section of the field of mediaeval gardening. This is the small mediaeval garden to be viewed from a building. The manual does not treat the large gardens of the pond and island type as found in the palaces of the aristocracy, neither does it give any information from the viewpoint of the owner.

Further it was written and compiled by low ranking priests of an esoteric Buddhist sect that had, as garden specialists, a social standing that was only slightly higher than the riverside gardeners. They could, for instance, only have been informed about new Song influenced garden theories, as known in elite Zen circles, by hearsay.

The importance of the manual for the theory of gardening is specifically its description of technical aspects. In this it is far more detailed than the *Sakuteiki* manual. The compilers of *Sansui* must have been gardeners working on the site. This is clear from several detailed problems that are still familiar to the present day garden designer. Interesting in this respect is its concern for the client. Several times it gives advice that is clearly meant to affect and enhance the good will and appreciation of the owner. Also in this respect it shows the mediaeval advancement of gardening as a profession in its opposition of maker and client. An illustrative passage in the *Sansui* manual may be introduced here, that sounds as an advise of the clever foreman to his not too intelligent workers:

If you are to see the garden of a person you don't know, (then take this advice,) you have to view it from a point besides the stone on which the owner stands when paying respect to the Buddha Stones in his garden. This is because stones like the Three Buddha Stones, ..., etc, are standing there and because people feel an awe for these stones. Facing stones like these people have a feeling in their heart that many prayers may come true. Their heart reveres in worship the Buddha's of past, present and future.

Well then, (this is what you do), first pay your respects to the owner, then cast your eye over the waterfall and, following the direction of the running water, look until where it stops. Then, move back to the point besides the stone for paying respect, and really look carefully at the garden.

In case you don't know about directions of water falling and also not about the order in which the garden has to be viewed, it is not good to show no degree of interest at all (to hide your ignorance.) In case you don't know about the named stones or the unnamed pavement stones, do not step on any stone, so that you will at least not step on

the named stones. (Which would be a true blunder).

If you view the garden of someone who is of a higher class than ours, and if you think the garden is beautiful, never shout aloud your comments. But if the people are of our standing always praise the garden. You must always remember these things when looking at a garden.¹⁹⁶

The section not only sheds some light on the relation garden maker-client, but also illustrates the low class position of the gardeners of Ninna-ji. In passing we may also note that reverence to Buddha Stones and the like, was apparently something that was not generally respected.

A priest Zōen is named as the original writer, and in the colophon at the end of the scroll on which the manual is written, the dates 1466 as well as 1448 are given. It bears several stamps from Shinren-in, a subtemple of the Ninna-ji compound, where it is kept. It is known that monks of this temple were engaged in garden works in the thirteenth century.¹⁹⁷

The area around Ninna-ji, in fact most of the northeast Kyōto, formed a settlement of naturalized Koreans and Chinese who came as craftsmen, architects and garden makers in the early Heian period to help building the new capital.¹⁹⁸ This is the origin of the fame in the field of gardening that gardeners of this part of Kyōto still have, and is the background for Ninna-ji's mediaeval development as centre of gardening. However, the social standing of the descendants of the Heian period immigrants differs from the Chinese priests that moved around in the Zen elite circles of early mediaeval times.

The text of the *Sansui* has many omissions, and erased or unreadable sections. Further there are many parts that are simply unclear in their content. Besides the conclusion that the writer was not a scholarly literatus it also causes some problems in understanding or translating the text. Nevertheless many sections give unambiguous and important material to support and illustrate some points of my thesis. Quite extensive sections explain the composition of a garden as the building up of a scenic view; these sections include several diagrammatic illustrations on this design problem. Other parts of the text deal rather systematically with technical information on how to design and use garden materials like stones and specific plants. These sections illustrate the technical orientation of the mediaeval garden practice. The present chapter treats mainly the ideas on the composition of a scenic view found in the manual.

The full title of the manual, *Sansui narabini Yakeizu*, can be translated as 'Illustrations of Landscape Scenes and Groundforms'. The illustrations found in the first half of the scroll are indeed a striking achievement compared to the *Sakuteiki*. The most important ones are discussed below (see

figures 43–47). From the *Sansui* manual onwards Japanese garden manuals are illustrated.

The first illustration of a 'landscape scene and groundform' has a caption written below it, that can be translated as follows:

This is an illustration representing a far distant wide view. However broad and wide flowing the field landscape should be, for a big and wide effect you must design the hillside landscape small and narrow, it is said.¹⁹⁹

The second illustration has a text translatable as:

This illustration is named Ten Thousand Seas and One Mountain. There is the suggestion of a wide expanse of sea and one mountain. This is the design in the case of a small garden.

The third illustration has no caption. The following two sketches, the fourth and fifth, deal with adapting a design idea to the particular shape or size of a piece of land:

It is always a difficult thing to construct a garden on an elongated plot (alongside the veranda of a building with a wide front), that further narrows at one end. You have to leave this narrow tip as it is.

The last sketch of this series of five has the following caption:

A garden with length and width like this is easy to make, and also can be viewed well. In the case of a square garden you should make the side along the veranda a little wider. The drawing shows this idea. But according to the place and the aspect of the season you have to make a rich view. Indeed you should design as a soft whisper(?), don't make it a careless, plump thing. You must design a pleasing scene, recalling the seasons.(?) Almost always it is like this.

These last two sketches deal with more realistic problems of adapting a design to the shape of the site (fig. 46, and fig. 47).

The third sketch, without caption, is filled with more stones and trees than the first two. Also the size of the three sketches increases successively (figures 43–45). It seems proper to take this third one together with number one and two as a coherent triplet.

Taking into account that the first two sketches are, as their captions indicate, meant to illustrate some ideas on the composition of depth and perspective in a garden scene, it is tempting to interpret the three as showing the application of Chinese theories of perspective.²⁰⁰ These were also



FIGURE 43. Section of the *Sansui* manual with the first landscape sketch. See the text for a translation of its caption.

FIGURE 44. Section of the *Sansui* manual that shows the second landscape sketch. See the text for a translation of its caption.

FIGURE 45. Section of the *Sansui* manual that shows the third landscape sketch, without caption.



FIGURE 46. Section of the *Sansui* manual that shows the fourth landscape sketch. See the text for a translation of the below caption.

FIGURE 47. Section of the *Sansui* manual that shows the fifth landscape sketch. See the text for a translation of its caption.

concerned with the problems of distance and solved it in a threefold way. In detail the brush technique of the illustrations also betrays Song influence in all its primitiveness. Moreover the later fifteenth century witnessed a large production of indigenous Song style landscape painting, and so we can assume a wider diffusion of the understanding of its theories.²⁰¹

The last sketch of the three shows a foreground indicated as such by a stone with the name 'the Thousand Stone'. This indicates a similar stone as the one in Daisen-in, that connected the garden view visually to the veranda and the interior. In between the left and right side scenes the eye is led upwards ending at a cliff-like formation at which the word 'bird' is written, above some rubbed out words.²⁰² The trees are drawn smaller in this part of the drawing. If the threefold Chinese composition theory can be applied to the sketches, then the third one should be either the 'deep' distance or the 'high' distance scheme.

The second sketch deals with a pond garden scene. 'The stone that hides the ship', shown in the sketch, should be placed in a pond as a later section in the manual states.²⁰³ The caption also speaks of 'ten thousand seas'. The 'level' distance composition scheme in landscape painting was extensively used for lake, sea and estuary sceneries, such as the Eight views of the Xiao and Xiang. The effect of distance in this kind of scene was mainly achieved by means of haze that would blend with the white sky in the background. The shaded lines, particularly abundant in this second sketch are probably drawn as such an undefined background. Sketch two would be categorized best as the 'level' distance composition scheme. In contrast to the two other sketches that only show pine trees, some foliage trees are drawn here, which gives added softness in effect, similar to the standard 'level distance' estuary landscape painting, that shows leafed trees.

Sketch number one is the smallest of the three. It shows, like the other two, trees mainly in the background and stones, in this case the Master and Servant stone in the foreground. Curving lines connect the rock and tree groupings. Compared to the other two sketches the scene is not so filled with elements and more simple in layout. As the caption indicates its intention is a far view. Categorized according to the Chinese landscape composition schemes it should be either the 'deep' or the 'high' distance scheme.

It is very well possible that this triplet lies at the origin of a later threefold division of garden design, in the *shin*, *gyō* and *sō* mode, as is commonly found in the garden manuals of the Edo period (1600 – 1865).²⁰⁴ If my assumption, that the present triple derives from the Chinese landscape

theories is right, it would give an unusually interesting insight in the adaptation of foreign aesthetics in Japan. The *shin, gyō, sō* division classified in later centuries not only a grade of artificial formality of design, but it was also clearly connected to social standards and behaviour. The *shin* mode is particularly used in the design of gardens of the military class for instance. The *Sansui* manual could therefore illustrate how Song Chinese academic qualities of painting were adapted to include a social context and in course of time gained a completely different meaning.²⁰⁵

With regard to the difficulties in interpreting the three sketches one should of course also think of the possibility of other intentions of the writer. As the first line of the scroll clearly states, 'Do not get along without having first received oral instruction', we can guess that the sketches just served to illustrate some message that was only orally transmitted.

One can even assume that there is no practical intention at all. The sections preceding the sketches give an explanation of garden stones related to the Chinese Five Elements theory. This theory is an important part of the esoteric teachings of the Buddhist sect to which Ninna-ji belongs. However, applied to garden materials it becomes completely impractical. Seeing the sketches in relation to this, one can imagine that the writer likewise sketched the diagrams of a Chinese composition theory that he only knew from hearsay to back up his teachings with fancy ideas, which had no other practical meaning. In remarkable contrast other sections are very practical and easily understood.

Nevertheless the last two sketches of the five with their appendages deal with practical design problems and even with the composition of a garden view, as it says 'A garden with length and width like this is easy to make and also can be viewed well.' More direct evidence that the *Sansui* manual addresses the composition of garden views is found at several points. The manual says for instance:

There is a saying 'Ten Thousand Trees in one View'. It means that trees must be planted in such a way that all can be viewed within one glance, without any left out. This is important because trees which are considered felicitous are planted close to the house; they should not hide the small trees beyond in the back of the garden.²⁰⁶

More in particular the technique of using main stones as markers (*keiseki*) to which the minor stones of the composition are matched, also shows the concern for a scenic effect. It is in the manual *Sansui* that this principle of rock design shows up for the first time in the history of garden making. It is not found in the *Sakuteiki* manual and plays an important role in most of the later manuals.

CHAPTER 8

INTERPRETATION

The theory and practice of making a garden differs from the appreciation of it. This is inevitably the case if the garden maker is not the same person as the one who appreciates it. Appreciation means a mental interpretation of actual views or forms in the garden. This interpretation can be totally separated from the theory of garden making. The garden maker makes; it is usually the owner who contemplates and applies his feelings of beauty on the garden forms.

The following treats two ways of looking at, of interpreting the mediaeval scenic garden.

8.1 THE SCENIC GARDEN

The previous chapters treat the scenic garden in its literary praise, its actual form, and in the theory and practice of making. Implied within these pages is the assumption that the gardens discussed were considered to be a scene by mediaeval man. This is an implicit interpretation on my behalf. That mediaeval garden art must be interpreted as scenic and what scenic actually meant for mediaeval garden owners and makers is discussed below.

The appreciation of a scene of ten thousand mountains with distances of thousand miles perceived in a small garden is found among the highest cultural elite of a few Zen priests and warriors in the fourteenth century and became more general in the course of the fifteenth century, related to the spreading popularity of the *bonzan* tray landscapes. The mode of expressing this appreciation is clearly Chinese; The word mock mountain (*kazan*) was imported from the mainland. It is used in Song literature on garden art as a purely technical garden term. Also the terminology of depth, distances of ten thousand miles or more perceived in a small space, is common in the canon of Song and Yuan landscape painting. The related, but slightly different, way of lauding a garden scene that employs the imagery of ten thousand peaks has also a Chinese literary origin.²⁰⁷

Important aspects of the Japanese mediaeval appreciation of a scene in the garden derived therefore from the Song literary canon of landscape

painting. That Chinese theories of painting were effective in the field of garden art in Japan requires further explanation.

From the late Heian period on gardening, or rather its theory and its criticism, were a gentleman's pursuit. It was the nobleman Toshitsuna who compiled the garden manual *Sakuteiki*. The painting of the Heian period on the other hand was basically a craft, with a complicated technique of polychrome execution. It was largely executed by nameless craftsmen. In Song and Yuan China the status of gardening and painting were almost reversed, monochrome painting was considered a gentleman's pastime. This Chinese gentlemanly status of monochrome painting, including its criticism, made the literature on painting respectable to higher circles and could easily mingle with the noble status of garden criticism in early mediaeval Japan. In this way landscape painting and its theories, forming part of the imported Chinese literature entered the world of garden art in Japan. The ambiguous meaning of the word *sansui* meaning 'landscape scenery of a painting' and in Japan of the middle ages also 'garden scenery' or even 'natural scenery', will have helped in this smooth fusion.

The mode of praising a garden scene in the Chinese way and to a lesser extent the use of the word mock mountain can be interpreted in several ways. Some possible interpretations of this mediaeval garden appreciation are given below.

First is discussed the understanding of this appreciation as the voicing of true wonder on seeing an amazing sight. Nevertheless, a more likely interpretation is that it was, at least in the early middle ages, a rather shallow and trite usage of fashionable terms copied from a more impressive neighbouring culture.

In the above interpretation *ka* (of *kazan* and *kasenzui*) should be translated as 'seeming' or even 'illusory' and instead of mock landscape we should speak of an illusory landscape. The earlier Heian period view had appreciated gardens for their lyrical themes that were not necessarily designed with much stress on the outward form. Now, gardens were built first of all with a form, an artificially man-made shape, that was illusory because of its man-made naturalness. This way of understanding presumes that the early mediaeval garden connoisseurs were not yet used to the effects of depth in representational garden design. Indeed this novelty in the history of garden art was considered a true innovation and therefore the foreign words that seemed most apt to describe it were taken up directly.

A certain unreal quality undoubtedly belonged to the Chinese landscape paintings that were only taken from the treasuries, unrolled and displayed

at the rare occasion of a poetry gathering or the visit of a high guest. Specifically in the early middle ages landscape painting would have had such an unreal beauty; no comparable landscape painting was produced as yet within Japan. The same unreal quality must have been evoked by the early mediaeval gardens in the scenic style, also these were not a daily sight and temples could not as easily be visited as at present. Moreover, as opposed to painting, a garden could be physically entered; walking over the little bridge in the waterfall arrangement of Tenryū-ji would have been a singular experience of actually entering a Song landscape. The unreal beauty of it was as shallow as the follies in the English Landscape Garden. In this respect one should realize that the early mediaeval pond gardens served as a kind of pleasure park for a new elite, receptive to novelties.²⁰⁸

At present it is difficult to imagine how exciting experiences like this would have been, and it remains hypothetical. Evidence for the wondrous aspect of the mediaeval garden appreciation is found perhaps in the use of the word *Hōrai* in mock landscape descriptions.

Hōrai was used in earlier descriptions of Japanese gardens as a nominator for wonderful beauty.²⁰⁹ The fictitious story of the *Hōrai* islands vanishing in foggy mists at the very moment of having caught sight of them would find a parallel in the illusory effect of the small garden, which as will be remembered was in some cases also described as peaks clothed in mists. The word *Hōrai* appears similarly as a nominator for a vague, wondrous beauty in early mediaeval descriptions of gardens.²¹⁰

All the same, the quotations of the later fifteenth century reveal the understanding of the trick that makes for an illusion of perspective and speak of depth, of far and near distances, that is the back- and foreground perceived in the garden scene. That such a quality of the outward appearance of the composition was noted and praised supports the thesis that, at least the late mediaeval scenic garden was also praised on its compositional technique. It confirms the first steps in the establishing of a taste for form, as opposed to a lyrical appreciation. From the gardens described above it is clear that it is quite advanced as a gardening technique in the Tenryū-ji garden waterfall that was built by immigrant stone workers and in the native small gardens of the late middle ages, although there are some problems of attribution and dating.

However inspired by China, we can not assume that the nature perception of the Song literati was part of the early mediaeval view. The early mediaeval gardens showing scenic aspects were maybe appreciated as form, but most likely without the emotions of mountain romanticism common in the Song literary perception of nature. Urbanization in Japan

of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries did not reach the level of organization of the Chinese cities. Besides, in early mediaeval Japan times were too oppressive, and for the leaders politics was too important, to be able to enjoy nature as something gentle and romantic. Although maybe present in a rare early mediaeval individual, the general romantic appreciation of nature as opposed to city life only becomes a socially general emotion from the sixteenth century onwards.

Therefore, besides regarding the early mediaeval appreciation of a scene in a garden as wondrous, its standing as something novel and exotic, and nothing more profound than just that, has to be considered.

In the early fourteenth century founding phases of Zen as a religious institution there were reasons enough for Zen priests to flatter and impress the new financial sponsors with new attractive ideas. Musō Kokushi is for instance describing the garden of Tadayoshi, the shōgun's brother, as a view of misty clouds that clothe ranges of thousand peaks.²¹¹ The flattering aspect of such appraisal can not be denied.

The practice of gardening betrays likewise fancy aspects. The use of coloured stones from remote regions, as seen in the waterfall of the Tenryū-ji garden can only be valued as fancy or fashionable. The rich variety in colour and shape of the mineralogical collection of the Daisen-in garden reveals a similar greediness.

The *Sansui* manual gives a wide range of stones or stone groups. Some of the names are taken from the esoteric practices of Ninna-ji's sect. Other, more fancy names like the Longevity stone, the stone of Love and Affection, etc., are concepts taken from the Chinese literary traditions. But the priests of Ninna-ji can hardly have understood the philosophical or literary meaning of such foreign concepts. Moreover, such lists of stones play no role in the practice of garden making as the *Sansui* manual treats it. Seen in connection with its concern for the client, found in some sections, it rather must be taken as a touch of professionalism.

Generally speaking mediaeval garden makers knew how to cater to the fashionables. The mediaeval appreciation of the mock landscape must also be seen in this light; the use of Chinese terminology was stereotyped and only shallowly reflected the continental aesthetic emotions.

In an earlier chapter the following verses were quoted from Hannyabō Tessen:

The five highest mountains soar against an ant stack, the wide ocean looks down on a frog hole... Directions of far and near have no boundaries, as if 30,000 miles are contained within a square inch.

But when seen in their context, the words might be as stereotyped as the

rest of the poem that refers to standard themes of landscape art like the Master/Servant stones, the White Tiger/Blue Dragon geomantics, one of the Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang themes, *Hōrai*, etcetera, etcetera.²¹² Wasn't the poet making a patterned literary statement, rather than expressing his aesthetic emotions?

An interesting hypothesis at this point is that the small early mediaeval gardens lauded in the Chinese manner, employed no scenic composition schemes such as we can observe in the late mediaeval ones that still exist. Probably, following the Heian period thematic approach in design, the early mediaeval small garden consisted just of a few rocks. These were happily recognized, with a similar 'wind of a feeling'-like emotion, as a subtle lyrical theme of the ten thousand peaks and thus praised accordingly. One can conjecture therefore that simply one or two stones evoked standard Chinese poetical themes of mountain scenes. With the disappearance of the antique lyrical view of nature, such extremely simple gardens were also no longer considered to be a 'garden'.

At this point an incongruity noticed earlier should be recalled. Small mediaeval gardens existing at present are all late mediaeval. They date from the sixteenth century, and in a questionable case probably from the late fifteenth. As for Kyōto and its surroundings where the representative ones are found, all the small gardens belong to the Daitoku-ji and Myōshin-ji compounds. These did not belong to the Five Monastery group. The fourteenth century, early mediaeval, small gardens that are known through records belonged largely to the Five Monastery group, or to the wealthy warrior clans sponsoring it. Many of the quotations, given before, relate to the leader of the group, Musō Kokushi.

Culturally speaking, the Five Monasteries, centering around Musō were isolated spheres of Chinese learning in the Song tradition.²¹³ They lost their supreme position as Zen centres with the Ōnin War to be replaced by the Myōshin-ji and Daitoku-ji monasteries. The priests of the latter compounds had, with one exception, never visited China; they did not receive immigrant priests in their temples. If they knew of the existence of something like a small scenic garden, it could only have been through hearsay or through literature. They had never actually seen a Chinese courtyard with a rock and some bamboo with their own eyes; they were also less familiar with the traditional literati painting of such small landscape scenes. A small garden must have been quite a different thing in their eyes, compared to the early mediaeval Zen priests. Nevertheless they also needed gardens adorning their main halls, just like before.

At the same time, a native gardening profession was in formation that

could begin making gardens in the new subtemples of Myōshin-ji and Daitoku-ji. As a consequence of professionalization, it was technique and composition that mattered. Turning to the remaining gardens from Musō Kokushi's times, it was specifically the waterfall arrangements of the large pond gardens that showed a distinct, if not spectacular, technical perfection. It was easily understood as formal composition by low class gardening professionals without schooling. Incidentally one can also assume a diffusion of composition techniques via the group of 'ami' artists, the best experts on landscape painting of the time. The waterfall arrangement was taken up as a major theme by the first professional gardeners in Japan's history, and became a focal point of many small subtemple gardens from this time on.²¹⁴

The early mediaeval small gardens, that in the Song literary tradition only consisted of one or two stones with some bamboo or a pine tree, were dismantled, forgotten or left to grow wild.

Most of Kyōto burnt down in the late fifteenth century Ōnin War. Only larger pond gardens from the earlier ages would have survived the wars as recognizable gardens. It would be interesting to check the few stones Toyama saw on the site of one of Musō Kokushi's mock landscapes as for their position in relation to traces of early mediaeval architecture, if these could be found.²¹⁵ They lie in a bamboo wood and it is not unthinkable that they formed one of the early mediaeval 'illusory landscapes' praised as 'A little group of fist big stones' that made 'the effect of a thousand miles'.

8.2 THE ZEN GARDEN

In the preceding I have tried to reconstruct the progress in mediaeval garden art as the developing of a scenic type of garden. Its composition as well as aspects of its appreciation derived ultimately from Chinese landscape art.

A deviating interpretation commonly found in the recent, more popular, literature on Japanese garden art sees in the small mediaeval garden — specifically in the ones of the dry landscape type — the expression of Zen philosophy.²¹⁶ This interpretation is relatively recent. It is not found in the 18th and 19th century gardening manuals, neither in the early 20th century literature on the garden art of Japan.²¹⁷

The following pages do not attempt to give a systematical review but address only some of the more significant contributions pivotal in the establishing of the 'Zen interpretation'. The chapter includes my criticism on this interpretation.

A visit of The Garden Club of America to Japan in May 1935 brought about a few important publications in western languages on Japanese gardens.²¹⁸ One of these was Loraine Kuck's *One Hundred Kyōto Gardens*. It is here that, as far as I can see, the Zen interpretation shows up for the first time in the literature on Japanese garden art. It focuses in particular on the enigmatic Ryōan-ji garden. The book, published in 1935, describes the Zen qualities of the Ryōan-ji garden, with the harmony of the balanced composition as a clue, as follows:

In this harmony is found the real key to the meaning of the garden, the philosophical concept which the creator was striving to express. Minds unable to grasp this inner meaning have invented a number of explanations ... But students of real understanding realize that the aim of the designer was something far more subtle and esoteric than any of these. The garden is the creation of an artistic and religious soul who was striving with sand and stones as his medium to express the harmony of the universe ... (follows a discussion on the difference between the Oriental and the Occidental concept of existence. The Oriental supposedly sees himself not as an individual at war with his environment but rather as fundamentally a part of all that is about him.) ... The (Oriental, wk.) artist, whatever his medium, is striving to grasp the essentials of his subject, the thing about it which is universal and timeless, and common to both himself and it (=the subject, wk.). ... The creator of this garden was a follower of Zen and an artist who *strove to express it* whatever his medium. The flowing simplicity, the utter harmony, rhythm and balance of the garden express this sense of universal relationship.²¹⁹ (The cursive is mine, wk.)

The new interpretation of the small mediaeval garden as an expression of Zen philosophy became more generally accepted in the following decennia, and is found in other publications of Kuck.²²⁰ The concepts 'Zen garden' or 'garden expressing (the spirit of) Zen' are found commonly at present in popular literature on Japanese garden art.

A generally accepted new interpretation of any work of art makes one surmise a new, more general, frame of reference formed beforehand. In this case this new frame of reference must be the generally aroused interest in the thirties of this century in the explanation of Japanese culture as an expression of Zen. This concept has a short history.

After Japan was opened to the West in the late 19th century enthusiastic efforts were made to acquire modern technology and other yet unknown achievements of western civilization. But soon the question of a cultural identity became apparent. The debates on a reconciliation of modern

Western rationalism and the traditional social and spiritual values of Japan brought forth many publications.²²¹ Remarkable is the *Fundamentals of our National Polity* published by the Ministry of Education. Issued in 1934 it clearly defined a Japanese 'spirit' above all as harmonious conduct, that was supposedly superior to western individualism and the aggressiveness of rationalism.²²² This manifesto intensified the political character of the discussion on the Japanese spirit. However by that time outstanding scholars had already occupied themselves with the problem. One of these was Nishida Kitarō, considered the most eminent among the modern Japanese philosophers. Having both practiced Zen meditation and studied European philosophies, he was a highly intellectual person. He was able to define the Japanese spirit, mainly seen in a Zen religious context, using a western philosophical frame of thinking. His 'universalization' of the concept of the Japanese spirit was an important theoretical achievement in face of the danger of nationalism that the definitions of the Ministry of Education implied. Further expanding military adventures, nevertheless led to the Pacific War.²²³

Most instrumental in popularizing Zen — interpreted in Nishida's terms — to the Western world was Suzuki Daisetsu Teitarō, an energetic writer, lecturer, and friend of Nishida.²²⁴ An essay by Suzuki on the contributions of Zen Buddhism to Japanese culture published in 1934, one year before Kuck's publication from which I quoted above, gave probably for the first time the idea of landscape gardening as expressing the spirit of Zen.²²⁵ After the World War the interpretation of traditional Japanese culture as being inspired by Zen, in terms of Nishida and Suzuki, won wide recognition. Its peaceful universal tone was reconciling in the frustrating atmosphere of defeat and occupation by the Americans; it also held a promise for a future of more universal understanding. Suzuki's postwar *Zen and Japanese Culture*, translated in several languages, was read in many western countries.²²⁶

It must have been the intellectual climate of Kyōto in the 1930's under threatening nationalism and full of the buzz of a peaceful spirit of Zen that made Kuck interpret the Ryōan-ji garden as expressing universal harmony. She lived in Kyōto for three years around '32 — '35 and in one of her acknowledgments she thanks her one-time neighbour Dr. D.T. Suzuki 'who discussed Zen.'²²⁷

In the nineteen fifties the concept of a garden as an expression of Zen and the term 'Zen-like garden' (*zenteki teien*) appear extensively and explicitly applied to the Ryōan-ji garden; this for the first time in the Japanese language, in a work on Zen and art by Hisamatsu Shin'ichi. This is likely to be the starting point of the Zen interpretation in Japanese

works on the garden art of Japan.²²⁸

Hisamatsu defines through rather artificial reasoning 'Seven Characteristics' of objects of 'Zen art'. He derives his definitions from some classical works of art that date from Japan's middle ages and were related to the Zen cultural salon. With these rather factitious 'Characteristics' Hisamatsu proceeds to describe a range of classical works of art as expressing Zen. One of these is the Ryōan-ji stone garden.²²⁹ This book, which established more or less a canon of Zen art criticism, was translated in English, and inspired several writers on Japanese garden art as well.²³⁰

Apart from these seven determinative qualities no definition of Zen art is explicitly given. To be able to discuss Zen and garden art it is nonetheless necessary to know what is actually meant by the term Zen art. Therefore I will try to distill a definition from the works of Hisamatsu and Suzuki. Hisamatsu speaks for many traditional arts of Japan, Suzuki more in particular on ink painting, sword fighting and haiku poetry. The latter two are not addressed by Hisamatsu.

What defines Zen art in these authors' view is the way in which it was created, of course besides its theme that might derive from the classical lore of the Zen religion and besides an attribution to a Zen priest or monk.

Suzuki as well as Hisamatsu assume an intuitively felt inner creative force,²³¹ that spontaneously and instantly²³² can be expressed by the artist who possesses through endless training an infallible technique and is therefore one with his technique and material.²³³ Suzuki's explanation of this creative mechanism, which he illustrates by ink painting and sword fighting is obviously inspired by the Chinese literary tradition.²³⁴ Hisamatsu also refers to many Song and Yuan Chinese works of art.

The creative mechanism in the producing of Zen art thus defined, provides some problems in applying the term to the art of gardening. Painting or writing calligraphy with a brush, moulding clay for pottery, performing theatre or the tea ceremony, these all can be done instantly out of an intuitively felt artistic feeling.²³⁵ Using ink, clay or gestures as material an expression can be given to it and therefore to the execution or the performance.²³⁶

The garden material preeminently used in the small mediaeval garden is natural rock. The expression of this material was not changed by a particularly sensible hand since the rocks were used in their natural form. Moreover, anyone who has handled garden stones knows that arranging them can not be done out of intuition. It is an intellectual process of mentally if not actually moving and matching, searching for an aesthetic effect that requires quite a lot of artistic consideration, not to speak of physical

force.²³⁷ The building of rock groupings in arrangements is above all an intellectual design process of matching volumes, colours and shapes rather than intuitive creation.

Aspects of Zen, in the definition of Hisamatsu and Suzuki, that can be ascribed to the small mediaeval garden are not aspects of execution, construction or creation by the maker. In previous chapters we have seen already that the mediaeval garden makers were not devoted Zen priests, but usually low class stone workers that possessed artistic sense out of experience and in some cases probably out of familiarity with other forms of art.

The aspects of Zen that can be attributed to the small mediaeval garden are aspects of perception, of interpretation, and taste of the onlooker. As in any work of art it presumes a cultural setting. In the prewar years this was for some the Zen in terms of Nishida and Suzuki, in early mediaeval Japan it was the cultural complex of Song and Yuan China.²³⁸ Only in this century many facets of the mediaeval Chinese inspired culture of Japan were quite arbitrarily headed under the nominator 'Zen'.²³⁹

In this way, this cultural complex called Zen was seen in relation with Buddhism and gained a religious quality. Gardens could have been made to express a superhuman spirit of Zen. The present research on the developing of a scenic garden style shows at least that this is not necessarily the only interpretation. From the preceding chapters it is clear that this type of garden stemmed in theory and part of its practice from the intellectual Chinese canon of landscape art. The building of a garden like that was a calculated intellectual activity and was not an instantaneous act out of religiously inspired intuition.²⁴⁰ It found its place in Zen temples and warrior residences, because it enhanced a cultural ambiance. That its appreciation was one of religious emotion, rather than one of 'form' is questionable.

The misinterpretation originated with Suzuki. A Zen religious experience was interpreted in modern European terms by Nishida. It was Suzuki who extended this interpretation to culture and arts, therein above all making the mistake to explain the intention of historical works of art with it.²⁴¹ Kuck similarly stated that the Ryōan-ji garden is:

the creation of an artistic and religious soul who was striving ... to express the harmony of the universe.

With this statement she applied her own twentieth century religious or aesthetic experience felt on seeing the garden on the soul of a mediaeval garden maker.²⁴²

Kuck mixes her own historically determined interpretation with an old

garden of a completely different cultural setting. This makes her interpretation invalid.

Be that as it may recently some mediaeval statements have also been taken as evidence that the small mediaeval garden was an expression of Zen Buddhism. Most important among these is a section from the works of Dōgen, an early mediaeval Zen priest.

Dōgen (1200 – 1253) studied Zen already from a young age, and when he returned from his years of study in China he had a rather ‘undiluted’ idea of Chinese Zen. He retreated to live a life of recluse in a province far away, completely within the Chinese tradition of mountain romanticism.²⁴³ In Dōgen’s teaching one can know the Sermon of Buddha by daily experiences of the existing physical world. Apart from Dōgen’s stress on a simple diligent life in a Zen monastery, he also teaches in his treatises that one can understand Buddha’s Sermon through nature. He illustrates this with a poem of Su Dongpo, the earlier mentioned Chinese poet, official and literary man, whose name for instance is also mentioned in relation to the landscape design of the West Lake in Hangzhou.

Su Dongpo, supposed to have reached the highest level of insight or enlightenment, when hearing the rushing sound of a mountain stream, wrote:

The voice of the rapid is verily the wide long tongue (of the Buddha).
The color of the mountains is no other than Buddha’s pure chaste body.

At night we have perceived eighty-four thousand verses (of the sermon in natural phenomena).

How should they be later revealed to other people?²⁴⁴

Dōgen uses this poem to illustrate his point: the Sermon of Buddha is manifested in the tangible form of mountains and streams, in nature. Later he adds even clearer:

Don’t mistake simple, actual nature (mountains, rivers, the big earth) for actual nature that constitutes the pure essence of nature.²⁴⁵

Dōgen gives two levels of communion of men with nature, namely the perception of geographical nature, and the religious experience of geographical nature as a tangible manifestation, a symbolical representation of a higher truth, that is the Sermon of Buddha.²⁴⁶

We can guess that Dōgen refers to some religious experience he had himself which made him quote the poem of Su Dongpo. On hearing the sound of a stream the poet receives eighty four thousand sermons of Bud-

dha which must be considered a religious experience of the highest order, at least if he speaks the truth. Dōgen stressed a monastic discipline and disapproved of any form of art. The Sōtō Zen sect, founded by Dōgen, never became important in producing arts. He did not try to get into favour with the imperial and shogunal courts that sponsored the other main Zen sect, the Rinzai. He strongly searched to create the material atmosphere that would make monks receptive to the Zen experience. Therefore Dōgen must be considered a veritable religiously devoted person.²⁴⁷

It has been conjectured that parallel to Dōgen's view, gardens were also a part of nature that similarly manifested sermons of Buddha.²⁴⁸ Religious experiences such as Su Dongpo had, were supposedly also obtainable from a garden view. As a proof of this, a section of Musō's dialogues with Tadayoshi, the brother of shōgun Takauji, is given. The section has been used in works on garden art since the eighteenth century, apparently to elevate the status of the art.²⁴⁹

In this section, quoted hereafter, Musō very obviously reveals his interest in material culture, in the art of landscaping and the use of tea, a beverage of great exclusivity in the early middle ages. Drinking tea as well as enjoying a garden view can be advantageous, explains Musō, to the one in search for truth, if he uses it in the right way. The same is true for music and poetry, but that section is not quoted here.²⁵⁰

From olden times until now there have been many who loved to create little hillocks, place stones, plant trees and devise a little brook in order to form a garden scenery. And although the fondness for doing this might be the same everywhere, personal ideas always differ.

There are those who in their hearts have no particular liking for landscape but ornament their residences because they wish to be admired. And there are also people who collect and love rare treasures only because they cling covetously to a thousand things; since a fine garden is one of these, they seek and amass rare stones and remarkable trees. They do not love the beauty of a fine garden in itself, but only the 'common dust' of the world.

Bo Juyi (Po Chū-I) on the other hand dug out a little pond, planted bamboo at its edge and loved it above all else. The bamboo is my best friend he would say, because its heart is empty, and because water is from its nature pure it is my master. People who love a garden like Bo Juyi possess a heart like him and do not mix with the 'common dust'.

There are some among them who, from the depth of their being, are simple and pure, who do not prize the dust of the world; but reciting

poems and playing the flute, they nourish their hearts at a garden view. These, one should consider to be the kindhearted ones. They do not search after truth, their pure intentions will be the reason for their continuous Buddhist rebirth.

But there are also people for whom a garden scene dispels sleepiness, comforts loneliness and sustains their search for truth. They differ in this from the love of gardens felt by the great majority. This must truly be called noble. Because if one draws a distinction between gardens and a search for truth, one cannot really be called a seeker after truth. Those who believe mountains, rivers, the great earth, grasses, trees, and stones to be as of their own being, seem, once they love garden landscapes, to cling to the profane world. Yet, they take this worldly feeling — springs, stones, grasses, and trees in their changing appearances following the four seasons — as a means to search for truth. For the seeker after truth, this is the true way to love a garden. Therefore there is nothing bad about loving a garden. Neither is it to be praised. There are no merits nor demerits as for a garden. These are in the mind of men.

Taking this section as evidence that the mediaeval garden had a religious meaning stands essentially on the interpretation of 'seeker for truth' (*dōjin*) as 'searcher for (Zen) Enlightenment'. However in the context of the Chinese studies practiced at the Five Monasteries this truth must be interpreted as a general, literary, 'scientific' truth to be gained from studying the classical literature. It must be seen as the intellectual truth of the cultured Song literati, that comprised only in a very minor role some Buddhist metaphysics.²⁵¹

This is soon clear if we compare this to similar Chinese treatises connecting the love of nature, gardens, or landscape scenery (*sansui*) to the behaviour of the cultured. For instance Guo Xi stated similarly:

Why do superior men love landscape, what is the reason for it? Hills and gardens are the constant dwelling-places for one who seeks to cultivate his original nature ... That is why the fundamental idea of landscape painting is so highly appreciated in the world. But if this is not realized and the landscapes are looked at in a light-hearted way, is it not like blurring a divine spectacle and defiling the pure wind? ... if one looks at them (landscape paintings wk.) with the heart of the woods and the streams, their value becomes great, but if one looks at them with proud and haughty eyes, their value becomes quite low.²⁵²

Like Dōgen, also Musō quotes a Chinese poet/government official and

not a Chinese Zen patriarch as illustration to his theories on landscape. Bo Juyi's gardening activities belong to the traditional nature romanticism common among Chinese intellectuals and officials, and will have been more in line with Taoist traditions than have been an act of religious Zen.²⁵³

However, in Japan all this became associated with Zen temples and Zen priests, although it basically differs from Zen's religious teaching. This is again a background to Zen's secularization.

Musō himself is also a man of this world. His love of landscape and nature must be viewed within the frame of his brilliant career as politician. He managed to become a 'country's teacher' (= *kokushi*) mostly because of his pragmatic way of thinking. Justifying a luxurious life, when it sustains the search for whatever truth, will certainly have impressed the new rulers at the shōgun's court. The quoted passage is part of an answer of Musō to a question of Tadayoshi, brother of the shōgun Takauji.²⁵⁴

Another remarkable saying of Musō has also been taken to prove that the mediaeval garden had a religious content. It is from the same compilation of dialogues as the above quotation, the last lines of which it somehow resembles.

In every way there is basically no notion of big or small. Big and small are in men's perception; big and small, long and short, high and low, peace and war (sic!), these thoughts are merely illusory perceiving of phantasms.²⁵⁵

It refers to the relativity of men's perception and is somehow similar to Musō's *Ode to the Mock Landscape*, quoted once more as for its first lines:

Not even a grain of dust is raised,
Yet soar the mountain ranges.
Not even a drop of water is there,
Yet falls the cataract.

Not even a grain of dust becomes a soaring mountain range in the poet's vision, again it refers to the relativity of men's perception, after all a common theme in the literature of late Heian and early mediaeval periods.²⁵⁶

Both of the above short statements have been taken as explanations by Musō that parts of the empirical truth perceived in a garden however small, manifests a higher truth of Buddhism, that transcends the reality of the garden. Therefore Musō would have emphasized the relativity of reality. In this view the garden needs only to be a representative token of real nature and can be small and abstract like the small garden at Ryōan-ji, to refer nevertheless to the Sermon of Buddha.²⁵⁷

But if this is a correct interpretation the best garden representing this Sermon would consequently be nothing. At least certainly not an aesthetically pleasing garden that would, in the line of Dōgen only distract from a real search for Enlightenment. Further criticizing the idea that Musō's statements demonstrate a religious content for the mediaeval garden, are nevertheless the facts of his life. Specifically in his Kyōto years he is highly involved in the cultural aspirations of the new ruling class of the military. His advocacy of gardens is very opportune in this period of palace building and temple founding.

A significant difference with Dōgen is that Musō allows for gardens when they sustain the search for truth, whereas the former stated with much emphasis the necessity of a material surrounding, not to say a monastic discipline in which gardens as an art form were explicitly rejected.²⁵⁸

However important Musō has been for the establishing of a mediaeval garden theory, one must doubt that he was a devoted Buddhist. Also in his own time he was rather vehemently criticized on this point, for instance by Myōchō the founder of the Daitoku-ji.²⁵⁹ More interesting within the context of this paper is the criticism of a monk of the temple Tō-ji, who fulminates against Musō's enthusiasm for gardens. He wrote in a letter:

People practicing Zen should not construct gardens. In a sutra it says that the Bodhisattva Makatsu who wanted to meditate, in the first place totally abandoned the this-worldly life of making business and gaining profit, as well as growing vegetables,²⁶⁰ for how can one remain in a deep state of Zen, if one can not detach oneself from the daily sorrows that disturb the heart?

I say, priest Musō who has many disciples and is considered a great Zen teacher at present expounds incessantly that one should practice Zen while the beauty of his gardens is admired! Is that not far removed from the meaning of the sutra? Recently much clamour on this point is heard in the Zen temples and everywhere there are signs of unrest.²⁶¹

There can be hardly any doubt that Musō in his Kyōto years was far from a devoted Buddhist. His statements on garden art can not be taken to proof any religious quality for the mediaeval garden.

The present literature on the garden art of Japan does not give any convincing example that mediaeval individuals had an experience of Buddhist Enlightenment on seeing a garden although I must admit that it seems not unimaginable.

For the time being the word Zen can only seriously be used with regard

to mediaeval garden art when it indicates a cultural inspiration by Song or Yuan China. The question remains then whether it should be called Zen.

PART THREE

CHAPTER 1

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY BEGINNINGS OF THE ROMANTIC VIEW ON NATURE

1.1 TRAVELING POETS AND THE DISCOVERY OF SCENIC BEAUTY

After the Ōnin War had ravaged most of the city of Kyōto, it no longer served as a centre of political power on a national scale. In more remote provinces powerful warlords, the daimyō's, exerted control over their own domains.¹ Here they established small worlds of prestigious Kyōto-inspired culture. A previous chapter treated the gardens of the Asakura clan in Ichijōdani. The cultural world of Ichijōdani is illustrative of such provincial 'little Kyōto's'.²

Many painters, poets, performers and other bearers of culture left the capital which laid now in waste, in search for new patrons and sponsors. They found an existence in the 'little Kyōto's' of the provinces.

A new figure in the literary world is the traveling poet of the linked verse (*renga*). In exchange for bed and breakfast, and other gifts, he would offer his services to local rulers, and in time, with the growing popularity of the linked verse, even to the remaining aristocrats in Kyōto.

The linked verse was composed during sessions in which everyone attending would add lines in turn. More than ever before, poetry gained aspects of entertainment. The visit of a poet must have brought diversion and distraction from the dreariness of daily life in the provincial towns.³ It follows that themes and subjects of poetry tended to become less formal, more witty or even debased. A maybe somewhat extreme example will show how far the linked verse could go in its departure from the lyrical standards of cherry blossoms and maple leaves.

To an opening verse about mist covering the foot of mountains:

<i>Kasumi no koromo</i>	The garment of mist
<i>suso wa nurekeri</i>	Is damp at the hems

a travelling poet, added with inventive association:

<i>saohime no</i>	The Goddess Sao
<i>haru tachinagara</i>	Now that spring has come, pisses
<i>shito wo shite</i>	While still standing. ⁴

In the provincial cultural societies poetry was freed from the classical patterns of the Heian lyrics. This also made possible the development of new forms of poetry concerning nature and landscape.

Because the poets of the linked verse were traveling they inevitably came into a profound contact with nature and the landscape, and experienced new varieties of poetic feelings. Sunny country scenes, lonely lodging places, fields and villages all enter their poetry in a far more realistic and descriptive manner than in the earlier lyrics.

The following poem illustrates this idea:

<i>mimiyasuki</i>	This is easy on the ears;
<i>koto to wa koyoi</i>	Listening this evening
<i>sato no koga</i>	To the voices of village children
<i>inetsuki utau</i>	Singin'rice-husking songs. ⁵
<i>koe kikoyu nari</i>	

The writer of this poem was Sōchō (1448 – 1532) who was the leading linked verse poet in Japan in the last decades of his life. Sōchō is also a key figure in the transition from a mediaeval perception of nature to a modern one. His name will appear in later paragraphs of this work that deal with the origins of nature romanticism found among the citizens of Kyoto and other urban centres.⁶

Landscape imagery became outright descriptive in linked verse poetry as written by Sōchō. A complete perception of their experiences, not limited only to sight, was recorded by the traveling poet. For instance a section of Sōchō's travel journals, quoted below, even refers to cold as a facet of his poetic experiences. The section seems to me not only typical of his writing, but also represents a special kind of travel romanticism that would evolve into a popular genre of travel guide books of later centuries.⁷

It is winter in 1527 and Sōchō proceeds along Lake Biwa near Kyōto. He relates:

At the crossroads of Mount Hie lies a lodge, called Chōgetsuken, owned by Eino from the temple Hōsen-ji.

'Here they have good wine', said Katsuzō, (who had accompanied him up to this point, wk.), before he returned.

I decided to stay there two nights. Much attention is paid to the way in which this lodge is constructed. It is out fitted with arrangements for tea, and beyond that, has no equal in poetic spirit (*suki*). That night it snowed heavily. At the first grey of dawn I went out of the gate and was unexpectedly struck by the vastness of the lake and Mount Hira ad-

jacent. I was speechless. A great quiet reigned over the leafless ridges along the Yokogawa river. A verse:

<i>tachiwasure</i>	Standing and forget to go
<i>yasurauhodono asaborake</i>	serene daybreak
<i>mi mo te mo ashimo</i>	Body, hands and feet
<i>hie no ôyuki</i>	cold with Hie's snow,
	snow, snow, ⁸

Here it is clear that Sôchô is almost transported by his feelings of beauty on seeing the snowy scenery. The section also refers to the conveniences of the lodging where he stayed at night. "Much attention is paid to the way in which this lodge is constructed." The following sentence, which I translated as "It is fitted out up to the arrangements for tea, on top of that it has no equal in poetic spirit," is somewhat cryptic and requires further comment. Arrangements for tea is a liberal translation of the literal 'hot water for tea' (*chayu*). This refers to the hot water needed for preparing tea, but also to the hot water for a bath, which Sôchô mentions more explicitly at other points in his diary. Other contemporary records concerning 'hot water for tea' also carry the extended meaning of a hot bath.⁹ The concept of 'poetic spirit' (*suki*) is important in the aesthetics of mediaeval and early modern times. Later paragraphs will return to this idea in greater detail. In the context of Sôchô's words it seems proper to speak of a 'poetic spirit'. It indicates his reason for existence, his life fulfillment in search for poetry.¹⁰

Seen in connection with the architecture of a lodging place, as in the above quotation, the poetic spirit will include the consolation and comfort a poet traveling in winter finds in resting his feet, warming his body and filling his stomach when staying overnight. At other places in his travel notes Sôchô often returns to the firewood and the built-in hearth of the inn. Commodities like wine, tea, a hot bath, and a hearth must have been luxuries in his time. The built-in hearth didn't become a common feature in architecture until long after Sôchô's days; at his time it was a rare architectural feature.¹¹

These luxuries will have added to the pleasures of a journey and therefore to the profundity of the experience of travel and of scenic beauty. This might explain the attention Sôchô, who was probably somehow aware of the impact these luxuries had on his poetic sensibilities, pays to them. The comforts of the inn both allowed Sôchô enough ease to appreciate the rigours of nature as beautiful, and at the same time provided a contrast by which he could romanticize these. Theoretically speaking this separation must be fundamental to the romantic experience of beauty

Sōchō had, when he saw, and felt, the snow landscape. How could one appreciate a cold and wintry scene as beautiful if there is no wine and 'hot water for tea' waiting?

The more material conveniences of staying in the lonely lodging place accounted for an important part of the romanticism felt towards remote landscapes and the lonely lodging places. Interestingly enough these material aspects are recognizably connected to the nature romanticism found among the late mediaeval urban upper classes which is discussed in a later section of this paper.

1.2 THE HERMIT IDEAL

Descriptive records of actual landscapes had been written before, to be sure. A case in point, because it gained great popularity among Kyōto's elite in the early modern period, is "The Ten Foot Square Hut" (1212) a literary description by Kamo no Chōmei (1156? - 1216) of his lonely hermitage.¹² It aptly illustrates the archetype of the retreat; the following quotes a section:

To the north of my little hut I have made a tiny garden surrounded by a thin low brushwood fence so that I can grow various kinds of medicinal herbs. ... As to my surroundings, on the south there is a little basin that I have made of piled-up rocks to receive the water that runs down from a bamboo spout above it, and as the forest trees reach close up to the eaves it is easy enough to get fuel.... But though the valley is much overgrown it is open toward the west, so that I can contemplate the scenery and meditate on the enlightenment that comes from the Paradise in that quarter.

In the spring I behold the clusters of wisteria shining like the purple clouds on which Amida Buddha comes to welcome his elect. In the summer I hear the cuckoo and his note reminds me that he will soon guide me over the Hills of Death of which they call him the Warden. In autumn I hear everywhere the shrilling of the Evening Cicada and inquire of him if he is bewailing the vanity of this fleeting life, empty as his own dried up husk, while in winter the snow, as it piles up and melts, seems like an allegory of our evil Karma...

Sometimes the sixteen year old son of the landowner comes up to keep him company:

If the day is fine we may climb up some high peak and look out over the Capital in the distance and enjoy the views of Mt. Kobata, Fushimi,

Toba or Hatsukashi. Fine scenery has no landlord, so there is nothing to hinder our pleasure.¹³

As for its wistful melancholy Kamo no Chōmei's description is a clear continuation of the melancholy found in the earlier Heian courtly literature. Chōmei uses the same standard metaphors such as the cuckoo that reminds one of death.¹⁴

The phrase "scenery has no landlord", no owner, is similarly classical in its literary origin; it is taken directly from the Chinese poet Bo Juyi.¹⁵

Chōmei's early mediaeval descriptions of landscape scenery are, in their wording Heian and Chinese inspired. They are the works of a scholarred literatus rather than expressing the emotions of a poet.

Chōmei's retreat keeps close to the Bo Juyi standard, not only as a written intellectual renouncement of the world, but also as an actually built environment. The hut of the famous Chinese poet had also a little pond and was similarly described as being surrounded by bushes.¹⁶

More than a century after Chōmei, Musō Kokushi referred again to Bo Juyi's hut when speaking of the true love of landscape. A section was quoted in a previous chapter of this paper. Until the time of Musō Kokushi the ideal of the retreat, and the hermitage itself, remained a self-imposed literary endeavour that leaned heavily on a classical literary model.¹⁷

Throughout the following centuries the classical ideal of retreat in a hermitage, as found with Bo Juyi and Chōmei did not loose its appeal. Hermitages continued to be built, also by later men of letters. Nevertheless for the late mediaeval traveling poets, writing poetry possessed a far more realistic motivation, as it was their way of earning a living. For them, as a matter of fact, the hermitage was foremost something close to a professional trade mark, rather than substantiating literary intellect.¹⁸ As a kind of token of the true poetic attitude it echoed the atmosphere of a little country inn.¹⁹

This is what Sōchō said on his cottage in the middle of Kyōto:

Just enough for the moment as a travel lodging. There is a veranda with a bamboo flooring on the south east. It can be used as draining board, as it is close to the washroom, in which four, five stones are set up. (So that it can be used as privy, wk.) Under the plum tree a camellia is planted with some bamboo and scattered horsetails. Sand is spread out which truly gives a fresh feeling.²⁰

It is likely that the aim was to undergo once more the experiences of the poetic journey, the comfort found at a properly out fitted inn. The same

concept of poetic spirit (*suki*) is found again in connection with typically rural thatch-roofed cottages built by the traveling poets, even if they were built in the middle of the city.

So far nothing has been said about the social background of the late mediaeval traveling poets. As far as what is known of their birth it was usually humble. In most cases nothing is known, which must be simply because they had no standing respectable enough to be registered.²¹ A general conclusion is that they were of common stock, which meant in the mediaeval world a certain social mobility. The facts of their life show that they easily mingled with the military and courtly aristocracy and the quickly rising wealthy merchants' class in the cities.

1.3 TOWNSPEOPLE AND THE URBAN WAYS

The nationwide civil strife of the sixteenth century caused local groups to organize themselves with the common goal of defense, as well as attack. Besides the provincial daimyō's several cities also managed to become more or less independent power blocks, albeit more of an economic than of a military character. Such cities were walled, sometimes had a surrounding moat and were usually cities that could offer more luxurious commodities, or play a role in trade and transport of goods, and so could be established independently from the political strife. From the port towns Sakai and Hakata came commodities like earthen ware and silk, imported from China.²² Two old centres of Kyōto remained in spite of the devastating Onin war. These two must also be considered such autonomously ruled urban centres. The 'lower city' (*Shimogyō*) was the merchants' centre, the 'upper city' (*Kamigyō*) with the imperial palace was of a more aristocratic nature.²³

In towns like this a typical urban culture came into shape. Unlike the traditional aristocratic ways the late mediaeval city culture was not so strictly preoccupied with classical manners. But there was a strong need for socializing and discussing matters of commerce and politics. An obvious expression of this is the development of places to receive guests and to relax. It often appears in the records dealing with the lives of cultural figures of those days.

These places, a separate room, a parlour or detached outbuilding, were always at the back of the house. In the cramped layout of the trade cities, this was probably the only place where one could be away from the noise and dust and prying eyes of people in the street.²⁴ A particular word for the *causerie* (*zottan*) also appears regularly in texts from this period. It is even used in many titles of compilations of remarks, recorded during these

conversations.²⁵ The following will illustrate the form these meetings took in two cases. Again there is explicit reference to luxury commodities like the hearth, wine, and others.

An early record from 1492 relates how the principal of Onryōken, a sub temple in Shōkoku-ji, stayed overnight with a certain wine dealer named Tokuzō. The visitor relates:

At the back of the garden is a parlour, (*zashiki*) its beauty excells any in Kyōto. There is a hearth and a privy, restful and convenient.²⁶

The hearth and privy make this little out-building into an independent unit where guests could probably stay overnight as well. Another document entitled "Zenpō's *Causerie*", illustrates the actual socializing that took place in the detached building at the back. It relates how a famous *Nō* Theatre artist and leader of the guild that existed, Konparu Zenpō (1454 – 1532) was called to the house of a wealthy merchant Bandōya in Nara. It is a day in the fifth month of 1516, and it starts raining heavily. Bandōya invites the artist to stay overnight in the little cottage at the backdoor. Konparu sang his verses until the break of dawn.²⁷

Other records of a slightly later date describe how urban socializing takes place in parlours on the second floor overlooking the scene of the busy street.²⁸ From still other sources it is clear that certain high officials of Nara at that time organized peculiarly licentious parties referred to as "pouring sweat with tea" (*rinkan chayū*), where drinking wine and tea went together with hot bathing.²⁹

In Kyōto the social world had developed in a more or less similar way. Wine and the built-in-hearth again play an important role in the fashionable winter-time gatherings. Much mention is made of the *causerie*. Also the Imperial Palace and its inhabitants share in the new cultural developments.³⁰

1.4 EARLY URBAN NATURE ROMANTICISM

The rising urban upper classes could probably already recognize and appreciate nature romanticism as it came to them in the new forms of poetry and in the lodges of the poets.

In Kyōto's merchant's district, Shimogyō, one finds the first unmistakable signs of a mingling of the nature romanticism of the traveling poets and the fashionable societies of the city. These districts greatly flourished in the rebuilding that followed the ravages of the Ōnin War. The bustling streets attracted the attention of the aristocrats from

Kamigyō, who came down to see this novel sight. A famous record of 1532 relates how a certain nobleman, Washinoo, visited the new centre of commerce to see the detached teahouse of Sōju whose dates are unknown. This teahouse falls into the same category as the guesthouses discussed above. About Sōju's teahouse Washinoo remarked:

The essence of countryside!

Indeed it gives this feeling, although it is in the very middle of the city.³¹

Sōju's teahouse was reportedly very small, it comprised in fact only two small rooms. Sōchō, the traveling poet, shows up again in connection with this little teahut. In 1526, a little before Washinoo, he had visited Sōju's modest place. As if describing a country inn, Sōchō mentions in his journals the big tree at the gate, the cryptomeria, and, the clean-swept approach lined with a hedge. Even though it was swept, some dark red ivy (*Parthenocissus*) leaves catch his attention:

*kesa no yo no
arashi o hirou
hatsu momiji*

Ah, this morning,
picking up last night's storm
with the first autumn leaves.³²

Other people associated with Sōju also possessed such outbuildings. The craze was already identified with the merchants' quarters. One spoke of the 'hot water for tea of Shimogyō'.³³

Sōju's tea hut is presently known as one of the key impetuses in the history of the tea ceremony as it exists at present. This might be right, when looking back in time. But it is clear from other instances that we are dealing with a more general cultural pattern that can rightly be called nature romanticism (fig. 48).

A close friend of Sōchō's had for instance also built a countryside retreat in the middle of the city. His name was Toyohara Sumiaki (1450 – 1524) a musician, famous for playing the panflute (*shōnofue*). At the back of his garden he had a 'countryside retreat' (*yamazato an*). He boasted that:

When tangled in melancholy, even the mountains can not measure up to my hidden house, my retreat beneath the pine, in the middle of the capital.³⁴

He must have been acquainted with the Imperial Court, since he initiated Emperor Go-Kashiwabara (1463 – 1526) into certain secret flute pieces.

We thus witness the birth of a cultural happening that is best characterized, within the context of this thesis, as countryside roman-

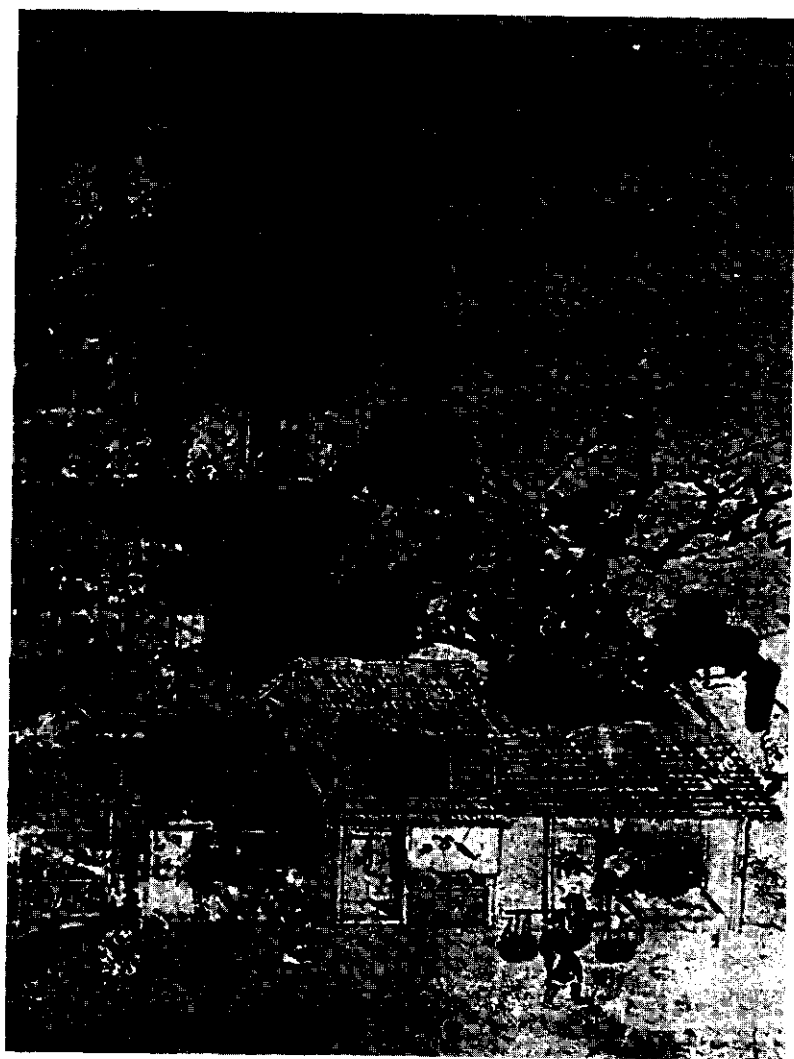


FIGURE 48. Section of an early sixteenth century painting showing city scenes of Kyōto. Behind the two-storied townhouse of a wealthy merchant lies a small garden-house surrounded by plantations of bamboo, and plum and pine trees. The plantation betrays the non-utilitarian function of the backyard. Pine, bamboo and plum (*shōchikubai*) are a standard combination in literature and other art forms. The illustration probably shows us one of the first inner city gardens of Japan (section from *Rakuchū rakugaizu*).

ticism in the city.³⁵ It would reach its height during the seventeenth century in relation to the design theory for gardens used in the tea ceremony. A manual dating from around 1670 states:

The teagarden...should look like the hermitage of a recluse found in the shadows of an old forest in the countryside. A thicket should be planted, a narrow path must be laid out, a gate of plaited bamboo or a garden wicket is built, in appearance it should be simple and calm...³⁶

Composition and construction of the tea garden were fully developed by that time. Its romantic conception dates back to Sōchō's days, its material form was a result of the creative contributions of the men of taste, who developed the tea ceremony. The following paragraphs deal with the contribution of these men to the tradition of garden art.

CHAPTER 2

THE TURN OF THE CENTURY EARLY ORIGINS OF MODERN GARDEN ART

The discovery of the romantic experience of beauty in the countryside was a fundamental step towards a more modern perception of the garden.

Great advances in garden making came about later through the activities of men of taste in the decades around the year 1600. Basically they transformed the cultural patterns of the urban elite into an aristocratic culture befitting the new military leaders. They invented new rules of etiquette known at present as the tea ceremony. Along with this they also created a new type of garden, the tea garden. This meant the establishing of a new language of forms and details in garden art, as well as a new approach to garden design, in which even the smallest details became the direct concern of members of an intellectuals' elite. The following deals with these conclusions.

2.1 TEA AND POLITICS

Several of the daimyō's in the remoter provinces aspired after domination of the whole country.³⁷ This ultimately meant gaining control over Kyōto. The capital may have been politically powerless, but it was still the seat of the waning, nevertheless traditionally legitimate rule of emperor and shōgun. Moreover, it remained to be the prestigious centre of culture and the arts. Most of the daimyō's were, nevertheless, too deeply involved in local struggles to be able to stage an effective campaign on the strategic capital. But in 1568 Oda Nobunaga from an eastern province managed to organize large forces. He proceeded to Kyōto, joined among others by the Asakura clan from Ichijōdani, whose gardens were discussed before. When the initial tumult had quietened down it was clear that Nobunaga would be the future leader of the capital. A famous anecdote of these days is indicative of the position provincial daimyō's found themselves in when confronted with the urban culture. It is related how the citizens of Kyōto had fears about the future, since Nobunaga had a reputation being an uncultivated and ruthless character. But, as a contemporary source states,

'old and young' sighed with relief after Nobunaga produced some poetry of satisfactory quality.³⁸

This illustrates the basic problem that military men from the provinces faced when striving for supremacy over the country. 'The country' included the cities of western Japan, not only Kyōto, but also Nara, Sakai and others. These were important for their commerce and wealth that had to be engaged to make any rule effective. Political supremacy also meant, therefore, an intellectual supremacy over a cultured city elite. Nobunaga had apparently learned something, or maybe had a skilled poet in his service, we do not know. Generally speaking, the warring daimyō's were from rice growing provinces and were badly informed on the ways of the city. Even if they had established some kind of cultural life in their domains, as in the little Kyōto's, some proficiency in true urban etiquette was obviously required to deal with citizens of Kyōto and the like.

The port town Sakai proved to have channels for the transfer of information about urban manners. This was because daimyō's had already been involved there in merchant circles, long before Nobunaga entered Kyōto. Autonomous Sakai had become the most important centre of the China trade. The Chinese side demanded that the shipments carried the official consent of the military. Because of this there existed a mutual dependence between Sakai's merchants and the local daimyō's.³⁹ Consequently, from early on warriors had been associated with the city's fashionable circles. Naturally, discussing politics and matters of the trade had formed part of the cultural intercourse. Two examples will illustrate this.

Takeo Jōō (1502 - 1555) from Sakai for instance, is at present revered as one of the founders of the modern tea ceremony; but the historic perspective puts him in a somewhat different light. His family held a lucrative tanning business, and he himself was a supplier of leather and armour to the leading military clan of his time.⁴⁰ On the other hand he was also a leading figure among Sakai's townsmen. Without any doubt he played some intermediary role in politics. Another instance even more clearly shows that Sakai's men of taste were involved in politics as well. Tensions in the city rose high after Nobunaga, once established in Kyōto, demanded that Sakai contribute a considerable amount of money to his greater goals. It was then that Imai Sōkyū, (1520 - 1593), a well known expert on matters of etiquette, betrayed the resisting city and made arrangements to stabilize the situation. He presented some prized tea ceremony utensils to Nobunaga, the dispute was settled and Sakai paid its taxes. Sōkyū became one of Nobunaga's most loyal retainers and manufactured arms for his new patron on land which he got assigned.⁴¹

An easy way for the daimyō's to deal with the new political situation and to be informed on the ways of the city, was apparently to engage the services of cultural leaders. Already in the early 1570's Nobunaga had some of Sakai's experts on etiquette in permanent employment. Imai Sōkyū was one of them, as well as Sen no Rikyū (1522 – 1591), who came from a wealthy family of wholesale fish dealers. He also initiated the leader in the ways of the townsmen. These men would, on the surface, act as connoisseurs and performers not unlike the earlier *ami*-artists. Rikyū's grandfather, Sen'ami seems in fact to have belonged to this group. Nevertheless the late sixteenth century connoisseurs were far more politically influential than their mediaeval predecessors.⁴² Sakai's famous experts on taste, associated with both powerful daimyō's and wealthy merchants as well, quickly became influential personalities.

2.2 FORMALIZATION OF THE TEA ETIQUETTE

Cultural gatherings were increasingly used as diplomatic cement in the political nowhere land between citizens and military. It is understandable that codes of behaviour began to be more important than before. A rather demanding and strict etiquette came to be *vogue* at such meetings, which took the preparing, offering, and drinking of a cup of tea as a main theme. This basically simple event evolved into a complicated ritual at which the slightest deviation could induce far reaching political consequences. Donating or receiving prized and rare teacups or other implements, symbolized usually the reinforcing or establishing of relations of political power. Needless to say, the objects in use at such tea sessions were subject to extremely exacting standards, which made for extraordinarily high prices when sold. This was met with astonishment by the Portuguese missionaries, now around in Japan. One of them wrote in his notes:

...they spend large sums of money ... in purchasing the things needed for drinking the kind of tea which is offered in these meetings. Thus there are utensils, albeit of plain earthenware, which come to be worth ten, twenty or thirty thousand *cruzados* or even more — a thing which will appear as madness and barbarity to other nations that hear of it.⁴³

2.3 DESCRIPTIONS OF THE TEA GARDEN

From now on so much importance became attached to the tea meetings (*chakai*) that detailed records became necessary. Besides the names of the attending guests and their role in the process of preparing and drinking the tea, also the utensils and the food served were noted down. Interestingly enough also the interior of the tearoom and the exterior, the garden, enter the descriptive recordings of the experts on matters of tea. Since these records were intended to be detailed descriptions of what transpired at a tea meeting, we also find that the references to the gardens are literally descriptive. One finds no poetic or literary allusions, which makes these records descriptive in a modern sense.

The oldest descriptions of tea meetings and tea gardens are perhaps those found in the records of the family Matsuya, a wealthy house dealing in lacquerware in the city Nara. "The Matsuya Records of Tea Meetings" covers a period from 1534 to 1650. At the end of the sixteenth century even small sketches began to be included in the logbooks of this family. The sketches show plan views of tea parlours and the surrounding garden-like approach (see fig. 49).⁴⁴

Another well known journal of tea meetings is the diary of Kamiya Sōtan (1551 - 1635) from a house of China traders, that also held a silver mine.⁴⁵

2.4 A MOOD OF EXTRAVAGANCE

The changing status of the urban fashionable society had generated an intricate tea etiquette sometime in the second half of the sixteenth century.⁴⁶

Under the short rule of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, Nobunaga's successor, who came to power in 1582 life became more peaceful and prosperous. The tea sessions became more elaborate.

Hideyoshi seemed to have genuinely enjoyed the cultural pastimes of his days. At public festive meetings, he hardly knew of limits. He held for instance a great tea party in the cherry blossom season of 1598 at the temple Daigo-ji. 500, some sources state 700, full grown cherries were brought in and planted over almost 50 hectares.⁴⁷

Even more famous is a public tea performers' party he organized a few years before, by putting up placards in Nara, Kyōto and other cities. There he displayed all the tea ceremony utensils he possessed, and to be sure, seized the opportunity to confiscate some famed objects held by other attending performers.⁴⁸

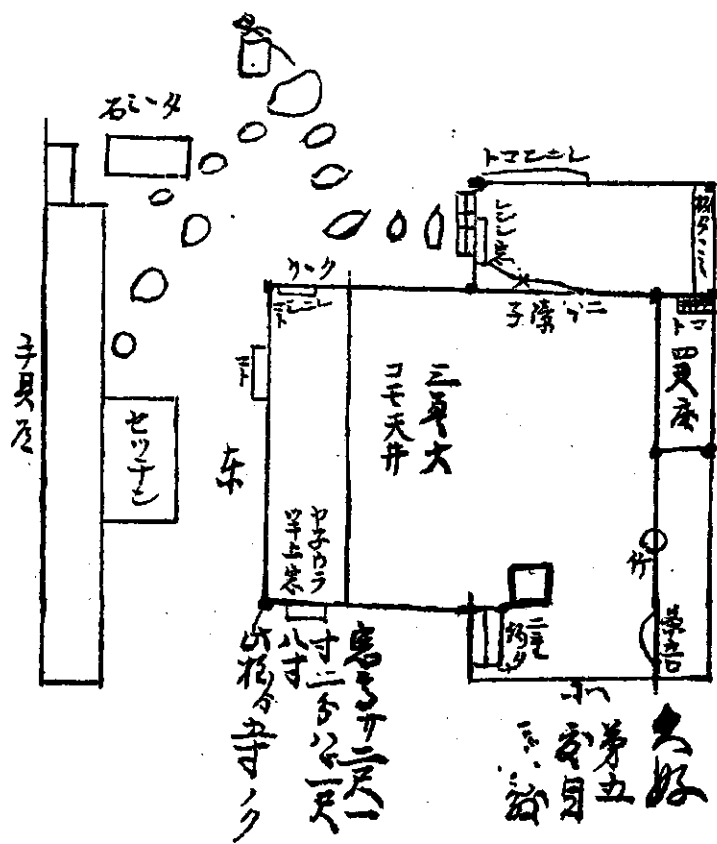


FIGURE 49. Sketch, dated 1601, by one of the members of the Matsuya family, Hisayoshi, that shows one of his teahouses and the stepping stone approach that led to it. Note the washing basin, with the ladle lying across it. One of the rectangles drawn in the garden represents a privy.

Such overt display must be seen within the light of his days. The advancing unification of the country had brought about a sudden increase in wealth. In the cities luxurious goods made their entrance into daily life. Portuguese Jesuits established missionary posts throughout the country and frequented the fashionable salons. Smoking tobacco and even wearing Portuguese costume became the mode. New imports, like potatoes, water melon, and pumpkin, actually came to be added to the daily menu.⁴⁹

Somewhat detached from the regulated city life, theatres and stalls for other entertainment sprang up. In Kyōto a whole new amusement quarter at the riverside, always an area of marginal quality, quickly came into existence.⁵⁰

An atmosphere of extravagance turned to decadence, quite suddenly pervaded city society. One spoke of the 'leaning' as opposed to the upright and correct behaviour.⁵¹

All this did not fail to affect tea etiquette. For the first time a daimyō took over the role as the leading expert on tea following the Sakai merchants. This was Furuta Oribe (1544 – 1615), a follower of Rikyū in his younger years.⁵² Under his spiritual guidance many novel ideas came to be included in the world of tea. Also the tea garden became much more extended. Many of his ideas on the tea garden will be quoted later. The apparent lighthearted playfulness of his words is basically a matter of outward form. Oribe took for instance great pains in educating his readers on the proper gestures and their correct order, on the particulars of clothes to wear and on very specific measurements of the objects in use. In his view on the tea ceremony the entire interior of the several tearooms were in fact to be reupholstered for every separate teameeting.⁵³

2.5 THE TEA GARDEN IN THE DAIMYŌ'S RESIDENCE

In a more direct way the establishment of the tea garden was also favoured by the growing prosperity of the country, and the changing political situation. The new, spacious, permanent residences of the wealthy daimyō's allowed for much larger tea gardens than the earlier townhouses of the merchants in Sakai and other cities.

The unification of the country under way after Nobunaga meant for everyone the end of a period of war. Power structures of a more peaceful nature came to replace the hierarchy of war. A system of taxes and salaries based on quantities of rice became nationally enforced before the end of the sixteenth century.⁵⁴

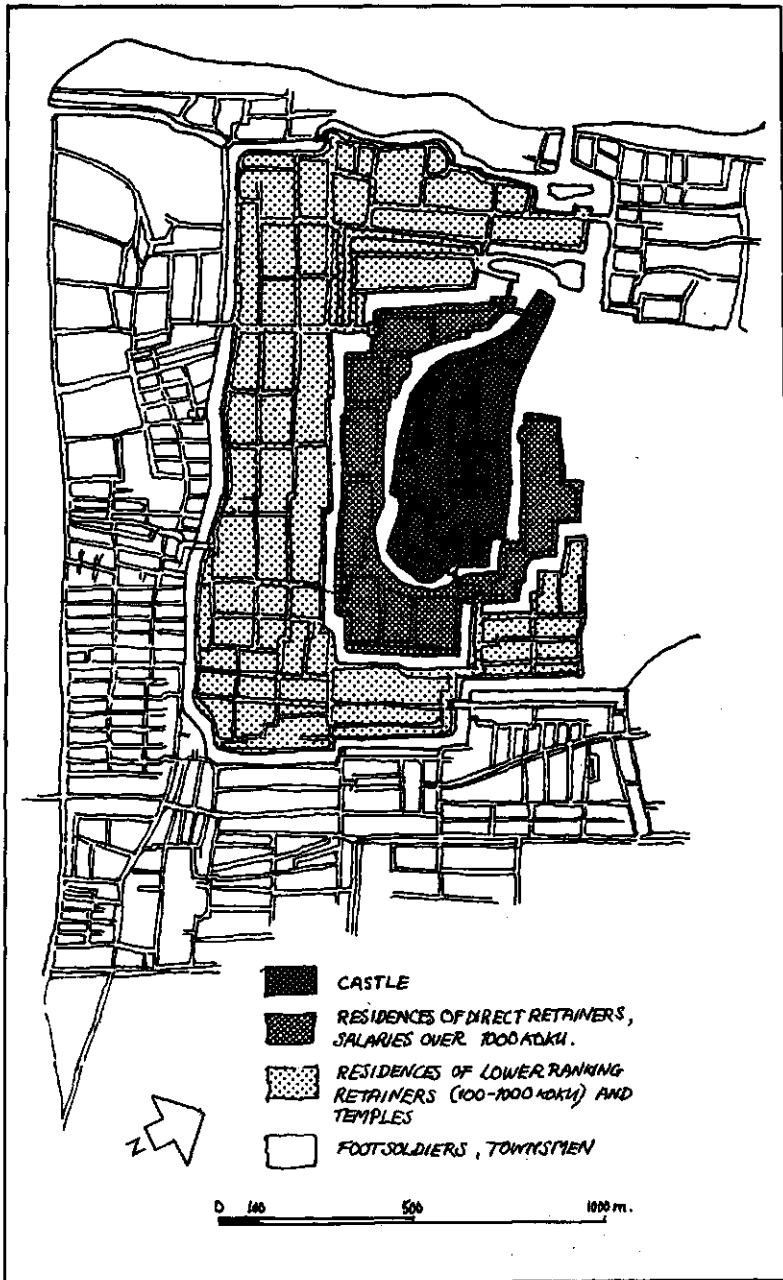


FIGURE 50. Plan of the early seventeenth century castle town Hikone. It shows the hierarchical planning scheme of the early modern planned castle town. The closer to the castle, the more loyal the retainer was, accordingly the higher his salary, the larger his plot of land. The *koku* is a measure of rice in which salaries were paid.

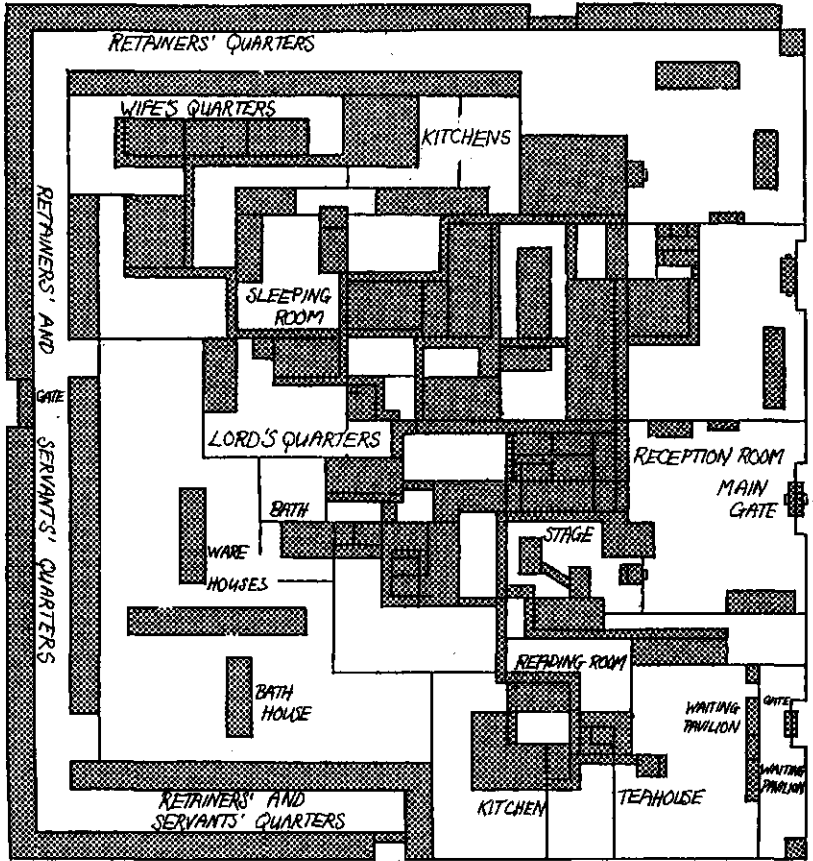


FIGURE 51. Plan of a daimyo's residence (redrawn from a reproduction of the original, dated 1608). See the text.

Castles and castle towns became new symbols of power. These towns were, in contrast to the merchant cities, largely planned (see fig. 50). The spacious mansions of most loyal retainers with the highest salaries were laid out in the immediate vicinity of the castle itself. Outside an encircling moat were the residences, smaller in size, of lower ranking lords, sometimes surrounded by another moat and another circle of again lower ranking underlings. Adjoining this central core were the merchant's districts, most of the temples and the quarter where lower class commoners lived.⁵⁵

Illustrative of a large daimyō mansion in the planned city is a plan dated 1608 (see fig. 51).⁵⁶ The residence shown here occupies a square lot of about 120 × 120 m. (= 1 *chō*). Walls and rowhouses where servants and retainers lived with their family surround the whole complex. In the northeast corner are found the main kitchens, the west half of the mansion is for daily use. A main gate in the west wall allows entrance to a formal audience room. In fact the whole south west quarter of the plan, about one third of the total area, serves to receive and entertain guests.

This plan therefore aptly illustrates how much a high ranking daimyō in times of peace was supposed to occupy himself with this. His mansion was to a large extent a semi-public office that served to express and maintain a hierarchy of administration through mutual visits of courtesy. Besides the audience hall, the stage for theatrical performances is a striking facility. The map also shows a well developed tea party section. A separate kitchen, to prepare the side dishes for tea, lies next to a reading room, that gives access to a tearoom. This room was used to relax after the actual tea ritual held in the teahouse proper (*sukiya*) was over. Waiting pavilions are also indicated in the gardens that surround the tea architecture, and the whole arrangement has a separate entrance gate to come in from the street.

From the last decade of the sixteenth century onward we find reference to a practice of dividing the tea garden in sections by means of fences and little gates. Many sources attribute the idea to the daimyō/tea expert Oribe. The records that deal with it usually concern gardens in residences of the military.

The diary of Sōtan, introduced before, gives an idea of the appearance of a tea garden with separated sections. About a garden in Hideyoshi's castle at Fushimi he wrote:

After entering the tea garden through the wicket gate, one comes at a pine grove. But half way between the teahouse and the entry, there is a bamboo screen as garden gate. Passing through it one sees a pathway

with cycad palms arranged along it. After this, one enters the teahouse.⁵⁷

Usually there were only two sections. The outer section (*sotoroji*) served as a reception space; the inner one (*uchiroji*) was used to accommodate visitors during a break in the ceremonial parties.⁵⁸

The earlier merchants' parlour thus developed into a complex of teahouses surrounded by a garden separated in sections. The drinking of tea itself had evolved into a ritual etiquette that formed part of the semi-official duties of a daimyō official.

2.6 NEW GARDEN MATERIALS, A MODERN LANGUAGE OF FORM

From the late sixteenth century on there is an abundance of records from tea experts concerning details of the tea garden. Some new elements of garden design related to the functional use of the tea garden will be introduced in this section. Also to give some idea of the boundless creativity of the tea experts in contriving novel garden details the following gives first a series of quotations regarding wash basins. These were placed half-way up the approach where guests were expected to rinse the hands. Most of the quotations are notes from the diary of Sōtan.⁵⁹

In 1587 Sōtan relates the following about a basin in the garden of a certain Kikuya, probably a merchant:

The wash basin is in fact a wooden bucket. A ladle lies over it. In front of it there is a mosaic of tiles, sunk into the ground a little. Roof tiles are laid down as stones to stand on.

Imai Sōkyū, adviser in matters of tea and politics to Nobunaga and later also to Hideyoshi, had a basin described by Sōtan as follows:

It is in the shape of a pine boat, such as used on the Korean route; hollowed out, round and long.

This record is also from 1587, like the following that concerns a tea meeting, held in the port town Hakata, also attended by Hideyoshi. A wash basin was placed next to a pine tree:

It is made of chestnut wood and it is very old, covered with moss. A ladle lies over it.

A 1590 record describes one of the basins of Rikyū as a very big round stone body, probably indicating that it was a re-used grave or some other

monumental stone. In the same year Sōtan saw a basin at Rikyū's residence:

The wash basin was a big natural rock, the ladle (to scoop the water) was much larger than usual.

In 1593 Sōtan commented on the garden of a mansion in Osaka:

For washing the hands, there is a big, black lacquered warm water bucket, which stands in the garden.

A record from 1596, from another source notes that the younger brother of Nobunaga used a pillar foundation stone as a water basin. Such stones, which have a notch into which the peg of a wooden pillar was set, are even today popular in second use as a wash basin in the garden.⁶⁰ Many of the unusual wash basins as they are described in the late sixteenth century records of tea gardens are not in use at present. This spirit of freely experimenting with details in the garden composition is typically of these days.

Around the same time, stone lanterns began to be used in the tea garden. Before this, stone lanterns had only existed in temple gardens, and here and there at semi-sacred places like crossroads, similar to the little Maria chapels in Catholic parts of the world.⁶¹

This brings up another point that displays the modern use of garden materials at this time. There is never reference to religion in the notes on the tea garden of this period. Garden materials are introduced without any feeling of reverence. There is for instance no respect towards big garden rocks as found in mediaeval treatises on garden art. This agnostic tendency is most striking in the reuse of stone artefacts brought from temples or graveyards. Oribe recommended, for instance, lanterns with a little Buddha figure carved on it:

As for stone lanterns there is no determined shape.... Further if the image of a Buddha or some lotus motif is carved in relief on it, or if otherwise some letters are cut in it, it is by no means awkward (see fig. 52).⁶²

Around the turn of the century there was a sudden interest in paving materials.⁶³ As with the wash basins we come across a wide range of types and shapes. The word 'stepping stones' (*tobiishi*) shows up, perhaps for the first time, with Rikyū in 1587.⁶⁴ The use of cement is extensively discussed by Oribe. Regarding his residence in Fushimi, a 1596 record relates:

The tea garden is large, the pathway is cemented, the lantern is lighted.⁶⁵

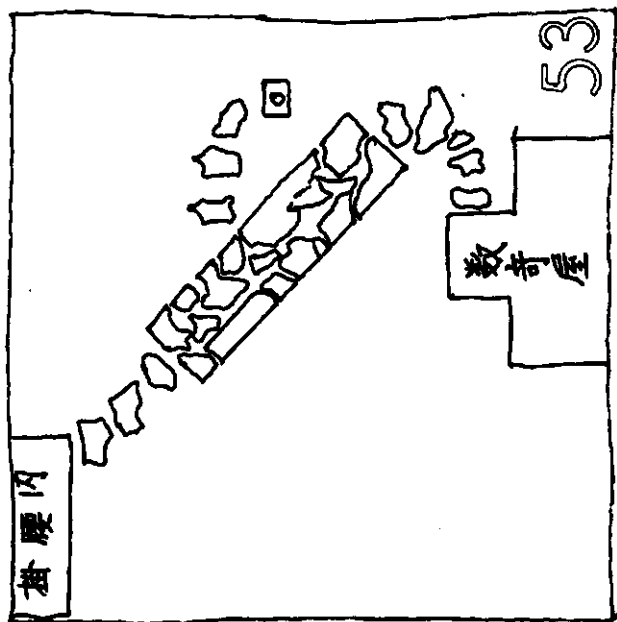
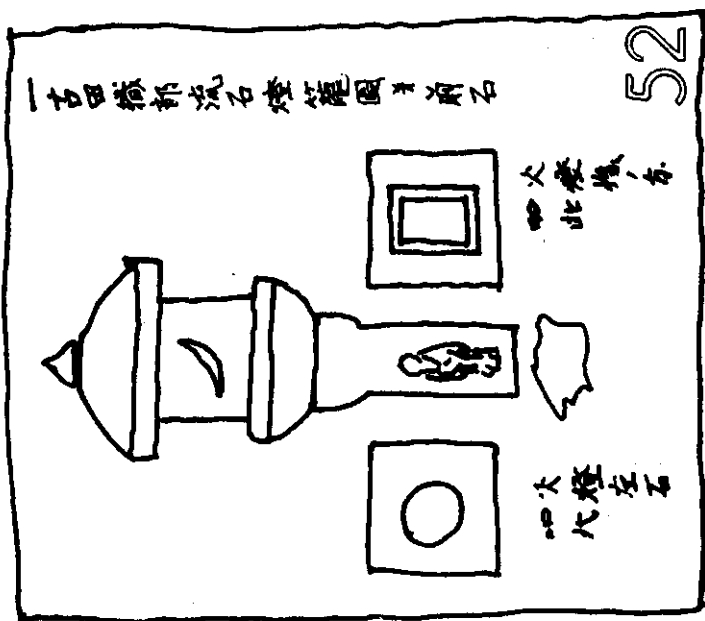


FIGURE 52. The 'Oribe-lantern', illustrated in a seventeenth century manual on the tea etiquette.

FIGURE 53. Plan of Oribe's approach to the teahouse, as it appeared in a seventeenth century manual on the tea etiquette.

Not long after that dressed and cut granite was combined with natural, flat rocks in fancy pathways or in long rectangular sections that were used in combination with a row of stepping stones (fig. 53). Again these are extensively treated in the journals concerning the tea etiquette.⁶⁶

Considering all the effort the tea experts took, including taking the trouble to note down these details in their diaries, it can be rightly said that they were the first group of intellectuals in the history of Japanese garden art that were directly concerned with the actual design of a garden. This will be subject of the following paragraph.

2.7 THE TEA GARDEN AS A CONCEPT, A MODERN APPROACH TO GARDEN DESIGN

Regarding the placement of garden details like the wash basin, the tea experts kept to certain standards. Foremost among these were simple principles of efficiency in use. Stepping stones were of course spaced with the distance of a step. The placing of other details was likewise dictated by the need for efficiency. A wide variety of opinions on these points is found in the notes of the tea men that differ mainly with regard to trifling centimeters of height and width. Besides this, an awakening interest in the more visual experiences when walking along the approach to the teahouse is noticeable. Decorative natural rocks for instance, were placed at the wash basin, a point of rest and contemplation, where they were likely to be given proper attention.⁶⁷ On a stone to be laid in front of a waiting pavilion Oribe has the following to say:

Use a long stone, it might either be a dressed or a natural stone of a somewhat elongated shape. It should lie buried, leaving only about five centimeters above the ground. Six or nine centimeters is also suitable as the depth to which the stone is buried is depending on the 'sight' of the stone.⁶⁸

The 'sight' (*kei*) must be interpreted as the form and colour of the stone and maybe also how this form makes a harmonious composition with the details of the waiting pavilion in front of which it is laid. It is especially in Oribe's writing that this word 'sight', or 'view' appears quite often.⁶⁹ Accordingly he has been hailed as the one who invented the composition of scenery in the tea garden.⁷⁰ But, nevertheless, Oribe's composing of views does not surpass the mediaeval level of arranging simple scenic groups of rocks. It is not unlike the design problem in Japanese flower arranging that also strives to reach at one consistent, small composition. As

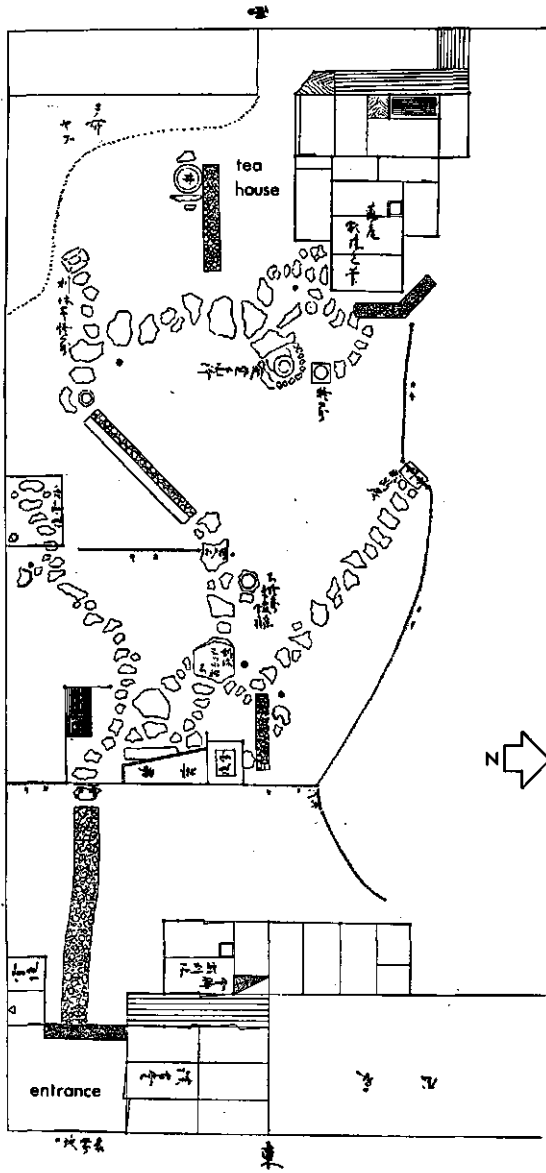


FIGURE 54. Early nineteenth century plan of the tea-houses and garden En-an. The garden is supposedly laid out according to Oribe's taste. The intricate design of the paths indicates to the one walking on these how he should behave when approaching the main tea-house that lies at the west end of the garden. The entrance to the complex is in the south-east corner. In the frame of the present chapter the plan demonstrates the complete material world of etiquette as it was created by the experts on matters of tea.

the guests proceeded along the approach to the teahouse, interestingly composed details offered 'views', little surprises for the eye that were not much more than miniature follies. Oribe's 'views' had not yet been unified into a composite and consistent garden scenery.

It has to be made clear however that the composition of details in the tea garden was not exclusively a concern for the visual. To be sure, the bulk of the details of the early seventeenth century tea garden were designed with other intentions in mind. Some served to suggest naturalness, but most of the tea garden details emphasized the roles and gestures of the persons attending the tea meetings. Such details concerned stones with specified usage such as the 'sword hanging rock'. This particular rock had two steps and was placed close to the entrance of the teahouse. One stepped on it to hang one's sword on the sword rack found next to it. Other 'role-indicating' stones like this were the 'guest stone' on which the most honoured guest could rest his feet, or the 'host stone' where the host was supposed to stand when welcoming his visitors. Another peculiar example is the 'sleeve-brushing' tree. This large trunked tree was to be planted half-way between the tea house and the garden wicket, close to the path. The left or right side does not matter according to Oribe, who discusses the idea at length. And, although one of the branches stretches out to the path it should not actually touch the sleeves of the guests, neither should it hang too low so that it hits one in the face. The intent is to give an impression of naturalness, as if the tree was there before the path was laid out; as if the garden maker let the tree stand there, although it actually almost obstructed the way.⁷¹

The above will suffice to show that it was the teamens' desire to create the complete tea environment, of which the tea garden formed a part. Theoretically speaking they approached the design of the tea garden with one consistent intention. They wanted to create the garden that echoed in a physical form the almost ritual approach to the teahouse. One may perhaps even say that it was their intention to close the visitor in, in an introvert garden environment.⁷² Stones served to guide his steps, made him stop at certain points, controlled his moments of contemplation, allowed him to wash his hands, for instance, or to help him to hang his sword on the rack and to enter the teahouse. Carefully thought out details served a functional use like the wash basin, or emphasized the rules of the etiquette like the host and guest stones, and the divisions of inner and an outer sections. There was a fully conscious attempt to include the visitor in the garden environment. This was a completely new idea in the tradition of garden art, as it existed around 1600 (fig. 54).

CHAPTER 3

THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ORIGINS OF THE MODERN APPRECIATION

The daimyō's tea garden would not show great changes throughout the following centuries.

Impressively innovative ideas on garden art are found elsewhere, in the artistically liberal climate found among the intellectual elite in Kyōto associated with the emperor himself. Early evidence of indulging in the pleasures of the romantic countryside also appears with this early seventeenth century elite. Clearly related to this are the forms of their gardens, that similarly intended to provide a romantic environment. It is here that gardens became imaginary environments in a modern sense, without relying on literature or religion for their appreciation.

The following pages will address the political and social background of this liberal climate. We will then see how it favoured new forms of garden art and of nature romanticism.

3.1 THE SHOGUNATE SPONSORS THE IMPERIAL IMAGINATION

The process of the unification of Japan that was begun by Nobunaga and continued by Hideyoshi was completed by the first Tokugawa dynasty shōgun, Ieyasu (1543 – 1616).⁷³ Hideyoshi had set the first steps towards stabilizing the war-torn country. He had tried to demobilize classes and people and to set up a power structure in which he himself was supreme.⁷⁴ Under Shōgun Tokugawa Ieyasu this system was elaborated and refined, making national politics so stable that the Tokugawa dynasty would rule as shōguns well past the second half of the nineteenth century. Peace and the organization of society brought prosperity, but also meant the curtailment of certain liberties within the social sphere. For instance, no free traffic was allowed and travel permits became required for the major routes. Although roads were greatly widened and improved, even including the planting of roadside trees, bridges were not built at strategic river crossings.⁷⁵ No wheeled carriages were allowed and daimyō's traveled in palanquins carried by bearers. An escalating antiforeign attitude in national

politics caused the passage of edicts prohibiting Christianity in 1612 and 1614. Overseas trade became extremely difficult in 1616 and almost completely forbidden with the first official "Edict on the Closing of the Country" in 1633.⁷⁶ Within the country new regulations were established in order to control the building of temples and shrines, in an attempt to check the power of Buddhism and other religious sects.

In a drive to establish Edo, present-day Tōkyō, as the new capital, daimyō's were required to contribute considerable sums to the enlarging of the castle in that city.⁷⁷ Another measure was an obligatory annual 6-month stay in Edo for all daimyō's.⁷⁸ This greatly assisted the centralizing of nation-wide rule. It also forwarded the spread of an aristocratic daimyō culture throughout the country. In addition, since daimyō's were expected to maintain two luxuriously equipped residences, one in Edo and one in their home town, it also meant that the number of artistic gardens considerably increased.

The central government of the shōgun also took measures intended to curtail the power and engage the loyalty of the Imperial Court, with the extended intention to consolidate control over Kyōto as a whole. From 1613 on, for instance, the shogunate began to require its approval in the old right that the imperial court had to bestow ranks on the Buddhist temple clergy. This affected not only the political power of the court, but in fact also its income, as the priesthood paid substantially for getting such titles. Also the Emperor himself was mingled in the political intrigues. Reigning emperor in the early seventeenth century was Emperor Go-Mizunoo (1596 - 1680) who must be considered the central figure of Kyōto's early modern artistic elite. His name will appear often on the following pages. There was the incident of the betrothing in 1620 of the shōgun's daughter to the Emperor Go-Mizunoo, against the emperor's will. The official marriage took nevertheless place in 1624 and the shogunate was thus, in the traditional way, ensured of family ties with the Imperial Court. Self determined and probably already angered by the increasing pressure of the shōgun's government, the Emperor bestowed priestly ranks on some priests of the temples Daitoku-ji and Myōshin-ji, in 1627. These titles were immediately pronounced invalid by the shogunate; some persons were exiled and Emperor Go-Mizunoo abdicated angrily in 1629 in favour of his five year old daughter. She became the first reigning female since the eighth century.⁷⁹

Earlier however the nobility as a whole had already been told not to engage in politics. The "Edicts for the Conduct of the Nobility" (1615) postulated by the central government had as a first article:

The Imperial Court should keep to the arts, and above all pursue learning.⁸⁰

The nobility was thus forced to develop knowledge and arts, but in fact without any real purpose. Through the seventeenth century accounts of the merchants and officials of the Dutch VOC, one gets some insight into this curious situation. Usually they speak of the emperor as 'the Dairi', or 'the Dairyo', from the name of the Imperial Palace, referred to as *dairi*. The reason for the existence of the Dairi was by no means clear to them, and at best he is described as a spiritual leader, a holy man.⁸¹ The Portuguese Jesuits, on the whole more keen in their observations, had hardly any more insight in this situation. One of them, Luis Frois (1532 - 1597) speaks of the Dairi:

who is the lord to whom most honour is due in all Japan; in ancient times he was the Emperor, but now he is obeyed no longer.⁸²

Among the higher class citizens the quickly centralizing feudal authority was met with mixed feelings, if not with outright irritation. The Imperial Court was the proud symbol of the city and the shogunal harassments went of course not unnoticed.⁸³ In addition the townsmen themselves were directly inconvenienced, for instance their amusement quarter was moved by government order to an out of the way place.⁸⁴ Antishogunate sentiments were felt among the craftsmen and traders as well, most of whom were in fact direct suppliers to the court nobility.⁸⁵

A growing conservative 'imperialism' in Kyōto began to pose a threat to the shōgun's government. Many efforts were therefore made to keep the nobility befriended but dependant. Occasional visits of courtesy were paid by the shōgun in person. They usually presented substantial gifts at such occasions.⁸⁶ Also all palaces were constructed by order and with finances from the central government in Edo, not only the residences of emperors and empresses, but also the palaces where they lived after their retirement and the summer estates in the countryside. Some of the gardens within these palaces will be discussed in the next paragraphs.

The nobility in Kyōto was thus withheld from taking any major political responsibility, and was forced to engage in cultural pursuits. Within the quickly modernizing, be it feudal, society the courtiers' position was antiquated, but in its requirements it was basically free. They were supposed to develop knowledge and arts, but without purpose. Moreover the material environment of the Emperor and his relatives, the palaces, were easily attained gifts without further commitments. In their gardens this would make for an almost over-eager search for novel forms.

3.2 THE GARDEN AS A SCENERY OF IMAGINATION

Many plan views of seventeenth century palaces are found in the archives of the present day Imperial Household; some also show garden designs.⁸⁷ Two of these designs, both of peculiar conception will be discussed. Neither of the two gardens exist at present.

The first garden to be discussed formed part of the palace of Emperor Go-Mizunoo, where he lived after his abdication in 1629. The building of this palace by order, and through finances from the central government was begun two years earlier, in 1627, with the moving of a palatial hall that stood within the shōgun's castle compound, and had been used to receive the Emperor at an earlier occasion.⁸⁸ Having the palace for his retirement built when he was still reigning, moreover the fact that the work started with the moving of a second-hand building from a shōgun's castle, was without doubt felt by Go-Mizunoo as another harassment.⁸⁹ The Emperor moved in in the twelfth month of 1630 and the palace and its garden became the setting for the imperial pursuits of knowledge and the arts.

The garden design on which we will focus at this point was squeezed in between a narrow strip of land at the back of the actual extensive palace garden that was based on the old pond-and-island idea. The illustration given here is redrawn, relying on two original plan views, dated 1640 and 1654 respectively (see fig. 55).⁹⁰ From this it can be concluded that the garden existed at least until 1654. The year 1635 has been given as date of its construction.⁹¹

The narrow garden lies in between two earthen walls, one of which is the outer wall on the east side of the palace. The other wall separates the narrow garden from the main pond garden. The strip is roughly five meters wide and almost forty meters long. Within this narrow space eight bridges are laid over a stream (fig. 56). The water fills almost all of the width between the walls, leaving here and there only narrow embankments that connect the bridges. All the eight bridges are executed in a different way. These differing shapes apparently form the main theme of the design since these are explained in wordings that are written on little strips of paper pasted on the plan:

Bridge of separated logs, length 4,5m., width 1m.; the logs lay in rows lengthwise.

Bridge of Cryptomeria planks, length 1,8m., width 1m.; it has a railing decorated with curved patterns in lacquer.

Bridge like a draining board, length 3,5m., width 60cm.; several logs

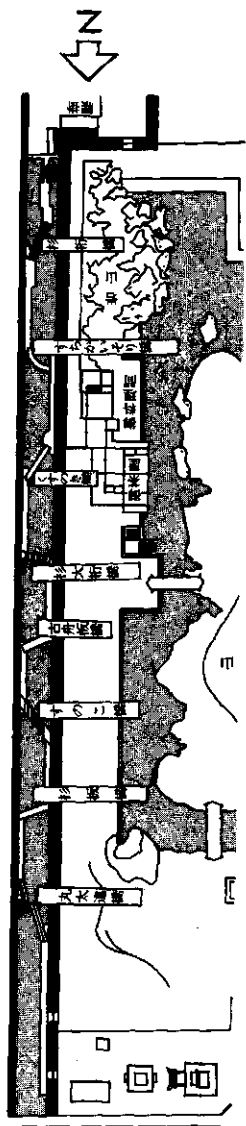


FIGURE 55. Plan of the Garden with the Eight Bridges. The strips with a dark grey tone indicate walls, the lighter tone of grey is water. The eight bridges are indicated with captions that describe the design. The pond in the main garden is partly visible in the western part of the plan (given is a redrawn version of the original drawings).

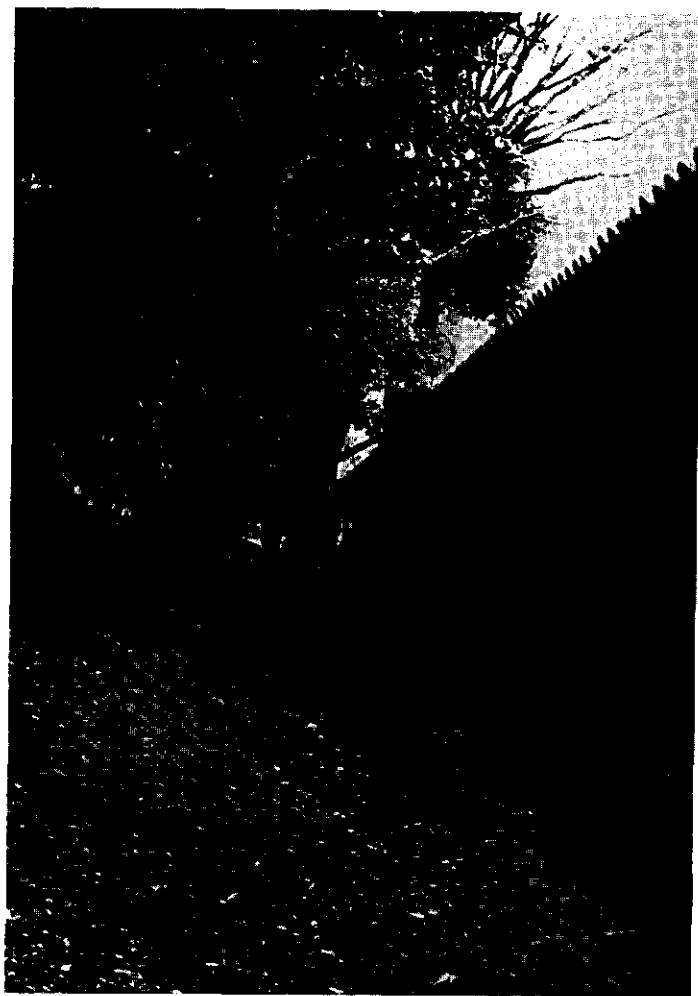


FIGURE 56. The place, along the wall at the inside of the present Sento Gosho Palace in Kyōto, where once the garden with the Eight Bridges was. A water channel is all that reminds of it.

are laid crossways alongside each other.

Bridge made of an old ship's plank, length 2,1m., width 70cm.

Bridge of big *Cryptomeria* beams, length 2,4m., width 85cm.; it has a bamboo railing.

Archbridge, arching sideways, length 3,6m., width 1m.; it has railings and is decked with planks.

Girderbridge of *Cryptomeria* wood, length 3,6m., width 70cm.; it is supported by round logs.⁹²

The drawing further specifies such eccentricities as an archbridge arching sideways instead of upwards. No other explanation than the above goes with this plan.

The 'Eight Bridges' (*yatsubashi*) is a classical literary theme that dates back to the Heian period.⁹³ In fact it must be counted among the standard celebrated scenes (*meisho*), which were discussed extensively in part one of this work. Seventeenth century travel tales that drew heavily from the series of celebrated scenes, to which fictional anecdotes were connected, again include the Eight Bridges (see fig. 57).⁹⁴ The usual appearance is not literally that of eight bridges, but rather a set of partly overlapping slabs, set at angles, that indiscriminately crosses a shallow waterway with irises. In this form it is found as a garden detail in a few daimyō gardens of a later date. Although the idea of eight bridges, therefore, stands clearly within the tradition, the actual form of this imperial garden is definitely unique, if not queer. It is certainly regrettable that we are not informed on how this garden was used.

In 1642 construction was begun for the palace of Empress Meishō (1623 – 1696), daughter of Go-Mizunoo. She was to live there after her abdication, which in fact took place the next year, in 1643. The main garden at this palace shows again a very unusual design.⁹⁵ It is only fully illustrated in one drawing, dated 1656, when the palace was under repair (see fig. 58). Parts of it are also visible in two other drawings, both dated 1643, but the paper seems to have been considerably damaged at the place where the garden is. Empress Meishō's palace burnt down in 1661, and seems to have been rebuilt without this unusual garden.⁹⁶ The garden to be discussed below is likely to have existed from 1643 until 1661. Fortunately, documentary evidence exists that informs us a little on the use of this garden.

The whole compound of Meishō's palace measured about 156 × 138 meters. In the southeast corner, facing the main hall on its southside was an open garden, roughly fifty meters square. It's geometric arrangement



FIGURE 57. A scene from the early seventeenth century travel tale *Chikusai*, that shows the Eight Bridges motif in its popular representation.

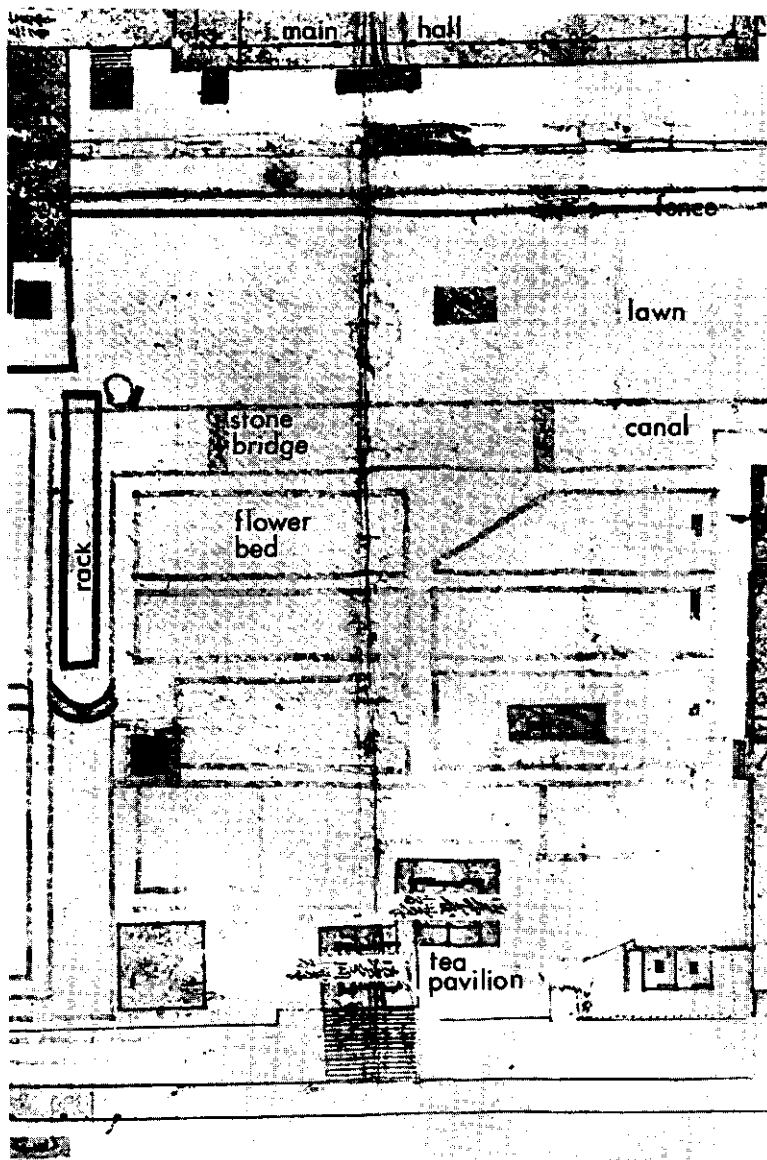


FIGURE 58. Plan, dated 1656, that shows the part of Empress Meishō's palace with the flowerbed garden. The plan is described in the text.

is exceptional in Japan's garden history. A light fence separated a section with course sand, the usual groundcover in front of palace halls, from the rest of the garden. Appended words written on the map, indicate that this fence was expressly meant to see through. One should imagine its construction as a roofed frame from which reed blinds (*sudare*) could be hung.⁹⁷ In 1656 it was in need of repairing as is clear from the instruction drawing from that year.

Court ladies in the classical scroll paintings are always depicted as sitting indoors behind the reed blinds in front of which the actual festivities and ceremonies are performed, in the garden, by men. Even though Meishō's palace was for an empress, one can imagine that here the garden was still only to be used by men. The Empress and her ladies could, however, descend the stairs and come down in a front section of the garden, from where they could look on the partying men from behind the blinds. This must have been an ad hoc solution for one of the many design problems that will have been posed by the unusual situation that the retired sovereign was a female, something that had not occurred for centuries.

The actual garden behind this transparent fence featured first a lawn, that bordered, in turn, a canal with straight edges. The width of the canal differs in relation to the details of the garden design, and is almost four meters in its broadest section. At this point it is about forty meters long. It was apparently confined by a constructed edge which is suggested in the plan by a coloured stroke with a specific width.⁹⁸ Records hint at boating parties that took place in this garden.⁹⁹ A rectangular rack for placing tray landscapes (*bonsan*) stretches out over the length of the canal at the north west corner of the garden. Two stone bridges lead from the lawn section to a central part where flowerbeds with edging are laid out in an almost symmetrical arrangement (fig. 59). At the far end of the garden, as seen from the main hall, is a small tea pavilion with an annex room. From this little building a wide terrace juts out over the most southern extent of the canal. Probably a view over the enclosing wall and into the gardens of the adjoining palace, (the residence of the actually reigning emperor, Empress Meishō's successor) could be had from here.

Though the layout of straight waterways and square flowerbeds is extreme, it is not completely without precedent.¹⁰⁰ Earlier gardens within the Empress' official palace, that is when she was still reigning, had also square flowerbeds, rectangular racks for miniature tray gardens, and straight waterducts.¹⁰¹

In 1652 the flowerbed garden of Empress Meishō is the scene of a party on an unusual pretext. On the fourth day of the third month, horsetails

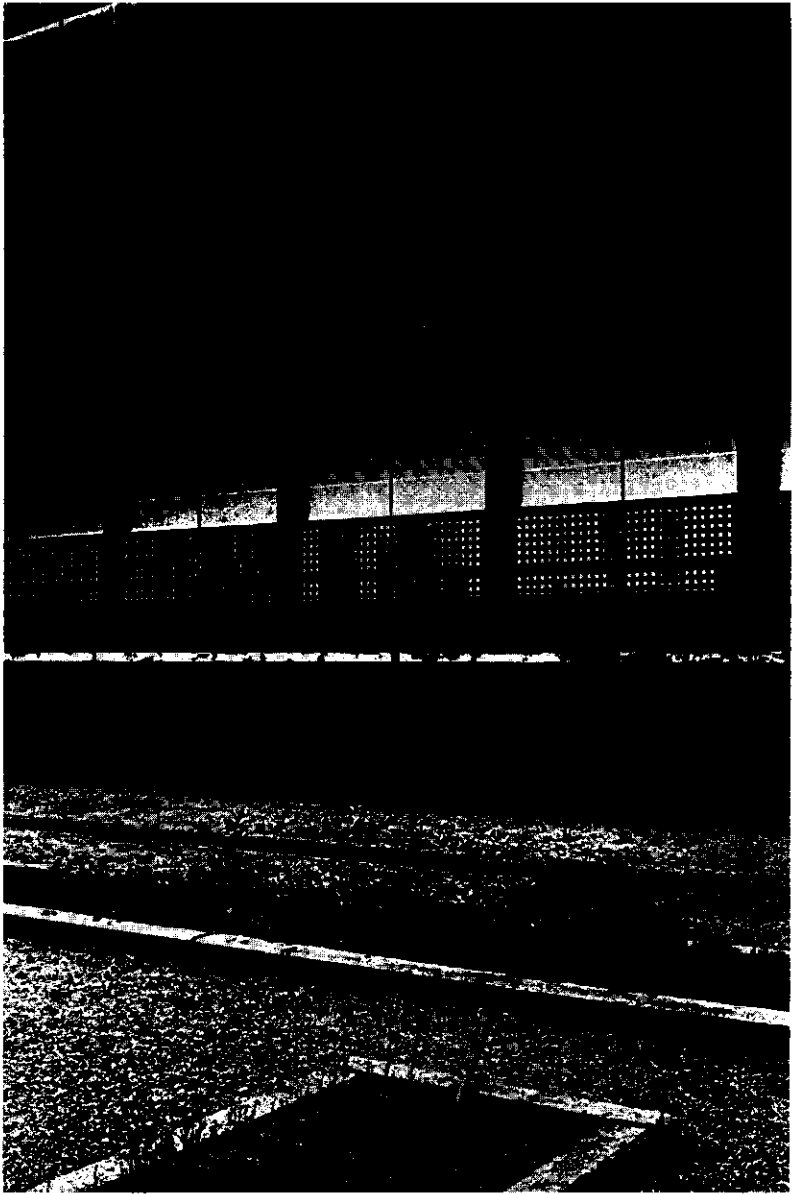


FIGURE 59. A scene from the flowerbed courtyard in the present Imperial Palace in Kyoto; this nineteenth century reconstruction gives an idea of the construction details of the seventeenth century flowerbed garden of Empress Meishō.

(*Equisetum arvense*) were out and the guests went to the garden to pick these. Go-Mizunoo first, followed by other nobles, all men. One may imagine the courtly ladies looking at them from behind the reed blinds. Spring is in the air and comic poems are composed.¹⁰² Then they enter the teahouse.

The details of this care-free event come to us through the diary of Hōrin Shōshō (1592 – 1688), abbot from the temple Kinkaku-ji. His voluminous journal covers, day by day, 33 years of commemorative celebrations, tea, poetry, and other parties. Many of the names of the attending guests are recorded as are the strong tea (*koicha*), wine, and varieties of confectionary. Shōshō often attended festivities staged by Emperor Go-Mizunoo and we will often refer to his diary.¹⁰³ Returning to the spring day in the flowerbed garden, Shōshō has more to say:

In the teahouse we are entertained through the generosity of the Empress. Before tea is served everyone in turn tries his hand at arranging the flowers in the vase suspended from the cornerpost of the alcove.

Then strong tea was served as well as a lavish banquet.¹⁰⁴

These records lead to an important conclusion. The gardens discussed here were a place of enjoyment, in a fully modern sense. Their appreciation did not rely on the recognition of literary themes, as in the earlier history of the art. The garden with the eight bridges has a literary inspiration, but the overall importance of its composition lies in the choice of eight different bridge designs. This would have formed the basis of its appreciation, and not the literary theme itself. The two gardens must be taken as evidence that a purely aesthetic appreciation of garden art was coming into existence.

An account in Shōshō's diary relates how he visited the palace of the reigning emperor in 1648. This was Empress Meishō's successor. More than fifty red, white and purple camellia's were in bloom in the southern garden; enough reason to serve sweets and strong tea.¹⁰⁵ Details of the numbers and colours of the flowers were noted down by Shōshō. Again this displays an appreciation of beauty without any further literary justification. The following record is even clearer in this respect. An entry in Shōshō's diary dated 1645 relates how he saw ten different varieties of camellias blooming in the garden of Go-Mizunoo's palace. He noted names like 'Lion Camellia', 'Big White Ball', 'Single Star', 'Double Lion', etc.. Shōshō concludes, with some modesty:

it is a breathtaking sight to the layman's eye.¹⁰⁶

And this is exactly what it was all about. For the courtly nobles the real world was empty and idle, what was left for them to enjoy was the world of their own imagination, a world without relation to classical traditions. The garden carried no longer importance as the place to conduct the ritual imperial ceremonies, as in the Heian period. It could therefore be appreciated as a purely outward form; a form that was even breathtaking to the layman who could appreciate it without knowledge of the traditions.

3.3 KYŌTO'S NOBILITY DISCOVERS THE ROMANTIC COUNTRYSIDE

The daily world of the early modern courtiers was an idle one. Their gardens were a place to withdraw in the void of imagination. But they also took to the countryside for their retreats, and it became likewise imbued with qualities that had no merits except imagination.

Early in the seventeenth century we find traces of the idle landscape with Hachijō no Miya Toshihito (1579 – 1629). He was a prince of imperial blood, in fact a brother of Go-Yōzei, reigning emperor before Go-Mizunoo. Toshihito was supposed to become emperor, and at another time he was to succeed Hideyoshi, who's adoptive son he had been. Both promotions did not work out. Neither did a proposed betrothal to one of the important shōgun daughters.¹⁰⁷ His career ran short at an early age, which forced him to become a nobleman in idle retreat even before the 'Edicts for the Conduct of the Nobility' became effective in 1615. In about 1605 his family came into possession of land in the village of Katsura, about ten kilometers away from the centre of Kyōto. Here Toshihito had a country seat established. The now famous Katsura palace and gardens were to develop into their present shape at this place in the decades following Toshihito's death.

From the diaries and letters of the Prince it is evident not only that he was a man of broad learning, but also that he had a keen eye for the details of architecture and garden art.¹⁰⁸ Most importantly his later diaries give a great deal of detailed information about the day to day life at Katsura's countryside retreat. Records from the middle of summer to the days of the harvest moon in autumn often mention the pleasures found in a simple country-life, enjoying the fruits and vegetables from the land and the sweetfish (*ayu*) from the nearby Katsura river.¹⁰⁹

An intellectual and elegant quality was lent to this basic existence through poetry parties and the like. Other nobles were often invited to come and visit from the capital. Many poems written by the Prince at such occasions describe the moon viewed from some of the buildings.¹¹⁰ View-

ing the moon was a classic excuse for festive gatherings; but the setting of the countryside adds a novel touch to the occasion. Novelty is even more apparent during a particular outing to Katsura in 1616. Diary entries over several days refer to the viewing of melons as a reason for the party. Many varieties of melons had been introduced recently through the now vivid overseas trade, they must have presented an exotic sight.¹¹¹ From a letter by Prince Toshihito's hand it is clear that many varieties of melons were even grown for the sole purpose of enjoying their sight. At that same outing the mother of young Go-Mizunoo also arrived from the capital, together with some other nobles. A session of writing linked verses was held and, as we may guess, inspired by some alcohol the guests lapsed into boisterous dancing. A letter of the same year refers to the Katsura retreat as 'a simple teahouse in the melon fields', which must be a touch of modesty on the part of the writer. Guests like the Imperial Mother could be entertained and lodged, so we may conclude that it must have been a rather spacious arrangement.¹¹²

Emperor Go-Mizunoo as well made trips to the countryside and established similar country seats. Younger by seventeen years and a nephew to Toshihito, the latter was in fact the emperors' direct adviser in the early years of his reign. Again it is through Shōshō's diary that we are informed of the imperial outings in detail. In 1647 he recorded a trip of several days, made by the Emperor and Empress to the villa of Go-Mizunoo's younger brother. It is a sunny, blue-skied, autumn day and the excuse for the trip is mushroom hunting.¹¹³ This was in the context of those days, as extravagant a reason as the earlier melon viewing. The trip takes them to Nagatani, a little village north of Kyōto, about eight kilometers from the Imperial Palace. Dated the same month of this trip, is a carpenter's drawing entitled "drawing of teahouses for the Nagatani Imperial outing" (see fig. 60).¹¹⁴ The drawing shows, apparently not related to the residence of the Emperor's brother, three little tea huts and a small house, where it is possible to stay overnight. It has a toilet, bathroom and kitchen. Distances between the four buildings are also indicated in the drawing and range from three, to sevenhundred meters. The buildings could not have been finished by the time of the mushroom outing and were probably not yet in use. But in entries in Shōshō's diary of the next year an elaborate imperial outing to this area is described. On the morning of the 21st of the second month the party left, riding thirty palanquins. The Kyōto deputy of the central government, Itakura Shigemune (1586 – 1656), often present at the Imperial parties, was leading the way.¹¹⁵ Shōshō notes explicitly that the party is at the shōgun's expense. Crowds gathered along the route to see this unusual

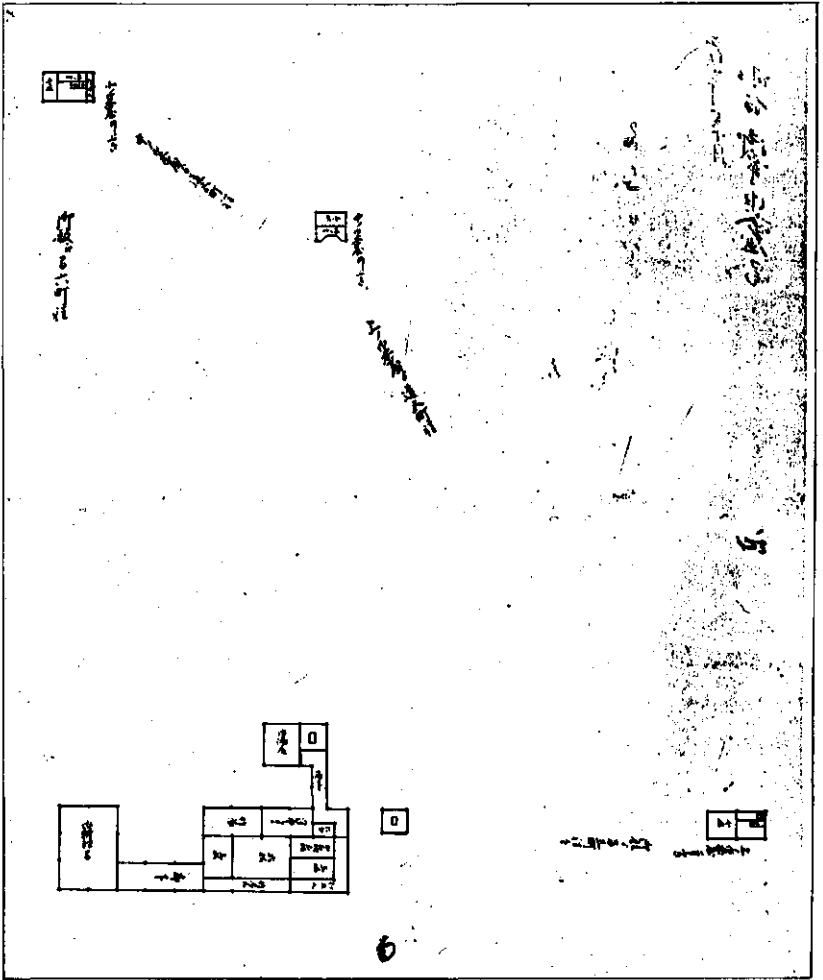


FIGURE 60 Carpenters' drawing (dated 1647) for the three tea houses at Nagatani. See the text.

spectacle. Halfway, at the Kamigamo Shrine, there was a break; lunch-boxes were opened and tea was served. Upon arrival the party proceeded uphill and everybody enjoyed the scenery. When it got late, boxed picknick dinners were again provided and everyone drank wine to one another's health. Go-Mizunoo and the Empress stayed until the 25th, which must have been in the small house shown in the carpenter's drawing.¹¹⁶

From about 1659 on the Imperial picknicks began to take place in a detached villa in the village of Shūgaku-in. This country seat under construction already for many years was nearing completion now. It is known presently as the Shūgaku-in detached villa and ranks in importance along with the Katsura villa. The concept of a few teahouses in a rural setting is the same at Shūgaku-in as in the carpenter's drawing for Nagatani, but the scale is far greater in the former.¹¹⁷

Shōshō also recorded similar parties in the countryside held by courtiers other than the Emperor himself. In 1656 he was, for instance, invited to come visit a noble called Ichijō Akiyoshi, who was a ninth son of Emperor Go-yōzei, Go-Mizunoo's predecessor. Shōshō and some other guests are invited to a tea session in the villa of this Akiyoshi that lay in the hills at Nishikamo, north of Kyōto. After the formal session they are invited to what is called 'the teahouse on the hill'. Noodles and wine are served and the guests enjoy looking out over the distant scenery. To our great surprise they used a telescope.¹¹⁸

This short review illustrates how the early modern elite in Kyōto appreciated the landscape outside the city. The surrounding countryside served as a setting for outings and parties. It was never a very remote or untouched nature though. The melon fields at Katsura and the hills at Nagatani were far from being a wilderness. Moreover, the sites where picknicks were held, were complete with teahouses and lodging places. The early modern elite was apparently in search for a gentle, homely countryside; a nature within easy reach.

Farming or other human activities that must have taken place in the hills are hardly mentioned. Only one poem of Go-Mizunoo refers to human beings:

*mukashi miru
nohara wa sato to
narinikeri
kazusou hito no
kazu wa shiranedo*

The field I saw here
many years ago,
Is now a village,
but I do not know
How many people dwell in it to-
day.¹¹⁹

One almost senses surprise in Go-Mizunoo's discovery of the existence of other humans.

There was no identification on the part of Kyōto's elite with the life of a farmer; neither did he form a part of an idealized image of life in the country. Prince Toshihito's appreciation for the vegetables grown on the land at Katsura was not grounded on an enthusiasm for farmers and their activities, rather it formed a part of an entertaining rural entourage. That melons were grown in great variety just to look at, similarly points to a kind of shallow extravagance.

The modern reader is well acquainted with romantic experiences of landscape, be it from television commercials or from actual outings. These emotions carry no unfamiliar novelty for us in their experiencing of aspects of nature. For the early modern elite a picnic in the countryside must nevertheless have given the exciting feeling of doing something entirely new. The countryside, at first relatively close to the city, is clearly in a process of being discovered as an environment that has more to offer than bandits and the hardships of travel.

Man, at least the nobleman, began to feel relaxed in a countryside setting and so could appreciate scenery for its own sake. Simply looking out over the landscape, over distant hills in particular, was even added as an aspect of the true country experience. No longer was it necessary to recall lyrical themes or to rely on literati patterns of behaviour. Landscape scenery could be enjoyed simply with wine and dancing.

Similar conclusions hold for the imperial gardens and the appreciation of them, as we saw before.

3.4 LANDSCAPE VIEWS BORROWED AS PART OF THE GARDEN SCENERY

For the early modern nobility in Kyōto the rural landscape so near the city had become a romantic backdrop for staging fashionable parties. Inevitably landscape itself had attracted attention as something that could be appreciated for its beauty.

Beautiful landscape scenery, came in time to compose literally an aspect of garden design. From the early seventeenth century onward actual scenery of a landscape became incorporated in the garden as part of a total composition employing a typical see-through technique. This technique is referred to as 'borrowing the scenery.' (*shakkei*) The artistic theory on this technique has recently received much attention.¹²⁰ It distinguishes between fore-, middle-, and background, in which the background is

usually a section of a distant landscape, seen through a screen or frame that forms the middleground; the actual garden forms the foreground. Several gardens from those days that employ the technique still exist. Also some records from the period give us examples of 'borrowing' of sections of natural scenery as part of gardens. The idea was apparently popular in that time. A famous anecdote that must have originated somewhere in the seventeenth century even posthumously attributes the designing of a borrowed scene to the person of teamaster Rikyū:

From Rikyū's teagarden at the seaside in Sakai one can see the sea. It is a skilfully arranged scene: where the sea should be, it is in fact camouflaged with trees that have been planted there on purpose; nevertheless at the point where one enters the enclosure a narrow view of the sea is offered. Here, at the entrance, through the trees at the well, a glimpse of the sea is part of the garden. And at dusk on a moonlit night the sea shines faintly through the trees. Then it strikes the poetic mind!

Verses come spontaneously to the lips, continuously like the water brimming in the well, when seeing Rikyū's teagarden and its glimpse of the sea.¹²¹

The still extant gardens that incorporate borrowed scenery are almost all found within the country retreats of the early modern elite.¹²² The romantic appreciation of rural scenery, found naturally within the countryside, merged here together with the imaginative modern approach to garden art to produce gardens with the borrowed scenery. The still extant garden at Entsu-ji will be treated below as a concrete example of the technique.¹²³

Emperor Go-Mizunoo had several country seats in the hills north of Kyōto. A carpenter's drawing of the teahouses at Nagatani was discussed before. Another of these villa's was the retreat at Hataeda, halfway Nagatani. On the site of this retreat stands at present the temple Entsu-ji, the garden of which is discussed below. Sketches, as it is not allowed to take pictures here at present, will help to explain the text.

The first sketch shows the garden as one sees it when entering the main hall (see fig. 61). Through a few trees standing in, and behind a hedge one can see Mount Hiei.¹²⁴ This view is effectively framed to be viewed from the middle of the veranda, as shown in the other sketch (see fig. 62). Seen from this point the mass of the mountain lies straight in front and runs down to the right. The foreground on the right side, in front of the hedge is largely below the extending shape of the mountain. It is simply covered with moss. The foreground on the left hand side attracts the attention for some scattered groups of simple rock compositions. These are low and

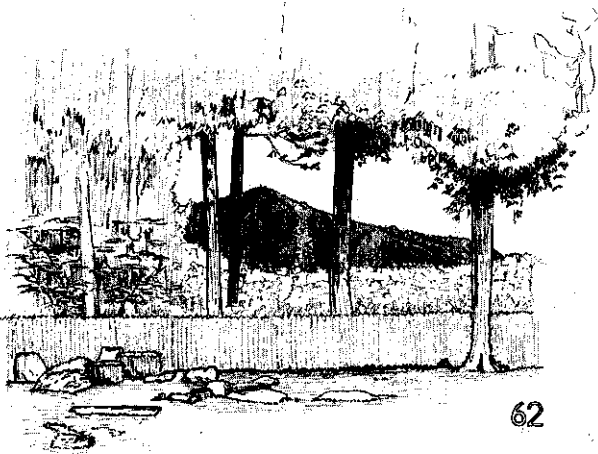
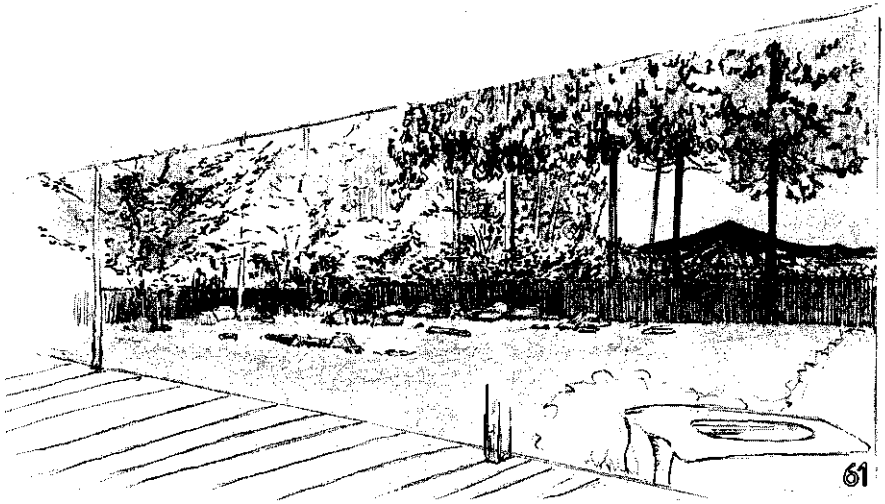


FIGURE 61. Sketch, showing the garden of Entsu-j*ji* as it is viewed when entering the main hall.

FIGURE 62. Sketch, showing the garden of Entsu-j*ji* with the 'borrowed scenery' in front view.

blend in well with the horizontal lines of the hedge that marks off the actual garden at the back. The hedge performs a crucial role as part of the middleground in the composition of this garden. It first of all underlines the distant view of the mountain shape, and therefore relates it to the close by garden forms. As a middleground it separates the overlap of back-, and foreground that is of the mass of the mountain and the arrangements of rocks. This overlap occurs exactly in the middle of the composed view. A large rock laid exactly at this switching point from the time of the construction of this garden. This big boulder was however removed in the more recent past, and lies at present, broken in parts, at the entrance of the temple.¹²⁵ This loss in clarity of composition is well compensated for by the large trees that formed most likely no part of the original composition, but frame the view of Mount Hiei at present from above with their crowns. Because one also views the mountain through the verticals of their trunks, much depth is added to the field of view, which makes the mountain seem larger than it actually is. This becomes immediately clear when one views the mountain from the entrance of the temple, that is without frame.

Only an imaginative and artistic mind could have conceived a composition as at Entsū-ji. We do not know however to whom the design can be attributed.

Emperor Go-Mizunoo and his entourage visited the site, when it still was the Hataeda villa, a few times on the way to Nagatani. Shōshō describes some festive proceedings during the brief stays in his diary. An entry in 1649 describes for instance a poetry meeting staged to view the harvest moon. Deputy Itakura was again present and was honoured with wine presented to him by the Emperor in person.¹²⁶ And as the mood became cheerful the guests started singing and dancing. Another diary entry dated 1657 relates of a teaparty that was held in a teahouse at the ascent of a path in the hills.¹²⁷ Details like this make it likely that the site on which this Hataeda teahouse stood, as well as the view from it, more or less correspond with the garden and its view of present-day Entsū-ji. From the main hall one still gets a spectacular sight of the full moon in autumn, when it rises over the slopes of Mount Hiei. The temple lies in fact along the ascent of the road, that leads finally to Nagatani in the east.¹²⁸

In the late fifties of the century the construction of the grand imperial retreat at Shūgaku-in was far advanced and the villa's at Hataeda, Nagatani and other places were no longer used. It is likely that it was a deliberate policy of the shogunate to concentrate the imperial outings in one place.¹²⁹ What is clear at least is that Go-Mizunoo was against aban-

doing the Hataeda villa and tried to continue its management in form of a Zen monastery. He discussed this matter with notable clergymen.¹³⁰ In the late seventies the villa was turned into a temple at last, only shortly before Go-Mizunoo's death in 1680.¹³¹ For this occasion a hall was moved in 1678 from one of the Imperial palaces in the city to the site of Entsū-ji. Today it still stands as the main hall that faces the garden. If the above assumption, that the view from Hataeda's teahouse corresponds to the one of the garden at present, then it must be concluded that the location of the main hall constructed in 1678 was chosen with regard to this view and a probably already existing garden arrangement.

A late eighteenth century illustration of the garden shows it almost as it looks at present (see fig. 63). A big boulder called 'Banda Stone' lies at the far eastern side, along the hedge over which the view of Mount Hiei is had.¹³² This Banda Stone is the one that lies at present at the entrance of the temple. The stone also inspired the naming of a document called "Records of the Banda Stone". Related to the temple, it was written in the 1660's.¹³³ This is another clue in the dating of the garden.

The Banda Stone, if imagined to be in its original position, lies in concord with the shape of Mount Hiei as it can be viewed over the hedge. The Banda Stone has, like the mass of the mountains, its largest volume to the left and narrows to the right, reflecting the shape of Mount Hiei once more.¹³⁴ Therefore it would be not entirely amiss to conclude that the view of Mount Hiei already formed a part of the garden design in the 1660's, before it was turned into a temple.¹³⁵ The arrangements of the rocks form a consistent whole; even with the large Banda Stone. The low and unobtrusive rock groups on the left side are in fact matched to a few flat outcroppings of natural rock in the middle. The horizontality of the whole is in harmony with the straight hedge. The Banda Stone formed a main and focal element, pointing at Mount Hiei behind. The consistently composed rock work, including the Banda Stone and its compositional relationship to Mount Hiei are therefore likely to have already existed in the 1660's.

A cautious conclusion is that the garden with its borrowed view and its rock arrangements, but probably without the large trees, reflects the tastes of the elite around the already aging Emperor Go-Mizunoo. In the context of this chapter the garden of Entsū-ji will therefore illustrate the imaginative appreciation of landscape scenery in the garden, as it existed among Kyōto's early modern elite.



FIGURE 63. Wood-block print from a tourist guide that gives an aerial view of the temple Entsu-ji with its garden. Note the Banda Stone at the far right side of the garden (illustration from the late eighteenth century).

CHAPTER 4

A MODERN APPROACH IN GARDEN DESIGN

4.1 MODERN GARDEN DESIGN, A DEFINITION

Designing requires the designer's will to create a not yet existing form. Design in garden art signifies this mental intention an individual may have towards the form of a garden. This intention can be expressed in words or drawn as a sketch or plan on paper, for which the word design is also used.¹³⁶ The problem of designing an artful garden can be described as the bringing together of elements in a composition, such as plants, water, earth forms, etc., to produce an effective whole. This effectiveness refers of course to the functioning of the garden as a little natural ecosystem, including man, its maintainer. But it also means an effectiveness towards its perceiving. It has to transmit a message of beauty to be perceived by its onlooker, who looks, smells, hears and feels with a culturally predisposed frame of perception.

Therefore, designing and creating a garden involves the solving of two problems. One problem is a material one; how to create a garden physically. This requires a body of knowledge about nature, and about construction techniques with which nature can be transformed into a garden. The other problem is an immaterial one, it requires a body of knowledge about culture and how to express it in the form of a garden. The following intends not only to describe the early seventeenth century practice of garden making, but also to show that the above modern definition of design in garden art holds true for this earlier time as well.

4.2 EARLY MODERN DESIGN AS AN INTELLECTUAL SPECIALISM

The mediaeval period showed advances in the technique of gardening. A group of true professionals came into existence with clear ideas about their craft and its technique. Nevertheless they were of low birth and so did not understand literature and other arts well enough to be able to create a garden in the modern sense. On the other hand, the cultured men had not yet developed their own ideas on construction and technique in

garden making, so that there could be no single expression of taste in garden art. The tea experts were the first to approach the garden art directly in a more intellectual way, as we saw above.

Among the newly appointed officials of the early seventeenth century central government were the Commissioners of Public Works (*sakuji bugyō*).¹³⁷ This new administrative position contained the clearly defined duty of controlling the construction of public monuments and buildings. The gardens attached to these also fell under the Commissioner's management. But the commissioner had only a responsibility for the final built product, he was not directly engaged with the process of construction. Gardening technique was still the profession of low class gardeners. With the establishment of the Commissioner of Public Works as a full time supervisor, a basic condition towards the intellectual development of garden concepts became fulfilled. In the early seventeenth century the material and immaterial problems of garden design thus became the concern of two separated sets of people.

With the right people on the right place, they produced in close cooperation, both nevertheless freely developing their own specialism, gardens of a very high quality.

4.3 THE COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC WORKS, KOBORI ENSHŪ

Responsible for the palace gardens, two of which were discussed above, were several Commissioners of Public Works. Among them was Kobori Enshū (1579 – 1647) a salient figure in the history of Japan's early modern garden art.¹³⁸ He not only belonged to Kyōto's aristocratic elite, but also was, as a daimyō and Commissioner, a representative of the central government. His personal history further made him an expert in matters of garden technique.

Kobori Enshū was born in the village Kobori on the eastern borders of Lake Biwa, east of Kyōto, and his family was respectable and powerful, being the oldest in the region. His father was a warrior who joined forces with most of the leading daimyō's of the days. From a young age on Kobori Enshū was therefore familiar with the daimyō etiquette. It is known that his father brought him to at least one of the Matsuya family teameetings. Enshū studied with Furuta Oribe who was at that time actively developing the elaborate tea architecture and garden. A touching anecdote relates how the eighteen year old Enshū had contrived a new construction for a wash basin, where water was quickly drained off. Oribe supposedly said that Enshū was bound to become famous.¹³⁹ Enshū was

in his younger years not very different from the other tea performers striving to perfect 'tea theatre'. The only difference was his age.

Enshū's father was rewarded for his services with a job as local commissioner for Fushimi, the river port south of Kyōto, in 1600.¹⁴⁰ Only a few years later he died quite suddenly and Enshū took over his father's position and salary. In 1606 Enshū was appointed Commissioner of Public Works on the occasion of the building of a palace for the reigning Emperor. He had already a reputation as one of Oribe's outstanding disciples and he also had the right friends to introduce him. In the following years he was usually as member of a team of Commissioners assigned to several construction sites of daimyō castles as well as courtly palaces.¹⁴¹ An important commission he got in 1625 was the remodelling and extending of the shogunate's palace in Kyōto, to accommodate the Emperor Go-Mizunoo at a visit that took place the next year.¹⁴² It is obvious that Enshū was always right in the middle of the not too smooth relations between the Court in Kyōto and the shogunate. He got his salary nevertheless from the central government. That must be the reason why there is hardly any documentary evidence that he was acquainted with the more notable members of the imperial elite. This does not necessarily mean that he had no contact at all. He was close friends with the amateur-painter/calligrapher, aesthete Shōkadō Shōjō (1584 – 1639) and also socialized with court noble Konoe Nobuhiro (1599 – 1649) the fourth child of Emperor Go-Yōzei, predecessor of Go-Mizunoo. These men were central personalities in Kyōto's fashionable elite, the latter has even been labeled 'the leader of Go-Mizunoo's salon'.¹⁴³ Also Shōshō mentions Kobori Enshū and even some of his closely related followers, several times in his diary.¹⁴⁴ Above all Enshū's relation with Konoe Nobuhiro is scantily documented. It must have been kept quiet not to cause irritation with the shogunate.¹⁴⁵

That he directed the construction of the garden with the eight bridges and the flowerbed garden discussed above is clearly documented. But the designs present a problem in that we cannot understand to what extent their conceptions relate to Enshū or to either Empress Meishō or Emperor Go-Mizunoo, for whom these were built. Judging from the men with whom Enshū associated it is proper to conclude that the gardens reflect the tastes of Kyōto's courtly elite in general.

4.4 THE COMMISSIONER AND THE DESIGNER

For the early seventeenth century Commissioners of Public Works, the

design of gardens had become an immaterial, intellectual problem. They had to see to it that wishes of clients were properly translated into actual, built gardens.¹⁴⁶

Extensive works like the Imperial Palaces were always directed by a team of Commissioners. Each of them was assigned part of the buildings in the layout and was responsible from the foundations to the ridge.¹⁴⁷ Under the Commissioner's authority actual supervising was carried out by a sub-commissioner and a chief-carpenter, who likely had scribes and draftsmen in service, so that we may speak of the office of the Commissioner. Under it worked groups of regular carpenters, gardeners, draftsmen and other specialists, for instance engaged in the wide variety of crafts regarding interior decoration.¹⁴⁸ Again they had an internal hierarchy that divided supervising and actual labour. The early modern building process must be thought of as being highly developed with regard to its segregation of professional specializations.¹⁴⁹ Enormous numbers of people were therefore involved in the building of public works like the palaces. For instance almost 700,000 carpenters reportedly worked on the Imperial Palace that was constructed in the early 1640's. A large number of sketched plan views of the temporary carpenter settlements laid out for the occasion still exists. It sheds some light on the incredible scale of these building enterprises.¹⁵⁰ It is clear from the above that Commissioners must have been high administrative officials that were certainly not on the site everyday. Enshū for instance often traveled between Kyōto and Edo while works were in progress, which seems to indicate that he was managing the more diplomatic sides of his responsibilities.

Instructions to head-carpenters were written down; letters and drawings were used. Many plan views of architecture and gardens were sent out from the offices of the Commissioners.¹⁵¹ Two of these, showing some peculiar garden designs, were discussed before; also the drawing of the three teahouses at Nagatani is just such an instruction to carpenters.

The name of Kobori Enshū is connected with many of the early seventeenth century Commissioner's drawings. It should be understood from the above that he did not draw these himself. All the drawings, in fact, that relate to construction works for the Imperial family bear the names of members of the carpenter family Nakai.¹⁵² Nakai Masakiyo (= Masatsugu, 1565 - 1619) is most important among these. It would derogate Masakiyo's merits to simply call him head carpenter. He is better termed an engineer in the broader sense of the word, who also did not hesitate to get involved with war. The year for instance, before the final and decisive taking of Osaka's castle by the first Tokugawa shōgun, he had secretly drawn a map of the compound and, furthermore, contributed

a considerable amount of weapons to the Tokugawa troops. He had the barracks of the army's blacksmiths and carpenters shielded with iron to be better protected against bullets and fires. More significant is the design he made in 1614 together with the Confucianist scholar Hayashi Razan (1583 – 1657) for a canal to drain off 60 – 90 centimeters water from the Lake Biwa. This supposedly would make for a considerable increase in the area of arable land.¹⁵³ The plan was presented to the shōgun, but never carried out. Engineer-carpenter Masakiyo was usually assigned to works for which Kobori Enshū was responsible as Commissioner. Both worked for instance on the construction of the Imperial Palace in the years after 1611.¹⁵⁴ It is very likely that Enshū, with only a few years working experience as Commissioner, and fourteen years younger, learned a lot from this intelligent senior.¹⁵⁵

Masakiyo's son, Masazumi (1594 – 1654) was in office from 1631 to 1647 and became foreman at the rebuilding of the Imperial palace in the 1640's. In 1640 he submitted a collection of letters, instruction drawings, plans and sketches to Commissioner Enshū, who was in charge of this work. Just two weeks before the works actually started it is recorded how Masazumi received the honour to be invited to a teaparty at Enshū's residence. Other famous tea experts also attended.¹⁵⁶ The manner in which Masazumi submitted drawings to the high official Enshū, as well as the way in which he was invited betrays a distance between the two that was greater than between Enshū and father Masakiyo.¹⁵⁷ Exactly from the period when Masazumi was operating, date the peculiar designs of the eight bridges, and the one of the flowerbeds. Enshū's reputation as an aesthete was very high in the decades before his death in 1647, so that it is likely that the daring novelty of the concepts in these designs is a product of his self-conscious mind. On the other hand it is unthinkable that he will have done the drafting himself, so that we must attribute the actual design to the carpenters of the Nakai family and their draftsmen.¹⁵⁸ The following paragraphs will shed some light on the role these people played in executing designs.

4.5 THE DRAWING AS PART OF THE MODERN DESIGN METHOD

The civil war of the sixteenth century greatly advanced and enlarged the knowledge of engineering and related sciences. A superior technique of castle building could mean the ability to endure a siege. On the other hand, knowledge of defensive techniques could lead to victory if one laid siege to an army in a fortress of inferior quality.¹⁵⁹ The science of castle

building showed rapid progress towards the end of the century. Sophisticated mathematics obtained the greatest efficiency in using the natural conditions of the usually hilly terrain. From about 1600, after times had become more peaceful, sites in lowland plains were preferred, where the imposing beauty of the multi-storied castles came to express the power of, and the hierarchy within, the ruling government.¹⁶⁰ From that time onward the science of engineering began to be used for more peaceful purposes as well. Land was reclaimed and drained off, roads and canals for transportation were built. Surveying and mapping became a well developed technique. On a smaller scale, units of area, weight, volume and other measurements were standardized. Related to this are also developments in arithmetics. Merchants and members from the ruling classes recognized the conveniences of computation and arithmetics which quickly gained a general popularity. Commercially edited manuals on arithmetics appeared from the 1620's on.¹⁶¹ The first handbook on planimetry appeared in 1622.¹⁶² One interesting section deals with the practical applications of the theory of measurements for the use of timber in architecture. It also contains information on measuring of areas in plane figures, and shows calculations for stone retaining walls such as those used in castle building.¹⁶³ This all relates to an expanding rationalization in the process of building. Most obvious expression is the perfecting of a system that rationalizes the volume of timber used by determining the thickness of pillars in relation to the span between them (*kiwari*).¹⁶⁴ The movement towards a more scientific approach in architecture maybe not affected garden art in a direct and general way, but the plan views of palace gardens were drawn by carpenters or by their draftsmen, and a more mathematical way of conceiving a garden is clearly noticeable.

It was at that time that a new, more accurate way of drafting plan views of buildings comes into view. The drawings of the Nakai carpenter family, or the draftsmen they employed, have been closely studied in connection with this. Throughout the seventeenth century their technique of drafting does not show any major change.¹⁶⁵ Drawings were made on sheets of blank foundation paper that came in sizes even greater than 2 × 2 meters. Grids were drawn on it that intended, like the modern drafting machine, to keep accurate horizontals and verticals. Besides this, the width of the grid also functioned to create scale. Widths of respectively two, four or six, so called *wake*, (about 0.6, 1.2, or 1.8 centimetres), indicated the real length of one *ken*, which is about two metres.¹⁶⁶ The scales accordingly in use were one to 325, 162.5, 108.33, respectively.

The rectangular outlines of buildings were drawn on the paper in accor-

dance with the horizontals and verticals of the grid. Pillars of buildings are often, but not exclusively, drawn on the intersection points of the grid. Thin coloured paper of the size of the buildings was pasted within the outlines and the division of rooms was again drawn on top of this. Differently coloured paper was used. Colours indicated, at least in the plan views of the palaces, different functional sections of the complex of buildings. Also features like waterducts, stone verges, etc. were often indicated with ribbons of coloured paper.¹⁶⁷ The grids could apparently be rubbed out, as one usually sees only traces of it. A few drawings show them distinctly.

In the early seventeenth century a peculiar technique for showing elevations came to be generally used. Little sheets that could be folded upwards were pasted on the actual map. These sheets showed the facade views of interior walls with their richly decorated built-in shelves and cupboards.¹⁶⁸ The elevation is, in the design of architecture, an enriching innovation. Gardens were also drawn in elevation, although not on separate sheets of paper that were pasted on a plan.

If the grid that was used to draft the flowerbed garden of Empress Meishō is reconstructed, many of the details of the design appear to follow it (see fig. 64).¹⁶⁹ The widths of paths, waterways and flowerbeds are in many places directly related to the width of the grid. The grid formed an important instrument in achieving the final form of the flowerbed garden. This indicates therefore that draftsmen carried quite some responsibility for the implementation of this garden design, something that is usually not realized at present.

A closer look at this drawing shows us that water is indicated with a texture of tiny rolling waves, a pattern that is also used in plan views of garden ponds found in other palaces. This particular texture indicating water however is exclusively applied in pond designs that employ straight edges.¹⁷⁰

A completely different way of drafting gardens is illustrated by the drawing for an inner garden within the Imperial Palace that is dated 1643 (see fig. 65). Trees, rocks, and garden hills are drawn in elevation; water and bridges in plan view. All of these are, in a sketch-like manner, distributed over the paper. The plane of elevation shifts with the angles of the plan. Water is indicated with a slightly darker tone. Other palace gardens are similarly illustrated.¹⁷¹

Apart from the drawing technique, the composition of the two gardens illustrated here, is also completely different. The straight lines and square surfaces of the flowerbed garden reflect the approach of an architect, relying on his grid. The curved lines and differing species of trees in the sketch

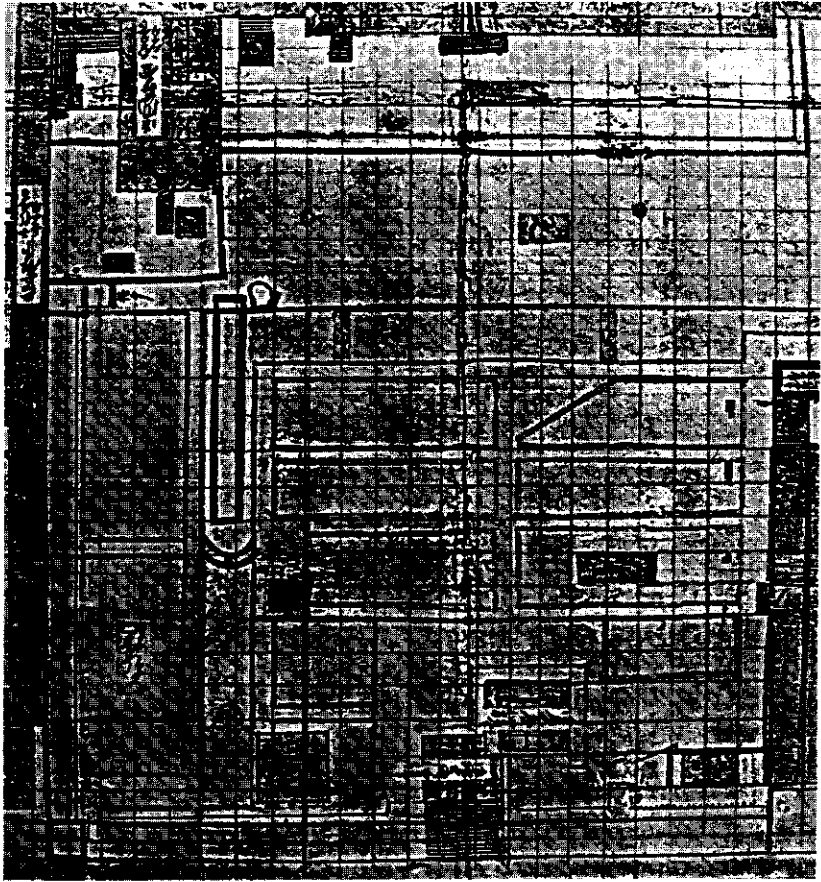


FIGURE 64. Plan view of the flowerbed garden at the palace of Empress Meishō with the grid drawn in it. (Cf. fig. 58, and note 169).

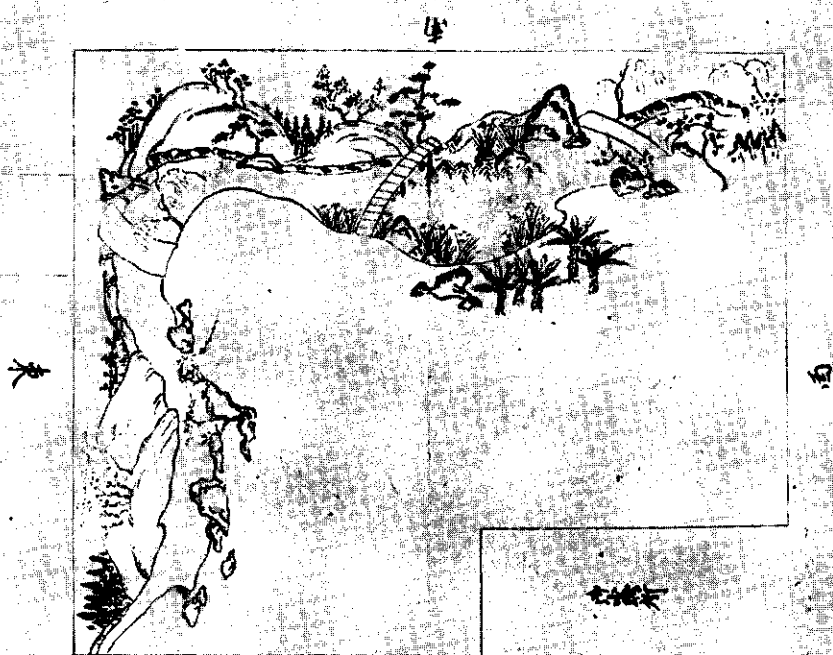


FIGURE 65. Drawing, dated 1643, showing a garden that was situated south of one of the main halls of the Imperial Palace of that time. The garden is viewed from the north and largely drawn as an elevation. It displays a completely different manner of drawing a garden when compared to other contemporary plans of imperial gardens (compare for instance with fig. 58).

of 1643 betray a gardener's point of view. These two drawings show, therefore, that there existed two separate and opposing views on garden art within the early modern palace architecture. Drawings showing other palace gardens can similarly be classified as belonging to one or the other of the two extremes. Sometimes the architect's and gardener's approach were combined in one design, however never in an overlapping or compromising way. Both of the illustrated drawings were dispatched from Enshū's Commissioner's office. As for the actual appearance of garden designs it seems therefore that Enshū had no consistent approach in designing. The two opposing views on garden art prove again that the role of carpenters and draftsmen working under Enshū was important in creating the final product.

A particular garden style, considered to be in Enshū's taste (*Enshū-gonomi*), has been defined.¹⁷² The above makes clear that something like the Enshū style points to characteristics in composition that came about in the garden art of his time. Although these therefore may be connected to his name, they are not too directly related to his personal creative genius.

4.6 THE EARLY MODERN GARDEN MAKERS

The actual building of gardens in the early seventeenth century shows, compared to the mediaeval period, slightly different characteristics. There is for instance the advent of the use of cut stone, and with it the stone craftsman.¹⁷³ Generally speaking, though, the practice remained the same. We read for instance again of cart-loads of decorative rocks, imported from famous regions of production. Again they are put up by garden workers without clear social background. Unlike in the mediaeval period, sources are never very outspoken on the outcast background of gardeners. One reason was that the growing prosperity connected with the quickly advancing establishment of a centralized rule also brought improvements in the social position of the 'riverside people'. And as organisation became necessary for the trading and growing of specific types of trees, or the collecting of rare garden stones, gardeners (*uekiya*) organised into guild-like groups.¹⁷⁴ On the other hand the official class distinctions imposed by the central government made low class garden labourers into outcasts. Outside the now clearly regulated society they were even more remote from the world of the literate than before, they came to be hardly ever written about. The series of records detailed below that relate to one individual gardener shows how the medieaval practice

of garden building progressed into early modern times.

From 1598 to 1600 there are records that, in the mediaeval manner, relate to a man from the riverside called Yoshirō.¹⁷⁵ He worked on a garden for Hideyoshi with some relatives. Yoshirō is again not a family name, but a first name. Later entries from the same source record how Yoshirō worked on the garden in front of the hall for daily use, within the Imperial Palace. On the first and on the third day of the second month of 1600 his name appears for the last time, where it is told how he laid a garden bridge to the tip of an island where pine trees were planted.¹⁷⁶ The diary with these records is then silent regarding garden works until 1602 where it states how in the first month on the 25th day construction was started up again on the garden that had been Hideyoshi's. He had died in 1598 and the building had been halted temporarily. Three days later works are again recorded for this garden. These two passages do not name any gardener. Just two weeks later the same journal again mentions construction on this garden, performed by a certain 'Kentei'. This name is an obvious wordplay literally meaning something like 'clever in gardening', but it can also be understood as 'clever little brother'.¹⁷⁷ It is the conclusion of garden scholar Mori Osamu that Yoshirō and Kentei are the same person. He bases this on the records referred to above, that indicate Yoshirō's activities. His name suddenly disappears during a hiatus in which work continues under nameless supervision, after which Kentei appears as supervising the same gardens.¹⁷⁸ The reason for this falsification is that the nick-name Kentei was given by, of all people, the retired emperor Go-Yōzei himself, showing that it was a name of highest honour.¹⁷⁹ It is self-evident that the early modern scribe camouflaged the humble birth of a gardener who got an honorific title from a respectable member of the Court. It also shows, however, that even in the early years of the seventeenth century riverside gardeners could still, as in mediaeval times, attract the attention of the aristocracy.

Other sources mention the same Kentei, sometimes spelling his nick-name in a different way. The last time that he shows up in the documents is in 1633, which was probably not long before his death.¹⁸⁰ Kentei worked, under Kobori Enshū, at least on the rockwork of a garden at the subtemple Konchi-in. The garden will be discussed below.

Other gardeners, also of unknown birth, likewise appear in the early modern records. There is for instance a priest Gyoku-enbō. This person worked under Kobori Masaharu, a half brother of Enshū, but, because his mother had been a secondary wife, his status was lower than Enshū's.¹⁸¹ Gyoku-enbō is known to have worked on many gardens. Specifically his

engagement in the garden works at the temple Chion-in, that were carried out in the early forties of the century are well documented.¹⁸² This is the origin of the popular attribution of Chion-in's garden to Kobori Enshū.

In the garden of Chion-in priest Gyoku-enbō worked together with a certain Ryō-ami. Judging from his role and name the latter must be ranked along with the mediaeval *ami*-artists. The character 'Ryō' stands also for the verb 'to measure', which probably refers to a specific ability of Ryō-ami in surveying, or the like.¹⁸³

4.7 THE MODERN PRODUCTION OF GARDEN ART, KONCHI-IN

There are not many gardens from the early seventeenth century that are still extant and, besides this, are also amply documented in contemporary records. The garden at Konchi-in is one of these still existing and well described gardens. Its history demonstrates Enshū's role and also serves as an illustration of the process of design and construction of gardens in the early modern period. Konchi-in is a subtemple of the Zen monastery Nanzen-ji.¹⁸⁴

The head priest at the time of construction was Sūden (1569 – 1633) who would be better termed a powerful politician. He drafted many shogunal edicts and was, for instance, the person behind the punishment of people involved in the 1627 incident in which Go-Mizunoo awarded priests ranks without the permission of the shōgun.¹⁸⁵ Sūden's severe posture made him feared in Kyōto and he was spoken of as the 'black-robed chancellor'.¹⁸⁶

Kobori Enshū was engaged in the design of the garden at the subtemple Konchi-in, which was in fact Sūden's residence. Enshū was not an officially appointed Commissioner since the works were basically a private business. All the same Enshū again operates in the middle of the political tensions between the shogunate and the court. In this case records prove that Enshū conceived the design of the garden himself. The political symbolism found in the composition of the garden at Sūden's residence is therefore of particular interest.

The main hall of Konchi-in was built around 1628 together with a teahouse and a memorial shrine building.¹⁸⁷ The construction of the buildings was also supervised by Enshū. The garden that, as in the mediaeval subtemples, faces the main hall, was built a few years later. The reason for having the buildings and garden laid out was an expected visit of Iemitsu, third shōgun in the Tokugawa line, that was to take place in 1634. Entries in Sūden's diary in the years around 1632 give detailed ac-

counts of the construction proceeding in the garden.¹⁸⁸

An exchange of letters occurred between Enshū and Sūden in the beginning of the year 1630, concerning the design and construction of a garden in front of the main hall. Other parts of the complex had already been landscaped by a certain Murase Sasuke, one of Enshū's assistants in matters of garden art. The garden at the main hall apparently required the skills of Kentei, who was at work in the Kaga province on a daimyō's garden; in the fourth month Enshū asked Sūden by letter to wait with the works until Kentei's return to the capital. In the meantime Enshū had some instruction drawings made and garden materials were delivered, sent by several daimyō's from neighbouring provinces. With or without Kentei, about who's presence we are not informed, construction progressed steadily throughout the course of 1630. Dimensions of certain garden rocks are specified and more orders are placed. Cut stone ordered in the ninth month arrived at the riverport Fushimi, Enshū's place of residence, at the end of the following month. After inspection it is forwarded to the site. A large stone bridge is hauled with forty-five oxen. At the end of the year Sūden went to Edo, never to return in fact, because he died there. Enshū also went to Edo at the end of the next year, to return in the spring of 1632. He then sent word to Sūden that he immediately wanted to proceed with the planting and rockwork. Construction had dragged on too long apparently, because Enshū took measures to complete his projects quickly. In the beginning of the fifth month he appointed Murase Sasuke as the on-site supervisor and with fifty workers they worked on the planting and rockwork. By the middle of the same month the garden was finished. Sūden notes in his diary that he wrote a letter to Enshū stating that all was done to ample satisfaction. He also asked to be informed about a proper reward for Kentei.

We can assume that the materials required by Enshū's instruction drawings were delivered and stockpiled on site. What happened in the fifth month of 1632 was the final arrangement of the whole composition, achieved through the combined forces of Kentei, Murase and fifty workers. Enshū was, however, again out of town and only saw the finished work at the end of the seventh month, Sūden himself did not even see the garden at all and died early in 1633 in Edo. The visit of the shōgun to Sūden's place was cancelled because of the latter's untimely death. The occasion of the visit remains nevertheless an important clue in understanding the garden conception.

The composition consists of two low mounds both studded with rocks lying in front of a rather steep slope that serves as a background. Across



FIGURE 66. Section of drawing, dated ca. 1632, that shows buildings and the garden at the temple Konchi-in. See the text.

from the exact middle of the main hall lies a big square stone in front of the two large rock groupings. The two mounds and the square stone form a symmetrical composition exactly on the central axis of the main hall.

A drawing that dates from about 1632, (therefore drawn at the final completion of the garden) shows the origin of this monumental symmetry (see fig. 66).¹⁸⁹ It is based in fact directly on the grid of the drawing. The flat stone is shown here exactly opposite the space between the middle set of pillars on the edge of the central room of the main hall. The two garden mounds are, consequently, drawn opposite the spaces between the adjacent sets of pillars to the right and left. At present, standing inside the main hall, one views the three parts of the composition, square stone and two mounds, successively through the three main spans between the pillars that support the roof at the edge of the building. The effect is unusually monumental.

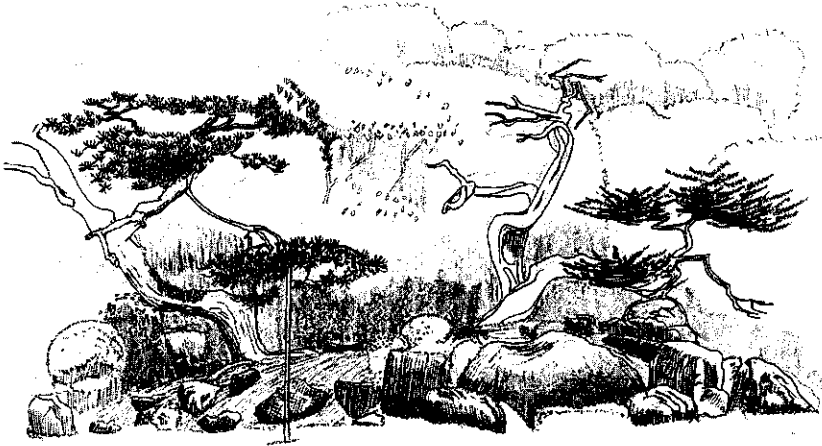
Huge rocks used in the rock arrangements on the mounds make for added impressiveness.¹⁹⁰ The left group is meant to represent a turtle (see fig. 67). The withered *Juniperus* on its back dates probably from the time of construction. The garden mound to the right represents a crane, its rocky neck and wings spread out (see fig. 68). These animals are, within the limitations of the material, quite realistically represented.

Cranes and turtles are always associated with the Chinese Hōrai legend. This relates of mountainous islands called Hōrai, that are floating in a remote sea, carried on the backs of giant swimming turtles. Immortal souls live on top of these in paradise-like circumstances and are carried to and fro on the backs of cranes. More mortal beings, for instance several Chinese emperors had actually dispatched ships in search for these islands in order to find the secrecy of immortality. In vain, to be sure.¹⁹¹

On top of the slope that forms the background to the crane and turtle composition stands a small shrine building, a little to the right, off the central axis (fig. 69). Clipped shrubs on the slope have grown so high that one can not see the shrine at present. The shrine, built in 1628 by Sūden, was intended to be a place of prayer for happiness in the other world of the first Shōgun Ieyasu, who had died about a decade before that.¹⁹²

Given this information Enshū's intention, the concept of the garden design, becomes clear. The composition of the garden with crane and turtle must allude to Sūden's hope that Ieyasu dwell in immortality on the Hōrai islands. The big square stone is in fact the usual stone to stand on when paying reverence to the garden (*reihaiseki*).¹⁹³

Standing on a stepping stone before the garden to pay reverence to the boulders in it, is a mediaeval idea. In the case of Konchi-in reverence was paid not only to the garden, but also to the shrine on the hill behind it.



67



68

FIGURE 67. Sketch, showing the left-hand stone group in the garden at Konchi-in. The composition suggests the shape of a turtle, the stone representing its head is the one at the far right side.

FIGURE 68. Sketch, showing the right-hand stone group in the garden at Konchi-in. The composition suggests the shape of a crane in flight, the long stone to the left represents the neck and head of the bird, the standing rocks its wings.

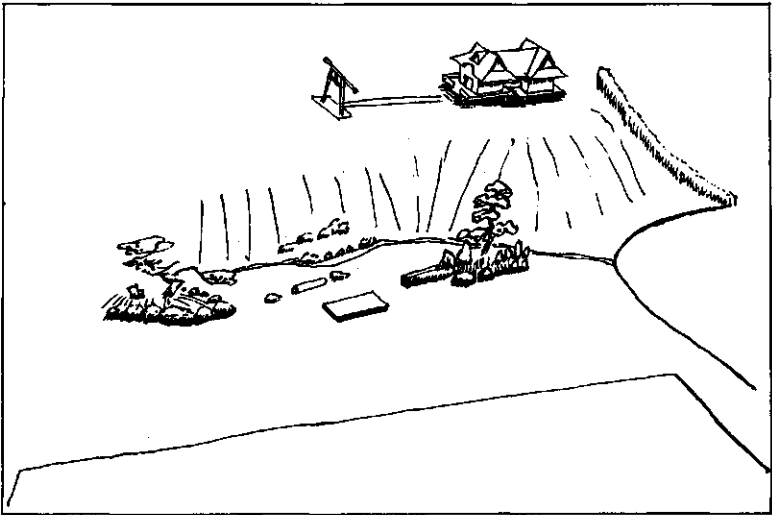
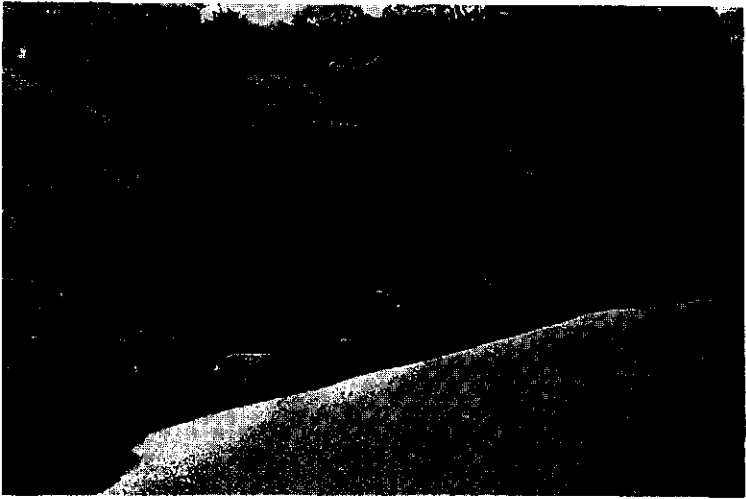


FIGURE 69. Photo and sketch, showing the location of the little shrine in relation to the rock groups. Only part of the ridge of the roof is visible on the photograph. Trees and shrubs have grown too tall.

The worship extended to the soul of Ieyasu, in the paradise of Hōrai, to whom the shrine was dedicated. Moreover, around the big square stone, the ground is covered with big blue pebbles. This suggests the sea, and one may thus have attained the feeling of debarking the ship that was in search for Hōrai. To us the whole arrangement might seem an exaggeratedly simple, maybe even blunt, statement. But in its time it was probably seen rather as an elegant gesture and as a very sophisticated design solution. Straightforward symbolic use of garden themes as shown in this garden hardly existed at this time and was to become a common approach in art, not only garden art, in the centuries to follow.

It shows to us, within the subject of this work, how Enshū as a designer intellectually could develop garden concepts, and execute these accordingly, with help of garden workers, all to the satisfaction of client Sūden, who pays for services rendered. The process of garden making had clearly progressed with the arrival of the designer/intellectual. In mediaeval times garden makers had kept to single standard themes, as the waterfall arrangement, without much further interpretation, but in Enshū's days a garden could appeal to the imagination as well as bring out an intellectual understanding.

CHAPTER 5

TASTE: AN INTERPRETATION

So far we have discussed some expressions of garden art in the early modern period. Still some important questions remain to be answered: What was the connection between idea and form? What constituted, in the early modern period, the higher values of beauty? How were these values expressed in garden art and how were these discovered or recognized by the onlooker? If we define taste as a faculty of discerning and enjoying beauty in garden art, we can sum these questions up into a single one: What constituted the taste of the early modern elite towards garden art?

One often comes across easily understandable statements in historical records that unambiguously show that there existed a consciousness on the way taste worked among the cultured elite of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. But the absence of any theoretical reflection on it makes that a wide variety of loosely defined terms is used. The terms are sometimes only vague ideas related to each other's meaning in an associative sense. The earlier sixteenth century is particularly difficult to understand because artistic pursuits were not seen as different or separated from values of beauty. The mediaeval world of arts and aesthetics formed an unusually coherent cultural complex. Concepts often covered a wide range of aspects of reality, so that the same word may be used in connection with practicing an art as well as appreciating its products.¹⁹⁴

Another problem is that from the early seventeenth century on aspects of this mediaeval cultural complex had already begun to be considered as isolated concepts and began to be used to historically back up particular theories of aesthetics. A case in point is, as we will see, the tea ceremony. Its importance as an aristocrat's etiquette made in the seventeenth, and later centuries for many legitimizing historical retrospectives, in which rather general mediaeval aesthetic conceptions became to be considered as keys to values of beauty exclusively found in the tea ceremony. As proficiency in matters of tea meant the understanding of the most elevated form of etiquette, understanding of the ways of tea was equal to possessing an expert judgement on values of beauty.

Because of problems like this a consistent history of taste is not easy to reconstruct. The following sections nevertheless are an attempt.¹⁹⁵

5.1 BEAUTY IN SIMPLICITY

Among the townsmen in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century trade cities a particular cultural pattern existed related to the parlour or the retreat at the back of the house. Since one entertained guests there, it meant that there were more luxurious facilities like a bath, a privy, etc. Luxury was also found in the quality of the meals and 'tea-things' used when serving these. At more decadent occasions partying went together with communal bathing. Outside the city traveling poets had discovered an experience of poetic emotion that extended to landscape scenery and the comfort of a relaxing stay in a lodging place. In fact they had developed traveling combined with writing poetry into an all-inclusive lifetime pursuit of the art. In the mediaeval manner they spoke of the Way of Poetry which carried almost religious implications.¹⁹⁶ Traveling poets came to establish ties with the priests of the Zen sect, which might be related to their approach to the art.

The poets Sōgi (1421 – 1502) and Sōchō himself studied Zen with the famous priest Ikkyū Sōjun (1394 – 1481).¹⁹⁷ Sōchō even built himself a cottage within the temple compound Daitoku-ji, where Ikkyū had been head abbot.¹⁹⁸ Sōju, on who's retreat in the middle of the city Sōchō had written a verse that was quoted before, possessed some calligraphy by Ikkyū, that was given to him by his adoptive father. The latter had studied with Zen priest Ikkyū and received it as a certificate.¹⁹⁹ Ikkyū was a central figure in the fifteenth century world of the traveling poets; he was in fact also a skilled poet himself. A closer inquiry into his person will show how the clerical Zen of Musō Kokushi's days could appeal to the traveling poets.²⁰⁰

Ikkyū fanatically advocated sincerity in both thought and behaviour. He strongly criticized the haughty attitude and corrupt financial practices of the Zen clergy of his times. In spite of this he was far from being an orthodox conservative. On the contrary, in his search for truth he challenged the established Zen church and tried to prove that enlightenment was to be attained in the midst of common life. He railed for instance upon a high Zen abbot calling him 'a poisonous snake, a seducer and a leper, a villain unparalleled in history!.. who prostitutes Zen for riches and fame'.²⁰¹ More impressive was his criticism in the way he proclaimed that daily life was the reality of religion. As a priest, he openly

visited the houses of prostitution, drank a lot and wrote erotic poetry.²⁰² He clearly was giving in to the more basic lusts and desires of daily life. He elevated these basic passions however to an intellectual level. Unconstrained motivations within human existence form an important theme in his literary work.²⁰³ As a religious person he stressed that enlightenment was to be reached within this kind of unarticulated and 'pure' human existence in the midst of common life.

One can imagine that this was well received by traveling poets like Sōchō. They also had discovered true poetic emotions outside the classical conventions. Also for them the 'true experience' was found in wine, rather than in official and accepted standards. Ikkyū moreover showed that such unconventional pursuits could be taken as a search for Zen and could lead to enlightenment. Ikkyū popular approach to Zen had also attractive aspects for the artistic elite in the city. Among his followers were also found performers like Komparu Zenchiku (1405 - 1468?) leader of a guild of Nō players.²⁰⁴ Later the citizens of Sakai would even financially back up Ikkyū's efforts to revive the monastery Daitoku-ji, of which he became head abbot. Ikkyū must have had a great deal of spiritual influence in the urban high society.

A deliberate rejection of luxuries like the bathing parties, in circles of the cultured elite in the trade towns can be clearly connected to Ikkyū.²⁰⁵ These ideals of restraint came to affect even the appearance of the retreat at the back of the house. It turns into a veritable, recluse-hut in the case of Shukō's, (- 1502?), an associate of Ikkyū's.²⁰⁶ Shukō is a largely known through seventeenth century sources, where we also find a description of his recluse-hut. It was a reception room (*zashiki*) four and a half mats large, which makes for a space of less than three meters square. Undecorative plain paper was pasted on the walls, but even this would be done away with in later retreats of other people, plainly showing the mud walls just as they were. One may therefore conclude that the classical ideal of retreat in a remote mountain landscape, and living a life as recluse in order to attain enlightenment, became not only popular through the teachings of Ikkyū, but also turned into something that could be practiced in the middle of the city.

Shukō also advocated the use of Japanese ceramics for serving tea and simple meals in the retreats. This pottery was of a simple unglazed make, basically produced for household use.²⁰⁷ The idea became popular and in time came to constitute a distinctive aspect of the movement towards restraint.

Shortly after Shukō's time we find reference to a notion, that can be translated as 'taste' in relation to the countryside retreat within the city.

The retreat of Sōju was described by nobleman Washino as having the 'essence of the countryside' although it was in the middle of the city. His words were quoted in an earlier chapter. In fact he continued, saying: 'He (Sōju) is a leader of today's taste (*suki*)'. Other records similarly indicate that the popularity of the countryside retreat within the city was booming.²⁰⁸ The same concept of taste (*suki*) is applied to it again. This must indicate that one was conscious of the fact that possessing a retreat like that was a surpassing merit of its owner, that elevated him above the realities of daily life. This may be easily understood if one recalls the actual appearance of a mediaeval city, which must have been dirty, dusty or muddy, and cramped as well. Within this daily reality a little place for temporary retreat to cherish the beauty of restraint must indeed have been something that was elevated above the dirt of reality.

We also find the pursuit of restraint with Takeno Jōō who was a wealthy dealer in leather and armour from Sakai.²⁰⁹ He speaks of the ideal of restraint as 'poverty' (*wabi*) in a letter he supposedly wrote to Rikyū.²¹⁰ Jōō's poverty and its material expression in the form of a recluse hut, are more pronounced and closer to the modern idea of taste, than with earlier men in search for it. The pursuit of restraint was even more an endeavour opposed to his reality which was one of wealth and politics. This probably made him better aware of the specific identity of his pursuits. Jōō has the modern awareness that men of taste are elevated above others. Supposedly he gave the following definition at a *causerie*:

Men of True Taste (*sukisha*) and Men of Tea Etiquette (*chanoyūsha*) are different people. A Man of Tea Etiquette is called the one who is good in preparing tea according to the proper procedures and who entertains his guests well at the tea meetings in the reception room; he has the meals well prepared and everything is pleasing to the palate.

We call the Man of True Taste on the other hand, the one who is sincerely devoted, even if he serves only a simple meal when having guests, and even if he prepares an inferior cup of tea. We call him the Man of True Taste because of his sincere devotion.²¹¹

The passage continues to relate True Taste (*suki*) to the Zen attitude and returns again to sincere devotion. It is clear from Jōō's words that he considers the Man of True Taste superior, so I did not hesitate to translate *sukisha* as Man of True Taste.²¹² The restraint of a simple meal and the deliberate modesty of an inferior cup of tea, of course, pose a greater effort for a merchant like Jōō, so that it will not surprise us that he connects it to the higher goals of sincere devotion and Zen.

A basic problem inherent in the idea of 'a taste for simplicity' must also

be mentioned. By and large all of daily life was simple in these days. Men of True Taste nevertheless took simplicity as the higher quality of beauty to search for. A certain kind of simplicity had therefore to be defined that was distinguished from everyday simplicity. This was necessary of course to be able to elevate this special simplicity above daily realities in order to be able to call it beautiful. Also it elevated the men of True Taste themselves above normal people, since only they were able to distinguish such qualities. Taking pottery as example, it is clear that not just any farmer's vessel could be considered beautiful. If that was the case, then the farmer himself, in all his simplicity would be a man of True Taste, because he maybe even made such pottery himself! Standards, therefore, had to be established that would determine beauty within a specific kind of cultivated simplicity.

A valuable report with regard to this is given by the Portuguese Jesuit João Rodriguez (1561? – 1633), who was in Japan from 1577 to 1610. Moving around in the highest circles, he attended the tea meetings, already in a process of formalizing. He idealizes the Japanese men of true taste a little, attributing to them a faculty of intuitively discerning beauty in things used at the tea meetings.²¹³ Rodriguez reports:

From this practice of observing the relation and proportions of these things..., the *sukisha* (men of true taste wk.) obtain a higher degree of knowledge of things. This knowledge is concerned with certain more subtle and hidden qualities in things, all apart from their general aptitude and suitability for use in the tea meetings. Should this (knowledge wk.) be lacking, there is no means of discerning the other qualities of things, such as *yowai* (feeble, weak, slack), *tsuyoi* (strong, stable), *katai* (tepid, feeble, lifeless), *iyashii* (lowly, base, mean), *kedakai* (distinguished, dignified), etc.... Thus they distinguish genuine *sunei* (a quality very much in keeping with *suki* (true taste wk.)) from *iyashii*, which is a defect; *tsuyoi* from *katai*; *nurui* or *yowai* from *jinjōna* and *kedakai*. So they distinguish the natural qualities possessed by both natural and artificial things, and not everybody is capable of such discernment.²¹⁴

Rodriguez thus gives us a good insight into the qualities of beauty as they were discussed at the *causeries* of the tea meetings.²¹⁵

Here and there Rodriguez also has interesting comments on garden art. He is struck, specifically, by the resemblance to nature of the gardens. He is one of the few Europeans who discovered this quality in oriental gardens long before William Chambers wrote his famous dissertation.²¹⁶ What is more interesting though at this moment, is the evidence he gives

that the taste for simplicity had affected garden art, above all the gardens at the tea houses. As for the plantations (*bosques*) he states that not just every tree can be used, but only specific forms that are often obtained from remote regions. These are planted to form a little wood as if it was growing there naturally. 'It costs huge amounts of money', he wrote. Above all the pavement stones, even if they are not dressed and look crude, are very expensive. Rodriguez continues to explain that for these stones there are certain shapes, textures, and a specific artlessness, as if they were made by nature and that the stones in use should accord to narrowly specifying classifications. Again these are brought from extremely distant places and are, after selection, bought for extraordinarily high prices.²¹⁷ Thus Rodriguez leaves us no doubt that the garden materials in use at the countryside retreats or teahouses were also subject to discriminating qualities of beauty that went along with the taste for simplicity. Artlessness and naturalness were, around the turn of the century, so important and narrowly defined, that such sought-after stones and trees could only be acquired by paying considerable sums of money.

5.2 CREATING NEW VALUES OF BEAUTY

The taste for simplicity as a heritage from mediaeval culture would prove to be a dead end street. The search for simplicity in itself had of course its limitations, as is shown in the extreme position of Rikyū. For his own residence he designed for instance a tea pavilion with only one room of a two mat size, that makes for a building not even four square meters. This extreme simplicity was met with the comment:

Rikyū's tea etiquette (*chayu*) is becoming like a bare tree in winter, these days. It cannot be appreciated by ordinary people.

or:

Rikyū's present style has no meaning except among real masters.²¹⁸

All the same Rikyū had made a much more important discovery, namely that standards of taste could be set or changed by himself. The same source also meets this with admiring surprise:

As Rikyū is a famous master, he can turn mountains into valleys and east into west. Violating the laws of the tea etiquette, even freely created, his ideas are interesting.²¹⁹

Rikyū's discovery of producing new standards of beauty is likely to have

brought him economic profit as well. From the second half of the sixteenth century on there was a quickly expanding demand for ceramics and other utensils in use at the tea performances. Rikyū was also involved in this commerce. The diary of a certain Eishun from Nara states:

In recent years Rikyū provided himself with tea utensils of a new type and sold them at high prices. Hideyoshi was furious beyond all bounds, calling him the ultimate of a salesman-monk.²²⁰

Starting from these days the discovery of beauty, and establishing of new standards of it, became an increasingly important occupation for the famous tea experts.²²¹ The high reputation they had as connoisseurs and arbiters of taste, gave them the necessary self-consciousness to this end.

The man who came to the fore as leading figure in the tea world after Rikyū's death was Furuta Oribe, a daimyō, the former's most outstanding disciple. Many of Oribe's notes on the tea garden were discussed in a previous chapter. He was in fact the first military man to follow up Sakai's tea men as a leader in matters of the tea etiquette. We may presume that daimyō's were more impressed by the aristocratic status of the taste for simplicity, rather than by the beauty found in it. Be that as it may, with the death of Rikyū (d. 1591) and Hideyoshi (d. 1598) the taste for simplicity lost its champion and sponsor respectively. With Oribe the taste for simplicity lost its exclusive position and the division between Tea Etiquette and True Taste disappeared, at least for the time being.²²² Within this new conception, that can not be seen apart from a more general cultural background, Oribe must also be accredited with a personal creative genius. Most obvious is his taste for the exotic, which is in fact an expression of the extravagance that was fashionable in his time. Oribe had for instance a keen interest in the Portuguese Jesuits; in their culture and religion.²²³ Their exotic costume and customs form striking motifs in the works of art he designed.²²⁴ The tendency towards decadence, which was called 'leaning' by the contemporary records, finds an expression in Oribe's baroque taste for miss-shapen pottery. A record from 1612 states:

Every year new assymetric tea bowls fired in Seto were sent to him in Kyōto.²²⁵

With regard to the tea garden Oribe expresses similarly his taste for the exotic and the 'leaning'. Although he never explicitly speaks of his own taste for something like the exotic, a great deal of evidence is found that substantiates his preferences. His advise on lanterns, although a little cautious, is one example:

Put lanterns with their window towards the path, and in sight when passing by. Although it is customary to have them standing straight up, you may also set them up a little slanting.²²⁶

When stones are needed he often explicitly advises the reader to use big, or coloured ones with an expressive texture or lines. The 'sight' should be good, an idea of Oribe's which was discussed before.²²⁷ To be sure, here and there the taste for simplicity emerges. Artlessness and naturalness are for instance valued when he recommends old stone lanterns with moss still growing on them, or similarly wash basins that may be even as worn as to be leaking.²²⁸

Most straight forwardly exotic is Oribe's choice of planting material. He advises to avoid only trees with conspicuous fruits like the citrus species or the *biwa*. But these may be planted, nonetheless, outside the tea garden to have them peering over the wall.²²⁹ His advise on the use of imported species is likewise flexible and not very dogmatic:

In the inner and outer section of the tea garden one may plant imported exotic trees as well. Even if these are deciduous you can use these. Also if they bear fruit you can plant them. If they have flowers you may use these as decoration at a tea meeting; but do not plant these flowering exotics in the tea garden if they bear fruits after that. Flowering exotic trees may only be planted if their flowers are small and not conspicuous. If they bear big flowers, you should not plant such exotic species.²³⁰

These exotic trees (*tōboku*, 'Chinese trees') refer to a wide range of trees that were imported at this time.²³¹ Also palm trees, like the cycad may be planted. With Oribe we find therefore a set of consistent preferences that rightly may be called a taste, although he himself does not speak of it as such. He expressed this preference as an artist's personal taste in garden art. This was a decisive development. Taste had developed from a faculty of discerning beauty into a faculty of discovering and establishing new values of beauty.²³² Nevertheless, this did not yet mean that gardens could be created freely. Oribe still kept to a limited conception of the tea garden.

5.3 FROM POETIC LONELINESS TO THE CREATION OF PATINA

Dealing with the garden art of the early seventeenth century I narrowed the focus of this work to the nobility in Kyōto. The present search into

aspects of taste in garden art will likewise be concerned with the developments in Kyōto as we enter the seventeenth century.

Particular values of beauty came to be cherished in Kyōto and it is tempting to relate this to the political tensions between the shogunate's government in Edo and the nobility in the old capital. This relation is rather indirect however. Irritation with the encroaching authority of the shōgun's central rule did not evoke straightforward political criticism. The reaction was, at first, an escapist attitude in which withdrawing from public life was considered an act of wisdom and refinement. Living a life for art's sake in solitary retreat meant a sublime elevation above the daily world of politics.²³³

A significant and illustrative case is the retreat of Hon'ami Kōetsu (1558 ~ 1637). This calligrapher, potter and man of the decorative arts was considered one of Oribe's best disciples. In 1615 land was granted to him north of Kyōto by the shōgun. There he established a small settlement surrounding himself with family members, artists and craftsmen. Four Buddhist temples provided the basic means for living.²³⁴ Though the shōgun granted the land, it is generally believed that this was an act of exile since he said:

In the region along the route's leading from the north (Tanba) and east (Ōmi) to Kyōto order is badly maintained, robbers and street murderers can freely lay in ambush. Confiscate a lot of it and assign it (to Kōetsu) as his new home land.²³⁵

All the same Kōetsu's place became a thriving community of notable artists, and was described by contemporary visitors as a delightful place.²³⁶ These two evaluations of Kōetsu's retreat are diametrically opposed. Whereas the shōgun spoke of bandits it was a delightful place for both residents and visitors, to which Kōetsu readily withdrew. This self determined attitude expressly opposing the military's point of view is also noticeable in other aspects of Kyōto's cultural climate. One gets the impression that the nobility in Kyōto intentionally started to cherish these ideas in art with which the daimyō elite was hardly familiar.²³⁷ There was naturally the long tradition of aristocratic arts as it had developed at the Imperial Court since Heian times. It was a proud heritage for which a new expression was found. The Tale of Genji formed again an important source of inspiration. The horse tails that Go-Mizunoo and his guests went picking in the garden with the flowerbeds, were in fact among the early spring shoots that the Heian courtiers collected in the open fields. A whole chapter in the Tale of Genji takes this event as theme.²³⁸

An informative source on Kyōto's cultural identity of these days is a

collection of essays *Nigiwaigusa*, published in 1682. On the garden at Katsura it relates how Prince Toshitada (1619 – 1662, son of Toshihito) was inspired by the Tale of Genji, when laying out the garden:

He himself went many times to the place and engaged workmen to build various pavilions. He also had garden mounds built. Stones were placed and laid, and a dam was constructed by means of which water was introduced from the Katsura river.

The hues of the cherry blossoms, the songs of the birds, the mountain trees, the arrangement of the islands in the pond were all strange and beautiful. He had Chinese style boats constructed and loanched them on the water, page-boys in Chinese costume with their hair tied up in the Chinese way took to the helms and poled the boats around. The purple of the wisteria on the trellis was reflected on the water. The yellow of the *Kerria* (*yamabuki*) was spilling over the rocks at the shore. This was the height of its splendour. It looked just as it is described in the Tale of Genji. ... People who saw the place said with astonishment that it was just as though the glories of the past had reappeared in this world.²³⁹

This is not an eye-witness account. It does therefore not necessarily gives us reliable information on the appearance of the Katsura garden; but it shows what the people in Kyōto wanted to be reminded of. The memory of Heian glory was even more inspiring because the Court was displaced by the early mediaeval rise of the military, and one felt that history was repeating itself. The hero's of Kōetsu and other members of the elite were the famous classical literati, emperors and nobles who had retreated from worldly life under the growing pressure of the early mediaeval political situation.²⁴⁰

Kōetsu published, for instance, Kamo no Chōmei's account of his Ten Foot Square Hut in his own block-printed version. A section of this work was quoted before. Chōmei was one of those who withdrew to cultivate his mind after some political troubles. The re-edition of this classic inspired others to build retreats and cultivate a sage-like behaviour. An interesting case is the one of Chōandō, an alias of Kubo Gondayū (1571 – 1640).²⁴¹ Chōandō built himself a recluse hut slightly more than two meters square, reusing old timber from a demolished temple. He was a close friend of Kobori Enshū and asked him to write a poetic motif on a plaque to hang over the entrance of his hut. Enshū, complying with his wish, wrote down the word 'Chōan', from which Kubo Gondayū would take his alias. Asking what the idea was behind this, Enshū replied laughingly:

Chōmei of olden days was an erudite and bright intellectual, that is why he had the word *mei* (= bright) in his name. But you don't know anything, your mind is dark. But since you have a passion for a (dark) little hut, I took the *Chō* (of Chōmei) but added *an* (= darkness) instead, to capture the feeling of you and your hut.²⁴²

The developing ideal of the retreat clearly turned to the classical model of Chōmei's days, as is illustrated with the above example. But there was also a longing for another time gone by, not as remote as the Heian period. The other regressive tendency turned to the merchant's culture of the sixteenth century when the citizens were still the proud bearers of their own culture. It takes form in an enthusiastic Rikyū-revival, and a practicing of the tea etiquette in its more extreme forms of simplicity. In these days the Seven Outstanding Disciples of Rikyū were appointed, and lineages of teachers and disciples were drafted; Takeno Jōō and Murata Shukō began to be considered as the founders of the tea etiquette.²⁴³ They became the focus of attention and the teachings they supposedly wished to have transmitted to future generations were written down, compiled and even commercially edited in manuals on the tea ceremony. Also in tea garden design one notices a regression to the days of Jōō and Shukō. A turn to simplicity was advocated in a manuscript with the impressive title: 'The Greater Meaning of the Way of Taste'. It has a falsified colophon stating that Rikyū wrote it in 1585.²⁴⁴ It must actually date from somewhere in the first decades of the sixteenth century. It states that Jōō and Shukō advised the following for the tea garden:

Regarding the appearance of the garden in front of the little four-and-a-half mat sized room: You should not plant anything, nor place any stones. Do not spread out decorative sand. You must not lay down pebble stones. That is because the eyes of the visitors should not be distracted, so that they can concentrate on the tea and can give their whole mind to the precious implements.²⁴⁵

Exactly the same phrase appears in other related documents, also in a commercially edited manual on matters of tea called 'Hermit's Grove' (1612).²⁴⁶

This spartan attitude towards the design of the tea garden was not exactly literally followed, but it formed a strong impetus to do away with several of the most exotic ideas Oribe had introduced. Generally speaking restriction in colour and size became a main theme.

The appeal of the late mediaeval simplicity stemming from the urban society, was greatly heightened because it became tied up with the *sabi*

quality of the Heian lyrical poetry of the Imperial Court. This classical beauty of colourless and withered loneliness matched well the search for simplicity. A seventeenth century work *Nampōroku*, contains notes supposedly written by a disciple of Rikyū, it was 'rediscovered' half a century later though and edited in 1686.²⁴⁷ This *Nampōroku* illustrates the tea etiquette of Jōō's version, the 'poverty taste' (*wabi*) with a classical Heian lyric of the *sabi* type:

<i>miwataseba</i>	In this wide landscape
<i>hana mo momiji mo</i>	I see no cherry blossoms
<i>nakarikeri</i>	And no crimson leaves-
<i>ura no tomoya no</i>	Evening in autumn over
<i>aki no yūgure</i>	A straw-thatched hut by the bay. ²⁴⁸

Then follows a comment on this poem:

The cherry blossoms and the crimson leaves may be compared to the decorativeness of the formal tea etiquette of the reading room. But if one looks intently at them, one understands the realm of true Simplicity, that is the idea of the straw-thatched hut by the bay. But someone who does not know the cherry blossoms and the crimson leaves is precluded from living in that hut. Only by intensively looking at the gorgeous cherries and autumn leaves can one come to appreciate the colourless loneliness of this hut. This is the true heart of the tea.²⁴⁹

In passing we may also note that this section refers to the traditional division that distinguished between an etiquette oriented version of tea, and a true way of practicing tea called Simplicity. But it is quoted here because it shows how the classical literary beauty of *sabi* came to be connected with the actual search for simplicity in tea etiquette.²⁵⁰ The same *Nampōroku* gives an even more straight forward example. It applies Jōō's idea of a taste for poverty (*wabi*) directly to the worn and withered texture of architectural materials:

For all tea buildings, waiting benches and the like, to evoke *wabi*, old beams, old bamboo, etc. is used. But for the details of the privy, although these should express *wabi*, new and clean materials are used.²⁵¹

Here we see why Chōandō reused old beams of a temple when he built his two meter square hut.

Also Enshū in person connected the classical literary ideals of the seasons and of the *sabi* loneliness to the tea etiquette:

In spring a veil of mist; in summer the cuckoo hidden in lush foliage; in autumn the sky at dusk that tops all feelings of loneliness; in winter the morning twilight on a day with snow; all this brings truly the atmosphere of the tea etiquette.²⁵²

In Enshū's days also *sabi*, the Heian loneliness, came to indicate a textural quality of witheredness of the surface of materials or details used in architecture or garden art. Naturally within the garden art this was most strongly expressed in the tea garden. An example will illustrate this.

A certain Kuwayama Sakon (1559 – 1632) who had studied tea with Rikyū's son Dōan was questioned about the essence of the tea etiquette in Rikyū's time. He also responded with a classical lyric of the *sabi* type:

<i>kashi no ha no</i>	Fallen oak tree leaves
<i>momijinukarani</i>	are not as crimson maples,
<i>chiritsumoru</i>	In thick heaps they lie,
<i>okuyamadera no</i>	the loneliness of a path
<i>michi no sabishisa</i>	to a temple deep in the
	mountains. ²⁵³

With Oribe, and posthumously attributed to Rikyū, the idea of using fallen leaves or pine needles as ground cover in the tea garden became an important point in the treatises on the details of the garden:

Cover the ground below the plantings with grass, or plant low types of bamboo of which you trim the tips that stick out; it looks as if straw mats are spread out. Otherwise cover it all with pine needles and spread these thickly. The boundary line between places with and without needles should be as sharply drawn as a carpenter's line. There are many possible designs for the alignment, and the choice where to spread needles and where not. It would be a difficult task to write it all down.²⁵⁴

And in the course of the century it is straight forwardly presented not just as a design idea, but explicitly to evoke the poetic atmosphere of the path leading to a temple deep in the mountains:

Spreading pine needles in the tea garden should appear as it does in nature. It is perfectly all right to mix them with leaves of the oak. Then it is as: 'Fallen oak tree leaves are not as crimson maples, in thick heaps they lie; the loneliness of a path to a temple deep in the mountains.'²⁵⁵

Thus *wabi* and *sabi* became qualities of a beauty that could be produced. The idea is not only found with spreading leaves or reusing of old timber

when building a tea house, it also applied to stepping stones and to stone lanterns.²⁵⁶ Coincidentally the Japanese word for 'rust' was (and is) also pronounced *sabi*. This greatly strengthened the new meaning of 'patina' the word took in the design theory of the garden and architecture of tea houses.²⁵⁷

With the heritage of Oribe's days when taste began to be viewed as a creative faculty, the earlier taste for simplicity had thus developed into a taste that could discover new qualities of rusticated beauty.

5.4 CREATIVITY

The intentional creation of new values of beauty, as found with Oribe or in the *sabi* idea, are a modern and intellectual aspect of aesthetics, that is not unrelated to a more general enlightenment of society. Thus it is found at first in Kyōto. The tensions between the shogunate government and the Imperial Court fostered pursuits of taste and accordingly favoured the search for new values of beauty. Among the aesthetes, however, discovery of new ideas of beauty came to function as a token of true refinement. Newly created beauty came to compensate for mere simplicity.

An awareness of creativity, as belonging to more elevated forms of refinement, shows up already in the late 1580's when Rikyū was still alive:

One who knows how to pass judgements on utensils and also performs well at tea meetings and lives by teaching the ways of tea is called a Man of Tea Etiquette. But the few among these who never use any conspicuous utensils and possess the three qualities of determined devotion, creativity, and distinction achieved, these will be tea men within the taste for Simplicity.²⁵⁸

Creativity was one of the determining traits that elevated the man who possessed it above the common expert of the etiquette. In this it even characterized the understanding of Simplicity. We may presume that display of creativity served to show that simplicity was a matter of taste and not of a lack of means. To be sure, creativity required quite some financial resources. We noted before how Oribe prescribed that the tearooms be reupholstered for every new tea meeting. It was in fact necessary to arrange a different setting for every meeting to show a true intent of hospitality. This required the possession of a wide range of simple, and expensive, implements. It was bad manner to use the same ones over and again for the same guest. In extension original creativity was

valued high for food prepared or flowers arranged at the tea meetings.²⁵⁹ The origin of the high value placed on creativity is therefore found in the world of the tea etiquette.

But creativity or originality (*sakui*) was a notion with a wider meaning. This is evident from the way in which the word is used by Anrakuan Sakuden (1554 – 1642). This man reportedly associated with Kobori Enshū, Konchi-in's priest Sūden and others. He relates the following anecdote:

A man of originality called the dog he kept Twentyfour. Asking him for whatever reason that may be, he said: 'Because he is white!' (= *shiroku*, meaning not only white, but also 4 times 6 which equals twentyfour, wk.).²⁶⁰

Originality meant the escape from existing frames of understanding and making the unexpected association. Also in records on gardens conceived by men of taste we come across personal creativity. Again it is unconventionality what is most striking in it. According to some anecdotes Enshū had, for instance, problems getting his original designs accepted by the shōguns. At an instance shōgun Hidetada's disapproved of the originality of Enshū's architecture; also a garden designed by Enshū within the compound of the shogunal castle in Edo did not comply with shōgun Iemitsu's taste. Iemitsu was Hidetada's successor.²⁶¹

Without fully embarking on the theoretical discussion of the nature of the creative act, we may shortly state that it is the abandoning of conventional connections found in the ordinary view of the world followed by the replacing of these by new associations. The creative act is an act of reinterpretation.²⁶² The determinants on which this present day definition relies are largely found in a late sixteenth century definition of creativity as well:

Creativity is complete devotion to new things. Learning from the accomplishments in form attained by our predecessors, one must invent in a way that meets this time.²⁶³

Learning from past conventions, one should invent, reinterpret to create new forms, that meet the time. Thus defined one gains a clear idea of the early modern act of creation through an analysis of some of the gardens discussed sofar.

The creativity of the design of the garden with the eight bridges relies on the interpretation of a classical literary theme. This interpretation is new because of the eight different bridges that were literally built in this garden.

In the garden of Entsū-ji with its borrowed scenery, the reinterpretation was of a quite different nature. Standing at the entrance to the temple one can see the range of hills —without the garden as foreground — as it must have been viewed by the designer. He decided to borrow (= reinterpret) the scene of Mount Hiei as a garden form. He emphasized this by placing the massive Banda Stone, the shape of which repeated Mount Hiei as a form in the garden. The hedge came to underline the distant view. Through these compositional techniques the natural mountain became reinterpreted as a painting-like view standing upright at the far end of the garden.

The creativity of the technique of borrowing the scenery is the reinterpreting of a natural scene as an artificial form, a shape that serves as a part of the garden scenery. A short anecdote about Enshū's advise on a daimyō's garden explicitly mentions this technique of creating.

When daimyō Chūnagon was in Kyōto with his attendance, a tea party was to be held in his house at Ōtsu; the guests were expected within the near future and among the preparations, he also had given orders that a garden with hills and streams should be made.

It happened that Kobori Enshū was around in Ōtsu, and although the daimyō was in absence, one showed him the garden. Seeing it he said: "For the grand style of a daimyō, this is petty garden, one can not even see the magnificent mountains and the vast lake."

Some servants heard this and when the lord was back immediately informed him of Enshū's opinion. Hearing it daimyō Chūnagon burst out in laughter: "Indeed, he is right." And he had the little hillocks removed, and incidentally he had the wall opposite the reception room reconstructed, so that a section in the middle remained cut out, in this little opening he ordered a lattice frame to be placed, so that one could view the lake, Mount Hiei, Karasaki and Mount Mikami in one glance. Then he invited Enshū.

When Enshū saw it, he clapped his hands: "This is really a lordly garden: real mountains and water are summoned to present the garden form." Thus he praised it and went back home.²⁶⁴

The technique of borrowing a view was a reinterpretation of natural scenery. Real mountains had to be summoned to represent the hillocks of a garden scene.

Reinterpretation, be it of quite different things, lies also behind the design of the garden at Konchi-in. Here the Hōrai legend was reinterpreted. The legend had already a long standing in the tradition of garden art at that time, but the word Hōrai and references to the legend had

always indicated vague ideas of beauty when expressing appreciation of a view. In the garden of Konchi-in the shapes of a turtle and a crane were literally modeled in rock, which was a new idea. The designer further brought the paradisaical afterworld of Hōrai in connection with the soul of the departed shōgun.

The rather sudden appearance of new garden forms in the early modern period was therefore the result of creativity in the modern sense. Forms were achieved by associating and reinterpreting existing themes, ideas, and images. The liberal artistic climate in Kyōto made it possible that old conventions could be reviewed; the elite that was forced to engage in learning and the arts possessed the intellectual capacities and the self-consciousness, to reinterpret and invent new forms. The restrictions of simplicity made for an elevated status of creativity as a personal capacity.

It needs to be stated at this point that the early modern creativity within simplicity was not the same as the early twentieth century western beauty of reason that rid architecture of unnecessary not-functional decoration.²⁶⁵ It was, on the contrary, a fictitious kind of irrational beauty, a set standard of limitations within which men of taste strove to show the most elevated achievements in simplicity.²⁶⁶

5.5 CREATIVITY WITHIN SIMPLICITY, KOHŌ-AN

Not only the creation, but also the appreciation of the new gardens required the understanding of such associations and interpretations. The following discusses the gardens at Kohō-an, the place where Enshū intended to live after his retirement (fig. 70). The designs of this early modern retreat and its gardens show how simplicity could be elevated from a mere predilection for it to an intellectual play of associations and interpretations.

Kobori Enshū founded Kohō-an initially as a family chapel in 1612. Thirty years later it was decided to move it to a more spacious site. This might well have been an outcome of Enshū's quickly developing career as a Commissioner and his spreading fame as a man of taste, which required a more becoming place of worship.²⁶⁷ On the new site Kohō-an was rebuilt as a subtemple of the Daitoku-ji monastery. It was laid out as an extensive complex with many annex rooms where Enshū probably intended to live after his retirement. In the year in which the building started the head priest who had managed the chapel since its founding died. Enshū had left to Edo the year before and only returned to Kyōto three years

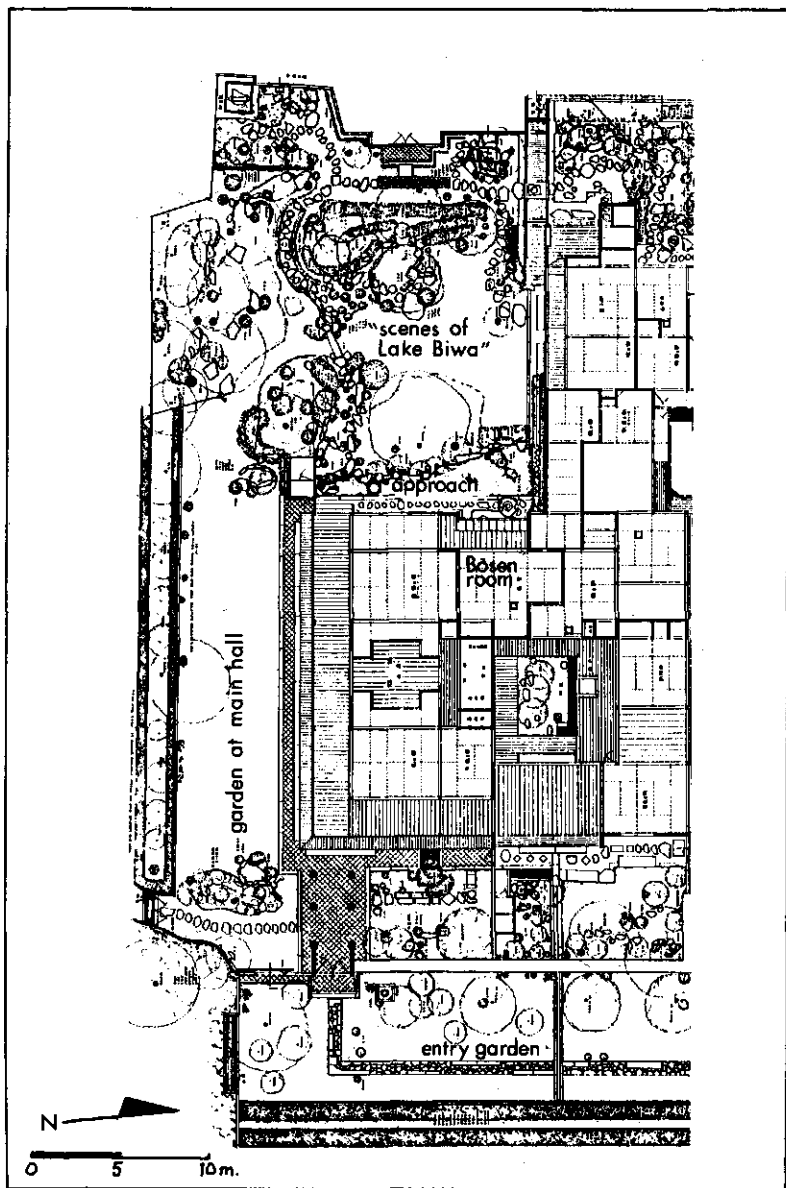


FIGURE 70. Recent plan of the subtemple Kohō-an that shows the various gardens around and in between the buildings.

later in the spring of 1645. Not even two years after that Enshū himself also passed away. Enshū's nephew, priest Kōun Sōryū (1599 – 1679) had taken care of the temple since the death of the first head priest and the construction of the temple was completed the year after Enshū's death. Altogether the building had taken six years.

The whole complex was destroyed by fire in 1793. The head priest of these days, devoted himself determinedly to the reconstruction of the temple for which he could rely on strong financial support. One wanted to copy as close as possible the situation as it had been before. Enshū's fame was high. But the faithful reconstruction had its limits. The number of architectural drawings showing the old situation was limited, and one of the burnt down buildings was replaced by a hall that came from another subtemple. It is likely to have been from a different shape and size. In spite of this a high level of elegance in architecture of buildings and gardens was achieved, as one may see at present.

It will also be understood from the above that it remains a point of discussion to what extent the present scenery reflects Enshū's personal ideas. He was hardly present at the time of construction and a rebuilding has taken place since that. Be that as it may, the gardens will hardly have been affected by the fire and it is likely that these, apart from the usual overgrowing of trees, remained more or less the same. A closer look into the history of the construction in the 1640's reveals that the actual construction and supervising was, as usual, done by others working for Enshū. Kobori Gonzaemon, fourth son of Enshū, did most of the actual supervising. Gonzaemon studied matters of tea with his father and even if he did not receive detailed instructions, he will have known his father's preferences. The six years that the building took is unusually long. It seems right to conclude that Enshū employed constructors and carpenters who usually worked for him on public works, and had them constructing his private Kohō-an in their spare time. As with the other works discussed to which Enshū's name is connected, we may therefore conclude again that it is his design in conception, but that the details of the execution must be attributed to others working for him.

Within the subtemple Kohō-an several gardens exist adjoining the buildings, sometimes further separated by walls or screening plantations. Two of these will be discussed here. The garden in front of the main hall is one of these; the other forms in fact the approach to a tea room more at the back of the complex.

The garden at the main hall faces south, as usual in the subtemple layout (see fig. 71). It is basically a bare yard of roughly 22 to 7 meters,

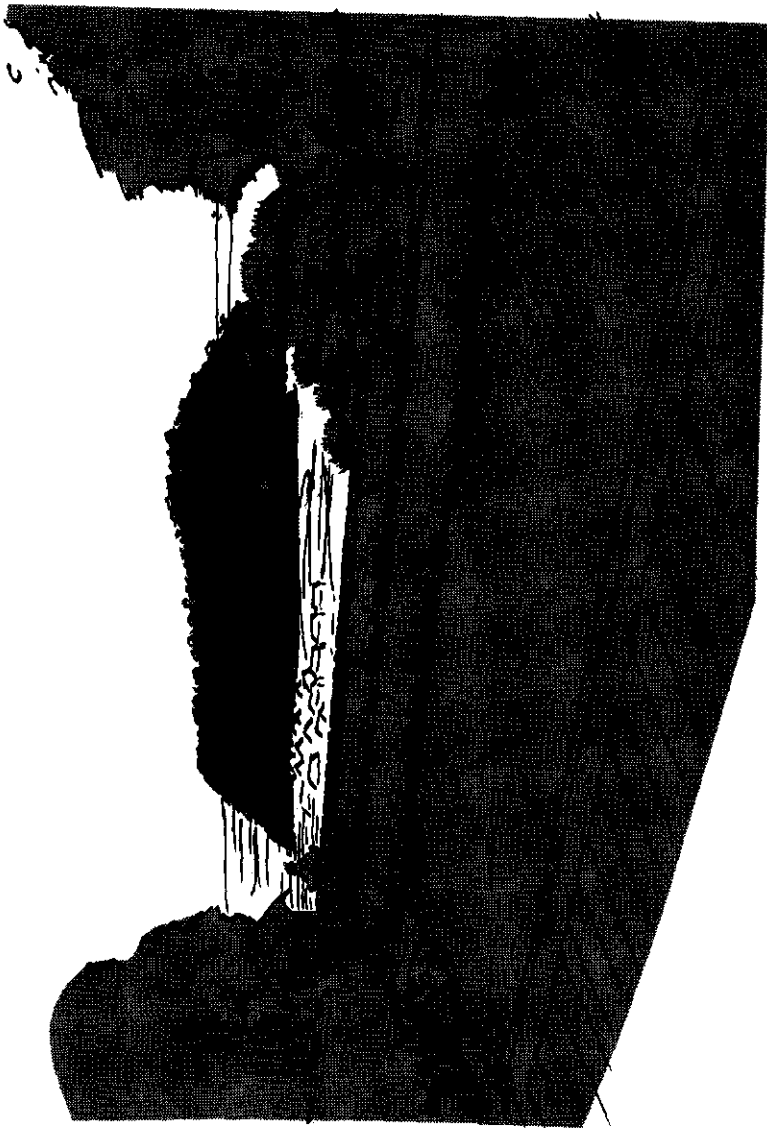


FIGURE 71. Sketch, reconstructing the appearance of the garden at Kohō-an's main hall, before the trees grew too tall and covered the view over the Boathill.

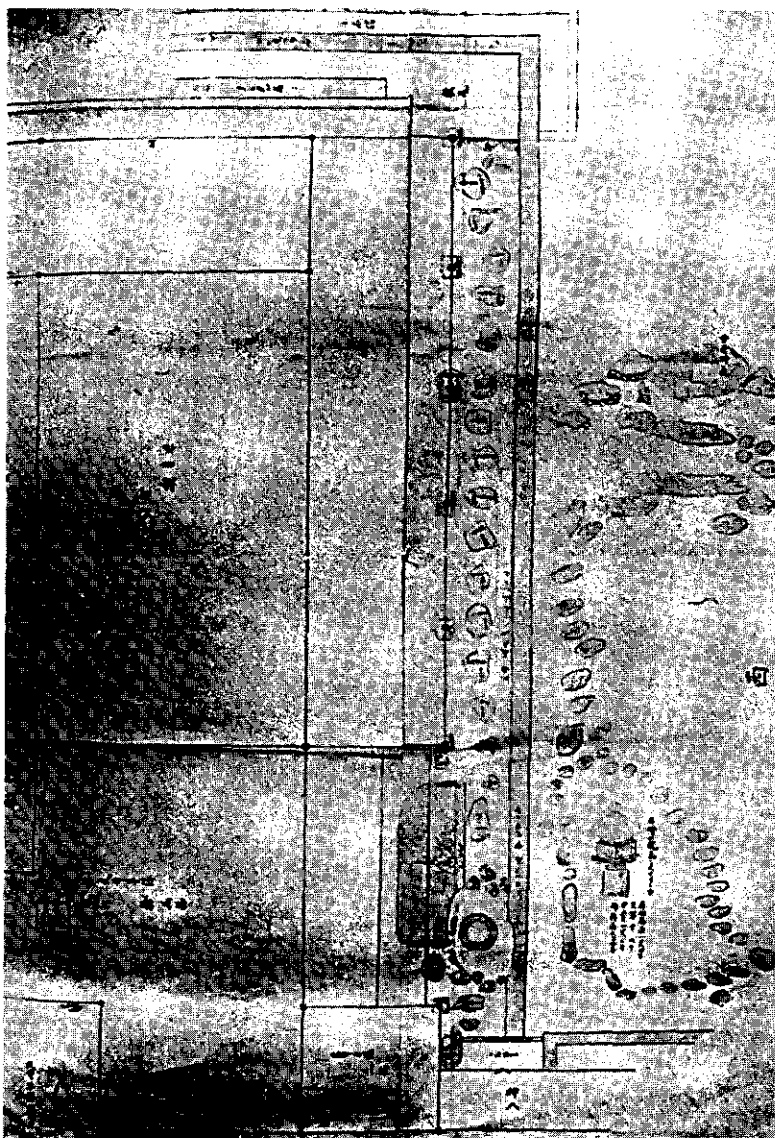


FIGURE 72. An old map, dating from before the 1793 fire, showing the approach of stepping stones that leads to the Bösen tea room.

the ground consists of stamped earth with here and there patches of moss. At the south side this area is enclosed by a twofold hedge, in between which low trees are planted. The hedge in front is about 90 centimeters, the one at the back is ca. 120 centimeters high. At the far left hand the double hedge abutts a wooden gate with a peculiarly curved roof. In former times one could get a view of a close by hilltop over the hedge. This little natural hill resembles somehow the hull of a ship, moreover as it seems to float lonely in the otherwise flat plain from which it suddenly pops up. From olden times it is therefore known as Funaokayama or 'Boathill'. There can be no doubt that the Boathill played an important part in the view from the main hall. The view of the hill in the plain would have been strongly enforced by the double hedge, that will have served as a middle ground in the borrowing of the view. The sight is now overgrown with trees that stand on the neighbouring little graveyard, where also a tomb-stone dedicated to Enshū can be found.

Perhaps needless to say that the extreme simplicity of this garden forms an expression of the early modern Kyōto taste. More needs to be explained to realize the creativity of its design. A clue forms the name Kohō-an. Like the words Chōan, that Enshū applied to Chōandō's recluse hut, also Kohō-an is a play of words, be it a little more intricate. First of all *Kohō* means 'a solitary peak', though written with a different character for *hō*. It relates of course to the solitary Boathill, and in a more allusive sense probably to Enshū himself, famous and pathetically alone in his late sixties. The character *ko* means in fact desolate, lonely, far away, apart from its literal meaning 'orphan'. It is also used to designate the desolate and lonely fisherman in his little boat, that was one of the favourite themes in the ink painting of Song China and late mediaeval Japan.²⁶⁸ The colourless qualities of such inkpaintings and the desolateness of its themes were of course highly valued qualities of beauty among the early modern elite. In other buildings and parts of the gardens of Kohō-an similar allusions to vast lake scenery, boats and fishermen's life are found. One example forms the tearoom to which the motif Bōsen is applied. Bōsen means literally 'to forget the weir', a catching phrase from a Chinese classic. It intends to say that one often after attaining one's goal (fish) forgets the means with which it was procured.²⁶⁹ It is not difficult to see that this proverb must have possessed a profound meaning to Enshū, who rose from a villagers' family to the foremost position in matters of taste, advising shōgun and emperor alike. The weir thus indicates Enshū's offspring and early career. To be sure, at the back of the approach to the Bōsen tearoom, lies an other garden that intends to allude to the celebrated sceneries along Lake Biwa, along the shores of which was

Enshū's childhood village. The approach to the tearoom Bōsen is, like the south garden of the main hall extremely simple in design. An old map that shows the situation before the late eighteenth century devastating fire gives exactly the same situation, so that we see at present the original composition (see fig. 72).²⁷⁰ A line of stepping stones leads past a stone lantern of unusual shape — it consists partly of grave monument stones — and a standing wash basin to a big stone that serves as step to the wooden veranda. In appearance it is thus exactly as simple as the approaches to the tea parlours found in the late mediaeval merchant towns.²⁷¹ Crouching through the opening under the hanging paper screens one enters the tearoom. Having entered one gets, when looking back, a partially shielded view of the garden through the opening under the screens (fig. 73). The simple arrangement of basin and lantern is screened off at the back with some shrubs. Behind this lies the garden modeled on the celebrated scenes of Lake Biwa. Late in the afternoon the oncoming rays of sunlight effectively enliven this scene as the opening faces west. The opaque paper screens light up. When the sun becomes too hot rush mats can be hung from the edge of the roof, in front of the screens. Together with the light that, reflected on the blueish-black pebbles at the foot of the lantern, comes through the opening below, the whole interior is warmly lit. Blueish pebbles in early modern gardens usually refer to vast expanses of water, and returning to the Kohō theme, a final allusion becomes clear. The little fisherman's boat in the standard ink painting is usually roofed and rush mats can be hung down from the ledges to cover the openings when the sun would be too hot on a summer afternoon. The whole Bōsen tearoom and its lighting effectively evokes an afternoon on the lake (fig. 74). The garden that represents Lake Biwa lies in fact beyond, and one can imagine Enshū at a cup of strong tea dreaming of his younger years at the weir when Kyōto was still far away beyond the lake.

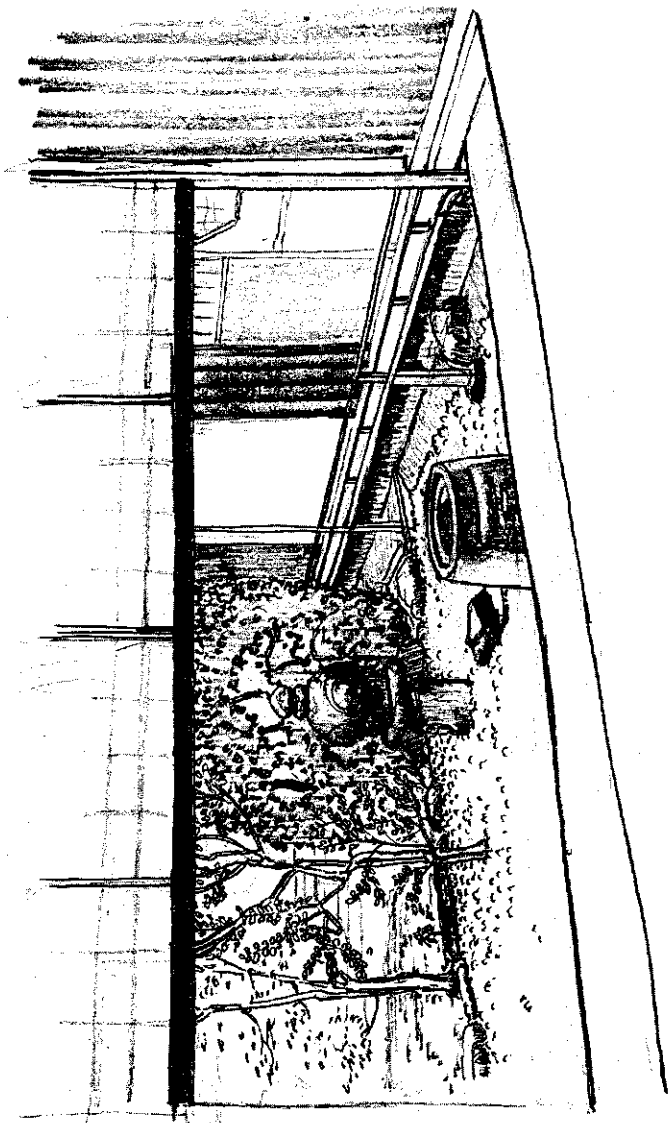


FIGURE 73. Sketch, showing the partly screened view from the garden, when looking from the tea room. The screens light up in the light of the evening sun on a summer afternoon.

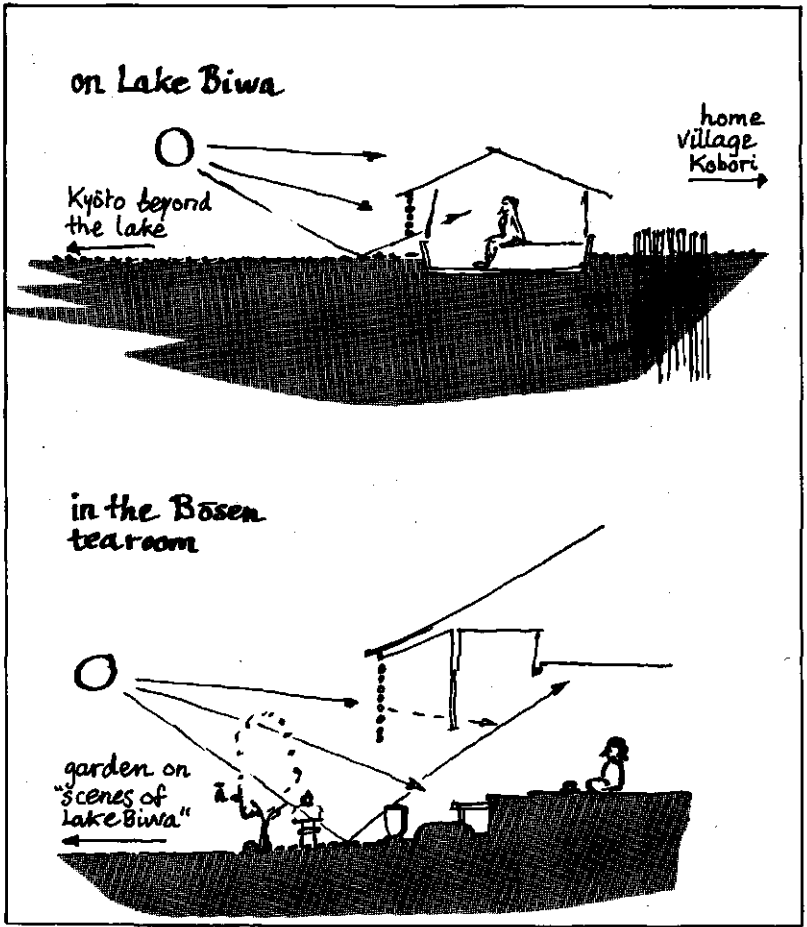


FIGURE 74. The understanding of the compositions of the garden and architecture at the tea room Bōsen relies on associations with an afternoon in a fisherman's boat on Lake Biwa.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The present study deals — in its three parts — with three fragments of the garden history of Japan. It reveals how the meaning a garden had to the people of its time was significantly different in all of these periods.

Part one, titled "Themes", deals with the later Heian period, from the tenth until the late twelfth century. The foundations of a native, Japanese tradition of garden art were laid. The first chapters introduce the palace gardens of the courtly aristocracy in the capital Heian. None of these gardens exist and they are only known from records and illustrative paintings. These paintings are not only informative about the appearance of the gardens, but also show us how the gardens were used by the courtiers. For example, a spacious yard in front of the main palace hall was used for festive ceremonies, a large pond that laid in front of this yard was used for boating parties. One of the palaces, the Tōsanjōden Palace, is discussed at length.

Some late eleventh and twelfth century gardens are still found at temples that lay remote from the capital Heian. These gardens must be viewed as an extension of the traditions that originated in the palace gardens. This is illustrated in a chapter on the remains of a garden at the twelfth century temple of Mōtsu-ji.

The practice and theory of garden making in the Heian period was still in an early stage. Yet a manual on gardens was written, the eleventh century *Sakuteiki*. The manual departs from the typical lay out of the pond gardens of the period, without further discussion.

Part one of the present work shows how this lay out evolved as a result of modest changes in the natural topography of the typical palace site in the capital Heian. In this respect one cannot speak of a conscious design policy. Furthermore, the typical, topographically determined lay out was theoretically backed up with a philosophy on the divination of sites. It is concluded that the manual does not advocate a search for harmony with nature, or rejects man-made artificialities, as is often believed.

The manual *Sakuteiki* was a secret garden book and was written by one of the Heian noblemen who showed an active interest in garden art. There were only a few interested noblemen and they all belonged to the Fujiwara clan. The manual's secrecy can be explained with its Fujiwara authorship; all clan-knowledge was secret. Although some of the Fujiwara noblemen

were seriously interested in garden art, it is not likely that they had any idea of the techniques of garden making. The manual *Sakuteiki* does not cover this subject. Construction and maintenance of the gardens was done by nameless bondsmen that belonged to the manorial landholdings of the courtly aristocracy.

The manual *Sakuteiki*, as well as contemporary novels such as the *Tale of Genji*, give us a clear insight into the way nature was perceived by the men and women at the court. Mental images of nature relied on archetypes that were derived from classical literature. Most outspoken in this respect were themes of the lyrical poetry that was widely read and written at the Heian court. Practically all of the lyrical poetry was concerned with images of nature, so that it gave an emotional content to plants, trees and other things of nature, present in the garden. The poetic aesthetics of plant material were apparently so well known, that the *Sakuteiki* hardly discusses planting design in the garden, except for some implicit remarks in its introduction. The conclusion is drawn that the illusion of landscape in the courtly garden of the Heian period relied for a great deal on the evocation and recognition of the imagery of lyrical themes. But these thematic images were not designed as a formal composition; what mattered were the essential elements of the lyrical theme. Composition of form was important for the design of decorative arrangements of rocks in the garden. The manual *Sakuteiki* employs in this respect the term 'landscape scenery as it is found in nature'. The phrase and the appearance of the Heian rock arrangements suggest a link with landscape painting.

Part two, titled "Scenes", deals with the mediaeval period. In Chapter 1 the period is roughly defined as the fourteenth and fifteenth century. The focus is shifted from the Heian courtly nobility to the rising aristocracy of Zen Buddhist priests and powerful military men. It is shown that the small mediaeval gardens found in front of halls where the new aristocracy held their fashionable gatherings were laid out to be perceived as an outward form, a landscape scene.

The early fourteenth century garden art in Japan witnessed a strong influence of Chinese ideas on landscape art from the Song period (960 - 1279). This is illustrated with a chapter on the extant pond garden at the Zen Buddhist temple Tenryū-ji. This garden is designed as a scene to be viewed from the main hall, a Chinese idea that was never found in Heian period gardens. Tenryū-ji's pond is too small to stage boating parties. A large rock arrangement, suggestive of a waterfall, lies at the pond edge that faces the main hall of the temple. The composition of rocks for

this waterfall evokes a depth of perspective, for which it effectively employs the compositional theories of Chinese landscape painting. As a concept it is so revolutionary for its time that it is unthinkable that it was designed by a Japanese. Even the native landscape painters of that time did not understand the Chinese composition schemes of landscape painting and were only hesitatingly experimenting with these. In the discussion about the life of the Zen priest Musō Kokushi, who founded the Tenryū-ji, the popular view that he designed or built its garden, as well as some others, is rejected. It is concluded that gardens, such as at Tenryū-ji were conceived by Chinese immigrants. Many of these Chinese were cultured men that had fled from China after the fall of the Song dynasty. They were welcomed at the early mediaeval Zen monasteries that were directly sponsored by the central military government. Monasteries and military government formed a rapidly rising institute of political power. These monasteries were in fact prestigious academies of Chinese learning, part of which formed the literary criticism on landscape art. Japanese garden making in the Zen temples stood under strong Chinese influence, and thus the appraisal of gardens was done using Chinese phraseology.

The situation was quite different in the late mediaeval period starting around the mid-fifteenth century. In the course of time a particular kind of cultural gathering had developed at which the elite of the military men and Zen priests showed each other the Chinese exotics which they possessed. These were imported works of art: ceramics; paintings; etcetera. Chinese literature was frequently discussed, or verses were written. Adapting to the requirements of the new salon, a type of architecture was developed, the architecture of the 'reading room', that allowed for a most profitable display of the Chinese imports. The emergence of a large alcove at the head end of the reading room most evidently indicates the changing of the function of the salon architecture. Manuals appeared on the subject of the correct arrangement of the Chinese objects in the alcove. The wall, of one side of the reading room, consisted of sliding screens that could be pushed aside in order to give a full view of the garden that was always situated in front of it. This garden could not be entered, it was only meant to be viewed and was therefore conceived as a landscape scene.

The cramped lay out of the walled-in residences of the elite only allowed for a garden of a limited size. Illustrative for this is the small family temple, in fact the private residence-cum-working place of a wealthy Zen priest. There is an explosive growth in the number of these small temples, parallel to the waning of the central military power and the large Zen monasteries they sponsored. Within the compound of the typical family temple a reading room could be found, with a decorative garden out in

front of it. Many of these small gardens at family temples have survived. They feature scenic rock compositions, sparse plantation but hardly ever water in a designed form, because of the limited space. The typical appearance of a scenic composition in a small enclosed space has recently aroused great interest and the characteristics of 'the' style in which they were supposedly layed out have been defined. This twentieth century stylistic definition, referred to as the *karesansui*, or dry landscape style, has even engendered the face-lifting of some old family temple gardens. Some of these gardens are examined as for their compositional ideas and for their historicity.

The research into the history of the famous stone garden at Ryōan-ji is of particular interest because this garden proves to be of a much later date than is generally believed. A discussion on a recently excavated small scenic garden, at the residence of a warlord in the provinces, illustrates that the mediaeval achievement of a scenic concept of garden design should not be thought of as to be limited to the dry landscape style, as this little garden employs a pond.

As an effect of the increasing dynamics of Japan's mediaeval economy a class of landless outcasts came into existence. They were only permitted to do dirty work: handling the dead; building roads; working with earth or garden materials. Many of them became proficient in garden making and they caught the attention of the literate. As a group of professional gardeners they were faced with the design problem of the small scenic garden outside the reading room. It is presumed that, referring to the gardens of previous times, they found the waterfalls composed of rocks most spectacular and recognized these as a landscape composition. A connection between the outcast garden makers with the late mediaeval landscape painters — now fully making use of the Chinese composition theory of landscape scenes — can be surmised. Some of the landscape painters were also of low birth.

The waterfall composition became a popular theme in the small gardens of late mediaeval date. The gardens continued to be appraised with Chinese literary phrases, sometimes explicitly lauding the technique of evoking a depth of perspective.

The developments in Japan's mediaeval garden history are thus interpreted in the present work as the development of a scenic garden concept. The scenic garden relied in its landscape illusion on the suggestion of a shape, a scene, rather than on themes with an implied lyrical connotation as in the Heian period.

The last chapter, chapter 8, of part two, further clarifies my interpretation of the mediaeval small garden as being scenic, and criticizes the

popular interpretation of this type of garden that sees it as an expression of 'the spirit of Zen'. The most important argument is the total lack of any historic evidence that mediaeval garden makers wanted to express the spirit of Zen with their creations. A short analysis of the origins of the 'Zen interpretation', as it presently prevails, is given. The interpretation originated in the intellectual climate of Japan's 1930's, under threatening nationalism and the advent of World War II. After the War it became popular abroad.

Part three, titled "Taste", deals with the early modern period, roughly, the first half of the seventeenth century. It is called 'modern', because practice and theory of garden art became established in a way that differs not very much from our own twentieth century.

The economic progress of the late mediaeval period led to the formation of several merchant towns. The old capital Heian, now called by its modern name Kyōto, was one of these. In the urban fashionable societies of such towns, a romantic appreciation of nature became a generally understood emotion in the course of the sixteenth century. This was largely due to the activities of traveling poets who came into a profound contact with natural landscapes outside the town. In the towns the poets joined the salons of the rich merchants where their poetry was read, recited, and composed in sociable sessions. Such gatherings were held in little outbuildings at the back of the town houses. Conveniences, like a hearth or a privy were luxuries like the good food and rice wine that was served. All of this not only greatly helped to heighten the atmosphere of the meetings, but also made that the hardships of nature could be appreciated as something romantic, because it was now separated from the comforts of daily life.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century military men in the provinces rose to power. They inevitably came into contact with the commercial centres in the towns and with their leading circles. At political meetings, of military men and urban leaders, rules of conduct were of utmost importance. It took form in the elaborate etiquette of tea drinking. The tea meetings took place in the outbuildings at the back of the house, a structure now exclusively furnished for the etiquette of tea. To this small building belonged a tea garden that indicated through its stepping stones the correct way of proceeding towards the tea house. The tea garden was therefore a garden that was designed out of a single abstract concept, namely to give material form to the procedures of the etiquette; it was no longer set up as a scene or a series of themes as in earlier history. The tea experts that conceived the tea garden also introduced the free use in the

garden of any kind of material they could think of. To design a garden departing from an abstract concept, as well as to make free use of any kind of material were two basic achievements in the establishment of the early modern garden art.

The single, limited concept of the tea garden was surpassed in the garden world of the seventeenth century urban elite in Kyōto. Tea experts, artists, rich merchants, and intellectuals gathered around the emperor, who was completely stripped of any political power by the provincial military men who managed to centralize their rule over all of Japan. The elite around the Imperial Court was politically powerless, but — to keep it befriended — financially supported by the central military government. Among them a typical escapist attitude became fashionable. It brought forth an imaginative attitude towards the scenery of natural landscape as well as that of the garden. It must be taken, together with the popular rise of nature romanticism in the cities, as an important driving force behind the modernization of garden art. This modernization is illustrated by some of the imperial gardens of that time, that in their peculiar design show us the modern imaginative attitude. Romantic appreciation of landscape scenery is expressed in the gardens that take actual views of natural landscapes up as a part of the overall composition.

The production of gardens became modern when all the stages in the process of making became the task of different or separated groups of people. It is demonstrated that Kobori Enshū, generally considered to have been a kind of garden artist, was actually a high government official who stood in hierarchy above an office that directed the building and designing of gardens. His role is illustrated with the history of the making of the well-documented, and extant, garden at Konchi-in. The intellectual and direct symbolism of this garden is also illustrative for the intellectual approach to garden design of the gardens of the early modern elite in Kyōto. The elite around the emperor developed an abstract concept of 'taste' that drew heavily on classical literary ideas and on values of the earlier urban salons. They restricted themselves to a fictitious kind of simplicity in beauty, which through its limitations automatically stressed the need for intellectualism and invention. Thus they came to value a liberal, intellectual kind of creativity, which is illustrated with the analysis of compositions of the gardens at Kohō-an, where Kobori Enshū intended to live after his retirement.

NOTES TO THE TEXT

1. See for a general idea of the cultural history of Heian Japan: Sansom, G.B., *Japan, A Short Cultural History*, New York, 1943, p.185ff, or: Ienaga, S., *Japanese Art a Cultural Appreciation*, New York, Tōkyō, 1979, pp.55-79 (based on a translation of Ienaga, S., *Nihon bunka shi*, Iwanami Shoten, 1959, pp.76-109), or: Varley, H.P., *Japanese Culture, A Short History*, Rutland, Tōkyō, 1973, p.32-54. An excellent idea of what life was about give the studies of Ivan Morris, like: Morris, I., *The World of the Shining Prince: Court Life in Ancient Japan*, Rutland, Tōkyō, 1978, or the English translation of a diary, *Makura Sōshi* (ca. 1002), of a courtly lady Sei Shōnagon: Morris, I., *The Pillow Book of Sei Shōnagon*, New York, 1967, two volumes, with extensive annotations.

2. Poems were noted down in a few anthologies. The most noted are the *Manyōshū*, of the mid eighth century, a classic in the later Heian period and the *Kokinshū*, compiled in the early tenth century. The *Manyōshū* has been translated in several Western languages; part of it in a recent English translation: Levy, I.H., *Man'yōshū - A Translation of Japan's Premier Anthology of Classical Poetry*, Vol.1, (no.s-906), Princeton 1981. An older translation of selected poems is edited by The Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai, as *The Manyōshū, The Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai Translation of One Thousand Poems*, New York, London, 1969. Literature in prose form reaches its climax later. Sansom, *A Short Cultural History*, p.233, sees the early Heian period as an 'assimilative' period in which there was a desire 'to survey and ponder the learning already acquired' in the previous historical Nara period when Chinese culture had been imported on a large scale. Thus historic compilations and anthologies of poetry precede the free written forms of it and the still later novels and diaries. Without doubt the most important work of prose in Heian literature is the Tale of Genji, *Genji Monogatari* in Japanese, a story narrating the life of a fictional Prince Genji and his relatives. This work written around the year 1000 by a courtly lady, Murasaki Shikibu, has also been translated in several modern Western languages. I used as reference the English translation by Seidensticker, E.G., *Murasaki Shikibu, The Tale of Genji*, Rutland, Tōkyō, 1982. If speaking of 'The Tale of Genji' hereafter, I mean to indicate this version. An other more flowing, but sometimes too flowerish translation is found in three volumes: Waley, A., *A Wreath of Cloud, Blue Trousers, and The Bridge of Dreams*, London, 1927-'33. Translations appeared also in German and French. Another most important work of literature is *The Pillow Book* as in the previous note. Further one may read Seidensticker, E.G., *The Gossamer Years - Kagero Nikki - The diary of a Noblewoman of Heian Japan*, Rutland, Tōkyō, 1973, or, Omori, A.S., Doi, K., (transl.) and Lowell, A., (introd.), *Diaries of Court Ladies of Old Japan*, Cambridge Mass., Boston, New York, 1920 that contains translations of the Sarashina diary and of the diaries of Murasaki Shikibu and Izumi Shikibu. Japanese originals exist of course, but I only referred to the original in the case of the Tale of Genji, of which sections will be quoted in a later chapter. Seidensticker translated from the Japanese version as given in the com-

pilation of classical literature *Nihon Koten bungaku taikai*, Iwanami Shoten, 1966, Volumes 14-18, later referred to as NKBT. See also the review: McCullough, C.H., "The Seidensticker Genji", in MN XXXII (1977), p.93ff, that concludes that Seidensticker's translation, because of its 'crisp' use of language, reflects the vanity of existence better than Waley's flowery translation. Vanity of existence and poetic melancholy are important literary qualities in Heian literature. See chapter 4.6 of part one of the present work. An interesting problem is the problem of translating the old Japanese, which has been called 'transformation from one language and mind-set into another', in: Hall, J.W., "Terms and Concepts in Japanese Medieval History: An Inquiry into the Problems of Translation", in: JJS, Vol.9, No.1, (1983) p.1. And also: Keene, D., *Landscapes and Portraits, Appreciations of Japanese Culture*, Tōkyō, Palo Alto, 1971 in the chapter 'The Translation of Japanese Culture', p.322ff.

3. Conversations could be done exclusively by exchanging poems. See Tale of Genji, p.962 for an example. The correct use of proper poetic themes had to match the occasion. In the Tale of Genji one finds the poem: "Garlands in my hair, warm sun to melt the frost./ So very long ago. It seems like yesterday." followed by some information on how this poem was presented: "The blue paper was the blue of the dancers' dress, and the hand subtly shaded in a cursive style to conceal the identity of the writer, was better than one would have expected from so modest a rank." Tale of Genji, p.377. One may look up a similar example on p.628, others are easily found. An excellent study on the Heian courtly poetry is: Brower, R.H., Miner, E., *Japanese Court Poetry*, Stanford, 1961.

4. These perennial ceremonies find their origin in folk rituals concerned with the agricultural cycles of the year, and in Chinese court observances that served to back up the emperor's mandate to rule. In China this was a mandate obtained from Heaven; such a superhuman legitimation of ruling did not exist in Japan, however the Chinese rites were taken up by the early Japanese emperors as well. In the later Heian period these ceremonial rites and the rituals had become an integral part of everyday life, without much reference to their original meaning. See: Morris, *The World of the Shining Prince*, pp.154-165, where most of the festivals are mentioned and some of their implications are discussed. For the history of garden art of the period I relied largely on the work of garden scholar Mori Osamu. See: Mori, O., *Heian jidai teien no kenkyū*, Kuwana Bunseidō, Kyōto, 1945, a standard work on the garden history of the period. The research in this work forms the basis of such recent, more easily read books as, Mori, O., *Sakuteiki no Sekai*, Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 1986, and the parts on the period in Mori, O., *Teien*, no.19 in the series *Nihonshi shohakka*, Kondō:Shuppansha, 1984. This book is a concise encyclopaedic organization of all of Mori's research on Japan's garden history. In details it has some minor mistakes here and there.

5. See: Paine, R.T., Soper, A., *The Art and Architecture of Japan* in the series *The Pelican History of Art*, Harmondsworth, 1981, p.325ff. where the various types of secular and Buddhist architecture of the period are discussed.

6. See: Paine, et al., *The Art and Architecture of Japan*, pp.327-336, that discusses the palace. Also: Oota, H., *Shintei Zusetsu nihon jūtaku shi*, Shōkokusha, 1975, pp.14/15.

7. See on the regular aristocratic residence: Paine, et al., *The Art and Architecture of Japan*, pp.341-343, or more up to date: Oota, *Zusetsu nihon jūtaku shi*, p.14-16.

8. See, for instance: Bring, M., Wayembergh, J., *Japanese Gardens — Design and Meaning*, New York, 1981, p.165, that gives this illustration, probably inspired by Shimoyama, S., (transl.), *Sakuteiki, The Book of Garden, Attributed author Tachibana — no — Toshitsuna*, Toshikeikaku Kenkyūjo, 1976, where this illustration is used on p.xi of the introduction. See Oota, *Zusetsu nihon jūtaku shi*, pp.18, and 20, that rejects it as historically reliable material. Also: Mori, O., *Sakuteiki no sekai*, Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 1986, p.105 doubts the value of this popular picture.

9. See: Oota, *Zusetsu nihon jūtaku shi*, p.24, or, Tamura, T., *Sakuteiki*, Sagami Shobō, 1964, p.54, where the typical palace architecture is also treated at some length.

10. A fundamental study on this palace is: Oota, S., “*Higashi sanjōdono no kenkyū*”, in KGR Vol.12, (1941) pp.8 – 17. The writer conjectured a plan of the palace by scrutinizing contemporary records of the Fujiwara clan. The garden details in Oota’s drawing were represented in various ways in many of the redrawn versions of his plan that appeared in later publications by other authors. The palace is also mentioned in: Paine, et al., *The Art and Architecture of Japan*, p.343. Garden scholar Mori Osamu drew an artist’s impression of the palace to illustrate the appearance of a Heian period palace, based also on his own extensive research. See: Mori, O., *Heian jidai teien no kenkyū*, Kuwana Bunseidō, 1945, pp.461 – 483. His picture appears in many works on the period. See for instance the appendix in Seidensticker, *The Gossamer Years — Kagero Nikki* —, p.204, where Mori’s drawing shows up again. ‘Tōsanjōden’ is a different reading of the same name ‘Higashi Sanjōdono’. The palace also appears in certain scroll paintings that are believed to be faithful copies of Heian period originals. See: Mori, *Heian jidai teien no kenkyū*, ill. no’s 87-90 showing four sections of the *Nenjū Gyōji Emaki* scroll on which the Tōsanjōden palace is depicted. One section is discussed in more detail in the following chapter 2.3 of this work.

11. See Mori in his study on classical gardens of the pond and island type: Mori, O., *Shinden-zukuri-kei teien no ritchiteki kōsatsu*, study report of the Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūsho — Jūshūnen Kinen Gakuhō, (Dai 13 satsu), Nara, (w/o year, but likely ca. 1962), p.12, on the natural features and how these were used in the garden. Cf op.cit., p.13, ill. no.3, for a section of the *Nenjū Gyōji Emaki* scroll on which a part of the Tōsanjōden palace garden is depicted that shows the natural hill with the spring.

12. The contemporary garden book *Sakuteiki* that will be extensively discussed in chapter 4.2 also relates the composition of some garden details to the situation of the seat of honour (*kamiza*, or, *hare*), although the locating of this place was not a matter that could be designed at will. See the *Sakuteiki* passage in: Mori, *Sakuteiki no sekai*, p.56, or the English translation in: Shimoyama, *Sakuteiki, The Book of Garden*, p.12. See also: Oota, *Zusetsu nihon jūtaku shi*, p.24/25, where is explained how this generated an asymmetric spacial organization.

13. See: Mori, O., *Teien*, p.74/75, where the garden is treated.

14. See: Tale of Genji p.109, (NKBT, Vol.14, p.228) and p.654 (NKBT, Vol.17, p.49), that speaks of the white sand cover. One wonders how practical this sand covering will have been. There must have been a lot of glare unpleasant to the eye, when viewing a festival on a bright sunny day. But on the other hand the white sand must have been very effectful on a moonlit night, giving a fairy like effect

reflecting the moon light. This might explain the use of it. Moon light in the garden stirred the romantic feelings of the Heian noble men and women. However no attention is paid to the white sand in: Mori, O., *Heian jidai teien no kenkyū*, p.174-177, where the writer discusses the Heian appreciation of moon light in the garden.

15. This arcadic feature of Heian garden design was called *nosuji*, an often misinterpreted term. See most extremely: Rambach, P., & S., *Sakuteiki ou Le Livre Secret Des Jardins Japonais*, Geneve, 1973, p.55 with a confused explanation of *nosuji* as being lines along which energy is moved, etc. The 15c *Sansui* manual, discussed in part two of this work defines the term. See also: Mori, *Teien*, p.16.

16. See the conclusions of research on planting design in the Heian gardens as it appears on the scrolls in: Kawahara, T., "Heian, kamakura no emaki ni miru teien shokusai no gihō", in: ZZ Vol.48, no.5, p.67ff. Cf. also the following chapter.

17. See: Ienaga, S., *Painting in the Yamato Style*, New York, Tōkyō, 1973, or better: Shirahata, Y., *Monogatari emaki, Nihon no bijutsu*, no.49, Shibundo, 1970.

18. The scene as a whole conveys the mood of the people that are in it. The angles of the falling, tilted lines of the buildings in which they are, as well as the trees and plants in the garden form an indication of the emotions of the persons depicted in the scene. See: Mason, P.E., "The House-bound Heart — The prose Poetry Genre of Japanese Narrative Illustration", in: MN Vol.XXXV, No.1, p.22ff. See also: Murase, M., *Iconography of The Tale of Genji — Genji Monogatari Ekotoba*, New York, Tōkyō, 1983, p.12. Both sources elaborating on the earlier article: Soper, A., "The Illustrative Method of the Tokugawa 'Genji' Pictures", in: AB Vol.XXXVII, (1955), p.1ff. A late Heian period (12c.) scroll that was painted as a picture version of The Tale of Genji is well studied as for its iconography.

19. The so called Winding Stream Banquets (*kyokusuien*) illustrate this clearly. Every year on the third day of the third month of the lunar calendar the festival of the winding stream was held. Wine cups on nicely painted floats were sent down the garden stream. As the cup passed, each attending guest in turn had to lift it, drink the wine and recite a self-composed poem. It is easily understood that everyone attending was well in his cups after several poems. See also: Morris, *The World of the Shining Prince*, p.148/149 on drinking at parties.

20. The scroll *Komakurabe Gyōkō Ekotoba* was painted somewhere in the 14th century, at present it is in the Kubosō Memorial Museum of Art, Izumi, Ōsaka prefecture. To give an indication of the format of such hand scrolls, this one is 34 cm. high and, unrolled, 382 cm. long. The *Komakurabe* scroll depicts the 23rd chapter titled "*Komakurabe*" of the historical epic "Tales of Glory" (*Eiga monogatari*) that recorded the life of Fujiwara Michinaga (966-1027). Though painted later, the moment of action in the painting is late Heian. See item no.62, p.36/7 and 188 in: *Emaki - tokubetsu tenrankai*, of the Kyōto National Museum, catalogue of a scroll painting exhibition held in spring 1987. See also on this scene of the scroll: Akiyama, T., *Emakimono*, Shōgakkan, 1968, ill.no.63, p.80-82, w. comment on p.109.

21. See also: Morris, *The World of the Shining Prince*, p.194/5 on the multi-layered dresses of the ladies, of which the colours had to match.

22. The music was the monotonous court music still performed at many a

festival in Kyōto. The sonorous tones are brought forth largely with a kind of pan flute of which the pipes stand up in a circle. At the end of a picture contest described in chapter 17 of *The Tale of Genji* (p.316), many kinds of instruments are brought out and the nobles, some of them drunk, start making music. At many instances in the *Tale* music is made, it formed an important part of the beautiful world of the courtly nobility.

23. Tamura, *Sakuteiki*, at the illustration of the scroll in the first section w/o page numbers, gives that these are garden figures. Mori, *Sakuteiki no sekai*, p.127/9 discusses the use of the words crane and turtle in the late 11th century garden book *Sakuteiki*. There it says: "The pond should be dug in the shape of a turtle or a crane; because water assumes the shape of its container. If there are waterfowl in the pond the owner of the house will live in comfort." (Paraphrasing Shimoyama's translation in: *Sakuteiki, The Book of Garden*, p.31. Of course it is not literally the meaning to dig the pond in the shape of a crane, with legs, bill, etcetera. But the two animals were felicitous symbols and always associated with water. The text intends to stress that happiness is to be expected when a pond is well dug. A natural well in Kaya-in was, for instance, covered with a lid on which turtles and cranes were painted, as if to bless the water from it. See: Mori, *Sakuteiki no sekai*, p.128.

24. The *Nenjū Gyōji Emaki* scroll is a late copy of a 12th century original. Among scholars of Japan's history of architecture it is valued as an important source of many architectural details. A section is taken up, for instance, in: Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai (ed.), *Nihon kenchikushi zushū*, Shōkokusha, 1980, p.35, w. comment on p.126.

25. The main halls of historical palaces in Korea have two rows of stone markers lined on both sides of a paved entrance that leads to the stairs of the hall. Government officials lined up, in order of their rank, standing in front of these markers. See the series on the Korean palaces, edited by Youl Hwa Dang Publishing Cy. (w/o year, but recent). Thus, for instance, the markers in front of the Chunghwajon Hall of the Toksugung Palace. Such markers were never found at Japanese palaces. It must stand in relation to the more meritocratic character of Korean governments, which made rank a more formalized matter of greater weight than in Japan's oligarchy. In the illustration here the feudal lords line up in two rows, but without further indications of their ranks.

26. The garden book *Sakuteiki* (see note 55 below, for some references on this manual) remarks: "...if you build an island, (in your garden pond, wk.), the usual arrangement is to bring the edge of the island towards the middle, facing the main hall, and to provide space for the musician's stage (*gakuya*) towards the far side of the island." It shows that the island was used as a stage for musicians. See the text in: Shimoyama *Sakuteiki, The Book of Garden*, p.2.

27. See, on this scene of the scroll: Akiyama, *Emakimono*, ill.103, pp.138-140, w. comment on p.151.

28. Doubts as for its value as a source of history found with Tamura, *Sakuteiki*, on the unnumbered pages in the first gathering where the illustration is given.

29. The painting contains a lot of idiomatic themes of art, like, for instance, the falcon hunters at the gate discussing the merits of their birds, a theme that suggests winter. These kind of associative themes will be treated in chapter 4.5 of this part. When such themes concerned plant material or rock arrangements, they were readily used in garden designs. The abundance of such idiom in this scroll painting

makes it indeed a little too phantastic. Cf. note 28, above.

30. See other sections of the *Kasuga Gongen* scroll, two sections of the 13th century *Kitano Tenjin Engi Emaki*, and other illustrations given among the first gathering containing black and white pictures in: Mori, *Heian jidai teien no kenkyū*, w/o page numbers.

31. The temple Byōdō-in was constructed in Uji, close to the capital, in the 1050's. Daijō-in was constructed in 1088, close to Nara, the city that preceded, in the eighth century, Heian as the capital of Japan. Enjō-ji, deep in the mountains behind Nara came into existence somewhere in between 1153-1166. Jōruri-ji, also in the mountains behind Nara, but in a different place, was made in the middle of the twelfth century. Hōkongō-in was built in 1130 as a residence for the Emperor Toba, and only later turned into a temple. These are the temple gardens that exist in reconstructed form and/or, where excavations have been carried out. See comprehensively: Mori, *Teien*, p.154-175.

32. Byōdō-in was the retreat of Fujiwara Yorimichi (991-1074), Hōkongō-in was the residence of the Emperor Toba (1102-1156). The other temples named in the previous note were all branch temples of the temple Kōfuku-ji, which was the clan temple of the Fujiwara's, among these Daijō-in was headed by an imperial prince as priest. See: Mori, *Teien*, p.154-175.

33. Expressed in descriptions of some gardens that make abundant use of phraseology taken from Buddhist liturgy. Compare, for instance, the description of the Buddhist Jōdō paradise in a religious treatise *Ōjō yōshū*, written by the priest Genshin (942-1017), with the description of Michinaga's Hōjō-ji garden in the *Eiga monogatari*. English translations found in: Varley, *Japanese Culture*, p.51/2, respectively, Paine, et al., *The Art and Architecture of Japan*, p.347. It can also be argued that the late Heian temple gardens were laid out as a three-dimensional representation of mandala ideas. Mandalas were diagrammatic paintings showing all the gods of Buddhist theology. Specifically the mandalas of the Jōdō sect of Buddhism, popular with the Fujiwara's resemble their temple gardens to a great extent. See: Paine, et al., *The Art and Architecture of Japan*, p.347. Some of the famous mandalas are represented in: Okazaki, J., *Pure Land Buddhist Painting*, Tōkyō, 1977, ill. no.'s 18, 21, 23, on pp.37ff. The mandala's referred to as 'White Path Between The Two Rivers' (*nika byakudō*), in the source above as ill. no.'s 143-147, pp.147-150, show in a stylized way the typical Heian period symmetric temple garden design. These paintings date from the 13th and 14th century. See on their relation to garden design a manuscript of the late professor Masuda Tomoya of the architectural faculty of the University of Kyōto, p.338. This manuscript was subject of a series of seminars given by professor Katō Kunio in 1984, which I attended. The manuscript will be published as a book on the architectural relation between the Japanese house and its garden.

34. See: The Tale of Genji, Chapter 40 "The Rites", p.712-722. Caught by all the splendid beauty the writer, almost excited states: "One felt that Amitabha's paradise could not be far away..." This paradise was the promised land of Salvation in the Buddhist Jōdō sect. See also: Anesaki, *History of Japanese Religion*, p.154, that stresses the playful way of religious practice among the Heian nobles. Nakamura, H., *Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples: India, China, Tibet, Japan*, Honolulu, 1971, p.376, is even more sceptical and gives some extreme examples of (sexual) play understood as religious experiences by the Heian aristocracy.

35. See: Paine, et al., *The Art and Architecture of Japan*, p.291-323, that treats

the history of the pre-Heian architecture of the monasteries.

36. A most extensive history of the place with descriptions of the gardens and other artefacts of the period is: Fujishima, G., (ed.), *Hiraizumi, Chūson-ji, Mōtsu-ji no zenyō*, edited by Chūson-ji, Mōtsu-ji, 1981.

37. For a comprehensive history of the temple see for instance: Mori, *Teien*, p.162/3. Only Motohira's year of death was known from records. At restoration works on the Konshokudō of the temple Chūson-ji, three skeletons were found, one of which was Motohira's. This had belonged to a man in between 50 or 60 years of age, from which Motohira's birth year was calculated. See: Fujishima, (ed.), *Hiraizumi, Chūson-ji, Mōtsu-ji no zenyō*, pp.10, and 33.

38. See: Reischauer, E.O., Craig, A.M., *Japan, Tradition and Transformation*, Rutland, Tōkyō, 1978, pp.31/32.

39. One crossed the path between the Rivers of Anger and of Greed, as in the mandala representations of the 'White Path Between The Two Rivers', (see note 33, above). Crossing the bridges was meant to be a kind of mental purification.

40. I view this as a successful representation of a natural rough seacoast. However, Japanese garden scholars never name this group as such. In stead they speak of the arrangements at the peninsula described before this one, as a rough seacoast (*araiso*, or, *ariso*). See for instance: Mori, *Teien*, p.162. This rock group to the east fits better in the definition of it found in the garden book *Sakuteiki*, which may explain the defining of it as 'rough seacoast'. Figure 13 of the present work gives an idea of the 'rough seacoast' as in *Sakuteiki's* definition. The manual is quoted on this point in chapter 4.2.

41. See: Paine, et al., *The Art and Architecture of Japan*, p.447. Or: Fujishima, (ed.), *Hiraizumi*, pp.154/5, Motohira copied the plan from the temple Hosshō-ji in the capital Heian. See: Paine, et al., *The Art and Architecture of Japan*, pp.347-351, on how this Hosshō-ji, founded by Emperor Shirakawa, was modeled again on the temple Hōjō-ji, founded by Michinaga, that for the first time combined the idea of a monastic, symmetrically laid out, temple compound with the central pond as it was found in palace architecture.

42. See on the use of this garden pavilion in general: Tanaka, S., *Nihon no teien*, Kashima Shuppankai, 1983, pp.31-33, or: Mori, *Sakuteiki no sekai*, pp.105-108.

43. This note introduces three temple gardens related to the temple Mōtsu-ji. Kanjizaiō-in, adjoining it (see fig.10), was founded in 1152 by Motohira's wife. A pond and island, and a few rock groups of the garden were recently recovered from the rice fields. One of the rock groups proved to be a low garden cascade that was fed with water from Mōtsu-ji pond. The garden had no bridges.

Motohira's wife bore him a son who was named Hidehira. this Hidehira founded Muryōkō-in, another temple in Hiraizumi. The site is at present hardly recognizable as a garden. The pond has silted up and is in use as rice field. Some rock groups can be made out. The main temple hall stood on a large island in the pond. On a smaller island in front of it stood a little building, probably a small pagoda. Hidehira had this temple modeled after the famous Byōdō-in in the capital. The main hall of this latter temple that dates from the tenth century still remains. It is represented on the modern ten yen coins of Japan. In both cases the main hall stood on an island that laid close to the west bank of the pond. In both of the temples a narrow waterway at the back of the hall made it possible to boat around it. The larger expanse of the pond stretched to the east, so that the overall

arrangement resembles Mōtsu-ji closely, apart from the waterway and the orientation. Mōtsu-ji's main hall faces south. Hidehira's younger sister started her own temple Shiramizu Amidadō in 1160, several hundreds of kilometers to the south (near present Iwaki in the prefecture Fukushima). The little main hall of this temple could be reached crossing the pond with two bridges that connected an island to both of the pond shores. The hall, still present, is a simple building without the connecting galleries that were found in Mōtsu-ji. Also the halls at Kanjizaiō-in were of this simple form. At Shiramizu Amidadō a few decorative rocks and a pebble beach were reconstructed, together with the pond. One of the rock groups at a protruding point along the edge of the pond resembles Mōtsu-ji's peninsula. See comprehensively: Mori, *Teien*, pp.164-169.

44. See the sections on the Heian period aristocrats interested in gardens in: Mori, *Heian jidai teien no kenkyū*, pp.226-244, and the conclusion on p.254. Mori keeps a distinction between priests and nobles, a distinction that hardly has any substance, as the priests active in the field of gardens were all members of the Fujiwara clan.

45. See for some well-documented biographical details of Enen: Mori, *Heian jidai teien no kenkyū*, p.238/9, referring, among other sources, to records of the *Shōyūki*, the diary of Fujiwara Sanesuke (957-1046), above all an entry dated 1023 (J.3.10.29). Enen died in the late thirties of the century. See also: Tamura, *Sakuteiki*, p.277/8, note 3.

46. The temple Tokudai-ji laid on the site of present day Ryōan-ji, with its famous stone garden. See: Shigemori, M. and Shigemori, K., *Nihon Teienshi Taikai*, Shakai Shisōsha, 1970's, Vol.7, p.60, or Vol.4, p.21-28. According to the garden manual *Sansui narabini yakeizu*, or the *Sansui* manual, discussed in chapter 7.2 of part two of the present work, Jōi is the son of the Lord of Kyōgokudono, Fujiwara Morosane. Other sources say that he was the son of Fujiwara Tsunesane. See for instance: Mori, *Teien*, p.30/1, or, the genealogy in: Tamura, *Sakuteiki*, p.389.

47. See: Mori, *Heian jidai teien no kenkyū*, p.248ff, or: Mori, *Teien*, p.30/1. Priests of the Shingon sect of Buddhism known in records as Rinken and Jōgen (or Seigen) are the two pupils of Jōi that established a lineage of garden teachings in Ninna-ji. Based on the diary *Nakasukeō ki*, of Shirakawa Nakasukeō (second half of the twelfth century). The *Sansui* manual (Cf. note 46, above), mentions Rinken and Jōgen in its colophon.

48. See: Mori, *Heian jidai teien no kenkyū*, pp.239-242 on Toshitsuna.

49. Not only his bastard birth but also the fact that his stepfather was a provincial degraded his position. An instance in the *Pillow Book*, for example, makes fun of a certain court official Suketada, because his mother was of provincial stock. See: Morris, *The World of the Shining Prince*, p.46, also the chapter "Provincials and the Lesser Breeds" in: op.cit., p.79ff.

50. The diary of Fujiwara Munetada (1062-1141), the *Chūyūki* in an entry dated 1093 (K.7.12.24) speaks of the loss of the garden, quoted in: Mori, *Heian jidai teien no kenkyū*, pp.240/1. According to Mori, *Teien*, p.30, Toshitsuna died in the Kōwa period in between 1099 and 1103. According to Shimoyama, *Sakuteiki, The Book of Garden*, p.i of the introduction, Toshitsuna died in 1094.

51. Tale of Genji pp.324/5. The original Japanese in: *Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikai*, Iwanami Shoten, (NKBT), Vol.15, p.202. Cf. note 2, above for some references to the Tale.

52. The original speaks of the people from nearby fiefs, or manors (*misō*), a note to the text interprets *misō* as vassalage, feudal tenure, NKBT Vol.15, p.202. See also similar instances in the Tale where Genji puts people at work in the garden. Thus: p.533, 621, or, 671. See also chapter 7.1 on garden making in the mediaeval period in part three of this work, that treats this statute labour more in detail.

53. In: Mori, *Heian jidai teien no kenkyū*, pp.201/2, where he quotes a 1018 (K.2.6.26) record from the diary of Fujiwara Sanesuke, the *Shōyūki*, concerning the building of a garden called the Jōtōmon-in garden. This was a courtly garden in the capital Heian, joining the Kyōgokudono Palace and Michinaga's Hōjō-ji. The boards laid out were taken from the commoners' houses along the route.

54. In: Mori, *Heian jidai teien no kenkyū*, pp.192-198, where he quotes a 1097 (E.2.5.23) record of a document referred to as *Kujō* family.

56. See: Nakata, Y., *The Art of Japanese Calligraphy*, New York, Tōkyō, 1973, pp.106-124, on the *sōsho* script.

57. See, for instance, Mori, *Sakuteiki no sekai*, pp.190ff. Mori quotes a short bibliographical note by Yanagitani (Noma Mitsutake), dated 1666 (K.6), where the manual is referred to as '*Sakuteiki*'. *Sakutei* (or, *niwatsukuri*) as a Japanese word is only used to designate 'garden making' since the Edo period (1603-1867). In earlier history it carried the meaning of 'the establishing of (the lay out of) a (an imperial) court. Kiyohara Naritada (mid-Kamakura period 1185-1333) in his bibliography *Honchō shōjaku mokuroku* speaks of the manual as *Senzaihisshō*. See Mori, op.cit..

58. 'Meritocracy' used as a term to indicate the typical Chinese structure of the state, for instance in: Bush, S., *The Chinese Literati on Painting*, Cambridge, Mass., 1971, or extensively explained in: Fairbank, J.K., Reischauer, E.O., *China, Tradition and Transformation*, Sydney, London, Boston, 1973, pp.69, and 104, speaking of the 'merit system'.

59. The secrecy, or esotericism in the practice of the Buddhist religion at the Heian court can be explained in a similar way. See: Varley, H.P., *Japanese Culture - A Short History*, Rutland, Tōkyō, 1983, pp.36/7, which inspired me to the present statements on the secrecy of the manual *Sakuteiki*.

60. See also: Mori, *Sakuteiki no sekai*, p.199.

61. Translated from the Japanese in: Mori, *Sakuteiki no sekai*, p.43.

62. See, as an example: Crowe, S., *Garden Design*, New York, 1958, pp.81-87, with many examples of landscape designs from all over the world, strikingly none of Japan in this section on the unity of design.

63. See, of course, Alexander Pope (1688-1744) on the genius of the place, in his "An Epistle to Lord Burlington" (dated 1731): "...Consult the *Genius* of the *Place* in all, ...". The Epistle is given in: Hunt, J.D., Willis, P., *The Genius of the Place, The English Landscape Garden 1620-1820*, London, 1975, pp.211-214.

64. Returned to in part three of this work that deals with the early 17th century when creativity was far better understood as an abstract notion.

65. See: Meeus, J., *Op zoek naar een instrumentarium voor ontwerpkritiek in de landschapsarchitectuur*, Doctoral thesis, Landbouwhogeschool, Wageningen, 1984, p.96ff, on the mental images that the traditional designer recalls when beginning a design. By the way, I used the word 'post-modern', in this paragraph as it is used by architects. See, for example: Jencks, C., *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture*, London, 1978. Meeus, op.cit., passim, uses the term to designate a

specific approach in landscape design that deals with participation of the population in the design process.

66. Translated from the Japanese in: Mori, *Sakuteiki no sekai*, p.43.

67. All referring to the complete text in: Mori, *Sakuteiki no sekai*, pp.43-87.

68. Translated from the Japanese in: Mori, *Sakuteiki no sekai*, pp.48/9.

69. See the descriptions of the rock arrangements in the chapter on Mōtsu-ji, and my comment at note 40. The idea is much older as the 'rough seacoast' arrangement was also found in an 8c. garden, excavated in Nara. See: Mori, *Sakuteiki no sekai*, pp.138-142, on this garden indicated as Sakyō Sanjō Nibō Rokutsubo Teien, sometimes called the Kitamiya garden. Also my short article on it: Kuitert, W., "*De oudste tuinen van Japan: opgravingen in Nara*" in the Dutch landscape magazine 'Groen', Vol.41 No.7/8, pp.15-17. Also: *Nara no bunkazai*, No.2, *Heijōkyō*, Narashi Kyōiku Iinkai, Nara, 1983.

70. All the types are: 'The Ocean Style', 'The Broad River Style', 'The Mountain Stream Style', 'The Pond-Pool Style', ('The Fen Style', using a less well-known English word that expresses the idea better), and 'The Reed Hand Style'.

71. See: Nakata, *The Art of Japanese Calligraphy*, on the *ashide* style of calligraphy p.27 and the illustration no.72 on p.74 that shows a small landscape scene, with painting, in the *ashide* style.

72. Translated from the Japanese in: Mori, *Sakuteiki no sekai*, p.51.

73. The various types are: 'The Hill Island', 'The Field Island', 'The Forest Island', 'The Rocky Island', 'Cloud Shaped', 'Mist Shaped', 'Shaped as a *suhama*', 'As if Running One-Sided', 'The Ebb-Tide Style', and, 'The Pine-Bark Style'. Again, as with the Reed Hand style, some of these types are associative images that are not derived from actual scenery in nature. *Suhama* were artificial miniature landscapes presented on a tray. See: Ito, S., "The Muse in Competition, *Uta-awase* Through the Ages", in: MN Vol. XXXVII, No.2, (1982), p.204. Any older Japanese (*kokugo*) dictionary gives a little illustration of a *suhama*, one may imagine it as a tray of which the low edge curves in and out, giving a somewhat baroque shape. Pine bark (*matsukawa*, also *matsukawabishi*) was, and is, the name of a textural pattern in decorative arts. The pattern is defined by lines that run as the lightning in modern comics, and that cross each other diagonally making a texture of lozenge shapes. Islands were, of course, not literally shaped like this. The *suhama*, and 'Pine-Bark' are again mental images of a cultured courtier.

74. The ways in which the water may fall over, through or past the rocks placed for the waterfall defines the ten types of waterfalls: 'Facing Falling', 'Falling on One Side', 'Running Falling', 'Falling Freely', 'Falling in One Corner', 'Falling Like Linen', 'Falling Like Threads', 'Compound Falling', 'Falling Split in Left and Right', and, 'Falling Sideways'. See: Saitō, *Zukai Sakuteiki*, ill.43ff, to give a concrete idea how one can imagine oneself these types of waterfalls.

75. See: Mori, *Sakuteiki no sekai*, pp.74, 75, and p.78.

76. See: Mori, *Heian jidai teien no kenkyū*, p.237, referring to such Tendai documents as the mid-eleventh century *Honchō hokke genki*.

77. Translated from the Japanese in: Mori, *Sakuteiki no sekai*, p.87. See also: Shimoyama, S., (transl.), *Sakuteiki, The Book of Garden*, p.40 and note 26 on p.45.

78. The section where *Sakuteiki's* writer says he got documents from Enen is quoted in chapter 4.5 of this part one. A section dated 964 (O.1) from the *Fūke godan* — records by Nakahara Moromoto of the things he heard from Fujiwara

Tadasane (= Fūkedono 1078-1162), a great-grandson of Yorimichi — uses a *Sakuteiki*-like jargon when describing the garden at the palace Kaya-in. See: Mori, *Sakuteiki no sekai*, p.153. It shows that nobles talked about gardens in a way as Toshitsuna describes it.

79. See: Mori, *Sakuteiki no sekai*, p.157-185, that treats such temple gardens as the ones in northern Japan (see note 43 above), but also the ones near Nara (see note 31 above). All carry strong *Sakuteiki* characteristics. Also Mori does not conclude that it was the *Sakuteiki* that consciously established the fixed planning scheme.

80. Mori, *Sakuteiki no sekai*, p.114, assigns a fall of 1 to 100 to the land of the capital Heian and concludes for a site of 1 *chō* a fall of 4 or 5 *shaku*, being 1,3 to 1,7 meters. As a calculation this is simply not correct. Anyhow the fall of 1 to 100 is reached at in the northern half of the valley, for instance in the compound of the present Kyōto Imperial Palace Compound. Mori concludes that there would have been enough difference in level on an average site to build a waterfall. Tamura, *Sakuteiki*, p.24 calculates a fall of 5 to 1000 over all of the valley, when he reconstructs the natural topography of the Heian valleys as in ideal site for making gardens. According to him a fall of 5 to 1000 is exactly the ideal for running water in a garden stream.

81. See: Tamura, *Sakuteiki*, pp.53/4, on the size of sites in relation to one's rank in the courtly hierarchy. Emperor's had usually the largest sites for their palace. The size of Emperor Shirakawa's palace was almost a kilometer (eight times as large as the average) in a north-south direction, and more than seven hundred meters from east to west. The palace in the southern parts of the capital was later taken over by the Emperor Toba.

82. Translated from the Japanese in: Mori, *Sakuteiki no sekai*, p.63/4. Three percent in my translation is given in the text with old names for Japanese measures: three *wake* for one *shaku*, etc.

83. Translated from the Japanese in: Mori, *Sakuteiki no sekai*, p.64.

84. See on the city planning of the capital Heian: Tamura, *Sakuteiki*, pp.19-22. The capital was planned as a model of the Chinese capital cities. See: Kaizuka, S., *Chūgoku no rekishi, chūkan*, Iwanami shinsho, 1981, pp.123/4 on the capital Zhang-an of the Chinese Tang dynasty (618-907), that inspired the lay out of the capital Heian. See for the philosophy of the ancient Chinese city planning, and an interpretation of it: Wheatley, P., "The Ancient Chinese City as a Cosmological Symbol", in *Ekistics* 232, (March 1975), p.147ff.

85. Translated from the Japanese in: Mori, *Sakuteiki no sekai*, pp.43/4. The term *tayori* is one of the sources of confusion in the French translations of the *Sakuteiki*. Rambach defines the term as: "*structure d'un paysage, plus métaphysique que visuelle*", or, "*virtualité du paysage*". See: Rambach, *Sakuteiki ou Le Livre Secret Des Jardins Japonais*, p.35, 271, etc.

86. Translated from the Japanese in: Mori, *Sakuteiki no sekai*, p.44.

87. See the points where it is mentioned in the text in: Mori, *Sakuteiki no sekai*, p.61, and p.79.

88. For instance explained in: Mori, *Sakuteiki no sekai*, p.127-133.

89. The well known circular scheme was found until recently in every school dictionary of Japanese.

90. The Chinese schemes are much better studied, than the Japanese, as they fulfill a much more important role mainly in the communities of overseas Chinese,

to predict fortune or failure after the configuration of buildings on their sites. An early study is Eitel, E.J., *Feng-shui*, 1873, but recently in reprinted versions, for instance edited by John Michell, Singapore, 1985. Also March, A.L., "An Appreciation of Chinese Geomancy", in: JAS Vol.XXVIII (1968), pp.253-267. Or: Skinner, S., *The Living Earth Manual of Feng-Shui - Chinese Geomancy*, London 1982, Singapore 1983, that gives a short history of the practice in China (pp.3-13) and an explanation of its theories (pp.14-118).

91. See on the city planning of the capital Heian: Tamura, *Sakuteiki*, pp.19-22.

92. See: Mori, *Teien*, p.13-15 on the existing geological patterns and the gardens that made use of the natural ponds.

93. See also: Mori, O. *Shindenzukuri-kei teien no ritchiteki kōsatsu*, that gives most extensively Mori's research on this point. Op.cit., pp.1-21 that discusses the geological characteristics of the valley, the abundance of aquifers and natural springs, and how the Heian gardens took profit of these.

94. Translated from the Japanese in: Mori, *Sakuteiki no sekai*, p.46.

95. Translated from the Japanese in: Mori, *Sakuteiki no sekai*, p.61/2.

96. See note 1, p.230 in: Tamura, *Sakuteiki*. Tamura speaks of the manual as one of the books attributed by tradition to the legendary Yellow Emperor of Chinese folklore. The Zhia Jing (The Book of Dwellings) emerged in the Han Dynasty (BC.206-AD.220) see: Palmer, M., (ed.), *T'ung Shu - The Ancient Chinese Almanac*, Boston, 1986, p.49 with some further, short remarks on the history of geomancy in China.

97. "The stream led out into the south garden, comes mostly out from under the connecting galleries, and is then always made to run towards the west". Translated from the Japanese in: Mori, *Sakuteiki no sekai*, p.64.

98. A self-centered view on a world of limited geographic extent, makes of course that geography comes to be equal to the topographics of one's own small world. The Heian nobles must be considered as having had such a limited world-view. That theories or even divinations on their surroundings therefore conform to the characteristics is self-evident. I nevertheless explained this extensively to stress that the Sakuteiki carried no romantic message of nature to them.

99. See the English version of the Tale: Seidensticker, E.G., *Murasaki Shikibu, The Tale of Genji*, Rutland, Tōkyō, 1982, with some footnotes and an introduction. If speaking of 'The Tale of Genji', hereafter, I mean to indicate this work. Seidensticker translated from the Japanese version as given in: Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei, Iwanami Shoten, 1966, later referred to as NKBT.

100. See: Morris, *The World of the Shining Prince*, p.251-289 for a study on the historical facts of Murasaki Shikibu's life and person and on the Tale of Genji as a literary work. Also his chapter "The Cult of Beauty" (pp.170-198, op.cit.) that specifies the place of the Tale in the world of Heian aesthetics. Compare also with: Keene, D., *Landscapes and Portraits, Appreciations of Japanese Culture*, Tōkyō, Palo Alto, p.33ff. on the psychology of the Tale.

101. Akashi is one of the famous places that were used as epithets in poetry, extensively discussed in the present chapter. It's beauty was one of melancholy of *sabi* and *aware*. Thus it is also described in the Tale of Genji p.251/2 (NKBT Vol.15 p.66) and returns again on p.262.

102. It is not exactly clear whether the writer of the Tale, Murasaki Shikibu, gave the name Murasaki, which means 'purple', or, 'violet', to this concubine, because it was the same name as her's. Murasaki Shikibu was not a real name. In

Heian Japan nobles indicated each other with vague sobriquets, such as 'Murasaki', and 'Shikibu'. Murasaki may thus have been derived afterwards from the lady Murasaki in her novel, or also have been an indication of her person in some other context. 'Shikibu' is the name of a government office, which was held by her father. See: Tale of Genji, introduction pp.vii/viii.

103. See: Tale of Genji p.345/6, (NKBT Vol.15 p.242), or, p.457. From personal experience I can say that the climate of the capital Heian, modern Kyōto, singles winter and summer out as preferable seasons.

104. And actually Akikonomu and Murasaki take themselves almost as personifications of their seasons and continue the discussions about the beauties of autumn and spring in their respective gardens.

105. Tale of Genji p.384 (NKBT Vol.15, p.322ff), keeping largely to Seidensticker's translation.

106. 'Attractively' is my translation of *omoshiroku*, a word very often used in the Tale of Genji. It is one of the many adjectives that indicate certain qualities of Heian beauty. Here it also seems to express the affectionate excitement of the court ladies.

107. Seidensticker's 'maples' is a mistake, the original says *kōbai*, red plum. 'That are enjoyed in spring' is my translation of *haru no moteasobi (mono)*, speaking of plants as an object of play or in games. A flower or a sprig with autumn leaves was for instance attached to the paper of a poem. Such parts of plants were also arranged on trays (*suhama* trays, cf. note 73, above) on which a letter or other little gifts were presented. The decorative flowers in gardens carried therefore also aspects of utility. They were as useful as the herbs from a herb garden.

108. Seidensticker does not mention Saga in his translation. Anyhow, this is an important addition to the text; Saga carries all the connotations of the autumn flowers and it is the epitome among the well-known autumn fields (*aki no no*). See extensively on this point: Tanaka, S., *Nihon no teien*, Shikashima Shuppankai, 1984, pp.38-42, and p.54.

109. The passage effectively evokes an arcadic countryside, deep in the hills, with such images as the summer wind in bamboo thickets, and the hedge of mayflowers kept by the village people. Seidensticker's translation misses the point, because it leaves out in the translation the word *yamasato*, which I translated as 'country in the mountains'. The word is also used in the Sakuteiki manual, where Shimoyama circumscribes it as 'charming mood ... such as of a mountain village'. Cf. Shimoyama, S., (transl.), *Sakuteiki, The Book of Garden*, p.5, and Mori, *Sakuteiki no sekai*, p.47. See: Morris, *The World of the Shining Prince*, p.161 for horse and iris parties to be held in the fifth month.

110. The original does not speak of artificial hillocks, as in Seidensticker's translation, but according to the NKBT note of a mud wall (*tsukiwakete*). NKBT Vol.15 p.323, note 18. For the pine trees and their snow, again the word *moteasobu* is used. See note 107 above.

111. The Chrysanthemum hedge (*kiku no magaki*), was a low fence, roughly woven of life chrysanthemums and bamboo supported by some split twigs. Such *magaki* fences appeared also as a motive in the applied arts of the period.

112. The Tale of the Hollow Tree (*Utsuho monogatari*), for instance, a forerunner of the Tale of Genji written around 980, describes the gardens at a mansion (Tanematsu at Fukiage) as being divided in four quarters. Many characteristics conform to the division in the Tale of Genji: The spring garden (east) has hillocks,

the summer garden (south) has shade, the autumn (west) garden has thickets of trees, and, finally, the winter garden in the north has pine trees. This garden is discussed in: Hirokawa, K., *Genji monogatari no shokubutsu*, Kasama Shoin 1978, p.300. The Tale of the Hollow Tree is extensively treated in Lammers: W.P., "The Succession, *Kuniyuzuri*, A Translation from *Utsuho Monogatari*", in: MN Vol. XXXVII, No.2 (1982), pp.139-178. Parts of it are given in an English translation.

113. Thus found in *The Tales of Glory (Eiga monogatari)* that is a kind of historical chronology centering around the life of Fujiwara Michinaga. The section that describes the garden is found in the chapter "Koma kurabe", quoted and analyzed in: Mori, *Heian jidai teien no kenkyū*, pp.173/4.

114. See: Morris, *The World of the Shining Prince*, p.62/3.

115. See: Mori, *Heian jidai teien no kenkyū*, p.174, also: Mori, *Teien*, p.158 that more extensively discusses this garden, based on records of the *Fusō ryakki*, a contemporary 30 volume work by a certain Kōen.

116. Translated from the Japanese in: Mori, *Sakuteiki no sekai*, p.81.

117. Apart from the Tale of Genji quote all the other 'four-seasons gardens' keep to the division as it was found in the Chinese cosmos-explaining schemes. That the division in the Tale of Genji deviates must have been because of the cool natural spring that was to be matched with the summer garden, but simply did not lay in the southern quarter. The summer garden in Genji's division is namely shifted one-and-a-half quarter over the directions of the compass, whereas the other seasons only deviate one quarter.

118. Tale of Genji p.148/9 (NKBT, Vol.15, p.395-397), keeping largely to Seidensticker's translation.

119. The Manyōshū poem no. 1435, in a translation that I found in: Okada, T., *Three Hundred Poems from the Manyōshū*, Tōkyō, 1935, for the original Japanese text see, for instance: Sasaki, N., (ed.), *Shinkun Manyōshū*, Iwanami Bunko, 1970, *jōkan*, p.329.

120. See: Waley, A., *Japanese Poetry, The 'Uta'*, London, 1976.

121. The legend is the Hōrai legend which is also discussed at other instances in the present work. See, for example, the chapter in part three that deals with the garden at Konchi-in. The theme, after all derived from a Chinese legend, was more often a subject of the Chinese verse writing practiced by Heian courtiers, above all men, than of the more feminine lyrical poetry in Japanese as in this section of the Tale of Genji.

122. See, to give at least one example: Morris, *The Pillow Book of Sei Shōnagon*, Vol.1, p.16/7, (p.35 in the Penguin pocket edition), where a poem is composed upon seeing a flowering cherry at the verandah. The flowering cherry tree, preferably with partly scattered petals, was, and is, without doubt the most cliché theme in lyrical poetry.

123. See: Morris, *The World of the Shining Prince*, p.251, where a section of Murasaki Shikibu's personal diary is quoted.

124. The enumeration of plants in Murasaki's spring garden in the first Genji quote is, for instance, the series of spring epithets that are given in the six parts of the *Kokinshū*, an early tenth century compilation of lyrical poetry. See: Hirokawa, *Genji monogatari no shokubutsu*, p.302, relying on Nomura, S., "Hikaru Genji to sono 'shizen'", in: *Genji monogatari no kenkyū*.

125. See: Hirokawa, *Genji monogatari no shokubutsu*, p.264, where some

classical lyrics (*Manyōshū* 3603, *Kokinshū* 26/27) employing the image are quoted.

126. See: Hirokawa, *Genji monogatari no shokubutsu*, p.300/301, where also some classical lyrics (for instance *Kokinshū* 39, 91, 225, and 340) employing these ideas are quoted.

127. Translated from the Japanese in: Mori, *Sakuteiki no sekai*, p.43.

128. Throughout Morris, *The Pillow Book* of Sei Shōnagon, Vol.1, we find enumerations of celebrated scenic spots. Thus: p.58, section 58: 'Waterfalls', p.59, sections 59-61: 'Rivers', 'Bridges', and 'Villages'. Also p.173, section 168 'Wells'. Further sections sum up famous islands, beaches, bays, plains, temples, etcetera, etcetera. In the annotations in Vol.II Morris works out in detail the connotations and puns on the names of these places that shows the way these were used in poetry. These sections are left out in the abridged edition of the *Pillow Book* in the Penguin Classics series.

129. See: Ienaga, S., *Painting in the Yamato Style*, New York, Tōkyō, 1973, p.88,90, where the author of this work is rather sceptical. Poets and painters that used the famous places as theme hardly ever traveled to these. See also: Morris, *The World of the Shining Prince*, pp.37/8 about the immobility and dislike of travel of the high-ranking courtiers of the late Heian period. Later (from about the 12c. on) small excursions in search for the *utamakura*, the locations that had inspired the classical poets became fashionable. Also in earlier history travel and poetry went together. See Ki no Tsurayuki's *Tosa nikki* that describes a trip along the coasts of the Inland Sea. A lot of poetry is composed. Ki no Tsurayuki was a middle class noble which may explain his travel; high class nobles were never sent to perform duties in distant regions. (Tsurayuki is also the compiler of the *Kokinshū* anthology, cf. note 124, above). The *Tosa nikki* differs from the later mediaeval poetry of the traveling poets in that it is fictional prose poetry written afterwards, whereas the mediaeval poets composed while traveling, directly expressing their poetic emotions. See on the early 10c. *Tosa nikki*, including an English translation of the text: Miner, E., *Japanese Poetic Diaries*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1976, pp.20-29, 57-92.

130. See notes 124 and 128, above.

131. See on the artistic mechanisms, the evoking of poetics through famous places, in landscape painting: Shimizu, S., "Seasons and Places in Yamato Landscape and Poetry", in: AO Vol.XII, No.2 (1981), p.1ff. Or comprehensively: Ienaga, *Painting in the Yamato Style*, p.94. Painting defies our understanding as a genre apart from literature.

132. See, for example, note 101 above. Akashi was famed because of its lonely sea coast.

133. Translated from the Japanese in: Mori, *Sakuteiki no sekai*, p.43.

134. Even a rather recent dictionary as: Ochiai, N., Haga, Y. (re-ed.), *Nihon daijiten shūkai gensen*, Ōkura Shoten, 1928, still connects the interpretation of the word *fuzei* to the lyrical poetry. It says at the entry *fuzei*, p.4045, in Vol.5: *fuzei o mawarasu = mono no omomuki o ajiwaite, uta nado ni iiarawasu*, "revolving *fuzei*", is "tasting the elegance, or appearance of things and express this in lyrics and the like". As far as I could find out the word is no longer seen in relation with the classical lyrics today.

135. Shimoyama, S., (transl.), *Sakuteiki, The Book of Garden*, p.1 translates the term as relating to the taste of the garden maker: "... design each part of the garden tastefully ...", and "... exercising your tasteful senses ...". The first in-

stance where the word is used is transcribed in: Mori, *Sakuteiki no sekai*, p.43, as: "... *shukō o megurashite* ...", something that can be translated as "thinking over one's ideas", or "exercising one's ingenuity", also interpreting the term *fuzei* as relating to the taste of the garden maker. Whether aesthetic sense is in nature or in the mind of man is a philosophical problem discussed in relation to Japanese garden art in: Nakamura, M., "The Twofold Beauties of the Japanese Garden", p.260-263 in the Proceedings of the XXIII IFLA World Congress Japan, May-June 1985, ed. by Japanese Institute of Landscape Architects, Tōkyō.

136. See the *Sansui* manual (full name: *Sansui narabini yakeizu*) discussed in part three. The original text in modern print is given, for instance, in: Uehara, K., *Kaisetsu Sansui narabini yakeizu, Sakuteiki*, Kajima Shoten, 1982, p.1-45. The word *fuzei* is often used in the part of this manual (op.cit. pp.28-35) that discusses the ways in which trees and other plants have to be planted. *Fuzei* always indicates an aesthetic appearance that is to be achieved. The aesthetic sense of plant material that was not treated but unconsciously implied in the *Sakuteiki*, is made explicit in this manual. Earlier sections speak of the *fuzei* of garden hills, ponds, etc., where the word also indicates 'aesthetic appearance', and not the aesthetic sense of the garden maker. A certain passage (on p.27, op.cit.) in this manual speaks even of the *fuzei* of the lyrics of olden times, where the word again takes a more abstract meaning, but on the other hand also shows that the aesthetic appearance dealt with in other sections can be understood from the lyrics of old. Only recently I came to know of the existence of the work: Slawson, D.A., *Secret Teachings in the Art of Japanese Gardens, Design Principles, Aesthetic Values*, Tōkyō, New York, recent, 1986 or '87. Based on a thorough study of the 15c. manual *Sansui narabini Yakeizu*, it also dwells upon the meaning of the word *fuzei*. As far as I can judge from my limited study of this work, it seems that Slawson also treats the word *fuzei* as an aesthetic sense — he speaks of aesthetic ambience — belonging to the garden scene and not to the garden maker.

137. Translated from the Japanese in: Mori, *Sakuteiki no sekai*, p.78.

138. Translated from the Japanese in: Mori, *Sakuteiki no sekai*, p.79. Mori leaves out the words "takes measures of it" in his transcription in modern Japanese. But see: Tamura, *Sakuteiki*, p.276 where the *hiragana* "hakarinite" is interpreted as "taking measures of it".

139. Translated from the Japanese in: Mori, *Sakuteiki no sekai*, p.58.

140. The word *sansui*, 'landscape scenery' means literally mountains and water, extended to mean landscape scenery not only in nature, but also in painting. Chinese compositional theories on landscape scenery in painting were in these days largely concerned with a division of water and mountains, or rocks. Later, in Japan, the word *sansui* was used to indicate the landscape scenery in a garden, but not yet in the Heian period. See also the next chapter three that extensively deals with the mediaeval garden as a scenic composition. It is interesting to note that in the gardens depicted on the contemporary scrolls, planting design is rather stiff and unnatural, whereas rocks have a far more natural appearance.

141. See for some well-documented biographical details of Enen's activities as a painter: Tamura, *Sakuteiki*, p.277/8, note 3. Enen painted, for instance, Yakushi and Kannon paintings for Michinaga's temple Hōjō-ji, an instance for which the year 1024 (M.1.6.26) is given in the Tales of Glory (*Eiga monogatari, Tori no mai no maki*).

142. Extensive landscapes were, for instance, painted as backgrounds to the so

called *raigō* paintings, that showed visits of the Amida-Buddha to wordly believers. See shortly on this point: Yoshikawa, I., *Major Themes in Japanese Art*, New York, Tōkyō, 1976, p.114. Interesting is the waterfall depicted on a section of the scroll *Hōnen jōnin eden*, kept in Chion-in, Kyōto. It shows the garden at a palace Gatsurin-dono. Although a garden waterfall — according to Mori's comment of the 'Falling Sideways' type in the *Sakuteiki* — it resembles in many respects the steep and stylized falls found as backgrounds in religious painting. A garden idiom, as found in the *Sakuteiki*, and a painters idiom as in the background landscapes, fuse together in this illustration. There must have been therefore a connection between the composition theories of such rock groups in landscape painting and in the garden. See: Mori, *Sakuteiki no sekai*, ill. on p.40, above. The scroll dates originally from 1237, about half a century after the Heian period came to an end. Probably this slightly later date makes for a more stylized and pictorial representation of the garden scene. The illustrated section must be a later copy. See on the scroll: p.174 in: *Emaki - tokubetsu tenrankai*, edition of the Kyōto National Museum, which is a catalogue of a scroll painting exhibition held in spring 1987. Another indication that *Sakuteiki*'s advise on waterfalls perhaps relies on painting theories is that it applies the name of the Buddhist god Fudō to the compositional ideas for waterfalls. Fudō was depicted standing in front of a waterfall. Standing under waterfalls in order to become possessed by the god became a shamanistic practice, related also to Shingon Buddhism. See: Blacker, C. *The Catalpa Bow: A Study of Shamanistic Practice in Japan*, London, 1975 p.248-251. It is not known whether Enen painted Fudō paintings, but he must have known the iconography of the god.

143. See for instance: Tamura, *Sakuteiki*, p.280, who is very decisive on this point, without any grounds as far as I can see. See also his comment on *ishi o tateru* at the introduction of the *Sakuteiki*, p.177-179, note 1, op.cit. Tamura 'proves' that the term means 'garden building' and not 'stone placing', by quoting other contemporary passages that speak of 'stone placing'. However none of these quotes makes clear that we should understand 'stone placing' as 'garden making'.

144. See on the scarce planting designs in the gardens as they appear on scrolls: Kawahara, T., "*Heian, Kamakura emaki ni miru teien shokuzai no gihō*", in: ZZ, Vol.48 no.5, pp.67ff.

145. See, for instance: Hida, N., *Sakuteiki kara mita zōen*, Kashima Shuppankai, 1984, p.203, that states that the *Sakuteiki* has answers to offer to the problems of modern landscape design in our industrialized societies. Also p.159, op.cit. where Hida interprets the term 'landscape scenery as it is found in nature' (*shōtoku no sansui*, or, *sensui*) following: Tanaka, *Nihon no teien*, pp.48ff as a message to design in harmony with nature, avoiding man-made artifice. The profound insight found in the introduction of the *Sakuteiki* makes that it, indeed, still speaks to the modern designer; see my thoughts in chapter 4.2 when I discussed the introduction. In the present chapter we are in search though for the meaning that the manual carried for the Heian period garden world.

146. See, for instance, Tanaka, *Nihon no teien*, most extremely on pp.60/1, where the author discusses the Western subjugation of nature that produced the man-made formal garden as in Versailles, an approach that is opposed, according to Tanaka, to the Japanese love of nature that understands nature without words, like a mother her baby.

147. Qualities of poetry, such as *yūgen*, mystery, or, *sabi*, loneliness, were of-

ficially established in poetry contests. See on the contests: Ito, "The Muse in Competition, *Uta-awase* Through the Ages", and on the establishing of aesthetical qualities in poetry contests: Brower, et al., *Japanese Court Poetry*, pp.175, 249-253, or the definition of the term *uta awase* on pp.512/3, op.cit.. Toshitsuna, known also as a literary critic, never mentions the aesthetic qualities of poetry in his *Sakuteiki*.

148. See English translations of Ki no Tsurayuki's introduction to the *Kokinshū* in: Keene, D., *Landscapes and Portraits*, p.29, and in: Aston, W.G., *A History of Japanese Literature*, Rutland, Tōkyō, 1975, p.63-67. Ki no Tsurayuki also wrote the *Tosa nikki* (Cf. note 129, above). Foam on water is not only well chosen as a metaphor for the brevity of human life because of its instability, but also because foam is *awa* in Japanese, thus being the same as the first two syllables of *aware* (see note 150, below). Annotation on 'foam' by Seidensticker, *Tale of Genji*, p.254.

149. See: Keene, *Landscapes and Portraits*, p.30 on the psychology of the beauty of frailty among the Heian nobles. A wide variety of speculations on the backgrounds of these values of beauty in melancholy can be found: Morris, *The World of the Shining Prince*, pp.14, and 115 refers to a general consciousness that the fall of the dynasties was near, referring to the Buddhist teachings of the Latter Days of the Law (*mappō*). See further: Hiraizumi, C., "Der Einfluss der Mappo-Lehre in der Japanischen Geschichte", MN Vol.1, (1938), pp.58ff. Also the dark living quarters of the palaces and the gloominess of daily life have been taken to explain the Heian melancholy. See: Morris, *The World of the Shining Prince*, p.34, also: Seidensticker, *The Gossamer Years — Kagero Nikki*, pp.21/2. The importance women played in Heian aesthetics has also been brought in connection with the aesthetics of melancholy and beauty fading away, "in itself a female preoccupation", according to: Keene, op.cit. p.30.

150. Melancholic qualities of beauty were indicated as *aware*. Brower, et al., *Japanese Court Poetry*, p.503, defines: "*aware*, also *mono no aware*, touching, pathetic, beautiful, moving the sensibilities, evoking the proper emotional response. Applied to those aspects of life and nature or their embodiment in art, which stir the sympathies of the sensitive person of cultivation and breeding, impressing him with a deep awareness of the ephemeral beauty of a world in which only change is constant. Also applied to the person's response itself, which is usually one of bittersweet melancholy, although often combined with joy, delight, or awe". A different understanding of Heian's *aware* stresses the sensitivity to things, rather than the melancholy in the perception of the Heian world. This seems influenced, if not based, on the ideas of the scholar Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801), who pointed at the freedom that the Tale of Genji shows in expressing genuine human dispositions. See: Nakamura, H., *Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples: India, Tibet, Japan, Honolulu*, 1971, p.373. See also: Tsunoda, R., deBary, Wm.T., and, Keene, D., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, New York, 1958, p.173, that connects *mono no aware*, sensitivity to things, also to the person of Motoori Norinaga.

151. See: Morris, *The World of the Shining Prince*, p.21, autumn evokes "the pathos of human existence".

152. Brower, et al., *Japanese Court Poetry*, p.510: "Sabi: Loneliness. The tone of lyric melancholy ... Though primarily used to describe the tone or atmosphere of a poem, *sabi* was also associated with certain kinds of imagery of a withered,

monochromatic nature, to which unique qualities of beauty were attributed. ...” See p.261, op.cit. that relates of the poetry competition in which the quoted poem attracted the attention of the literary arbiters of taste. The quoted poem was made by priest Jakuren (d.1202). The idea and imagery of *sabi* is older than the twelfth century. See: Brower, op.cit., p.260 where an older poem is quoted that employs the *sabi* imagery. Also in the Tale of Genji written around the turn of the millenium we come across descriptions of *sabi*-like environments. See: Tale of Genji, p.231, that describes the coast at Akashi. The origin of it is Chinese and modeled on Bo Juyi, see: Pollack, D., “The Informing Image — China in Genji Monogatori”, in: MN Vol.XXXVIII No.4. p.368/70. See: Hammitzsch, H., “Zu den Begriffen ‘wabi’ und ‘sabi’ im Rahmen der japanischen Künste”, in: NOAG Bd.85/86, 1959, p.36, for a short history of the word *sabi*, and, p.42, op.cit on its early origin in Heian poetry.

1. See: Ienaga, *Japanese Art: A Cultural Appreciation*, pp.93/4 on the formation of the mediaeval feudal society in general.

2. See: the article "Landwirtschaft" by Naumann, N., and Schöller, P. in: *Kleines Wörterbuch der Japanologie*, Wiesbaden, 1968, pp.244/7, specifically on the changing crop systems. Sansom, *Japan, A Short Cultural History*, p.268, on the development of iron agricultural tools.

3. Besides these groups, a wide range of wandering performers, jugglers, minstrels, etc. comes to the fore in which the origin of most of the traditional performing arts of Japan can be found.

4. This also demanded an internal system of hierarchy and rule. See: Sansom, *Japan, A Short Cultural History*, p.267 on the particulars of this system, laying foundations for the later warrior governments.

5. See: Mass, J.P., "The Emergence of the Kamakura Bakufu", pp.140ff, in: Hall, J.W., Mass, J.P.,(ed.), *Medieval Japan — Essays in Institutional History*, New Haven, London, 1974, on the small scale warfare and the gradual rise of a warrior class in late 12th century eastern Japan.

6. This was the Jōkyū Disturbance staged by the emperor Go-Toba in 1221, for the rest summarizing Sansom, *Japan, A Short Cultural History*, pp.298/9 and Hayashiya, T., "Kyōto in the Muromachi Age", p.16, in: Hall, J.W., Toyoda, T., *Japan, in the Muromachi Age*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1977.

7. Until the end of the 16th century small scale battles and skirmishes were common throughout the country, Kyōto remained peaceful but only until the outbreak of the Ōnin War in the second half of the 15th century.

8. This is particularly Sansom's view see: *Japan, A Short Cultural History*, pp.277/8 and 305.

9. See: Anesaki, *History of Japanese Religion*, pp.167ff.

10. See on Kenchō-ji: Oota, H., Matsushita, R, Tanaka, S., *Zendera to sekitei*, Shōgakkan, 1967, p.177, (ill.no.9), the plan dates from the early Nanbokuchō period (1336-1392). See: Kenchikugaku Taikai Henshū Iinkai (ed.), *Nihon kenchiku shi*, Tōkyō 1978, pp.187/8 for the importance of this map in illustrating the early fourteenth century monastery architecture.

11. See: Hayashiya, "Kyōto in the Muromachi Age", p.18, in: Hall, et al., *Japan in the Muromachi Age*. The decision to move and leave the city of Kamakura in the eastern provinces was motivated by the already developed state of west Japan as a centre of trade and commerce, with such important cities as Hakata, Sakai and the old capital Heian, now known as Kyōto. The east was a backward region in this respect, only of importance as a rice producing region.

12. See: Ienaga, *Japanese Art*, pp. 92/3, who illustrates this point with poetry written by warrior aristocrats, also: Sansom *Japan, A Short Cultural History*, pp. 267/340.

13. This socio-psychological background above all lucidly explained by Varley, H.P., "Zen in Medieval Japan" in: MN Vol.XXXVI No.4 (1980), p.466.

14. See for a short comment on this point: Varley, H.P., "Ashikaga Yoshimitsu and the World of Kitayama, Social Change and Shogunal Patronage in Early Muromachi Japan", in: Hall, et al., *Japan in the Muromachi Age*, p.192.

15. See as illustration the boating parties and poetry contests held by warriors in the garden of the Saihō-ji Zen temple, extensively treated in: Toyama, E., *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, Iwanami Shoten, 1934, pp.415-420. (A recent reprint, Shibunkaku, Kyōto, of this important work exists). The section on pp.415-20 con-

tains numerous quotations of contemporary poems and verses written at parties, that praise the beauty of the garden.

16. On the appearance of new pavilions and other forms of architecture in the garden see: Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, p.459.

17. See: Hisatsune, S., *Sakuteiki hishō*, Seibundō Shinkōsha, 1979, p.390.

18. See: Kawai, M., "Shōgun and Shugo: The Provincial Aspects of Muromachi Politics", pp.71/2 in: Hall, et al., *Japan in the Muromachi Age*.

19. On the mediaeval self government in cities see: Toyoda, T., Sugiyama, H., "The Growth of Commerce and the Trades", p.140; and more in detail specifically on the city Sakai: Morris, V.D., "Sakai: From Shoen to Port City", pp.145-158, both in: Hall, et al. *Japan in the Muromachi Age*.

20. A concise history of Song China in: Fairbank, J.K., Reischauer, E.O., *China — Tradition and Transformation*, Sydney, London, Boston, 1979, pp. 116-151. It shows in more general terms the high level of civilization reached at in the Song period. Specifically giving information on the artistic climate in the Song period and above all the capital Hangzhou is the introduction in: Siren, O., *Chinese Painting*, Part I, Vol.II, *The Sung period*, London, New York, 1956, pp.1-10. This extensive study on the Chinese art of painting includes for instance also short biographies of painters and is well illustrated. (Part I, Vol. III Plates)

21. See: Bush, S., *The Chinese Literati on Painting — Su Shih (1037-1101) to Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555-1636)*, Harvard, Cambridge Mass., 1971, pp.74-76 on this twofold background. 'Su Shih' in the title of this work is another name of Su Dongpo. Petrucci, R., *La Philosophie de la Nature dans L'Art d'Extrême Orient*, Paris, 1910, in a more spiritual approach draws attention to the far reaching achievement in philosophy that inspired the Song painters specifically in the field of landscape painting. Siren, *Chinese Painting*, Vol.II, p.7, sees the flourishing of painting as another aspect of the "creative forces" of the Song dynasty.

22. See: Bush, *The Chinese Literati on Painting*, p.4.

23. See: Van Gulik. *Chinese Pictorial Art*, in fact throughout.

24. See: Bush, *The Chinese Literati on Painting*, pp.13-14. The classical treatise of Zong Bing on landscape painting was reinterpreted as to the effect that an artist only should be concerned with a convincing representation. Bush, *The Chinese Literati on Painting*, pp.15-22, gives a short review of the historical changes of the interpretation of Xiehe's (= Hsieh Ho) first principle *chi yun* usually translated as 'life breath'. See for instance also: de Bary, Wm.T., Wing-Tsit Chan, Watson, B., *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, Vol.I, pp.253-255, for translations of the fifth century treatises of Zong Bing (Tsong Ping, 375-443) and Wang Wei (415-443) on landscape painting. Comparison with the Song period treatises given in: Bush, *The Chinese Literati on Painting* shows well the departure from mysticism to a more modern understanding.

25. See: Bush, *The Chinese Literati on Painting*, p.6.

26. See: Bush, *The Chinese Literati on Painting*, pp.92 and 98.

27. See: Tanaka, I., *Japanese Ink Painting — Shūbun to Sesshū*, New York, Tōkyō, 1974, p.60, referring to the *Butsu nichi an*, a catalogue from 1320. More detailed information on this early mediaeval source in: Hayashiya, T., *Zuroku chadōshi*, Tankōsha, Kyōto, 1980, p.115, where also some pages are reproduced.

28. Marco Polo calls Hangzhou by the name of Kinsai (also Quinsai). This is likely to be a romanization (of the Mongol pronunciation?) of the capital's old Chinese name Lin An. See his 14th century journal edited as *The Travels* in an

English translation by Latham, R., in the Penguin Classics series, Harmondsworth 1982. The section on Kinsai pp. 213-231.

29. From the imperial academy stem also many definitions of brush stroke techniques, but these of course have not so much to do with the garden theory and are not treated in this work.

30. The Chinese Zen temples of the times were for instance open to the public, in contrast to Japan, where it was difficult to enter. See: Akamatsu, T., Yampolsky, P., "Muromachi Zen and the Gozan System", p.324 in: Hall, et al. *Japan in the Muromachi Age*. On the cultural continuity of Chinese Zen priest/painters and the literati amateurs, see: Fontein, J., Hempel, R., *China-Korea-Japan* (Propyläen Bnd.17) Berlin, 1968, p.55, based on the scholarship of James Cahill.

31. See: Petrucci, *La Philosophie de la Nature*, pp.30ff and 99, also noted in: Siren, *Chinese Painting*, Vol.II, p.9. See again: de Bary, et al., *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, pp.434/6 and pp.452/4 for translations of specifically Zhu Xi (Chu Hsi) a 12th century philosopher who worked this synthesis out. It was nevertheless in its spiritual significance already common thinking among the earlier literati, according to: Siren, *Chinese Painting*, Vol.II. pp.39 p.10.

32. See: Petrucci, *La Philosophie de la Nature*, pp.99-101. One of the Taoist classics is Wei-Pe-yang's *T'san-t'ung-ch'i* ("Meditations on Identity and Unity", ca.142AD). The book became famous for commentaries written by Zhu Xi (previous note) in the 12th century and later by Yu Yan (Yü Yen) in the 13th century. See: Chang Chung-yuan, *Creativity and Taoism, A study of Chinese Philosophy, art and poetry*, New York, 1963, (pirated edition Taipei): pp.134ff.

33. See the many illustrations in, for example: *Sansui — Shisō to Bijutsu*, catalogue of the Kyōto National Museum 1983.

34. The Mongols had invaded northern China in the early 12th century. The Song empire lost about a quarter of its area, including the earlier capital Kaifeng. This political disaster had nevertheless hardly any effect on the flourishing city life and culture of the Song dynasty. See for instance Marco Polo's descriptions of the trade city Hangzhou. Also: Fairbank, et al., *China*, pp.124-132.

35. Time is suggested in the movement of the birds as well as the seasonal aspects, referring to the endlessly changing seasons. Change with time is also obviously a theme in the other Xiao Xiang titles; among the eight standard titles are for instance: *Fishing Village at Sunset*, *Sails Returning from the Distant Shore*, etc. The theme *Bell Sound from a Temple veiled in Mists* is maybe most extreme in its romanticism, if one imagines how this possibly could be expressed in a painting. See: *Sansui — Shisō to Bijutsu*, catalogue of the Kyōto National Museum, 1983, pp.115-124 for paintings on these themes, with comment. Of course also: Siren, *Chinese Painting*, for instance pp.140ff.

36. cf. note no.24, above.

37. The treatise was published by his son Guo Si (Kuo Ssu) probably in the early twelfth century. The importance of the influence it exerted on later theories of landscape painting is clear from the 17c. manual on painting of the Mustard Seed Garden academy, where Guo Xi's theory is treated first among others. Some, in the frame of this thesis important parts of Guo Xi's treatise *Lin-quan gao-zhi ji* "The Great Message of Landscape (Forests and Streams)", are translated by Siren, *Chinese Painting*, Vol.I, pp.220/8. (with comment pp.215/30.)

38. The late 17th century manual of the Mustard Seed Academy *Jiezi-yuan huachuan* deals especially with landscape painting in the South Song tradition.

Petrucci translated the manual in French. I used the version in Japanese, edited as: *Kaishien jusekigafu* and *Kaishien fūkeigafu* by Uehara K. in his series *Zoenkosho Sōsho* Vol.4 and 5, Kajima Shoten, 1974 resp. '73. The volume *Kaishien jusekigafu*, pp.87/8, gives the 17th century sketches that illustrated Guo Xi's threefold theory. My sketches are adapted from these. The idea of high, deep, and level distance can be easily grasped if one imagines the receding landscape scene to be hanging backwards like a leaf-bridge, hinged on the lower edge of the plane of vision, i.e. the frame of the painting. High, deep, and level distance are three degrees to which 'the bridge' can be lowered. According to my dictionary *jiezi* in the title of the manual not only means 'mustard seed' but also 'poppy seed', I wonder whether 'poppy seed' as raw material for opium was not also implied in the title of this manual. The literati are often depicted as having liked a glass, but why not also a pipe?

39. This, and the following quotations all from: Siren, *Chinese Painting*, Vol.II, pages 23, 99, 73, 123, respectively.

40. Probably earliest in *Gyomotsu on-e mokuroku*, a catalogue of the art collection of the shōgun Yoshimasa, specifically giving imported Chinese ceramics and painting. This catalogue was compiled in ca. 1470 by Noami. See: Weigl, G.C., "The Reception of Chinese Painting Models in Muromachi Japan", in: MN Vol.XXXVI, No.3 (1980), p.267. Around the late 15th century Japanese painters start to paint 'in the style' of Ma Yuan or Xia Gui, see: Weigl, op cit., p.261.

41. See: Siren, *Chinese painting*, Vol.II, pp.113-115 on his unilateral compositions.

42. See: Siren, *Chinese Painting*, p.112, and more in detail: Van Gulik *Chinese Art*, pp.403/4 on the selection by traders and the route from the port city Ningbo in the estuary of Hangzhou's Zhe Jiang river (not the Yangtse) over sea to Hakata and other harbours in the southwest of Japan.

43. Specifically mentioned in: Fontein, et al., *China-Korea-Japan*, p.57.

44. See: Anesaki, *History of Japanese Religion*, pp.170-205 on the new popular sects of Buddhism as founded by the priests Hōnen and Nichiren. The same work, pp.206-214, on the introduction of Zen by Eisai (Yōsai) and Dōgen. Anesaki extends his explanation on Zen to other more psychological aspects of mediaeval society, as moral conduct and love of nature that, strictly speaking, do not belong to religious Zen Buddhism. This extended meaning of the word Zen is more extensively discussed as for garden art in a later chapter. A more historical view on the introduction of Zen in: Akamatsu, et al. "Muromachi Zen and the Gozan System", pp.320/1 in: Hall, et al., *Japan in the Muromachi Age*.

45. On syncretism in Song China see: Nakamura, H., *Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples*, p.290, and preceding pages. Also: note 14 on p.641 of this work that illustrates how Dōgen came to include other Chinese literary ideas in his thinking. See: Rosenfield, J.M., 'The Unity of the Three Creeds', pp.208-225 in: Hall, et al., *Japan in the Muromachi Age*, for the syncretism of Taoism, Confucianism and Buddhism in Song literati circles, how it was expressed in painting and poetry, and how it finally as a concept reached Japan in the 13c. and 14c.

46. Specifically on the esoterism with Eisai see: Akamatsu, et al., "Muromachi Zen and the Gozen System", p.320 in: Hall, et al., *Japan in the Muromachi Age*. See: Tsunoda, *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, Vol.I, pp.235-237 for parts of Eisai's treatise translated in English. Further comments on it found in: Nakamura, *Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples*, pp.422/3.

47. See: Varley, "Ashikaga Yoshimitsu and the World of Kitayama", p.193 in: Hall, et al., *Japan in the Muromachi Age*.

48. See: Hall, et al., *Japan in the Muromachi Age*, p.311, in particular: Akamatsu, "Muromachi Zen and the Gozan System", pp.313-315. Regarding the opposition of the old esoteric Buddhism to the new Zen sects see: Sansom, *Japan, A Short Cultural History*, pp.370/1, probably somewhat outdated in its interpretation. Comprehensively on this opposition in relation to Musō Kokushi, see: Benl, O., "Musō Kokushi (1275-1351) — Ein japanischer Zen-Meister", in: OE Jhrg.2, Hft.1 (1955), pp.91/2. See also my chapter 3.2 of this part.

49. 'Five Monasteries' is the standard translation of 'Gozan' that implies a system of temple administration. Following the Chinese Gozan system, several temples in Kamakura had been nominated as Gozan temples. Patronage of the warrior government was given to these. After the move to Kyōto, the temples in this capital gradually take over the Gozan status and with it the patronage through the shogunate. In the course of time this Gozan system came to include some 300 Rinzaï temples spread all over the country. The prestige of Gozan, with its link to the aristocratic circles in the capital made many provincial temples willingly submit to its hierarchical organization. By assimilating many aspects of mainly esoteric Tendai Buddhism it greatly enhanced its appeal, not only to Buddhists in the country, but also at the court itself. And thus Rinzaï Zen, with the Gozan system as its institution, increasingly became a political factor of importance in ruling the country. See: Varley, "Zen in Medieval Japan", pp.464/5, and: Akamatsu, et al., "Muromachi Zen and the Gozan System", p.316, in: Hall, et al., *Japan in the Muromachi Age*.

50. See: Benl, O., "Musō Kokushi (1275-1351) — Ein japanischer Zen-Meister", in: OE, Jhrg.2 Hft.1, (1955), pp.86-108, specifically of interest because of the translated sections of several works by Musō, like his Mūchū Mondō. Benl sees Musō's early career as an escape from the world, from politics, and disciples hungry for his words, rather than a search of Musō himself. The life of Musō, in relation to the sites where he lived and the temples he founded, is most extensively treated in: Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, pp.326-431. This work is specifically of importance because of the many quotations from mediaeval records. Toyama pays hardly any attention though to reliability or interpretation of this historic sources. More profound in this respect is the biography in: Hisatsune, S., *Kyōto meien ki*, gekan, Seibundō Shinkōsha, 1969, pp.61-75, although mainly in relation to the history of the Tenryū-ji temple. Finally see also on Musō's role as politician: Varley, "Ashikaga Yoshimitsu and the World of Kitayama", pp.193/4, and on doubts as for his competence as a Zen religious leader: Akamatsu, "Muromachi Zen and the Gozan System", pp.321-24, both in: Hall, et al. *Japan in the Muromachi Age*.

51. A short bibliography of Yining Yishan (I-Ning I-shan, 1244-1317, in Japanese Issan Ichinei), by Ury, M., in: KEJ Vol.3, p.348. Yining was one of the first Chinese immigrant priests that also laid emphasis on more cultural and literary pursuits. Many early mediaeval Japanese paintings bear for instance poetic superscriptions from his hand. See: Kanazawa, *Shoki suibokuga*, Shibundō, ill.no.'s 6, 20, 27, 32-34, 41, 49, 98-101, and Tanaka, *Japanese Ink Painting*, pp.50, 162/3.

52. Eisai's thirteenth century propagation of drinking tea can already be interpreted as an effort to increase the appeal of his sect. His *Essay on Drinking Tea*

to *Prolongue Life* is translated partly in: Tsunoda, *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, pp.238-240. Tea became closely connected to the mediaeval cultural elite of Zen priests and high ranking warriors.

53. This conclusion after comparing chapters and sayings by Musō, as translated by Benl in: "Musō Kokushi" OE, Jhrg.2 Hft.1, pp.93-106 with the traditional Chinese irrational approach as for instance explained in: Nakamura, *Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples*, pp.193-5. Musō used to quote famous Chinese Zen riddles, but this was rather a typical literary usage of classical Chinese literature, than that it had anything to do with religious teaching.

54. Returned to in chapter 8.2.

55. See Benl's comment on Musō's discussions with and advise to his disciples as recorded for instance in the still extant *House Rules of Rinsen-ji*, in: OE Jhrg.2, Hft.1, p.94. Toyama gives a short quotation from this House Rules and comments similarly on Musō's fatherly friendliness towards his pupils; in: *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, p.328. The House Rules (*Rinsen kakun*) are completely published in: *Zoku gunshoruijū*, Coll.9, Vol.233, with for instance detailed advise of Musō on illness, vegetables, food, the use of alcohol, etc. On the other hand Musō also explains in extenso and answers lucidly the questions asked by Tadayoshi, the shogun's brother. See: Benl, op.cit. 97-106, for quotations of their dialogues.

56. See for instance a letter dated 1345 by Goho, a priest of Tōji, quoted in chapter 8.2. Here Musō is criticized on his garden enthusiasm. See also the Chinese Songlian (Sören), an immigrant scholar, in his *Musō Kokushi himiei* (1376); he called Musō 'incurably infected with gardens', almost as if his passion for gardening was a disease; thus quoted in: Oota, et al., *Zendera to sekitei*, pp.218/9.

57. See chapter 4.2 of this part (and notes 85, 86, below) for my comment on the traditional attribution of the Tenryū-ji garden to Musō Kokushi. The other important garden supposedly made by Musō is the one at Saihō-ji. This relies on an extensive description in *Musō Kokushi nempu*, dated 1353, a biography by Musō's disciple Shunoka Myōha (=Fumyō Kokushi). See: Oota, *Zendera to sekitei*, pp.218/9, a section also quoted in: Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, p.411. However, this work was written in the years after Musō's death when Myōha was competing with Gidō Shūshin for the vacant position of leadership of the Rinzaï Zen. His laudatory descriptions of the Saihō-ji garden including his references to Musō must be seen in this light. Saihō-ji was not a Zen monastery under a spartan monastic discipline, more rightly it must be called a pleasure park for the new ruling elite: the great amount of poetry on its beauties as well as records of boating parties witness of this. See: Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, pp.415-20, for quotations from the *Kokushi wakashū* and the *Entaiki*. See also my illustration that shows the garden and buildings around the pond of Saihō-ji, a lay out never found in Chinese Zen monasteries, neither in the Kamakura Zen monasteries. The garden was highly appreciated by the military aristocrats. Later shogunal palaces (now known as Kinkaku-ji and Ginkaku-ji) were modelled on it. The possibility that Myōha in his *Musō Kokushi nempu* was simply trying to please his possible future sponsors and to reinforce his position by overstating Musō's deeds can by no means be ruled out. The same uncertainty holds for many similar biographies of mediaeval priests, written by close disciples. See for instance priest Kogaku's biography referred to in chapter 6.1, note 136. How tricky the historicity of Japan's old gardens can be, is illustrated in: Umezawa, A., "*Saihō-ji Koinzan karesansui no sakusha oyobi sono sakuteinendai ni tsuite*", in: ZZ Vol.23, No.4,

(1960), pp.1-4; which rejects Muso's authorship of certain rock arrangements in the Saihō-ji temple, and dates these somewhere in the Edo period.

58. Low class gardening professionals were apparently in Musō's times active under the title *Senzui Bugyō*; Musō called similar garden professionals 'disciples of Buddha' as related in: Hennig, K., *Der Karesansui Garten als Ausdruck der Kultur der Muromachi Zeit*, MOAG 92 (Hamburg, 1982), p.353, both references based on: Yanagida, S., "Kamakura to Kyōto — Musō Soseki no oitachi", part 3, in *Zen Bunka*, No.85/1977, p.74.

59. Few 13c., 14c. records exist of so-called *ishitatesō*, low class priests of esoteric Buddhism active as gardening professionals; in the course of the fifteenth century there is increasing scriptural evidence of persons from outcast birth active in gardening. See chapter 7.1 of this part. Musō was highly esteemed by the later mediaeval aristocracy; many honorific titles were bestowed on him, and one can understand that, for whatever reasons, gardens were readily connected to his name and reputation.

60. Gidō Shūshin (1325-1388) became leader of Musō's lineage after a period of confusion and the withdrawal of Shunoka Myōha. Cf.note 57. Gidō later founded the Shōkoku-ji temple, and was a teacher of Confucianism to shōgun Yoshimitsu. See chapter 4.3 where one of his sayings on a garden is quoted. Sesson Yūbai (1290-1346) was a poet and disciple of Yining and established with others the Chinese style mediaeval tradition of literature. See the short biographies by Ury, in: KEJ Vol.3, p.30, and Vol.4, p.302, respectively Vol.7, p.70. Throughout Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, words from the works of many other Zen priests on gardens are quoted, like Shūsetsu (also read as Seisetsu) Shōchō, also active as amateur painter: Kokan Shiren, a literate and writer; the 15c. Zenist Ōsen Keisan, etcetera, etcetera.

61. See for instance a poem in the 10c. *Ise monogatari* and a famous poem by the 12c. poet Saigyō, to be named among ample early literary references given by Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, pp.226-231.

62. See: Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, p.231 on early mediaeval Zen priests that viewed Mt. Fuji as a 'pure chaste body', as in the poem of the Song poet Su Dongpo. (Cf. chapter 8.2 of this work). This can not, as for the immigrant Chinese priests, be taken to refer solely to the religious Zen. Mountain romanticism was an emotion known in many cultural spheres of Song China. Soper distinguishes a '...Rapidly maturing nature worship (that) created a romantic cult of the wilderness', already in the early centuries of this era; in: Soper, A., *Early Chinese Landscape Painting*, AB Vol.XXIII, No.2, p.150. Nevertheless the magic and mysteries of Taoism still played an important role in landscape art. Cf.note 24, above. See also for instance the chapter "Shinsenshisō to sansui" by Inoue, T. in: *Sansui shisō to bijutsu*, pp.6-13, catalogue of the Kyōto National Museum, on this early view on nature centering around mountain worship. 'Romantic' applies much better to the later Song view on nature, in its antithesis to city life. However it may be, until the 13c. idealized nature was almost exclusively seen in terms of mountain wilderness.

63. See: Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, pp.231/233.

64. The garden is well described with good photographs in *Tanbō Nihon no niwa*, Vol.10: *Kantō, Tōhoku*, Shōgakkan, 1979 pp.20-21/69-72. The pavilion does not exist today. Other early Kamakura Zen monasteries, like Enkaku-ji also possess mediaeval grotto's in the hills at the back. The region has a geology with

an abundance of sandstone, like the West Lake in Hangzhou, very suitable for digging grotto's. In the compound of what is known as the Xi Ling Seal Cutting Society on the big island in the West Lake are found the same kind of grotto's as in Kamakura's Suizen-ji.

65. Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, pp.361-366, quotes several verses by Chinese immigrant priests, besides a lengthy description by Shūsetsu Shōchō; apparently verses exist of about 130 different priests. A late 14c. deputy shōgun held a cherry blossom and autumn colour viewing party in the pavilion. For the different use by the Chinese, see as illustration the long story of Sima Guang (Ssu Ma Kuang) on his garden *Du Le Yuan* in a treatise with the same title, quoted in a German translation, with comment in: Beuchert, M. *Die Gärten Chinas*, Köln 1983, pp.98/9. The garden had such an outlook for leisure. But Sima Guang was first of all a politician, for instance criticized by Su Dongpo. The description of his garden might be idealized.

66. See: Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, p.413, but also on p.242 in his chapter on natural landscape as a model in the small garden (pp.238-244), that contains more quotations on far distant scenery captured in one view. The present chapter 4.1 of this thesis was inspired by this section of Toyama's work, although my interpretation is less far-reaching than his.

67. Gidō Shūshin in his *Kuge nikkushū*, quoted by Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, p.413, also referred to by Oota, et al., *Zendera to sekitei*, p.215. Gidō used a similar phrase when describing a pavilion called Tsūgen-an in Sōrin-ji temple, when he had visited it in 1383. Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, p.484. Both pavilions had a view over Kyōto city.

68. See: Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, pp.242/3, it deals with scenery around the Kamakura Eihō-ji and the Kyōto Tenryū-ji (also p.396) and Saihō-ji temples. The former two in Myōha's *Musō Kokushi nempu*, the latter in *Enbushū* by the poet/painter Tesshū Tokusai (also pp.411/2), from Tesshū exist several small paintings of one rock and tree or bamboo, in the Song literati tradition. In Song China the term *Tian kai tu*, 'Heaven Opened Painting', also translated as 'Heaven-Created Painting', was applied to certain garden pavilions and had poetic connotations. See for instance the Southern Song *Records of the Gardens of Wuxing*, by Zhoumi, integrally given in a Japanized version with comment in: Oka, O., *Shina teienron*, Shōkokusha, 1943, pp.85-92, p.87 gives the name. See similarly the dictionary *Daikanwa jiten*, (Morohashi), Daishūkan Shoten, 1955-'60 Vol.II, p.472. The Japanese painter Sesshū built himself a 'Heaven-Created Painting Pavilion', A late 15c. record is extensively quoted in an English translation by Kuck, *The World of the Japanese Garden*, p.152. Toyama's interpretation of the term as 'view-as-painting' is too direct and literal.

69. The Chinese word for landscape is *shansui*, which means 'mountains-water'; it refers to the dualism found in Taoism and Yin/Yang theories. Chinese landscape painting is therefore again profoundly concerned with the harmonizing of opposed identities.

70. According to: Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, p.239, without further sources though. The term is rather shallowly used by Yoshikawa, M., in: *Karesansui no niwa*, Shibundō, 1971, p.101 where it remains unexplained. It is also used sparsely in Japanese literature on the history of landscape painting to refer to the compositional problem, as I described it. See for instance: Kanazawa, *Shoki suibokuga*, p.17. Also in: Tanaka, I., et al., *Kao, Mokuan, Mincho*, Shōgakkan,

1978, pp.46/7; it seems to rely here on Toyama's remarks since a reference is made to the garden world of Musō Kokushi.

71. The dictionary *Daikanwa jiten*, Vol.VI, p.753 does not interpret the term as referring to composition in painting, instead it gives two poems, one of the Song poet Fan Chengda, also mentioned by Toyama. Again the latter interpreted a Chinese literary idiom as too directly applying to theories of garden design. See also: Morohashi, T., *Chūgoku koten meiwa jiten*, Daishūkan Shoten, 1972, p.729, where a verse by a certain Ōsui (Jap. pron.) is given that employs the term. It has strong poetic connotations of past glory and melancholy and has nothing to do with theories of composition.

72. Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, pp.121ff. on the history of the usage of this word. But again mainly on the literary usage, that says not very much about the actual practice of garden making.

73. See for instance: Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, pp.435/6 on shōgun Takauji's Unsentei pavilion in Jozaiko-in, also the Ryūmontei pavilion in Tenryū-ji (p.404), that keep to this standard views. The view over a city that appears sparsely in other descriptions, seems also to stem from Chinese literary sources.

74. See for instance: Shigemori, *Nihon teien shi taikei*, Vol.4, pp.37-50 on the history of the garden and the temple. Also: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meien ki, gekan*, pp.48-97.

75. Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, p.383, extensively on this point. The official reading had it that the place was shown to Musō in a dream.

76. See: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meien ki gekan*, p.53ff. See: Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, pp.397-403, for Musō's Chinese verses as well as other versions on the ten temple tracts of Tenryū-ji. Such ten-fold descriptions are also a typical aspect of early mediaeval Zen monasteries. See: Kimura, S., "*Hakkei jūkyōteki bungaku*", in: ZZ Vol. 48, No.4, 1985.

77. See: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meien ki gekan*, p.95.

78. Shigemori does not pay much attention to the exact location of former building and garden arrangements, instead he tries to prove that existing garden arrangements were used. Probably in the first place to falsify an attribution to Musō Kokushi. However Hisatsune proves sufficiently that it could not have been part of a former garden, and Shigemori's other considerations that reject Musō as designer are more convincing. (Largely in line with my comments and conclusion at note 87)

79. For instance noted in: Shigemori, *Nihon teien shi taikei*, Vol.4, p.44.

80. See chapter 2.3 of this part for composition in Song landscape painting.

81. See: Shigemori, *Nihon teien shi taikei*, Vol.4, p.9 are Ijima R., *Nihon no Ishi*, 1978, Chiba, pp.130/1, on location and mineralogical aspects, colour of the Kishū schist. Brown blackish oxidized Kamogawa boulders, or the blueish black Kibune stone, are much closer to the tones of ink in Song painting, than the blue-green Kishū schist.

82. The heroic romances '*Taiheiki*' relate how one of Takauji's stewards had a garden built using the same type of stones. In this record is also told that the stones were so big and heavy that many an axle of the ox carts that moved them broke. That such a detail of the transport was recorded seems to indicate an appreciation for quantity rather than quality. Quoted in: Shigemori, *Nihon teien shi taikei*, Vol.5, pp.7/8, nevertheless seen by Shigemori as evidence of a Song painting inspiration of the stewards garden. Cf. note 86 on the *Taiheiki* romances.

83. Garden views composed as vertical scenes are in Chinese theories of garden art known as *dui jing*, ('facing scene'), see: Liu Dunzhen, *Suzhou Gudian Yuanlin*. I referred to the Japanese translation of this standard work on Chinese garden art edited as: *Chūgoku no meien, Soshū koten enrin*, Shōgakkan, 1982. The 'facing scene' takes a most dramatic form in the 'mountains viewed across the water', that is in the view of a garden hillock over the water of a pond. *Op.cit.*, pp.20/1.

84. See on the details of garden hill construction in Chinese garden art: Liu Dunzhen, *Chūgoku no meien, Soshū koten enrin*, pp.60-65.

85. Earliest: Kitamura, E. *Tsukiyama teizōden*, gekan, 1735, p.26 also in the works of Akisato, R., like his: *Miyako rinsen meisho zue*, 1799, on the celebrated gardens and sights of Kyōto.

86. This section quoted in: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meien ki gekan*, p.79. See: Aston, *A History of Japanese Literature*, pp.169-183, on the literary importance of the *Taiheiki* and some comments on its doubtful historical value.

87. See: Tanaka, *Japanese Ink Painting*, pp.60/1, irresolute on the acceptance of Song techniques in this period. As illustration a painting by a certain Shitan, taught by Yining that shows a very interesting hesitant departure from earlier Yamato-e techniques, reproduced in: Kanazawa, *Shoki suibokuga*, p.15, no.20. Shigemori, *Nihon teien shi taikai*, Vol.4, pp.45/6, followed by: Kuck, *The World of the Japanese Garden*, p.124, states that the appearance of such Song-painting inspired rock work is too sudden to be ascribed to an indigenous Japanese.

88. This hypothesis greatly supported by a Chinese verse on the waterfall by the poet/painter Tesshū that refers to this legend, Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, p.402, quoting from Tesshū's *Enbushū* (Cf. my note no.68). See: Fairbank, *China, Tradition and Transformation*, pp.126/7 and 188, on this examination system. See: Sowerby, A de C., *Nature in Chinese Art*, New York, 1940, p.109 on this theme in art.

89. See: Shigemori, *Nihon teien shi taikai*, Vol.4, pp.36/7 and p.41.

90. The following temples possess similar garden arrangements and date from the late 13c. or the early 14c.: Nanzen-in, Vol.3, pp.130/1; Ganshō-ji, Vol.4 pp.120/4; Tamon-ji(?) Vol.4 pp.132/3; Komoike-an, Vol.4 pp.140/1. Referring to the volumes of Shigemori, *Nihon teien shi taikai*, the dating is discussed on the pages as given above.

91. Late mediaeval, late 15c., 'Dragon Gate' arrangements are found in: Jōei-ji Vol.7 pp.28-32; Ikō-ji, Vol.7 pp.52/4, Both brought in relation with the famous painter Sesshū, who travelled extensively in China to study painting. Further: Hōkoku-ji, Vol.5, pp.88-90; and Ōgaku Sūfuku-ji Vol.5, pp.110/1. Referring to: Shigemori, *Nihon teien shi taikai*, as in the preceding note.

92. I used Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, as a source book from which I selected the quoted passages. Most are in Chinese which makes it sometimes difficult to translate. Therefore I selected only records that appeared elsewhere in a japanized or otherwise translated version. These secondary references are clearly inspired by Toyama's work, but are very liberal in their interpretation. Cf. my later chapter 8. Appreciation of a scenery in a small garden is found in many other mediaeval records in Chinese, given in: Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, *passim*.

93. This Dokusho lived in Garyō-an, a subtemple of Kamakura's Zen monastery Enkaku-ji, in: Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, p.467, but also in his chapter on the small garden. (Cf. my note 66) Further in: Oota, *Zendera to*

sekitei, p.230 in relation to the Ryōan-ji temple, which is, as for date and place, a wrong association.

94. Among the guests was for instance Shunoka Myōha, Musō's biographer.

95. Quotations from Gidō's *Kuge nikkushū*, as in: Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, p.488. A certain Tamaoka had built this garden at Gidō's *Baitei*, a house in the Daiji-in subtemple of Daitoku-ji in Kyōto. Gidō lived here after his retirement. He was shōgun Yoshimitsu's teacher in Confucianism, therefore it is not so strange that the latter visits him. Also: Oota, *Zendera to sekitei*, p.227, and: Itō, T., *Karesansui*, Tankōsha, Kyōto, 1970, pp.191/2, and very freely in the latter's *Nihon no niwa — An Approach to Nature*, Chūō Kōronsha, 1971, p.175. In spite of its title, this work is in Japanese.

96. Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, p.598, (also p.616 and p.241), quoting a record from the *Onryōken nichiroku*, an official log-book of the scribes of subtemple Onryōken in Shōkoku-ji, that neighboured the shogunal palace. The garden described was at an other subtemple Suiiken. Also in: Itō, *Karesansui*, p.172, in: Yoshikawa, *Karesansui no niwa*, p.18, and in Hennig, *Der Karesansuigarten*, p.147. Zen'ami is an important 15c. garden designer, treated in a later chapter.

97. For a cultural history of *bonsai* in the Far East, see: Iwasa, R., *Bonsai bunka shi*, Yasaka Shōbō, 1976, p.48ff. This work relates the spreading popularity of *bonsai* in Japan to the influx of Song culture in general in early mediaeval times. In China tending *bonsai* belonged to Confucianist patterns of behaviour. This connection did not exist in Japan. Earliest appearance of *bonsai* on a Japanese scroll *Saigyō monogatari emaki* (ca.1195). Further on early fourteenth century genre scrolls, see the section of the Kasuga Gongen Kenki Emaki scroll in chapter 2.3 of the previous part on the Heian period. (cf. fig. 9.)

98. The quotation translated from: Oota, *Zendera to sekitei*, p.230, noted on a tray landscape displayed at Onryōken, subtemple of Shōkoku-ji. Most extensively on this point: Shigemori, *Nihon teien shi taikai*, Vol.6, pp.9-11, with the extensive 1463 quotation from the *Onryōken nichiroku* that describes the *bonzan* landscapes displayed in details, such as the type of stones or plants employed. See: Itō, *Karesansui*, pp.192-4, for more quotations that betray an appreciation of scenery perceived in tray landscapes. The three sources above value the role of the tray landscapes high in relation to the formation of the dry landscape type garden. I think both of these types of landscape design exemplify the emergence of an appreciation of form, of a scene composed of natural forms.

99. Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, pp.676ff, quoting from Tessen's *Kasenzuifu*; also in a Japanese version in: Itō, *Karesansui*, p.191, or his: *Space & Illusion*, p.73, also: Hennig, *Der Karesansuigarten*, p.280.

100. *Kasenzui*, most clearly used to denote 'garden' in the textbook *Sekiso Ōrai*, by Ichijō Kaneyoshi (also Ichijō Kanera, 1402-1481). An enumeration is headed "Types of *kasenzui* are..."; then follow the traditional *Sakuteiki* types: Like the Big River, Like Pond-Pool, etc., including the dry type, *karesansui*, for instance quoted in: Shigemori, *Nihon teien shi taikai*, Vol.7, p.127.

101. See: Ledderose, "The Earthly Paradise: Religious Elements in Chinese Landscape Art", p.170, in: Murck, C., *Theories of the Arts in China*, Princeton, 1983, respectively: Wood, F., in her translation of Liu Dunzhen, Wood, F. "Suzhou Gudian Yuanlin, *The Traditional Gardens of Suzhou*", in: *The Journal of the Garden History Society*, autumn 1982. *Jia shan* equates the more modern

Japanese word *tsukiyama*. In Japan of the Heian period, the word *kareansui*, 'dry landscape' was known as a garden technical term. It is used for instance as heading for a chapter in the *Sakuteiki* manual on the construction of the dry type of garden. *Kasenzui* can also be read as *karisansui*. The similarity in pronunciation is probably a reason for the easy acceptance of the term *karisansui*, 'mock landscape' in mediaeval Japan.

102. See: Ledderose, "The Earthly Paradise", p.170, and Liu Dunzhen/Wood, "The Traditional Gardens of Suzhou", pp.110/11. Nice contemporary illustration is a verse from the post-Song period poet/painter Nizan who praises the mock mountain builders of Hangzhou. Poem quoted in: Oka, *Shina teienron*, pp.62/3.

103. See: Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, p.372, further p.328, with the quotation from the House Rules, also p.377, where Toyama relates how he saw some scattered small garden stones in a bamboo wood on the site of this sub-temple.

104. This was Tadayoshi's Sanjōdono palace. See: Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, 445/6, Musō's Chinese verses quoted from *Kaizanroku*.

105. See: Hisatsune, *Sakuteiki hishō*, p.538, where this ode is quoted. Hisatsune relates the verse to the waterfall composition in the Tenryū-ji temple, supposedly constructed as dry waterfall. See also Hennig, *Der Karesansuigarten*, p.195, from which I adapted my translation. Hennig translates the difficult last lines as follows: *Manchmal vor dem Wind der Vollmondnacht/ Die Menschen, die sich in der Sphäre einer/ anderen Welt befinden, ergötzen sich an den/ Vergnügungen jener Welt*. Hennig pays relatively little attention to the emerging of this new word to denote a garden.

106. Quoted by: Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, p.525, probably from a document indicated as *Fuji-iko*. See: Toyama, op.cit., pp.506ff, for the history of the shogun's Kitayama palace.

107. Quoted by: Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, pp.351/2, from Gakuin's biography *Gakuin oshō gyōjōroku*.

108. See: Sugimura, Y., *Chūgoku no niwa*, Kyūryūdō, 1966, pp.42-48, for quotations of such 'small garden poetry'. Bo Juyi was already well-read in Heian Japan.

109. See such paintings by Shūsetsu Shōchō, Tesshū Tokusai, and others in: Kanazwa, *Shoki suibokuga*, ill.92 and 93, pp.64/5, respectively ill.86, p.60. The ill.93 has an inscription by Gidō Shūshin.

110. The life style of the mediaeval Zen priests resembles, to a great extent, the ideals of behaviour of the Song literati. As 'universal men' they also advised the actual political leaders, besides living the life of a philosopher/amateur artist. See: Rosenfield, "The Unity of the Three Creeds", pp.207/8, 224/5, on the *wen jen* (cultured gentleman) ideal in Song China and in mediaeval Japan, in: Hall, et al., *Japan in the Muromachi Age*.

111. As illustration will serve three men of format. Yoritomo, the first military leader in Kamakura, staged for instance poetry gatherings in the Heian courtly style. The late 14c. Kyōto shōgun Yoshimitsu held also Chinese verse gatherings and lavish tea parties where imported exotics like tiger skins were displayed. The late 15c. shōgun Yoshimasa's salon was exclusively centered around imported works of art or imitations produced in Japan. Cf. Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, pp.260-319, with many references and quotations, more comprehensively: Varley, "Ashikaga Yoshimitsu and the World of Kitayama", pp.187-190, 199, in:

Hall, et al., *Japan in the Muromachi Age*.

112. See: Ito, T., "The Development of Shoin-Style Architecture", pp.227-239, in: Hall, et al., *Japan in the Muromachi Age*, specifically of interest because of the changes in the canon of palace architecture with the change from a courtly to a military aristocracy. See also: Kawakami, M., "Zenin ni okeru kaykuden to shoin, 14 seiki hajime yori 17 seiki ni itaru ryōsha no kankei", in: Kenchiku shi kenkyū no.20, (1955.4), pp.1-11.

113. See: Hashimoto, F., *Shoinzukuri*, Shibundō, 1972, and the English translation: *Architecture in the Shoin Style*, Tōkyō, New York, San Francisco, above all the introduction by translator Horton, M., that structures the history of the style. The shoin style in its architectural definition reached its mature stage in the late 16th century. (p.24, op.cit.) In this view the early mediaeval architecture, that shows the features like shelves and alcoves meant for display, is an embryonic form. This says of course nothing about the custom of displaying, that is completely accepted already in the beginning of the fourteenth century.

114. The genre scroll *Boki-e* showing the life of an abbot Shusho (Kaykunyo), scroll number 5, section 3, reproduced in colour for instance in: Hayashiya, T. *Zuroku chadō shi*, ill. no.2, pp.2/3 (also, with comment, p.138) and scroll number 1, section 3, dated 1482, showing the fully developed alcove. Both sections, in a traced version also in the useful collection of historical material on architecture: *Nihon kenchiku shi zushū* (ed. Nihon Kenchiku Gakkaihen, Tōkyō, 1980), p.59, ill.1-3, with further comment and references on p.138.

115. Earlier works had catalogued, naturally followed by the manuals on how to display. Here lies one of the origins of the development of a more modern concept of taste as a faculty of discerning and selecting, treated further in part three. The manuals are: *Chaki meibutsu shū*, (1421) catalogueing tea utensils; *Gomotsu goe mokuroku*, (1470) on imported Chinese painting; *Kundaikan sa-u choki*, (1511) contains sketches on display in the alcove; further *Go kazariki* (1523) also *Higashiyamadono go kazarizu*, exclusively on decorative display. See for instance: Hayashiya, *Zuroku chadō shi*, pp.164/5 for reproduced pages and comment.

116. See painted sliding screens in interiors depicted in a section of the early 14c. *Kasuga gongen* scroll, reproduced with comment in: Paine, et al., *The Art and Architecture of Japan*, pp.412/3. Also three details of different late 13c. early 14c. scrolls in: Kanazawa, *Shoki suibokuga*, pp.56,93, ill. no.s 80,81,123. But also the 1482 section on the *Boki e* scroll, cf. note 114.

117. See on this point: Itoh, T. *Space & Illusion in the Japanese Garden*, p.62, where the writer explicitly stresses the expense of such architecture in mediaeval times. The use of sliding screens as outer walls was likely to be only applied in the residences of the most wealthy elite.

118. See: Oota, *Zendera to sekitei*, pp.185/6, on the formation of the subtemple.

119. Some larger monasteries even had their own armed soldiers for defence, sometimes also offense.

120. Itō, *Nihon no niwa*, pp.175/6, sees this change of function, (and a possible use as space for a decorative garden), taking place around the Ōnin wars, end 15c. (Based on some *Onryōken nichiroku* records.) See also: Shigemori, *Nihon teien shi taikai*, Vol.7, pp.72/3, for a short history of the sanded south garden and its changing function. The discussion is specifically of importance in relation to the Ryōan-ji garden and its dating. Its rock arrangements are found in such a sand

covered south garden.

121. Shigemori's theory that the gardens were enclosed to separate an abstract piece of nature from actual nature outside the temple walls, is far too sophisticated and beautiful to apply to the mediaeval situation. Nevertheless, if one leaves out any reference to history, it is an interesting design theory for the modern designer. For particulars see: Shigemori, *Nihon teien shi taikai*, Vol.6 pp.25/6 and Vol.7 pp.108-111.

122. See the chronological table of historical records in: Shigemori, *Nihon teien shi taikai*, Vol.34, pp.111ff. Entries in *Onryōken nichiroku* from 1489, (in which it is recorded two times), onwards. Here is quoted an entry dated 1489, 25th day of the fifth month (E.1.5.25). 'Petty men' are nameless workers from an outcast class, see chapter 7.1.

123. See for instance the extensive use of terms like *karesansui* technique (*gihō*) or *karesansui* style (*yōshiki*) etc. in: Shigemori, M. *Nihon teien shi zukan*, Vol.4, (1937), pp.3ff. and Vol.3, gekan, (1938), pp.8ff, that describe, in Shigemori's view, the formation of the *karesansui* style and implicitly define it. The word *yōshiki* in modern Japanese refers specifically to the canon, the 'idiom' of details of a (garden) architectural style, rather than to overall conceptual notions. Accordingly Shigemori lays great emphasis on for instance the iconography of the (mediaeval) *karesansui* style. Nevertheless this plays a far less explicit role in mediaeval garden history, as can be judged from Toyama's *Muromachi jidai teien shi*. Moreover, the mediaeval manual *Sansui narabini yakeizu* (the *Sansui* manual) uses a completely different iconology, that never appears as recognized icons in the recorded appreciation of mediaeval gardens. Quite in contrast to what Shigemori makes us believe, one comes across the word *kasenzui* time and again, yet never does *karesansui* appear in the mediaeval records. In: Shigemori, *Nihon teien shi taikai*, Vol.6, pp.24/5, (1974), there is a weak attempt to repair this fundamental mistake. Shigemori introduces here a few of the hackneyed mediaeval *kasenzui* quotations.

124. See for instance: Nagashima, M., *Zōen seizu jissū*, Tōkyō, 1981, p.122, a popular text book on garden design that shows Shigemori's garden at Zuihō-an in Daitoku-ji in a clearly recognizable simplified sketch, with the title 'Kyōto-style — neat, with moss, white riyer sand, and a main marker stone(keiseki) —' (see fig.29). Gardens recently adapted to the, indeed quite neat, Kyōto style mainly through adding white sand are: Reiun-in, Taizō-in (sand added in the last 50 years), Daisen-in (last 50 years, probably correctly), but also 17c. gardens like Manshū-in, Honpa-Hongan-ji, (both in last 50 years) and Honpō-ji. Comparing photographs of the 1930's with recent ones.

125. The no longer extant garden of Onryōken had a ground cover of white sand and moss, (Onryōken nichiroku, (E.3.11.23), 1491, 11th month, 23rd day). Also the Daijō-in garden. (Daijō-in temple records, (M.2.8.3), 1493 8th month, 3rd day). Both quoted in: Shigemori, *Nihon teien shi taikai*, Vol.34, p.115, resp. p.117. The *Sansui* manual also refers to stones set up in white sand.

126. Buildings can easily be dismantled and rebuilt in Japan. No nails, but (dis)connectable wooden joints are used. See extensively: Engel, H., *The Japanese House — a tradition for contemporary architecture*, Rutland, Tōkyō, 1969, chapter 4 'construction', pp.101ff.

127. See the article on mediaeval planting materials: Nakamura, T., "*Karesansui no shokusai — kotei utsuroi*", pp.133/5 in: Mori, O., Yoshikawa, M.,

Karesansui, Heibonsha, 1980, based on a research on mediaeval diaries and the manual *Sansui*. See also the result of pollen analysis research at the garden of warlord Asakura, in chapter 6.4.

128. That rocks were very important is clear from the late 15c. garden manual *Sansui*, treated in chapter 7.2.

129. Based on the comprehensive treatment of the karesansui gardens in and around Kyōto in: Hennig, *Der Karesansui Garten*, pp.199-328, mainly based on the research of Shigemori. Although Hennig remains within the limitations of Shigemori's definitions and categories, he is far more systematic for instance in his discussions on attributions. See my comment on Shigemori at note 123, above.

130. See: Akamatsu, et al., "Muromachi Zen and the Gozan System", p.318, in: Hall, et al., *Japan in the Muromachi Age*, for a short history of this separate Rinzaï branch, called the O-To-Kan school.

131. See also: Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, pp.248-50, on this background of the late date of the Myōshin-ji/Daitoku-ji temple gardens.

132. The oldest subtemples within the present Daitoku-ji are not older than the late Muromachi period (1334-1573). See also the biography of Ikkyū in: Keene, D., *Some Japanese Portraits*, Tōkyō, New York, San Francisco, 1978, pp.18-25. Ikkyū's standpoint at the birth of more modern aesthetics is extensively discussed in part three of this work.

133. See as illustration the quotation from the *Sansui* manual, given in chapter 7.2.

134. These gardens fall again within Shigemori's *karesansui* category. Shigemori has a tendency of overdating the gardens. It is for instance very doubtful that the garden at Shinju-an should be any older than the late 16th or 17th century. He designates an almost equal amount of *karesansui* gardens in other parts of Japan. See: Shigemori, *Nihon teien shi taikei*, Vol.5, pp.26/7. Judging from photographs and maps given in: Shigemori, op.cit., Vol.5,6, and 7, these can be grouped as follows:

Small gardens, more or less enclosed, showing a dry waterfall arrangement: Fugen-ji (simple), Chūgū-ji, Ankoku-ji (very elaborate), Fukuden-ji.

Large gardens that, besides a pond, employ dry waterfall arrangements: Yui'nen-ji, old Genjō-in, or that employ more abstract dry arrangements, besides a pond: Jōei-ji, Kitabatake-jinja.

135. See for the history of the garden: Shigemori, *Nihon teien shi taikei*, Vol.6, pp.54-69, or better: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meien ki, jōkan*, pp.285-302, that is more consistent in the use of quotations and more rational in argumentation. The history of the garden in: Hennig, *Der Karesansui Garten*, pp.254-60, is largely based on Shigemori, as above.

136. See for instance: Hennig, *Der Karesansui Garten*, p.256, giving the quotation of the biography in a German translation. Also in: Kuck, *The World of the Japanese Garden*, p.161, based on Shigemori's earlier research. The biography goes under the pompous title *Ko Daitoku Seihō Daishō Kokushi Kogaku Daisoshō Dōgyōki*, ('Records of the Way and Conduct of the Late Great, Holy Country Teacher Kogaku, Right in the Law, High Priest of the Daitoku-ji'). Such Records of the Way and Conduct of priests were always written by close disciples or followers, who's view can hardly have been without bias towards their master.

137. See: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meien ki, jōkan*, pp.288/9 and 291. If erected by Kogaku, stones would have been put up paying more attention to the feeling and

other inherent qualities of the stones, rather than to formal aspects as in the present garden, according to Hisatsune, *op.cit.*, p.288; further pp.295ff, on the problem of rebuilding halls. Kogaku's main hall, called Juunken, was located on the site of the present reading room (*shoin*), north of the extant main hall that faces the famous garden.

138. See: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meien ki, jōkan*, pp.286/7, and pp.298-301.

139. Also the colour of the stones shows an early modern taste. See: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meien ki, jōkan*, p.291.

140. See: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meien ki, jōkan*, p. 292, and pp.7/8, pointing at Akisato as main expounder of the euphemistic Sōami attributions. Attribution to an outcast must, in Akisato's times, have been an indecent way of talking about the gardens of the famous temples.

141. See for instance the pamphlets obtainable in the little shop in the hall of the temple. Daisen-in well exemplifies the more commercial orientation common in the modern famous Zen temples of Kyōto.

142. See: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meien ki, chūkan*, pp.304-361, where all of the compound is treated.

143. With regard to this kind of composition, based on the balancing of mass and space, Hennig, *Der Karesansui Garten*, pp.249-251, speaks of *spontane, regelfreie, nicht quantifizierbare Harmonie*, and quotes other German sources from which I take: *kaum formulierbares Formgesetz* and *keine berechenbare Technik*. My descriptions of the kaki fruit sketch and the Ryōan-ji garden will show that such compositions employ distinct rules, that are easily formulated.

144. This design idea of a direction of movement in stone arrangements is closely related to the theory of flower arrangement.

145. See for instance two woodblock print illustrations in: Akisato, R., *Tsukiyama teizōden (gohen), gekan*, 1828, that show such an extreme design scheme, moreover very similar to the arrangements of rocks in the Ryōan-ji garden. One is the garden in front of the main hall of a temple called Tōkanon-ji (p.2/3); another is titled 'Figure of a *shin* style rock arrangement garden, (also called 7.5.3 rock arrangement)' (pp.23/4). It is meant to illustrate an idealized design scheme employing groups of 3, 5, resp. 7 rocks. See also the still extant garden in Tōkai-an (Myōshin-ji), dating from about the same period. The conscious including of enclosing walls in the design of a garden view dates also from the same period. The *Tsukiyama teizōden*, as above, exists in a usefull reprint in modern, printed type, ed. by Uehara, *Tsukiyama teizōden (gohen)*, Kajima Shoten, 1976. Finally I came across an illustration of a Ryōan-ji like simple rock garden among Toyokuni's (the second, 1777-1835) woodblock prints. It is reproduced under the title *Aftonringning, Vy av templet i Tsurugaoka i Kamakura i Japanska Träsitt ur Martin Maanssons Samling*, a catalogue (no.143) of the National Museum in Stockholm, 1948, p.25, fig.116.

146. See for the history of this garden: Shigemori, *Nihon teien shi taikai*, Vol.7, pp.60-84 or better: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meien ki, chūkan*, pp.304-361. See also: Hennig, *Der Karesansui Garten*, pp.199-238, of special interest because of its comparative treatment of the 15(!) different attributions that exists, it does not treat the role of Akisato as reconstructed by Hisatsune. See further Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, pp.644-650. A more popular work on this garden is Oyama, H., *Ryōan-ji sekitei — nanatsu no nazo o toku*, Tōkyō, 1970.

147. Hisatsune, *Kyōto meien ki, chūkan*, pp.350/1. Cf. chapter 7.1 of this

work. The records are by Kurokawa Kōyū in his *Saga Kōtei*, (1680); *Tōzai Rekiranki*, (1681); and *Yōshū Fushi*, (1682), quoted in: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meien ki, chūkan*, pp.332//3. The last one refers to a visit of Toyotomi Hideyoshi to the temple.

148. See: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meien ki, chūkan*, p.334.

149. See: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meien ki, chūkan*, pp.343/4 for a series of quotations from 1689 – 1780 that mention the garden. The 1689 record referred to above is from the *Miyako habutae oridome*.

150. The plan supposedly from 1791, is kept in the treasury of Myōshin-ji. The view of the main hall that shows the garden stones is a section from a print called *Rakuhoku Ryōan-ji*, supposedly by Hara Zaiko, not dated. Both published and commented upon in Ōyama, *Ryōan-ji sekitei*, pp.41/3, resp. pp.46 – 49, from which I traced the two sketches, given here. Hara Zaiko also cut the blocks for the other illustration which is a section from the view of Ryōan-ji that appeared in: Akisato, R., *Miyako meisho zue*, Ōsaka, 1780, last volume. Only the last of these three appears in Hisatsune, *Kyōto meien ki, chūkan*.

151. See: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meien ki, chūkan*, pp.341/2.

152. See: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meien ki, chūkan*, pp.356/7 with some quotations from the *Onryōken nichiroku* on these two stone workers from outcast birth, Hikojiro and Kotarō, which are first — not family — names.

153. The following based exclusively on: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meien ki, chūkan*, pp.358 – 361.

154. A rampart, or retaining wall, of granite blocks, or otherwise a hollow wall on a skeleton of timber and bamboo would be needed for any higher construction.

155. The conscious inclusion of a view over an outside landscape is a typical Edo period design concept. See also: Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, p.250, who doubts the historicity of this view, according to Akisato over Otokoyama Hachimangū, and relates this view to the neighbouring subtemple where it plays a role in certain religious practices. In passing it should be noted that two other small gardens in Kyōto that employ 7.5.3. themes in their rock arrangements as well as borrow a view over a vaster landscape are both most probably of an Edo period date. These are the east gardens of the temples Shinju-an and Daitoku-ji Hōjō. See also chapter 3 of part three of this work on the origins of this conscious including of distant views.

156. Also: Muraoka, T., Hida, N., *Ryōan-ji no sekitei*, p.143, in: Mori, et al., *Karesansui*, similarly suggests that stones were moved, specifically in the east part of the garden. In later publications Hida does not return to this point.

157. The temple is not opened to the public, my description of the garden follows the ones given in: Shigemori, *Nihon teien shi taikai*, vol.6, pp.102 – 110, in Hennig, *Der Karesansui Garten*, pp.305 – 311, and in: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meien ki, chūkan*, pp.378 – 392.

158. The history of the garden treated in the three sources as above: Shigemori, *Nihon teien shi taikai*, Vol.6, pp.102 – 110, in: Hennig, *Der Karesansui Garten*, pp.305 – 311, and in: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meien ki, chūkan*, pp.378 – 392. I prefer again Hisatsune over Shigemori, on which Hennig is based.

159. Quotation from *Reiun-in monjo* given in: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meien ki, chūkan*, p.391. See: Hennig, *Der Karesansui Garten*, pp.213/4, where some confusion about this Shiken Saidō is cleared up.

160. A detailed history of the Asakura clan appeared in Fukuiken (Asuwachō)

Kyōiku linkai (ed.), *Ichijōdani Asakurashi iseki I, Shōwa 43 nenhō hakkutsu chōsa seibi jigyō gaihō*, a 1968 year-report on the excavations. It also contains descriptions of several gardens on the site. Similar reports of later date have *Tokubetsu shiseki* added to the title and are edited by Fukuiken (ritsu) Asakurashi Iseki Shiryōkan, for instance the year reports over 1980 and 1983, that give detailed information on the archeological findings, also *Kendō Sabae. Miyamassen kairyō kōji ni tomonau*, 1983.

161. See: Fujiwara, *Ichijōdani no niwa — eiga no ato*, pp.142/3 in: Mori, O., Muraoka, T., *Kuge, Bushō no niwa*, Heibonsha, 1980, pp.141 – 144. See also: Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, pp.752/3, who quotes from the records of the family that describe the scene after the 1573 fire, recalling all the beauties of the architecture and gardens.

162. Poetry written was so-called linked verse poetry (*renga*). See chapter 1.1 of part three of this work on these verses, and its travelling poets that were catering to the parvenue taste of provincial lords emulating Kyōto's culture in the provinces.

163. See: Fujiwara, *Ichijōdani no niwa*, p.144. One retainer's garden shows a wash basin for tea ceremony use (*tsukubai*).

164. Based on: Fujiwara, *Ichijōdani no niwa*, pp.141 – 144. The ruins of the gardens are: at Yūdono, probably a hall for festivities; at Shuhōkan, probably an annex for the wife of the last governor, Asakura Yoshikage; at Nan'yō-ji, the family's Rinzaï temple; and finally the one described below, at the lord's main residence. See also the photographs in the same publication on pp.78/9, and in the reports on the excavations (Cf. note 160, above.)

165. See chapter 2.5 of part three on the *sukiya* type of teapavilion.

166. The results of the pollen analysis are given in the year report over 1980 (see note 160, above). The report warns against far-reaching conclusions on the historicity of such analysis. Pollen is easily transported by wind, water, and even in soil. Nevertheless I took this up, because it confirms, and is not conflicting with, earlier conclusions on mediaeval planting material.

167. See part one of this thesis, chapter 4.1 for further references. Yoshida Kenkō relates in his 14c. *Tsurezuregusa* how *domin* (natives, aborigines) of Ōi, and later *satojin* (village people) of Uji built a waterwheel to supply water for the imperial Kameyama palace. The two terms which carry a denigratory sound to the modern Japanese ear, still show such geographical ties of nameless people. Quoted in: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meienki, gekan*, p.58; *Tsurezuregusa* appeared in an English translation as: Keene, D., *Essays in Idleness*, Tōkyō 1984. Section 51, pp.44/5, op. cit. on Kameyama's waterwheel. Ienaga, *Japanese Art — A Cultural Appreciation*, pp.81ff. speaks of 'conditions that approached those of slavery', that changed with the establishing of the feudal society.

168. See: Toyoda, T., Sugiyama, H., "The Growth of Commerce and the Trades", pp.143/4 in: Hall, *Japan in the Muromachi Age*.

169. See: Kaneko, M. "Der Gebrauch des Wortes 'eta' und einige Bemerkungen zur Geschichte der Buraku Diskriminierung", in: NOAG 124 (1978), pp.11 – 20, rightly concluding that economical and political dynamics of society are primary to any suppressive discrimination. Outcasts are not primarily expelled from society because of their profession. Kaneko also shows that the outcast status was and is not hereditary, and that their number fluctuates according to external factors. Estimations of the present day *burakumin* outcast population range from 1 to 3

million.

170. See: Itō, *Karesansui*, pp.106/7 and throughout.

171. See: Hennig, *Der Karesansui Garten*, p.140, *niwamono*, *niwashi*, *ueshi*, *niwatsukuri*, based on Yoshinaga, Y., *Senzuikawaramono*, in *Teien to fuko*, pp.23/6, w/o year.

172. See: Toyoda, *The Growth of Commerce and the Trades*, p.143, in: Hall, *Japan in the Muromachi Age*. One may assume that taxes were deliberately not levied in order to have cheap labour force available at any time.

173. See: Hennig, *Der Karesansui Garten*, pp.142/3.

174. See: Itō, *Karesansui*, pp.153/4.

175. See: Itō, *Karesansui*, with on p.108 a 1424 record from *Kammonnikki*: 'Kawaramono walk around everywhere in Kyōto and report about garden trees that are kept hidden in the private gardens of temples and residences', also in: Hennig, *Der Karesansui Garten*, p.140.

176. See: Shigemori, *Nihon teien shi taikai*, Vol.5, pp.11ff, even the garden of Tachibana Toshitsuna, the compiler of the manual *Sakuteiki*, was dismantled and its rocks used elsewhere.

177. See: Mori, O., *Nihon no niwa*, Shimbunsha, 1960, pp.84–87, for a short survey of historical evidence on this group of 'stone-erecting-priests' (*ishitatesō*). From the preceding chapters it will be clear that Musō Kokushi can not be classified among this group of low ranking priests. Besides, he was from a Zen sect and not from an esoteric sect, like the stone erecting priests.

178. See for instance the chronological table of records relating to the history of Japanese gardens in: Shigemori, *Nihon teien shi taikai*, Vol.34, p.111 (1489 and following years) where can be found: Matashirō, Kinshirō, Hikorokurō, Hikojirō, etc. These are all first names, no surnames.

179. The record from *Rokuon nichiroku*, of the 5th month, 20th day, 1489, given in Shigemori, *Nihon teien shi taikai*, Vol.34 p.111 and paraphrased in: Itō, *Karesansui*, pp.176/7.

180. Matashirō's explanation to priest Keijō Shūrin of Rokuon-in, in Shōkokuji, related in the journal *Rokuon nichiroku*, in: Itō, T., *Kami to hotoke no niwa*, Tōkyō, 1980, p.120, also shortly in: Itō, *Karesansui*, pp.177/8.

181. The explanation concerned apparently a tree on a square island. Or *shima* does not mean 'island' but rather 'enclosure' as in older times. *Rokuon nichiroku*, 5th month, 20th day, quoted in: Shigemori, *Nihon teien shi taikai*, Vol.34, p.11; also in: Itō, *Karesansui*, pp.178/9.

182. A record dated 5th day of the 5th month 1484, in the *Rokuon nichiroku* relates how Matashirō took a book from his pocket, and started to explain the secrets of garden making, as for its Yin and Yang. In: Shigemori, *Nihon teien shi taikai*, Vol.34 p.111. Matashirō apparently left a deep impression on the scribe of the *Rokuon nichiroku*, because many of his striking remarks appear in this diary. The former must have been one of the more clever riverside gardeners.

183. See: Itō, *Karesansui*, pp.106/7, quoting from *Kennaiki* a diary of a certain noble man Madenokōji Tokifusa. Cf. note 175, above that similarly proves the recognizability of riverside gardeners as group.

184. Quoting from the gardening manual called *Sagaryū teikohō hiden no sho*, see: Shigemori, *Nihon teien shi taikai*, Vol.7, p.121. The manual is difficult to date as it exists in many handwritten copies. Most parts are as for their contents clearly further developed than the late 15c. *Sansui* manual, and more primitive than 17c.

manuals. 'Late mediaeval' is a generally accepted dating. Reprinted in modern type in: Uehara, K., (ed.), *Yokeizukuri niwa no zu, hoka no mitsu kosho*, Kajima shoten, 1975.

185. Based mainly on records from *Onryōken nichiroku*, Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, pp.300–305, gives about 30 different 'ami' names. For instance Ritsuami and Daiami, as first ikebana artists of Japan; Noami, master in verse poetry, mostly known through his manuals on interior decoration; Geiami, landscape painter; Chōami, expert on tea performance utensils; Mon'ami, a virtuoso imitator of animal cries, etc., etc. All are basically specialists in their field, which is a departure from the mediaeval ideal of the universal man. Like the rise of a class of professional gardeners, it shows a modern desintegration of society, leading to specialists, 'selling' their skills.

186. See: Varley, "Ashikaga Yoshimitsu and the World of Kitayama", pp.188/9 in: Hall, *Japan in the Muromachi Age*, referring to Murai, Y., "Buke bunka to dōbōshū", in *Bungaku* 31, No.1 (1963). See also: Boot, J.W., *The Adoption and Adaptation of Neo-Confucianism in Japan: the role of Fujiwara Seika and Hayashi Razan*, Leiden, 1982, pp. 314–16, (note 174 to chapter IV), where role and status of the servants at the court of daimyō's and shōguns are extensively discussed.

187. See: Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, p. 303. See on the catalogues of the 'ami' artists note 115 above.

188. A record of 1471 (B.3.10.39) from the *Sōjōki* speaks of *kawara Zen'ami*, 'Zen'ami from the riverside', quoted in: Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, p.604.

189. Hennig, *Der Karesansui Garten*, p.147, mentions in this respect Hikosaburō, Hikorokurō, Hikoji = Hikojirō, Koshirō (=son of Zen'ami), and Matashirō. The names are all first names. See also: Itō, *Karesansui*, p.176.

190. Shigemori, *Nihon teien shi taikai*, Vol.6, p.6, and pp.12/3, quoting records from *Onryōken nichiroku*: 1461, 12th month 18th day; 1463, 6th month, 14th, 15th, 18th, 19th, and 21st day. Yoshimasa must have been a true garden enthusiast, judging from his numerous inspections of gardens. All the same it is unimaginable in any other era of Japan's history that a shōgun would inquire after the health of an outcast! The association of Yoshimasa and Zen'ami shows in its extreme the social mobility typical of later mediaeval times.

191. See: Hennig, *Der Karesansui Garten*, pp.146/7, on Zen'ami's activities, mainly based on the chronological table of records in: Shigemori, *Nihon teien shi taikai*, Vol.34, pp.75–92. That the earlier riverside gardener going by the name of Tora or Toragiku is likely to be the same person as Zen'ami was shown in: Mori, O., *Teien to sono tatemono*, Shibundō, 1969, pp.92/3.

192. Concluded in: Yoshikawa, *Karesansui no niwa*, p.18, followed by Hennig and Schaarschmidt-Richter.

193. In some illustrations found in: Akisato, *Miyako rinsen meisho zue* one comes across this euphemistic authorship; the same source also makes use of the attribution *Teiami saku*, 'made by Teiami'. 'Tei' is the character for 'garden', so that it can also be read as 'made by Garden ami'. Teiami is not known from records. The euphemism is clear.

194. Thus rightly concluded in: Itō, *Nihon no Niwa — an approach to nature* —, p.179. The rest of my remarks on gardening as a profession was inspired by a lecture held by Jot Carpenter (pres. ASLA), on the 13th of November 1985

(*Zōengaku kenkyūshitsu*). See also the article Carpenter, J.D., Nakamura, M., *Senmonshoku toshite no zōen to sono kyōiku, nichibei hikakuron*, in: ZZ Vol.50, no.3, (1987), pp.213-16. A specialist body of knowledge, a demonstration of craftsmanship, professional performance, etc. are concepts used by Carpenter.

195. At my disposal was a 1930 facsimile reproduction of the scroll. A transcription in modern print exists as: Uehara (ed.), *Kaisetsu sansui narabini yakeizu, Sakuteiki*, Kajima Shoten, 1982. Slightly different in details are transcriptions in Hisatsune, *Sakuteihishō*, and Yoshimura, I., *Nihon teien*, Tōkyō 1959, pp.237-244.

196. The quotation is translated from the Japanese original in: Uehara, (ed.), *Kaisetsu sansui narabini yakeizu*, p.24/5.

197. For instance: Mori, *Nihon no niwa*, p.85 refers to a record of *Chushi oki* (6th month, 9th day 1204); it shows that Ninna-ji priests were working in the garden of Hirano Jinja shrine.

198. See extensively on these naturalized foreigners, Koreans and Chinese, settling in western Kyōto in the Heian period: Murayama, S., *Heiankyō*, Shibundō, 1957, pp.14-26. When nowadays the double petaled cherries of Ninna-ji are in bloom, Kyōto's Koreans gather there for a picknick. It still forms one of their cultural centres.

199. See: Uehara, (ed.), *Kaisetsu sansui narabini yakeizu*, pp.12-14, from which I translated the captions for the sketches.

200. Hisatsune, *Sakutei hishō*, p.466 appends the terms far, middle, and near view to the three sketches, and refers to Ma Yuan's unilateral compositions (cf. my chapter 2.3) however without much further comment.

201. See for instance extensively: Tanaka, I., *Japanese Ink Painting*, chapters 3-5, pp.65-151 on the establishment and production of the academy centering around the shōgun Yoshimasa, and on the famous painter Sesshū, working outside the academy. Note also that a canon of criticism was formulated by connoisseurs like Noami and Sōami.

202. Uehara transcribes *shima* (island), but the facsimile original shows clearly the word *bird*, similar in form. With the remaining blotches of ink of the rubbed out words it can be reconstructed that the stone group is titled *chōkyoseki* (not *torii ishi*), 'stones for birds to sit on'. This stone group is mentioned in later sections of the scroll. (Uehara, (ed.), *Kaisetsu sansui narabini yakeizu*, pp.27, 38). This would imply that the sketch deals somehow with a pond garden, as this *chōkyoseki* stone group has to be set up in a pond.

203. See: Uehara, (ed.), *Kaisetsu sansui narabini yakeizu*, p.36. Like the *chōkyoseki* (see note above) also these are to be set up in the triangular form of the Chinese character *pin*, an idea also found in the *Sakuteiki*.

204. *Shin* usually translated as 'finished', 'elaborate' or 'formal'; *gyō* as 'intermediary'; and *sō* as 'rough' or 'abbreviated'. It is originally a division used in calligraphic writing, where usually the term *kaishō*, is used in stead of the more popularly known word *shinshō*. See: Nakata, *The Art of Japanese Calligraphy*, pp.83-124.

205. This hypothesis stands therefore also on the assumption that there is a relation between this triple and the earliest explicit division in *shin*, *gyō* and *sō* modes, as it appears in *Sagaryū teikohō no sho* a late mediaeval garden manual (cf. note 184 previous chapter 7.1). See the illustrations in: Uehara, (ed.), *Yokeizukuri niwa no zu . hoka no mitsu kosho*, pp.58-63.

206. See: Uehara, (ed.), *Kaisetsu sansui narabini yakeizu*, p.18.

207. The poet Bo Juyi (Po Chū-i 722 – 846) described the view from his own garden as having thousand peaks. His poetry was famous in China and Japan and for instance quoted by Musō Kokushi. See a section of Bo Juyi collected works Vol.7, as quoted in: Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, p.122.

208. See chapter 3.1 of this part two on the reception of the novel Zen culture.

209. For a comprehensive treatment of the history of the Hōrai concept in far eastern garden art see: Kuck, *The World of the Japanese Garden*, pp.44ff., 121; She refers to the Hōrai (islands) as 'Mystic Isles'. The term Hōrai appears in the gardening manuals only in the late mediaeval, early modern period to denote literally a composition of stones meant to represent Hōrai islands (perhaps first in: *Sagaryū teikohō hiden no sho*). The full conscious use of the term in the practice of garden making is of a late date. Further discussed in part three of this work when treating the garden at Konchi-in in which the idea is consciously employed.

210. The painter/poet Tesshū Tokusai wrote a verse on the Saihō-ji temple garden referring to Hōrai, a strophe runs: 'Sauntering about an unworldly place, one gets Hōrai in sight', quoted in Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, pp.411/2. Priest Kokan Shiren and Musō Kokushi wrote verses on a garden of shōgun Takauji that must be interpreted as expressing similar wonder. Op.cit., pp.433/4. Both never visited China. Kokan wrote also verses on other mock landscapes, referring to Hōrai, p.465, op.cit.

211. Musō's exposition justifying the enjoyments of possessing a garden when it is helpful in the search for truth, is directed to the same Tadayoshi. See his words to the shōgun's brother quoted in the next chapter.

212. See: Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, pp.676 – 679.

213. See, comprehensively, in the article: "Gozan", by Colcutt, M.L., in: KEJ Vol.3, pp.57/8, the section "Religious and Cultural Factors".

214. Besides the more abstract themes that existed already. See chapter 5.3 where these themes were shortly discussed.

215. See: Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*, p.377.

216. This interpretation is found in most works of Itō Teiji, and for instance not with Mori Osamu. In: Shigemori, *Nihon teien shi taikai*, it seems to appear specifically in the sections written by son Shigemori Kanto.

217. Kitamura, *Tsukiyama teizōden*, 1735, appendages to the small scenic garden phrases like: 'A little garden: the appearance made to resemble deep mountains and dark valleys', or, 'The appearance of a mountain forest is reproduced, the view is always good', stressing scenic aspects of these small gardens. The 'zen interpretation' also not found in: Condor, J., *Landscape gardening in Japan*, Tōkyō, 1893. It gets half a page (p.746) in: Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teien shi*. (1934): and again not treated in: Tamura, T., *Art of the Landscape Garden in Japan*, Tōkyō, 1935.

218. Tamura, *Art of the Landscape Garden in Japan*, translated also in French: *Jardins Japonais: Ses Origines et Caractères, Dessins et Plans*, 1937; further: Kuck, L.E., *One Hundred Kyōto Gardens*, London, Kobe, 1935.

219. Kuck, *One Hundred Kyōto Gardens*, pp.111/2.

220. Kuck, L.E., *The Art of Japanese Gardens*, New York 1941 and its revision: *The World of the Japanese Garden*, New York, Tōkyō, first ed. 1968.

221. See on the recent cultural history of Japan for instance: Varley, H.P., *Japanese Culture — A Short History*, pp.178 – 210, that links political

developments to changes in intellectual climate.

222. See: Tsunoda, et al., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, pp.278–288 for quotations in an English translation, and some comment (op.cit., pp.338/9). This source gives 1937 as year for the *Fundamentals of Our National Polity (Kokutai hongī)*.

223. Nishida Kitarō, (1870–1945), biography in: EB Vol.16 (1967) p.532 and article *Modern Japanese Philosophy* in: EB Vol.12 pp.958J–962, both by Takeuchi, Y. Further on Nishida, particularly on the position of his thinking in the course of Japan's history of thought: Schinzinger, R., *Japanisches Denken*, Berlin, 1983. Because of his 'international' point of view Nishida was asked to give lectures on his interpretation of the Japanese spirit in the hope to hem in the spreading nationalism. These public lectures, given at Kyōto University, did much to popularize his thinking. His work *The Problem of Japanese Culture, (Nihon-bunka no Mondai, Tōkyō 1940, Kyōto, 1949)* became a bestseller.

224. Suzuki Daisetz Teitaro, (1870–1966), short biographies in: KEJ Vol.7, pp.28,281 and in: EB Vol.21, pp.470/1.

225. Suzuki, D.T., *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, (third series), Kyōto 1934, p.320: 'To conclude: the spirit of Eternal Loneliness (*viviktadharma*) which is the spirit of Zen expresses itself under the name of *Sabi* in the various artistic departments of life such as landscape gardening, tea ceremony, tea-room, painting, flower arrangement, dressing, furniture, in the mode of living, in noh-dancing, poetry, etc.'

226. Suzuki, D.T., *Zen and Japanese Culture*, London, 1959; *Zen und die Kultur Japans*, Hamburg, 1958.

227. See Kuck's acknowledgments, p.387, in: *The World of the Japanese Garden*. Suzuki and Nishida were lecturing professors at universities in Kyōto, and will have been known among the foreign researchers of Japanese culture.

228. Hisamatsu, S., *Zen to bijutsu*, Kyōto, 1958, in the following I refer to the english version *Zen and the Fine Arts*, Tōkyō, 1971. Hisamatsu calls Nishida 'my most respected teacher', (p.50), and among his publications is a study on Suzuki.

229. Hisamatsu, *Zen and the Fine Arts*, pp.87–89, on the Ryōan-ji garden, it applies explicitly the Characteristics 'Subtle Profundity', 'Asymetry', 'Austere Sublimity', 'Simplicity', 'Naturalness', and refers sideways to 'Tranquility', concluding: 'Looking at this garden ..., one clearly feels the Seven Characteristics.' Such characteristics appear also with Suzuki.

230. See (in an English translation of the German original): Schaarschmidt-Richter, I., Mori, O., *Japanese Gardens*, New York, 1979, pp.71–73, also found in: Hennig, *Der Karesansui Garten*, pp.368–370. However no far reaching conclusions as for the meaning of garden art to mediaeval society can be drawn out of such self explanatory and determinative art criticism.

231. 'the self-expressing creative subject, the Formless Self', or simply 'creative spirit', Hisamatsu, *Zen and the Fine Arts*, p.19, resp. Suzuki, *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, p.309.

232. 'at lightning speed', 'as a flash of lightning', Hisamatsu, *Zen and the Fine Arts*, p.58, respectively Suzuki, *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, p.309.

233. This last aspect specifically clear in: *Zen and Japanese Culture*, (1959), p.31: 'To become a bamboo and to forget that you are one with it while drawing it — this is the Zen of the bamboo...'

234. Trying to become one (*tao*) with the bamboo when painting it was a basic problem for the early Song literati painters. See for example Wen Yu-k'o in: Bush,

The Chinese Literati on Painting, pp.37ff. Suzuki's sword fighter becoming one with his sword must have been inspired by the almost legendary Chinese cook, cutting up oxen. See: Petrucci, *La Philosophie de la Nature*, p.116. Suzuki's 'living breath' or 'mysterious spirit breathing a life of eternity' (into a painting) is also a traditional Chinese concept, to wit 'life breath through the moving of the spirit' (*qiyun shengdong*).

235. Based on the scholarship of James Cahill the supposedly intuitive creativity in producing so called 'Zen painting' is convincingly questioned in: Fontein, et al., *China, Korea, Japan*, p.55. The execution of such painting requires concentration rather than intuition.

236. The manual *Hanakagami on Nō theatre* by Zeami (1363 – 1443), lucidly explains how such intuitive creativity was engendered while acting. See the clear translation by Nearman, M.J., "Kakyō — Zeami's Fundamental Principles of Acting", in: MN XXXVII, No.3, (1981), pp.333 – 374; No.4, pp.461 – 496; and XXXVIII, No.1, (1982), pp.51 – 71. It must be a good illustration to the mediaeval approach in arts known as a 'way'. (*dō*, in *judō*, *kendō*, *chadō*, etc.) m

237. My personal experience is very modest on this point, so I refer to Shigemori, who built an innumerable amount of gardens, and comments similarly in: *Nihon teien shi taikai*, Vol.7 p.83. Hisatsune, when speaking of the garden at Daisen-in, calls random stone arrangements, without formal aspects in their composition, *zenteki*, zen-like, but gives no examples of such gardens. If they exist, they possess at least no formal beauty and can only be appreciated by someone who knows its inherent qualities, i.e. the Zenist-maker himself.

238. The term 'cultural complex' or 'complex of cultural forms' appears with Hisamatsu in: *Zen and the Fine Arts* in a short historical survey, pp.11 – 27. I do not agree with the religious interpretation Hisamatsu gives, neither with the term Zen laymen, that he applies to Chinese literati like Su Dongpo.

239. The tea ceremony is a nice example. The all inclusive claim of certain tea performers that the tea ceremony is product of solely Zen Buddhism (originally found with Suzuki) is for instance criticized in: Varley, H.P., Elison, G., "The Culture of Tea: From Its Origins to Sen no Rikyū", in: Elison, G., Smith, B.L., (ed.) *Warlords, Artists, & Commoners — Japan in the Sixteenth Century*, Honolulu, 1981, pp.205/6.

240. Varley, *Japanese Culture*, pp.93/4 denies a religious contents as for the so-called 'Zen culture' in general.

241. Suzuki quotes for instance many Heian period poems with *sabi* qualities, written before the actual spreading of Zen Buddhism in Japan, and explains them as 'Zen'. Specifically in *Zen and Japanese Culture*, throughout. It is may be not entirely amiss to state that everything becomes 'Zen' with Suzuki, which makes his point consequently difficult to discuss.

242. The same application of her own aesthetic emotions appears in a remarkable description of Song mountainous landscape painting: "Such pictures, and the gardens derived from them, are filled with Zen symbolism. Interpreted in one way, they represent a picture of man's spiritual life. Thus the dark valleys stand for *his cramped physical existence*, from which he seeks to lift himself,...etc. (the cursive is mine, wk). In: *The World of the Japanese Garden*. I wonder whether a Song painter would agree.

243. On the life of Dōgen see shortly: Akamatsu, et al., "Muromachi Zen and the Gozan System", pp.320/1 in: Hall, et al., *Japan in the Muromachi Age*, and

extensively: Benl, O., "Der Zen-Meister Dōgen in China", in: NOAG Vol. 79/80 (1956), pp.67 – 77. The withdrawal of Dōgen, an aristocrat by birth, must be seen as an ignoring of the masses and contempt for the authorities, according to: Kato, S., *A History of Japanese Literature — the First Thousand Years*, pp.232/2.

244. Here quoted in the translation of Nakamura, *Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples*, p.325. Dōgen quotes the poem in the chapter *Keisei sanshoku* (*The voice of the rapid and the colour of the mountains*) from his important work *Shōbōgenzō*. The chapter is translated in German by: Benl, O., "Das Kapitel 'Keisei — Sanshoku' des Shōbōgenzō", in NOAG Vol. 125/6 (1979), pp. 13 – 19/11 – 19. A complete translation of Dōgen's *Shōbōgenzō* by Stevens, J. and Nishiyama, K., *Dōgen Zenji's Shōbōgenzō — The Eye and Treasury of the True Law*, Vol.I Sendai, 1975; Vol.II Tōkyō, 1977, chapter 21, "Keiseisanshoku — sound of the valley, color of the mountains", on pp.91 – 99 of Vol.I of this source.

245. Paraphrasing the German translation in: Benl, "Das Kapitel 'Keisei — Sanshoku' des Shōbōgenzō", p.11.

246. On the contrary Zen in China taught that the world of things is but a product of imagination and that the truth of Buddha has to be found within oneself. Phenomena, though manifestations of this sermon, should not interfere with a free search for enlightenment. Accordingly, Dōgen gave a more pragmatical turn to the Chinese ideas of Zen Buddhism. See: Nakamura, *Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples*, pp.351/2, see for instance: de Bary, et al., *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, p.347 on the characteristics of Chinese Zen Buddhism.

247. See on the theoretical problem of religious experience, the frame of interpretation (material atmosphere) it presupposes, and veracity of faith, the treatise by my father Kuitert, H.M., "Ervaring als toegang tot de godsdienstige werkelijkheid", in Dutch in: *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* Vol.32 (1978), No.3, specifically pp.192 – 4.

248. For instance in: Masuda, Manuscript, pp.353ff. It appears more loosely used in: Nakane, K., "The Character and Development of the Tea Garden", in: *Chanoyu Quarterly* (spring 1971) and in: Tanikawa, T., "The Classic Japanese Garden", in: *JQ XII* (1965), no.3, p.325, that connect Su Dongpo's poem to the theory of garden art; resembling the way it is applied to theory of art in general in: Mizuo, H., "Zen Art", in *JQ XVII* (1970), no.2, p.161.

249. For instance in: Kitamura, *Tsukiyama teizōden*, 1735, also in the popular periodical: *Jūkyō to engei* (a title which can be translated as Home & Horticulture), *Nichiyō Hyakka Zensho, dai 8 hen*, (1896), pp.108/9.

250. I adapted the English version given in: Schaarschmidt-Richter, *Japanese Gardens*, p.255, checking on the German translation by Benl, in: *Musō Kokushi* (OE 1955), and the original in: Satō, T., (ed.), *Musō Kokushi, Muchū mondō*, Iwanami Shoten, 1979, pp.133/4, that shows the text also in its context. A modernized Japanese version, with explanatory comment, found in: Yoshida, M., "Karesansui zakkī", in: Mori, et al., *Karesansui*, p.130/1, here the text is more cryptic than the original, and seems to be taken from a 19th century garden manual.

251. See on *dōjin* in the frame of Musō's times: Hammitzsch, H., "Zum Begriff 'Weg' im Rahmen der japanischen Künste", in NOAG 82 (1957), p.8. Zen's influence in the later middle ages is basically cultural, developing a pattern of practice of an art as a lifetime way of living. See note 236, above. See also: Itō, *Karesansui*, p.190, who also interprets the term as 'pursuit of knowledge', but

nevertheless quotes the section to support a Buddhist religious interpretation. On the minor role of Buddhism in the development of the far eastern view on nature, see: Petrucci, *La Philosophie de la Nature*, p.41, 84, etc. As for Japan's middle ages Petrucci emphasizes the introduction of aesthetic ideals of Song China.

252. Quoted from the translated version in: Siren, O., *Chinese Painting, Leading Masters and Principles*, Part one, *The First Millenium*, Vol.1 *Early Chinese Painting*, pp.220/1.

253. See: Kuck, *The World of the Japanese Garden*, pp.53ff on Bo Juyi's grass cottage in the mountain, based on research of Waley. Also Beuchert, *Die Gärten Chinas*, p.97, quoting Bo Juyi's poem in a translation, with comment on the temporary character of such literati gardens.

254. See note 210 above, for a case of Muso addressing in a flattering way a garden of the shōgun Takauji himself.

255. Itō, *Karesansui*, p.191, relating it to a Buddhist meaning of the garden, also in his *Nihon no niwa — an approach to nature*, p.174.

256. Associated with the vanity of man's existence as explained in chapter 4.6 of part one of this thesis. See for instance a contemporary poem by a shōgun from the *Kinkaishū* collection: 'Reasonable or unreasonable, / We see everything in this world as / Nothing but a dream', in: Kato, *A History of Japanese Literature*, p.249. This literary theme can be interpreted as having a Buddhist inspiration, (*mappō shisō*), but it is too much to say that it has a religious meaning.

257. Thus: Hennig, *Der Karesansui Garten*, pp.195/6.

258. For instance clear from his *Fukanzazengi* in a German translation in: Dumoulin, H., "*Allgemeine Lehren zur Förderung des Zazen von Zen-Meister Dōgen*", in: MN XIV (1958/9) pp.183 – 189.

259. See: Akamatsu, et al., "Muromachi Zen and the Gozan System", p.323 in: Hall, *Japan in the Muromachi Age*.

260. Hennig translates *konzai* as 'Landwirtschaft', agriculture, but 'growing vegetables' seems better if one recalls Musō's admonitions in the House Rules of the Rinsen-ji temple.

261. The letter adapted from: Hennig, *Der Karesansui Garten*, p.99, where it is quoted in a German translation from: Nakane, K., *Niwa — meitei no kanshō to sakutei*, Ōsaka, 1973, p.223.

1. These provincial warlords are generally referred to as *sengokudaimyō*, meaning daimyō's of (the period of) the country in war. See for some characteristics of this period and its daimyō's: Elison, G., "Introduction: Japan in the Sixteenth Century", pp.2/3 and Elison, G., "The Cross and the Sword: Patterns of Momoyama History", pp.56/7, both in: Elison, G, Smith, B.L., (ed.), *Warlords, Artists, and Commoners, Japan in the Sixteenth Century*, Honolulu 1981, pp.2/3 and 56/7.

2. See on the phenomenon of the 'Little Kyōto's' in the provinces: Hayashiya, T., "Kyōto in the Muromachi Age" in Hall, *Japan in the Muromachi Age*, pp.24/5, referring to: *Kyō no rekishi*, vol.3, pp.663-675, and: Hayashiya, T., *Nihon: rekishi to bunka*, vol.2, pp.45/6 and 94/5.

3. See: Katō, *A History of Japanese Literature*, pp.294-298 for a cultural background of the literary genre of linked verse.

4. See: Keene, D., *World within Walls, Japanese Literature of the Pre-Modern Era, 1600-1867*, New York, 1976, p.16 where this poem is quoted as an example. The association relies on the mountains damp below from the mists, like Goddess Sao's garments after urination. Keene gives more extreme examples.

5. See on the departure from classical standards: Carter, S.D., "Waka in the Age of Renga", in: MN XXXVI no.4, (1981), p.433, quoted from Sōchō's travel diary *Sōchō shuki* in: Shimazu, T., (ed.) *Sōchō nikki*, Iwanami Shoten, 1975, p.102.

6. See: Keene, *Some Japanese Portraits*, pp.27-34 for an extensive biography of Sōchō and further details of the practice of linking verses.

7. See the article *Travel diaries (kikō)* by Plutschow, H.E., in: KEJ, Vol.8, pp.104-6 on the position of linked verse poets like Sōchō within the tradition of this genre.

8. Translated from the Japanese in: Shigematsu, H., (ed.), *Sōchō sakuhinshū - nikki kikō*, Kotenbunko, 1983, pp.248-9.

9. See chapter 1.3 of this part three.

10. A complaint by the poet and literary man Matsunaga Teitoku (1571-1653) makes clear that *suki* meant something like 'poetic spirit' in Sōchō's days, a century earlier. Teitoku: "In former days when one spoke of *suki* ('to like it'), it was understood as something that referred to the writing of poetry. Tadamori (a hero from the 14c. Tale of Heike) and the court ladies 'liked to practice it', as it is said in the Heike. The word 'lover' (*kōji*) also meant to indicate the poet. That one at present uses the word *suki* to indicate the tea ceremony is because of the dying out of the world of the true pursuit of poetry (*kadō*)". Matsunaga Teitoku in his autobiographical *Taionki* (1645), original text in: NKBT, Vol.95, p.82. This true pursuit was a "Way of poetry", (*uta no michi*) in the mediaeval sense; see note 236 in part two of this paper.

11. This hearth was built in, lying as an open fire, in the floor; one sat around it, a kettle hung above it. Although it was found in palace architecture of the Heian period, it only appears in houses of commoners in the middle of the Edo period (1600-1867). See the article *irori* in *Kenchikudaijiten*, Shōgokusha, 1986, p.93.

12. See chapter 5.3 of this part where an early seventeenth century re-edition of the work is discussed.

13. Quoting from the translation in: Sadler, A.L., *The Ten Foot Square Hut and Tales of The Heike - Being two thirteenth century Japanese classics, the "Hōjōki" and selections from the "Heike Monogatari"*, Rutland, Tōkyō, (repr.)

1975, pp.14-16. A more idiosyncratic translation of the section in: Aston, *A History of Japanese Literature*, pp.153/4. The original section is found in NKBT Vol.30, pp.37-39.

14. See for example Seidensticker's translation of *The Tale of Genji*, p.1021, where he comments on the cuckoo in a footnote.

15. See note 26 in NKBT Vol.30, p.39.

16. Treated in: Kuck, *The World of the Japanese Garden*, pp.53/4, based on: Waley, A., *The Life and Times of Po Chū-i*, Chapter IX, 1949. (Po Chū-i = Bo Juyi, different romanization).

17. See for instance many sections of the *Collections of the Grass Hut*, *Sōanshū*, by the 14th century priest Ton'a Hōshi, that are quoted in: Tōyama, *Muromachi jidai teienshi*, pp.453ff. The sections keep also to the Heian classical standards of cherry blossoms and the like.

18. Sōgi (1421-1502), teacher of Sōchō built himself a straw thatched hut, called Shugyoku-an, in Kyōto in 1473. See the article *Sōgi* by Thornhill, A. in: KEJ Vol.7, pp.222/3, or the short biography in: CJ pp.434/5. A wealth of biographical information on these poets in: *Nihon koten bungaku daijiten*, Iwanami, 1983-1985. Besides Sōgi's (Vol.4, p.12) I found the following examples. Shōhaku (?-1527) built his Mu-an, followed by another Sōgi, written with a different character for 'gi' who built a hut with the same name (Vol.3, p.376, resp. p.377). Sōzei (1375-1455) built one (Vol.4, p.25). Also Sōkan (= Yamazaki Sōkan, ?-1539) built his straw thatched hut (Vol.4, pp.11/12). There is hardly any biography of a poet of the linked verse of these days that does not mention the building of a grass thatched hut (*sōan*). Fancy names, with a poetic or philosophical ring, were usually written on plaquettes that were hung over the entrance of these huts.

19. Shukō called his hut Suki-an, which in the context of these pages should be translated as 'Poetic Spirit Hut'. See: Nakada, N., et al., *Kogodaijiten*, Shōgakkan, 1985, entry *sukiya*.

20. Sōchō withdrew from public attention in the early years of the 16th century. From 1514 he lived in his cottage Baioku-ken, described in this quotation, that was built within Shinju-an, a subtemple of Daitoku-ji, in Kyōto. Translated from *Sōchōshuki*, quoted in: Kimura, S., *Chanoyu teien seiryūronko*, in: ZZ 49(4): 1986, p.241.

21. Sōchō was the younger son of a blacksmith often a profession of members of the outcast class.

22. See on this point in general: Morris, V.D., "The City of Sakai and Urban Autonomy", pp.23-54 in: Elison, et al., (ed.) *Warlords, Artists, and Commoners*.

23. See: Hayashiya, T., "Kyōto in the Muromachi Age" in: Hall, *Japan in the Muromachi Age*, pp.27-36 in general on the history of the social and political organization of Kyōto's townsmen. For more details see: Takahashi, Y., *Kyōto chūsei toshishi kenkyū*, Kyōto, 1983, above all pp.343-374 on size, organization, and economics of the townsmen, including a map (no.30) opposite p.372, showing the outlook of mediaeval Kyōto.

24. See a research into the townscape of mediaeval Nara: Itō, T., in: *Ken-chikushi kenkyū*, 16 (1954;1), pp.16-23, 15(1954;3), pp.24-32, and, above all, 14(1954;1), pp.1-11 *Kogogatsugō no kaoku no kibobunpu*, that illustrates the cramp layout of the city in this time; the average width of a middle class residence was about three meters.

25. *Zottan*, was apparently the old pronunciation of the modern *zatsudan*, 'idle

talk, gossip, *causerie*', concluded by Nishi, K., *Sukiteki kūkan o motomete, Kan'ei saron no kenchiku to niwa*, Gakugei Shuppansha, 1983 pp.62ff referring to a contemporary Japanese-Portugese dictionary.

26. Record of 1492 (E.4.1.221) in the official document *Onryōken nichiroku*, quoted by Hyūga, S., *Kinsei shoki ni okeru machishū no jukyō to sono sukiteki kūkan ni tsuite* in NKGR Vol.304 (1981)6, p.150.

27. Transcribing the quotation in: Hyūga, *Kinsei shoki ni okeru machishū no jukyō to sono sukiteki kūkan ni tsuite* p.150, which is taken from *Zenpō zatsudan* 1516 (E.13.8.5). The full title of this document is *Zenpō nō onkyoku zatsudan monjo* and contains stories and anecdotes related to Zenpō, noted by Yamada Fujuemon.

28. Hyūga, *Kinsei shoki ni okeru machishū no jukyō to sono sukiteki kūkan ni tsuite* p.152 supported with ample documentary evidence.

29. These officials were Furuichi Tanehide and his brother Sumitane (1459-1508). See: Hayashiya, T., Murai, K., *Zuroku chadōshi, Fūryū no seiritsu - Rikyū no dōto*, Tankōsha, 1980, pp.155, 158. See also a section from a contemporary scroll painting titled *Sairei Sōshi* that shows such a party. Illustrated in colour pp.12/3 and with comment once more on pp.202/3, same source.

30. On the urban fashionable salon in general in Kyōto, see: Nishi, *Sukiteki kūkan o motomete*, pp.58-85. The situation in the Imperial Palace documented by the late 15th century diary *Oyūdono ue no nikki*.

31. References to Sōju appear for instance in poet Sōchō's *Sōchōshuki*, for a short bibliography see: CJ p.440. Also Sōshū's biography, CJ pp.436/7. Entry in Washinoo Takayasu's diary *Nisuiiki* 1532 (K.5.9.6). The page with the record is reproduced as photograph no.282-2 in: Hayashiya, *Zuroku, chadōshi*, commented upon on pp.182/3 same source. Washinoo's diary runs from 1504-1533, short bibliography in: CJ p.593, short biography of Washinoo (1485-1533) in: CJ p.820.

32. From *Sōchō shuki*, autumn 1526. *Tsuta* is the Boston ivy (*Parthenocissus tricuspidata*) and not the evergreen ivy (*Hedera rhombea*) nor "maple", as one often finds in English translations of this famous anecdote and poem. Sōchō wrote more often poems on this ivy, setting an atmosphere of forlorn loneliness. See for instance the journals *Tōro noshintō* and *Utsu sanki*, p.80, resp. 180 in Shigematsu, *Sōchō sakuhinshū - nikki kikō*. It was a sought-after motif in the decorative arts of the courtly elite of the Heian as well as of early modern times.

33. The term was *Shimogyō chayu* and people, like Sōju and Sōgi, followers of Shukō (note 19 above) possessed such pavilions. See: Hayashiya, *Zuroku chadōshi*, p.183. Also: Hayashiya, T., *Kinsei dentō bunkaron*, Sōgensha, Osaka, 1974, p.137ff.

34. Mentioned and quoted from *Toyoharasho* by Horiguchi, S. in *Rikyū no chashitsu*, Iwanami Shoten, 1949, p.442.

35. Horiguchi, *Rikyū no chashitsu*, also refers to a comparable cottage in the city owned by Nakarai Roba-an. The latter was an associate of Oribe's, (CJ p.676). For a short bibliography of the Nakarai family, men of taste and practicing doctors in Sakai, see CJ p.576. A comparable record from *Muanki*, where traveling poet Shōhaku describes his cottage is quoted by Kimura, *Chanoyu teien seiryūronko*, p.241. Although these records are always quoted to document the origins of the tea garden, the equally prove the origins of an urban nature romanticism.

36. Translated from *Safu*, quoted by Kitao, H., in *Chaniwa*, Mitsumura Suiko,

Kyōto, 1970, p.108. See: Tanaka, S., *Nihon no teien*, Kashima Shuppankai, 1984, pp.154-157 concluding from an analysis of the contents of this tea manual that it must have been written between 1664-1673; pp.120/1 for further comment on the formalization of types of tea gardens, one of which is described in the section quoted here.

37. For a general history of the warfare and politics in this period: Hall, J.W., "Japan's Sixteenth-Century Revolution", in: Elison, et al., (ed.) *Warlords, Artists and Commoners*, pp.7-21.

38. See: Keene, *Some Japanese Portraits*, p.60, where he refers to the *Chinchō ki*.

39. See: Morris, "The City of Sakai and Urban Autonomy", pp.35/6 in: Elison, et al., (ed.) *Warlords, Artists and Commoners*.

40. See: Morris, "The City of Sakai and Urban Autonomy", p.47 in: Elison, et al., (ed.) *Warlords, Artists and Commoners*, referring to a document *Akuchi Jinja Monjo*, dated 1535 (T.4.4.28), in: *Sakaishi shi*, ed. by Sakaishi shiyakusho, 4.1930, p.166.

41. See: Morris, "The City of Sakai and Urban Autonomy", pp.53/4 in: Elison, et al., (ed.) *Warlords, Artists and Commoners*.

42. An instructive article is: Bodart, B., M., "Tea and Counsel: The Political Role of Sen Rikyū, in: MN XXXII, no.1, (1977), pp.49-74. See also: Varley, H.P., Elison, G., "The Culture of Tea: From its Origins to Sen no Rikyū, in particular p.216 of this article in: Elison, et al., (ed.) *Warlords, Artists and Commoners*.

43. See: Varley, et al., "The Culture of Tea: From its Origins to Sen no Rikyū", p.212 in: Elison, et al., (ed.) *Warlords, Artists and Commoners*. Also in: Sansom, *A Short Cultural History*, p.439. The Portuguese missionaries were amazed at the extraordinary prizes the tea articles fetched. Rodriguez's account is quoted here from the English translation in: Cooper, M. S.J., (ed.), *They came to Japan, An anthology of European Reports on Japan, 1543-1640*, Berkeley, L.A., London, 1965, p.265. The Japanese urban fashionable teasalon resembles in many aspects the merchants' teasalon as it existed in Europe, like for instance in 17th century Amsterdam.

44. Many of these sketches are reproduced in: Horiguchi, S., Inagaki, E., (ed.) *Zusetsu chadō taikai*, vol.4: *Cha no kenchiku to niwa*, Kadogawa Shoten, 1962, pp.64, 68, 70 and 92, for instance. See for the complicated bibliography of this logbook: CJ p.722.

45. For a short biography of Hakata merchant Sōtan see: CJ p.187, for a short bibliography of his diary: p.439, same source. What is known at present as *Sōtan nikki*, is in fact an edition dating from the years around 1700. The diary covers a period from 1586 to 1613 and pays a great deal of attention to describing utensils and implements in use at tea meetings. It illustrates the importance attached to the possession of rare objects.

46. See for instance how the Portugese Luis de Almeida described the minute proceedings at the tea meetings. An English translation of his record in: Cooper, *They came to Japan*, pp.262-264, a short section also quoted, in Japanese, in: Hyūga, *Kinsei shoki ni okeru machishū no jukyō to sono sukiteki kukan ni tsuite*, p.150.

47. See for instance lengthy quotations from the diary of the head priest of the temple Daigo-ji *Gien jugō nikki*, quoted in: Shimonaka, N., *Kyōtoshi no chimei*, *Nihon rekishi chimei taikai* Vol.27, Heibonsha, 1979, pp.451/2. Also: Shigemori,

Nihon teienshi taikei, Vol.8, pp.62/3.

48. See on this party, known as the "Kitano Tea Party", Sadler, M.A., *Cha-No-Yu, The Japanese Tea Ceremony*, London, 1933, reprint Rutland, Tokyo, 1982, pp.130-132, or: Elison, G., "Hideyoshi, the Bountiful Minister", pp.239/40 in: Elison, et al., (ed.) *Warlords, Artists and Commoners*, with a more up to date interpretation of the proceedings.

49. See: Sansom, *A Short Cultural History*, p.433.

50. Extensively discussed in: Yamane, Y., *Momoyama Genre Painting*, New York, Tōkyō, 1973, p.170, with reference to the screen paintings *Rakuchū Rakugaizu (Uesugi)* of the late 16th century where the land at the riverside is a barren tract and a later screen (Seikadō Library) where the amusement quarter is shown.

51. See on 'the leaning' and its implied meaning of decadence: Hayashiya, *Zuroku chadōshi*, p.308. The rise of popular *kabuki* theatre is related to it. See: Yamane, *Momoyama Genre Painting*, pp.173-177.

52. For a comprehensive biography see: CJ pp.675-677.

53. A considerable part of Oribe's tea notes is available in: Ichino, C. (ed.), *Furuta Oribe chasho I*, Shibunkaku, Kyoto, 1976, the section where he advises on the interior of the tearooms on pp.68ff.

54. Reforms referred to as *Taikō Kenchi*, discussed in: Hall, J.W., "Japan's Sixteenth-Century Revolution", in: Elison, et al., (ed.) *Warlords, Artists and Commoners*, pp.16-21. Here is discussed how these reforms firmly established a hierarchical system among the warlords as new rulers.

55. The term used is *jōkamachi*, literally 'town under a castle'. On the connection between politics and the urban layout of castle town Edo see: Coaldrake, W.H., "Edo Architecture and Tokugawa Law", in: MN XXXVI, no.3, (1981), pp.235ff.

56. The plan view appeared in an architectural manual called *Shōmei*. See: Oota, H., et al. (ed.), *Kaitei zōho kenchikugaku taikei*, Vol.4-I: *Nihon ken-chikushi*, pp.264-266, Shōkokusha, 1978. The plan is discussed in: Fujioka, M., *Kinsei no kenchiku*, Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1971, pp.32/3 and also in: Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai, (ed.), *Nihon kenchikushi zushū*, pp.63 and 111.

57. Translated from a section of *Sotan nikki 1597* (K.2.2.24), quoted in: Horiguchi, *Rikyū no chashitsu*, p.472. Horiguchi discusses comparable records from the same source on pp.472/3, and 477.

58. The dividing of the tea garden seems a simple idea. But for the theory of garden art it was an important achievement. It meant that space was enclosed and divided in order to serve a different use. A differing design related to the use of these segments of space evoked a change of atmosphere when one proceeded through the garden. An element of time was, historically speaking, introduced in garden design in this period, the late 16th century.

59. A most complete research into the appearing of the typical details of the tea garden in historical records is: Kimura, *Chanoyu teien seiryūronko*. The series of descriptions given here are translations from quoted sections of *Sotannikki* in: Horiguchi, *Rikyū no chashitsu*, pp.488-491. Entries dated respectively: 1587 (T.15.2.1), (T.15.3.20), (T.15.6.19), 1590 (T.18.9.10), (T.18.10.20), 1593 (B.2.3.29).

60. The wash basin of Nobunaga's brother, Oda Uraku (1547-1621), described in *Matsuyakaiki 1596* (K.1.12.15), quoted in: Horiguchi, *Rikyū no chashitsu*,

p.490.

61. In 1591 we hear for the first time of a stone lantern standing at an approach to a tea house. See: Horiguchi, et al., (ed.), *Cha no kenchiku to niwa*, p.163, referring to a record in Matsuya Hisayoshi's *Chakaiki* 1591 (T.19.10.14).

62. Translated from a section of *Oribe kikigaki*, quoted in: Tanaka, *Nihon no teien*, pp.119/120. (Also Ichino, (ed.), *Furuta Oribe chasho I*, p.84) The lantern known at present as *Oribe ishidōrō* is a standard type invented about half a century after Oribe's death. A sketch of it appeared in *Safu*, a manual on matters of tea that established fixed types of the Oribe-style, the Rikyū-style tea garden, etc. See: Tanaka, *Nihon no teien*, pp.115, 118/9. Cf.note 36.

63. See comprehensively on the various types of paving stones and pavements: Kitao, H., *Chaniwa*, Mitsumura Suiko Shoin, Kyōto, 1970, pp.171-184, with some reference to their history.

64. Rikyū apparently visited the garden at Saihō-ji to study a specific mosaic pavement. See: Horiguchi, *Rikyū no chashitsu*, p.481 referring to *Rikyū densho* and a document *Kōshin gegaki*, (short bibliography: CJ p.275).

65. Translated from: *Matsuya kaiki* 1596 (K.1.3.8), quoted by: Kimura, *Chanoyu teien seiryūronko*, pp.236/7, also: Horiguchi, *Rikyū no chashitsu*, p.486.
66. These details discussed in: Horiguchi, *Rikyū no chashitsu*, pp.495ff, quoting some late 16th, early 17th sources.

67. See: Tanaka, *Nihon no teien*, p.134, quoting from *Oribe kikigaki*: "As for decorative stones, if one intends to show them to the visitor of the garden, it is good to erect these close to the wash basin in the inner section of the tea garden."

68. Translated from: *Oribe kikigaki*, as quoted in: Horiguchi, *Rikyū no chashitsu*, p.521 (note 7).

69. Concern for the visual also appears with Rikyū: "The width of a slab pavement is between 67 and 70 centimeters. But a short one looks wider. And as a long slab looks narrower, its width should be 75 or almost 80 centimeters". Quoted from *Rikyū Sōdenno sho* in: Horiguchi, *Rikyū no chashitsu*, p.482 (transferring traditional Japanese measures in centimeters).

70. This point specifically stressed by Tanaka in: *Nihon no teien*, and taken up in: Anbiru, T., Asano, J., Fujii, E., Itō, W., *Chaniwa ni okeru shokusai no hensen ni kansuru shiteki kōsatsu, Edo chūki izen no chaniwa* (1985), pp.85-91, and: Asano, J., Anbiru, T., Naka, T., Fujii, E., *Wabicha to roji (chaniwa) no hensen ni kansuru shiteki kōsatsu, sono 1: Oribe kara Enshū he* (1985), pp.111-118.

71. See: Horiguchi, *Rikyū no chashitsu*, pp.550/1, quoting from *Oribe kikigaki*, which I transcribed; Horiguchi also refers to other sources like *Matsuya chayuhishō*.

72. The term introvert is from Sylvia Crowe in: Crowe, S., *Garden Design*, New York, 1958, p.87 on principles of design: "This difference between the introvert garden, to be experienced from within, and the extrovert garden, to be admired from without, is a psychological factor of design whose influence has varied from age to age. ...The introvert influence reached its zenith in the deep shady walks, the mysterious caves and dark ravines of the romantic period." Although she speaks for the history of European garden art, the term can rightly be applied to the tea garden that similarly tries to include the visitor and seeks to make him experience nature in a romantic way.

73. For a comprehensive history of the seventeenth century see: Reischauer, E.O., Craig, A.M., *Japan, Tradition & Transformation*, Rutland, Tōkyō, 1984,

pp.80-111.

74. One of the important decrees of Hideyoshi dated 1586 stipulates that a samurai (warrior) may not become a townsmen, that a farmer may not leave his land and work for hire, and that no landowner may give protection to vagrants, and to men who do not cultivate the soil. See: Sansom, *A Short Cultural History*, pp.430-441.

75. See: Shadan Hōnin Dobokugakkai, (ed.&publ.), *Meiji izen Nihon dobokushi*, 1936, pp.974/5. It also quotes from the orders of the central government on, for instance, the width of the main road between Kyōto and Edo. It was to be constructed almost 12 meters wide, and should be even almost forty meters wide when including the strips for the roadside planting.

76. See the short article: "National Seclusion", by Earns, R., in: KEJ Vol.5, pp.346/7.

77. See for a detailed history of the city: Kodama, K., Sugiyama, H., *Tōkyō no rekishi*, Kenshi Shirīzu 13, Yamakawa, 1969. The works on the castle started in 1603, op.cit., pp.157ff.

78. See for instance: Coaldrake, *Edo Architecture and Tokugawa Law*, pp.250/1 or: Sadler, A.L., *The Maker of Modern Japan - The Life of Shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu*, London 1937, and repr. Rutland, Tōkyō, 1971, pp.224ff.

79. For a short biography of Emperor Go-Mizunoo see: CJ. p.309. The political problems of these days for instance extensively discussed in: Naitō, A., *Katsura: A Princely Retreat*, Tōkyō, New York, 1977, pp.79-100. Compare also the article "Shie Incident", in: KEJ, Vol.7, p.89.

80. Translated from the quotation in: Yoshimura, T., *Shūgakuin Rikkyū*, Shōgakkān, 1976, p.117. Yoshimura gives a further analysis of the political tensions that existed between the shogunate and the court. The Edicts (*Kugesūhatto*) extensively treated in: Sadler, *The Maker of Modern Japan*, pp.378/9.

81. Keampfer, E., *De Beschryving van Japan*, Amsterdam 1733, p.345 speaks of "zyn Heyligheid den Dairi, of Geestelyken Erf-Keyzer", he calls the shōgun: "Waereldlyken Monarch". Caron, F., Schouten, J., *Rechte Beschryvinghe van het Machtigh Coninckrijcke Japan...*, Amsteram 1648, uses the term Dairyo, to indicate the Emperor and speaks of the shōgun as "sijn Keyserlijke Majesteyt".

82. Quoting the English from: Cooper, *They came to Japan*, p.281.

83. The persons involved in the incident of the not acknowledged priestly ranks (the "Shie Incident" cf. note 79 above) were famous aesthetes and leaders of the fashionable salon like Kōgetsu closely related to Kobori Enshū, for instance. See the formers biography in: CJ pp.272/3.

84. The gay district was moved from the centre of the city in relation to the building of the shogunal castle in Kyōto on the same place. On the district's new site, south east of the city, it was surrounded by a moat and had only one entrance over a bridge, so that it was easy for the shogun's police officers to control. The quarter was nick-named Shimabara after a castle in southern Japan from which a faltered revolt against the shogunate had been staged; the quarter has retained the name up to the present day. See: *Seikai daihyakka jiten*, Heibonsha, 1967, Vol.10, p.506.

85. Rich families like the Sumiya house had thriving businesses in the Shimabara gay quarter (cf. note 84 above), they were the wealthy sponsors of the arts and crafts favoured by Kyōto's merchant class. Sumiya Shōeki cooperated with Kōetsu (treated in a later chapter) in editing block printed versions of literary

classics. Solidarity had grown in the course of the 16th century between citizens and court. See: Hayashiya, T., *Kyōto*, Iwanami Shinsho, 1965, pp.199-205.

86. Shōgun Iemitsu visited Kyōto in 1626. Then he gave order to construct a palace for the Emperor to live in retirement. At a later visit he would even present money to the citizens of Kyōto. See: Mori, O., *Kobori Enshū no sakuji* (Ed. Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjo), Yoshigawa Kōbunkan, 1966, p.27.

87. A most complete edition of the drawings of the carpenter family Nakai, the official imperial carpenters, in: Hirai, K., (ed.), *Nakaike monjo no kenkyū. Takumiryō Honzumehen*, 10 vols., Chūō Kōronbijutsu Shuppan, 1976-. Volumes 1 and 2 (1976, '77) are of relevance for the following chapters.

88. This was the Emperor's visit to the Nijō Castle, that took place at the end of October 1626. A journalist's account of the visit by a certain Coenraet Kramer, ("die sulcx alles selfs gesien heeft"), in: Caron, et al., *Rechte Beschrijvinghe van het Machtigh Coninckrijcke Japan...* This account that speaks of the enormous masses of people that gathered to see the parades gives some idea of the crowded urbanity of Kyōto of these days.

89. See: Mori, O., Muraoka, T., *Sento Goshō teien no kenkyū*, in: ZZ Vol.23 (1959), no.1, p.2.

90. See: Hirai, (ed.), *Nakaike monjo no kenkyū*, Vol.1 pp.64-66, ill. no.15-17.

91. According to: Nishi, *Sukiteki kūkan o motomete*, p.2, where the garden is discussed at some length.

92. Translated from: Nishi, *Sukiteki kūkan o motomete*, pp.3-5 where the captions are given in modern print, with further comment on the particulars of these bridges.

93. It is a famous section of the Tale of Ise, see also: Nishi, *Sukiteki kūkan o motomete*, pp.6/7.

94. Such a travel tale is the *Chikusai*, a witty tale of a traveling doctor; an accompanying illustration found in it is reproduced here. The decorative arts of the early 17th century also turn to the Eight Bridges as a motif. Famous is a little lacquer box from Kōetsu's studio that employs the motif. See chapter 5.3 on Kōetsu.

95. See: Hirai, (ed.), *Nakaike monjo no kenkyū*, Vol.1, ill. no.'s 29-33, with comment on pp.73-76.

96. See the drawing for the rebuilding, reproduced in: Hirai, (ed.), *Nakaike monjo no kenkyū*, Vol.2, pp.22ff., ill. no.'s 60ff.

97. The word *suihei* interpreted analogous to *suiwatadono*, which is a gallery in the palace style of the Heian period from which *sudare* should be hung. See the entry *suiwatadono* in the dictionary *Nihon Daijiten* Gensen, Okura Shoten, 1932, p.2224.

98. See chapter 4.5 of this part for a more complete treatment of the technique of drafting of the period.

99. See: Mori, *Kobori Enshū no sakuji*, p.30 and p.58 (note 7), referring to a 1646 (S.3.9.15) record that mentions the building of boats.

100. Square flowerbeds are found in several late mediaeval gardens. (Ichijōdani, Ginkaku-ji, etc.). Straight waterways may have been inspired by the castle moats.

101. A few drawings of earlier gardens within the official palace of the Empress, when she was still reigning, show also square flowerbeds, rectangular racks for tray gardens, and straight waterducts. The way of representation is the same, as design idea these are related to the flower bed garden discussed here. See for

instance a drawing of an earlier palace in: Hirai, (ed.), *Nakaike monjo no kenkyū*, Vol.1, ill. no.26. Also in: Mori, *Kobori Enshū no sakuji*, p.4.

102. See: Nishi, *Sukiteki kūkan o motomete*, pp.22ff. and pp.109/10.

103. His diary *Kakumeiki* covers the years 1635-1668. A version in modern print exists: Akamatsu, T., (ed.), *Kakumeiki*, Vols.1-6, Kyōto, Rokuon-ji, 1958-'67. Shōshō writes in classical Chinese. For translations I relied on versions, transcribed in Japanese, found above all in: Nishi, *Sukiteki kūkan o motomete*, passim.

104. The entry is dated 1652 (K.5.3.4), see note 102 above.

105. From: *Kakumeiki* 1648 (K.1.2.28) in: Nishi, *Sukiteki kūkan o motomete*, p.20.

106. From: *Kakumeiki* 1645 (S.2.3.10) in: Nishi, *Sukiteki kūkan o motomete*, p.20. It marks the origin of a Camellia-craze standing at the beginning of a general popular interest in the gardenesque. See: Ono, S., *Edo jidai ni okeru engei shokubutsu no ryūkō ni tsuite*, in: ZZ Vol.48 (1985), No.5, pp.55-60. Also: Tanaka, *Nihon no teien*, p.272. Shōshō often uses the phrase "it is a breathtaking sight" (*me o odorokasu*) in relation to garden views. See for instance his comment on the Shūgaku-in garden, quoted in: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meienki, chūkan*, p.87.

107. See: Naitō, A., *Katsura: A Princely Retreat*, pp.93-95.

108. The official document *Rokuon nichiroku* confirms this in a 1612 record (K.17.12.28), quoted in: Mori, O., *Katsura Rikkyū, (Katsura Rikkyū no Kenkyū)*, Tōto Bunka Shuppan, 1955, p.56. Mori also refers to other documents that relate of the Prince's activities in the garden.

109. See: Mori, *Katsura Rikkyū*, pp.194/5.

110. See: Mori, *Katsura Rikkyū*, p.4, and p.194.

111. Hideyoshi had earlier staged a melon viewing party on the island Mukōjima, in the river that ran past his Fushimi Castle. See a 1597 (K.2) record from *Gien jugō nikki*, quoted in: Kawakami, M., *Katsura Rikkyū*, Shōgakkan, 1971, p.163. Hideyoshi had also a melon garden in Nagoya. See for a description of a carnivalesque party held there: Sadler, *The Maker of Modern Japan*, p.179.

112. Diary *Toshihito Shinnō Jipitsu Gonenreki* entry 1616 (G.2.6.27-29) and the letters *Toshihito Shinnō Jipitsu Shojō*, and *Shōsoku* all quoted in: Mori, *Katsura Rikkyū*, pp.3/4.

113. From: *Kakumeiki* 1647 (S.4.10.6), quoted in: Nishi, *Sukiteki kūkan o motomete*, p.37.

114. Drawing *Nagatani gochaya sashizu* 1647 (S.4.10) in redrawn version with comment in: Nishi, *Sukiteki kūkan o motomete*, pp.40ff., original in: Hirai, (ed.), *Nakaike monjo no kenkyū*, Vol.1, ill.no.36, with comment pp.77/78.

115. For a short biography of Itakura see: CJ p.48. He was highly involved with Kyōto's cultured elite.

116. See: Nishi, *Sukiteki kūkan o motomete*, pp.43-47, with quotations from *Kakumeiki*. The writer discusses several other outings as well, and makes (following Hirai, see note above) the connection with the carpenter's drawing. See also: Yoshimura, *Shūgakuin Rikkyū*, p.150.

117. A large amount of literature exists on this villa and its garden. See: Mori, O., *Shūgakuin Rikkyū*, Sōgensha, 1955, or: Yoshimura, *Shūgakuin Rikkyū*, or: Osaragi, J., Iwamiya, T., Itō, T., *Kyūtei no niwa III: Shūgakuin Rikkyū*, Tankō Shinsha, 1968; the text of the last work is translated and forms part of: Iwamiya, T., Itoh, T., *Imperial Gardens of Japan, Sento Goshō, Katsura, Shūgaku-in*, New York, Tōkyō, Kyōto, 1981.

118. From: *Kakumeiki* 1656 (M.2.3.20-21), quoted in: Nishi, *Sukiteki kūkan o motomete*, pp.220ff.

119. Poem in: Osaragi, et al., *Kyūtei no niwa* III: *Shūgakuin Rikkyū*, p.23 in its English translation in: Iwamiya, T., Itoh, T., *Imperial Gardens of Japan*, p.201. The leisurely life at Shūgakuin is treated at length in these sources pp.18ff, respectively pp.198ff. The poem relies in its composition mainly on a phrase from the classic poetry collection *Shoku Kokinshū*, so that it has probably more literary qualities than emotional or descriptive ones. Comment by same source as above.

120. See: Itō, T., *Shakkei to tsuboniwa*, Tankōsha, Kyōto 1965, and its English version: Itoh, T., *Space and Illusion*, New York, Tōkyō, 1973.

121. The anecdote belongs to the standard lore of the tea ceremony adepts. It is translated here from *Ikeichasho*, quoted in: Horiguchi, *Rikyū no chashitsu*, p.475. This document related to the person of Ikei Sōetsu (1644-1714) can not be older than the second half of the 17th century. This Sōetsu was a disciple of Katagiri Sekishū (1605-1673) who was extremely interested in Rikyū. This Sekishū possessed a country seat close to Nara, the still extant Jiko-in, that has a garden borrowing a view from the nearby landscape. The anecdote of Rikyū appears also in other tea writings all related to Sekishū. For instance in: *Rojikikigaki* or *Sekishū hyakkojō*. See further: CJ p.38, pp.169/70.

122. Entsū-ji, discussed in this chapter, Jiko-in, see note above, Shūgaku-in see note 117, above, are most famous *shakkei* gardens. Mori, *Kobori Enshū no sakuji*, p.146 quotes a section from *Shōbaigoen*, miscellaneous notes by a certain Itagaki, who refers to a borrowed view in a tea garden of a Maeda daimyō (Chūnagon) in Otsu. This section is quoted in chapter 5.4.

123. The garden of Entsū-ji extensively discussed in: Shigemori, *Nihon teiensi taikai*, Vol.15, pp.75-79 and in: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meienki, chūkan*, pp.187-203.

124. This is the same Mount Hie of poet Sōchō's travel notes, see chapter 1.1 of this part on the early modern period.

125. A black and white picture of it is reproduced in: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meienki, chūkan*, p.197.

126. Parties were held for instance in 1649 (K.2.9.13) and in 1657 (M.3.3.23) see quotations from *Kakumeiki* in: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meienki, chūkan*, p.201. Also: Nishi, *Sukiteki kūkan o motomete*, p.45.

127. From: *Kakumeiki* entry 1657 (M.3.3.23), quoted in: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meienki, chūkan*, p.201.

128. See the map of northern Kyōto in: Nishi, *Sukiteki kūkan o motomete*, p.38.

129. See: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meienki, chūkan*, p.198.

130. See: Mori, *Shūgakuin Rikkyū*, pp.185/6. Among these was a Chinese Yinyuan Longqi. He came to Japan in 1654 and was to become head priest in a temple of the Chinese community in Nagasaki. Once in Japan he set up a new Zen sect tailor-made for the early modern merchant elite. In 1658 he got permission to establish a new monastery after an audience with the shōgun himself. He then met with Go-Mizunoo, apparently in search for financial sponsors and a suitable site. See: CJ p.71 for a short biography of this Chinese.

131. See: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meienki, chūkan*, pp.199, and pp.202/3.

132. Illustration from the tourist guide *Shūi Miyako meisho zue*, Vol.3. Reproduced in: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meienki, chūkan*, pp.188/9; A plan of the garden in: Hisatsune, op.cit., p.190 gives the conjectured location of the Banda

Stone.

133. The "Records of the Banda Stone" (*Bandaseki no ki*) were written by Yinyuan Longqi (note 130, above). See: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meienki, chūkan*, pp.200, 202.

134. A visual rhyming of images — or matching of a rhyming idea to an image — is also found in other gardens of the time. See chapters 5.4 and 5.5 of this part.

135. See: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meienki, chūkan*, p.203. Mori, *Shūgakuin Rikkyū*, p.194 dates the garden between the Kei-an and Kanbun periods, that is roughly between 1648 and 1673; he does not mention the Banda Stone.

136. In a statement as "The design of the gardens at the Katsura Palace is Enshū's", the word design indicates the completed composition. I will try to avoid this usage of the word and to employ it above all to indicate the mental intention, the will to create which is a typical achievement in early modern garden art and also implied in the term 'design'.

137. Details on this new administrative position in *Meiji izen Nihon dobokushi*, pp.1652/3.

138. For a biography of Enshū see: CJ pp.305/6 and: Mori, *Kobori Enshū no sakuji*, pp.3ff.

139. From the notes of a certain Sakurayama Kazuari, quoted by: Mori, *Kobori Enshū no sakuji*, p.7.

140. See also the adequate biography of Enshū in: CJ pp.305/6.

141. In 1608: Castle at Sumpu (= Shizuoka); in 1611: Imperial Palace; in 1612: the repairing of Nagoya Castle's main keep, etc., etc., see: Mori, *Kobori Enshū no sakuji*, p.10.

142. Cf. for this visit note 88, above. Also: Nishi *Sukiteki kukan o motomete*, pp.101-107.

143. For a biography of Shōkadō see: CJ p.379 where some incidents are related that prove their friendship. For a short biography of Konoe Nobuhiro see: CJ p.300 and further: Mori, *Kobori Enshū no sakuji*, pp.14-16 on the relation of the latter with Enshū.

144. See: Akamatsu, (ed.), *Kakumeiki*, Vol.I, pp.705, 720, entries 1645 (S.2.5.23), (S.2.7.20,26), etc., etc., Murase Sasuke is among the persons mentioned (Cf. chapter 4.7 in the present paper on the garden at Konchi-in).

145. Concluded in: Mori, *Kobori Enshū no sakuji*, p.14.

146. At this point I will pass by the problem that 'wishes' presuppose a taste on garden art possessed by the laymen/client. This point will be extensively discussed in the following chapter 5.

147. Eight Commissioners were, for instance, appointed at the construction of the Imperial Palace of 1641-'42, (K.18.19). Kobori Enshū stood above these men as a Head Commissioner (*sōbugyō*), see: Hirai, (ed.), *Nakaie monjo no kenkyū*, Vol.I, pp.70/71.

148. See: Hirai, (ed.), *Nakaie monjo kenkyū*, Vol.I, p.4, illustrated with a little diagram showing the hierarchy.

149. A document kept by Nakai Tadashige (present day descendant of the Nakai house) exists that lists up the workers for the construction of the Great Buddha Temple built for Hideyoshi. It notes: men that provide the timber, carpenters, big-saw timber cutters, forgers, roof tile layers, lacquer workers, painters, metal-leaf workers, pavement workers, bell-founders. See: Hirai, (ed.), *Nakaie monjo no kenkyū*, Vol.I, pp.19/21.

150. The colophon of the carpenter drawing for the Nagatani teahouses, that were after all four, only modest structures, states that 610 carpenters worked on it. See: Hirai, (ed.), *Nakaike monjo no kenkyū*, Vol.I, p.77.

151. Some of the drawings are not very detailed and only served to show the general idea. These drawings were referred to as 'overall instruction drawing' (*sōsashizu*), not unlike the modern master plan. They were distinguished from the instruction drawing proper (*sashizu*) that dealt with details. See: Mori, *Kobori Enshū no sakuji*, p.156, referring to quotations from the dairy of priest Sūden *Honkō kokushi nikki*, for instance 1627 (K.4.7.18,29). *Sashizu*, instruction drawing, means always 'plan', never 'elevation', or 'section', see: Hirai, (ed.), *Nakaike monjo no kenkyū*, Vol.I, p.32.

152. The drawings by the Nakai family related to construction works in Imperial Palaces are edited in: Hirai, (ed.), *Nakaike monjo no kenkyū*, from which I already quoted above.

153. See: Hirai, (ed.), *Nakaike monjo no kenkyū*, Vol.I, pp.6/7.

154. This is clear from *Gien jugō nikki* (K.16.1.23), quoted in: Mori, *Kobori Enshū no sakuji*, p.195.

155. See: Mori, *Kobori Enshū no sakuji*, pp.56/7, and pp.195/6.

156. Tea masters present were Matsuya Hisashige (1566-1652) and Katagiri Sekishū (cf. note 121, above). See: Mori, *Kobori Enshū no sakuji*, p.196.

157. According to: Mori, *Kobori Enshū no sakuji*, p.196.

158. Also: Mori, *Kobori Enshū no sakuji*, p.57.

159. See: *Meiji izen Nihon dobokushi*, pp.1277ff, and 1659/60.

160. See for instance: Fujioka, M., *Shiro to shoin (Genshoku Nihon no bijutsu 12)*, Shōgakkan, 1968. Which treats the histories of the still existing castles. A more systematical treatment in Bunkazai Chōsakai (ed.), *Nihon no meijō*, Jinbutsu Ōraisha, 1959.

161. The oldest published manual is in this respect Mōri Shigeyoshi's *Warisan-sho* (1622, reedited in 1627 and 1631). See: Fumoto, K., Watanabe, K., Naitō, A., *Shoki wasansho ni okeru kenchiku sekisan gijutsu* in KENRON (5.1986), no.363, p.115.

162. This was Shirakawa Jihei's manual *Shokanbunbutsu*, better known is Yoshida Mitsuyoshi's *Jinkōki*, see: Fumoto, et al., *Shoki wasansho ni okeru kenchiku sekisan gijutsu*, pp.115ff.

163. See the systematical bibliography in: Fumoto, et al., *Shoki wasansho ni okeru kenchiku sekisan gijutsu*, pp.116/7.

164. This ratio of thickness of the pillars and the span between them differed for types of architecture. It was for instance 0.09 for halls of temples in the Japanese style (*nihondō*) and 0.06 for a residence. In the latter case 12cm. thick pillars would allow for a span of two meters wide. The *kiwari* system (also *kiwari-jutsu*) had existed of old, but now it became actively used, adapted and rationalized. An elaborate *kiwari* calculation appeared in the manual *Shōmei* from 1608. (Cf. note 56, above), see: Oota, et al., (ed.), *Nihon kenchikushi*, pp.249, and 331.

165. See: Hirai, (ed.), *Nakaike monjo no kenkyū*, Vol.I, p.30 where this method of drafting is explained in detail.

166. One *ken* is 6 *shaku* plus 5 *sun*, which makes for 196.95cm. The *ken* is defined like this by: Hirai, (ed.), in *Nakaike monjo no kenkyū*. Mori, *Kobori Enshū no sakuji*, p.74, gives 6 *shaku* and 3 *sun* for one *ken*, which makes for 191cm. for a *ken*. Mori's definition of the *ken* gives impractical scales and seems therefore to

be incorrect. The actual length of the *ken* has changed throughout the centuries.

167. See the drawing of the flowerbed garden of Empress Meishō for instance. The stone verges are also indicated with strips of coloured paper.

168. So-called *okoshie zu*, discussed in: Nishi, *Sukiteki kūkan o motomete*, p.93.

169. The scale of this map is 4 *wake* to one *ken*. The site measured 70 to 79 *ken* in total. Given this information the grid is easily redrawn making use of vague traces of it, that are still visible at the south wall and the elongated building that stands parallel to it. The pillars of this building are drawn on intersections of the grid. Some allowance has to be made for wrinkles and torn parts of the paper of the map. See illustration fig. 64.

170. Most important is the drawing of the Sento Palace, *Kan'ei-do Go-Mizunoojin Goshō ... sashizu*, given as ill.no.13 in: Hirai, (ed.), *Nakaike monjo no kenkyū*, Vol.I. The straight pond edge on the eastern shore of the southern pond still exists. See for instance the research on the garden by: Mori, O., in: *Shūgakuin Rikkyū no fukugenteki kenkyū*, Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjo gakuhō no.2, Tenri Hōsha, Nara, 1954. Also: Mori, O., *Shūgakuin Rikkyū kansei no dankaiteki kōsatsu*, in *Kenchikushi Kenkyū*, no.15 (3.1954), pp.1-11.

171. See a drawing titled *Kan'ei-do Dairi goniwa ezu*, also called *Kinchū gosen-zui no ezu*, dated (K.20.2), see: Hirai, (ed.), *Nakaike monjo no kenkyū*, Vol.I, p.27, ill.no.27, w.comment on p.73. See the illustration fig.65.

172. The term *Enshūgonomi* appears early in relation to instruction drawings for a building that was to be constructed in the Konchi-in temple. The priest of this temple, Sūden noted in his diary that these drawings were "in Enshū's taste" (*Enshūgonomi ittan to yoku sōro*), see: Mori, *Kobori Enshū no sakuji*, p.76, with a quotation from the diary *Honkō kokushi nikki* entry 1628 (K.5.4.22). In later paragraphs of *Kobori Enshū no sakuji*, Mori describes some characteristics of the *Enshūgonomi* for the architecture as well as for garden art, analyzing existing works attributed to him. However this does not result in a very consistent taste, or language of form. Mori includes in the "taste of Enshū" for instance the two opposed views which I described above. Also the borrowed view technique belongs to Mori's idea of the *Enshūgonomi*. It does not seem adequate to apply the term to works of garden art related to Enshū. In the presentday vocabulary of tea experts the term *Enshūgonomi* is only applied to a limited and determined set of tea ceremony implements. See: CJ p.105.

173. See: *Meiji izen Nihon dobokushi*, pp.1678/80. Stones were transported with carts and a typical sledge (*shura*).

174. A profound research into the history of the trade is: Maejima, K., *Jugei Hyakugojūnen*, Fuji Ueki, 1986, regrettably not for sale. Page 41-45 of this source on the establishing of the gardeners' organization in a modern sense. See also the article: *Uekishoku no hensen* by the same author in: Zoen Shūkei Daijiten Henshū linkai (ed.), *Zoen shūkei daijiten*, Dōbōsha Shuppan, 1980, Vol.I, pp.171-173.

175. In *Gien jugō nikki*, entry 1600 (K.3.6.3), quoted by: Mori, *Kobori Enshū no sakuji*, pp.190/1. It speaks of "man from the riverside Yoshirō", who works with his elder and his younger brother.

176. All records from *Gien jugō nikki*, entries (K.4.3.5,7,19,28) and (K.5.2.1,3), quoted by: Mori in: *Kobori Enshū no sakuji*, pp.190-192.

177. Yoshirō worked with is younger and his elder brother, see note 175 above. Kentei worked with his brother and a child, see the 1623 (G.9.3.*misoka*) record,

referred to by Mori in: *Kobori Enshū no sakuji*, p.190.

178. See: Mori, *Kobori Enshū no sakuji*, pp.191/2.

179. See: Mori, *Kobori Enshū no sakuji*, p.190.

180. See: Mori, *Kobori Enshū no sakuji*, pp.191/2, referring to the *Shishōkeiki* 1633 (K.10.8.1).

181. See: Mori, *Kobori Enshū no sakuji*, p.193 referring to a letter of 1656 (M.1.12).

182. See Chion-in related records from: *Kachōyōryaku monshūden*, entries 1642 (K.19.8.25) and 1644 (S.1.12.23), quoted in: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meienki, jōkan*, p.425.

183. See: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meienki, jōkan*, pp.424/5.

184. The garden is treated in: Shigemori, *Nihon teienshi taikai*, Vol.20, pp.4-18 and in: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meienki, jōkan*, pp.397-409, also in: Mori, *Kobori Enshū no sakuji*, pp.81/2.

185. The "Shie Incident", cf. notes 79 and 83, above.

186. See: CJ pp.311/2 and KEJ Vol.7, p.255 for short biographies of this priest. See: Yoshimura, *Shūgakuin Rikkyū*, pp.120-122 on his political role.

187. Mori, *Kobori Enshū no sakuji*, pp.77/8 doubts the truth of the popular belief that the main hall was a second hand building moved from Hideyoshi's Fushimi Castle. He bases this on letters and on the occasion for which all of the temple was upgraded: the shogunal visit.

188. From Sūden's diary *Honkō kokushi nikki*. Mori, in: *Kobori Enshū no sakuji*, pp.81/2, also p.192; Mori seems to mix up dates of the entries, which makes the order of things unclear. I relied on: Shigemori, *Nihon teienshi taikai*, Vol.20, pp.4-18 and: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meienki, jōkan*, pp.397-409. The following section treats the record chronologically.

189. Drawing reproduced in: Mori, *Kobori Enshū no sakuji*, bl./w. illustration no.25.

190. See: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meienki, jōkan*, p.406. The stone that was hauled with forty-five oxen, is the beak of the crane that was originally intended to be used as a stone bridge.

191. Treated earlier in chapter 8.1 of part two of this work.

192. See: Mori, *Kobori Enshū no sakuji*, p.75.

193. See: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meienki, jōkan*, p.407, also chapter 5.3 of part two where this stone was discussed in its mediaeval context.

194. See: Varley, et al., "The Culture of Tea", in: Ellison, et al., (ed.) *Warlords, Artists and Commoners*, pp.209/10.

195. The discussion on taste has a respectable tradition in Europe, and plays an important role in the eighteenth century English theories of garden art. See comprehensively the article: Tonelli, G., "Taste in the history of aesthetics from the Renaissance to 1770", in: Wiener, P.P., et al. (ed.), *Dictionary of the History of Ideas, Studies of selected pivotal ideas*, New York, 1973, Vol.4, pp.353-357. The writer discusses also the problem of the identity of taste and its definition.

196. See my note 236 of part two, above, that deals with this mediaeval attitude towards art.

197. For biographies of Ikkyū, see: Keene, *Some Japanese Portraits*, pp.15-25, or: CJ pp.54/5.

198. From 1514 on Sōchō had his cottage called Baioku-ken in Shinju-an, a subtemple of Daitoku-ji. See his words on its garden and other fixtures which I

quoted in chapter 1.2 of part three. A simple garden east of the present main hall features fifteen natural rocks arranged in three groups of 7, 5, and 3 rocks. It is most likely that this garden dates from the time of the large scale rebuildings of the early 17th century (therefore not of Sōchō's time), though this can not be concluded with absolute certainty. See for instance: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meienki, jōkan*, pp.229-236.

199. See: Ludwig, T.M., "Before Rikyū — Religious and Aesthetic Influences in the Early History of the Tea Ceremony", MN XXXVI, no.4, (1981), p.387.

200. The popularizing of Zen with Ikkyū shortly discussed in: Sanford, J.H., "Ikkyū (1394-1481)", in: KEJ Vol.3, pp.269/70. Cf. also note 202, 203, and 205 below.

201. See: Ludwig, "Before Rikyū", p.388, referring to: Murata, T., *Ningen Ikkyū: Ten'i muho na godō to sono shōgai*, Shiobunsha, 1963, pp.72/4, pp.87/9.

202. See: Keene, *Some Japanese Portraits*, p.23, or the article on Ikkyū: Hisamatsu, S., *Biographical Dictionary of Japanese Literature*, Tōkyō, 1970.

203. Ludwig, "Before Rikyū", p.388 reads this from the, in Ikkyū's works, often returning words *sono mama*, "just as it is". Professor Yanagida Seizan, in the lecture: *Fūryū, fūga, fūkyō*, that he held on the 20th of March 1986 as a farewell for this retirement (Kyoto Daigaku Jimbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo) stressed Ikkyū's abundant use of the word 'wind' (*kaze, fū-*) and, linking it to other classical literature, explained its meaning similar to Ludwig, "just as the wind".

204. Ludwig, "Before Rikyū", p.388 points further to painter Soga Dasoku and to Yamazaki Sōkan, an important figure in the establishing of unconventional forms of poetry. Cf. note 18, chapter one, above, and see also KEJ Vol.8, p.313, for a short biography of Sōkan. See: CJ p.313 on Konparu Zenchiku.

205. See: Ludwig, "Before Rikyū" pp.388/9. One spoke of *hiekareta*, "chilled and dried up", as an ideal to strive for. See: Hammitzsch, H., "*Zu den Begriffen 'wabi' und 'sabi' im Rahmen der japanischen Künste*", in: NOAG 85/86 (1959), p.44, on how this ideal of the "chilled and driep up" stands in the literary tradition. Shukō (see note below) had received a copy of the catalogue Kundaikansauki (Cf. note 115, part two, above) from Noami. He was therefore instrumental in transferring the late mediaeval aristocratic culture to the merchants' class. See also: Hayashiya, *Zuroku chadōshi*, pp.183/4. That Ikkyū was priest in Daitoku-ji is also not without significance for the transition of ideals of restraint from mediaeval to early modern times. The early mediaeval Chinese teachers of Zen at Daitoku-ji had been strict and severe. Their adepts carried on the tradition of spartanity, fuelled by their opposition to the shogunate-sponsored Five Monasteries that were effectively academies of Chinese learning; the religiosity of teachings given there can be doubted. Well into the 17th century Daitoku-ji was backed-up and patronaged by the Imperial Court. The strife for religious retreat as a way to enlightenment gained aspects of frugal orthodoxism at Daitoku-ji, specifically when the Five Monasteries were prospering. Ikkyū entered the scene when the opposed positions of both monastic orientations began to disappear, basically because of the weakened position of the shogunate and the Five Monasteries they sponsored. See shortly on this point: Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teiensi*, pp.248/9. An excellent article on the popularization of Zen in relation to the new urban fashionable society of tea and linked verse poetry is: Tanaka, H., "*Renga no to Jōō, Shotetsu monogatari ni miru uta to chayū*", in: *Chadōshi Tankō*, 7-1985, pp.134-141.

206. On Shukō, also Jukō, see: Hennemann, H.S., “*Cha-no-yu: die Tee-Kultur Japans, Eine Ideengeschichte der Ästhetik des Sadō*”, in: NOAG 127/128 (1980), pp.30/1, or: Varley, et al., “The Culture of Tea”, in: Elison, et al., (ed.) *Warlords, Artists and Commoners.*, pp.205-207. The 17th century tea manual Nampōroku describes his recluse-hut; the text is given in modern type in: Uehara (ed.), *Nampōroku - Rojikikigaki*, p.18 for the description of Shukō’s hut. (= *zashiki*, usually translated as reception room, ‘hut’ seems more appropriate, judging from the description of it.)

207. See: Mikami, T., *The Art of Japanese Ceramics*, New York, Tōkyō, 1979, pp.58/9, and pp.122ff., where this pottery (from Ise and Bizen) is described. See also, Hennemann, “*Cha-no-yu*”, p.30 or: Varley, et al., “The Culture of Tea”, in: Elison, et al., (ed.) *Warlords, Artists and Commoners.*, p.206.

208. The word ‘countryside’ suggests a simple and rustic appearance of the retreat. Cf. chapter 1.4 where this record was quoted; from the same source *Nisuiki* 1526 (D.6.8.23): “Sōju exemplifies rightly today’s *suki* (taste), he is a layman from among the commoners of Kyōto’s Shimogyō. He is an expert in *suki* (matters of taste)”. Original page reproduced in: Hayashiya, *Zuroku chadōshi*, ill.no.282-1.

209. Cf. chapter 2.1 of this part where his intermediate role, between the leading military and Sakai’s merchant elite, was discussed. See also: Tanaka, “*Renga no to Jōdō*”, on the role he played in the late mediaeval world of aesthetes.

210. See: Hammitzsch, “*Zu den Begriffen ‘wabi’ und ‘sabi’ im Rahmen der japanischen Künste*”, pp.38/9.

211. Translated from the section in the article *sukisha* in the dictionary *Dainippon Kokugo Jiten*, Vol.3, p.424, that quotes Jōdō’s words from *Kōyō Gunkan*, Vol.14, part 40, this source is an early 17th century compilation of remarks and stories on politics, war, technique of fighting and the ideals of the warrior class centering around Takeda Shingen (1521-’73), a major warrior of western Japan.

212. The word *suki* (taste) is etymologically related to *suki* (to like). The word *sukisha*, which I translated as Man of True Taste has therefore also connotations of ‘lover-amateur’. See also Matsunaga Teitoku’s complaint on the degradation of the intentions of the true *sukisha* in his days. Quoted in note 10 in chapter 1.1 of this part. In a more phenomenological way of interpretation one can also connect the meaning of *suki* to tastes in food. The matching of different flavours into the whole of one dish finds its parallel in the matching of tea implements, not only to each other, but also to the occasion, i.e. the time of the year, the personality of the visiting guest, etc. in order to create a consistent atmosphere of the party. See: Hayashiya, T., *Kinsei dentō bunkaron*, p.136, referring to a Japanese ratatouille dish *sukiyaki*, ‘fry-it-as-you-like-it’.

213. See for a short biography of the Portugese: KEJ Vol. 6 p.334. When Rodriguez wrote this account, he was already living outside Japan for a couple of years. He obviously romanticizes his memories a little, which sounds almost as if it was written yesterday.

214. Quoted from the English translation of the section in: Cooper, M., SJ., *Rodriguez the Interpreter*, New York, Tōkyō, p.311. In another section Rodriguez distinguishes between the “proper taste” (*fonnoky, fonzuki, = honsuki*) and the “poverty taste” (*vabizuchi, vabizuky = wabisuki*). The former requires implements of exorbitant prices, so that the men of proper taste, according to Rodriguez come only from higher classes. The “poverty taste” is the true taste,

that tries to imitate poverty, and as it does not require expensive dishes or extraordinary implements, it is a more popular taste. The essence of the distinction Rodriguez makes is the division in a formal proper style and a true style of simplicity, not unlike Jōō, although the determining difference according to Rodriguez lies with prices and not with the true intention. See Jōō on this point, quoted in chapter 5.1. Rodriguez uses the word *suki* in many ways. Sometimes it simply identifies the gathering, the occasion of the tea meeting, (as with Oribe, cf. note 222, below), at other instances he speaks of *suki* as *arte* and hints at the Zen religion. Then his idea of *suki* seems to be very close to the meaning it carried for Sōchō. Extensive translations of Rodriguez' works in: Ema, T., et al., (ed.), *Joan Rodorigesu, Nihon Kyōkaishi, jōkan*, in *Daikōkai Jidai Sōsho*, Vol.IX, Iwanami, 1973, for instance: pp.602/3, or p.624 on the identity of types of *suki*. See: Elison, et al., (ed.) *Warlords, Artists and Commoners*, p.265, and pp.332-333 for bibliographical notes on Rodriguez' work.

215. This specific connoisseurship on points is also apparent in the *Yamanoue no sōjiki*, see for instance the quotations from this source in: Kuwata, T., et al., (ed.), *Shūshin chadō zenshū*, Vol.5, *Chajinhen*, Sōgensha, Ōsaka, 1951, pp.134/5.

216. See on this early communication of the garden cultures of sixteenth century Europe and Japan, in relation to the birth of a modern taste: Nakamura, M., "Sharawaji ni tsuite", pp.243-257 in: Nakamura, M., (ed.), *Zōen no rekishi to bunka*, Yōkendō, 1987. William Chambers (1726-1796): *A Dissertation on Oriental Gardening*, 1772. A contemporary french translation (G. Griffin, Londres 1772-1773) is in the special collection of the Central Library of the Agricultural University, Wageningen, The Netherlands. See further: Hadfield, M., *A History of British Gardening*, London 1979, pp.220/1 on Chambers.

217. Paraphrasing the Japanese translation of the Portuguese given in: Ema, et al., (ed.), *Joan Rodorigesu*, p.614.

218. From the notes of Sakai's tea master Yamanoue Sōji (*Yamanoue no sōjiki*), quoted in: Itō, T., Futagawa, Y., Tanaka, I., *Sukiya*, Tankōshinsha, 1967, p.49. (An English translation of this work is: Itoh, T., Futagawa, I., *The Elegant Japanese House, Traditional 'Sukiya' Architecture*, New York, Tokyo, Kyoto, 1978.) The *Yamanoue no sōjiki* dates from the late 1580's, for its complicated bibliography see: CJ p.777. The extremely small teahouses were for instance criticized by Uraku, relative of Oda Nobunaga, see: Itō, same source, p.61.

219. From *Yamanoue no sōjiki*, quoted in: Itō, T., *Sukiya*, p.49.

220. See: Hayashiya, *Zuroku chadōshi*, p.255, quoting from: *Tamon-in nikki*, diary of Eishun, Kōfuku-ji, Nara. See also: Varley, et al., "The Culture of Tea", in: Elison, et al., (ed.) *Warlords, Artists and Commoners*, p.221.

221. They also established schools for teaching the etiquette. A particular hierarchy in which a famous tea expert would lead his disciples the way, the so called *iemoto* system, attached even more importance to the leader's (= *iemoto*) personal tastes. The present famous schools of tea date from the early modern period. Every new *iemoto* still establishes his own personal standards to be adopted by all disciples throughout the country.

222. The notes of Oribe do not deal with *suki* on a theoretical level. The word means simply 'tea meeting' in the notes. On the merging of the two versions of Tea, *sōan* and *shoin*, see: Horiguchi, S., et al., (ed.), *Cha no kenchiku to niwa*, p.132.

223. See on this point: Hayashiya, *Zuroku chadōshi*, pp.306/7. Oribe's wife

was for example from the Nakagawa house of Ibaraki, from circles that were highly involved with the Portuguese missionaries and the christianity they had brought. Hosokawa Sansai, one of Oribe's more important disciples, married a Christian woman, known as Gracia.

224. Famous is a type of ceramic candle stand, Oribe designed, in form of a Portuguese, recognizable as such by his big nose, buttoned blouson and baggy trousers. Illustrated in: Hayashiya, *Zuroku chadōshi*, ill.no.508. The heterogeneous collection of, strongly western-influenced, art works that remained from this period of openness and contact with European nations is referred to as 'art of the southern barbarians' (*namban geijutsu*), as Portuguese, English and Dutchmen came through the southern Malacca Straits. Although it formed hardly a lasting or integrated aspect of Japanese culture and arts, its exotics were highly appreciated by tea experts and men of taste of the time. See for instance: Okamoto, Y., *The Namban Art of Japan*, New York, Tokyo, 1972.

225. Translated from a quotation of *Sōjimboku*, published in 1612, in: Hayashiya, *Zuroku chadōshi*, p.307, (also ill.no's.504-508). A good impression of Oribe's taste in pottery can be had through the many illustrations in: Fujioka, R., *Shino and Oribe Ceramics*, Tokyo, New York, San Francisco, 1977. The work is not too strong on the historical facets of Oribe and his times. Better is perhaps: Fukuda, H., (ed.), *Taiyō yakimono no shirizu, Shino Oribe*, Heibonsha, 1976.

226. Translated from a quotation (probably from *Oribe kikigaki*) in: Tanaka, *Nihon no teien*, p.123.

227. See chapter 2.7 of this part. For Oribe's use of big or conspicuous stones, see some of his advises in: Ichino, (ed.), *Furuta Oribe chasho I*, pp.85, 89, etc.

228. See: Ichino, (ed.), *Furuta Oribe chasho I*, pp.83/4.

229. See: Ichino, (ed.), *Furuta Oribe chasho I*, p.95.

230. See: Ichino, (ed.), *Furuta Oribe chasho I*, p.95.

231. Ichino mentions in her footnote, interpreting the term *tōboku*, only tropical hardwoods, like ironwood, sandalwood, and ebony. See: Ichino, (ed.), *Furuta Oribe chasho I*, p.97. I wonder whether these would be hardy in the region of Kyōto and Ōsaka, where Oribe was operating. The notes address perhaps imports like Hibiscus (imp. 1613, '63), Cedrela (imp. Kan'ei period, 1624-'43, at Obakuzan in Uji), Cydonia (1643, Nagasaki), and the like. Such, more conspicuous species are more likely to have been fancied by the daimyō's from the provinces, to whom Oribe and his school of etiquette was catering.

232. See shortly on this point: Tanaka, S., "Aesthetic Background to the Tea Ceremony", in JQ XVIII, No.4 (10-12, 1971), p.418. This point is extensively discussed in the next chapter, 5.3, of this work.

233. See: Kato, *A History of Japanese Literature*, p.155, on this pattern of behaviour, when discussing Kamo no Chōmei. Also: Mizuo, H., *Edo Painting, Sotatsu and Kōrin*, New York, Tokyo, 1972, pp.65/6. That the works of art produced in Kyōto were an expression of opposition to the shogunate, as Mizuo states, seem too simple reasoning. Sano (Sumiya) Shōeki (Cf. note 85, above) in his *Nigiwaigusa* (1682) said that Kōetsu realizes the realities of the feudal society, and although he lives and moves around adapting to the authorities, he nevertheless freely makes his pottery and produces calligraphy, bringing this into the world. Transcribing a quotation in: Hayashiya, *Zuroku chadōshi*, p.361. This remark leaves us no doubt about Kōetsu's attitude, that was adaptive and escapist, rather than openly criticizing society.

234. See the article: Katō, S., "Kōetsu oboegaki", in Taiyō zasshi, *Kōetsu*, Heibonsha, pp.14,15. Chapter 12, "The return to native traditions", in: Paine, et al., *The Art and Architecture of Japan*, pp.112-120 treats the Kyōto based return to the classical traditions and the position of Kōetsu. See also: Hayashiya, *Zuroku chadōshi*, pp.359-365.

235. Katō, "Kōetsu oboegaki" quoting from *Hon'ami gyōjōki*.

236. Katō, "Kōetsu oboegaki" referring to a section from *Razan sensei bunshū*, Vol.17, *Takagamine ki*.

237. The Emperor and his entourage were for instance still walking around in fashionable Portuguese costume in 1626, when anti-foreign sentiments were already mounting among the daimyō-elite. See Coenraet Kramer's account of the visit in: Caron, *Rechte Beschrijvinghe van het Machtigh Coninckrijcke Japan* (cf. note 88, above). See: Mizuo, *Edo Painting, Sotatsu and Kōrin*, p.66 with some explicit statements on the opposing views.

238. Tale of Genji, chapter 48, 'Early Ferns', in Seidensticker's translation, where *tsukushi* (horse tails) is translated as 'bracken', p.872, op. cit. See also the original Japanese in: NKBT Vol.18, p.11.

239. The section from *Nigiwaigusa*, (Cf. note 233, above), quoted in: Mori, *Katsura Rikkyū*, p.201. Also, in an English translation in: Naito, *Katsura*, pp.122/3. Mori dates this source 1691 (G.4).

240. Prince Toshihito from the Katsura Palace greatly admired Emperor Go-Toba (1180-1239) who tried to overthrow the military government of his days, see: Naito, *Katsura*, p.97.

241. See for a short biography of Kubo Gondayū: CJ p.251 Other 'hermits' of these days were for instance Hosokawa Yūsai (1534-1610), a man of letters and tea expert, who retreated to a hermitage at the foot of Mt. Kinugasa, a hill in western Kyōto, in 1603. See: Keene, *Some Japanese Portraits*, p.80, or: CJ p.694; and Yūsai's follower, also friend of Enshū, the poet Kinoshita Chōshōshi (1569-1649), who lived in retirement in Kyōto from about 1600 on, after some political problems. See: Keene, *Some Japanese Portraits*, pp.81,83, or: CJ pp.226/7. To get some idea of the romantic appearance of the early modern hermitage and garden one may visit the hut of calligrapher, aesthete Shōkadō Shōjō (1584-1639), who retreated to Mt. Otoko, Yawata, south of Kyōto, or the house of Ishikawa Jōzan (1583-1672), known as Shisendō, in north east Kyōto. Shōkadō's hermit hut was moved to its present site at the end of the last century, the entrance porch is all that remained of the house where he actually lived. See for his biography: CJ p.379, and: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meienki*, gekan, pp.439-474 on his hut known as Shōkadō, or: Yawata Shimin Bunka Jigyōdan, (ed.), *Shiseki Shōkadō, shiryōkan, chashiitsu*, 1984. For a biography of Jōzan see: CJ p.41 and the little booklet: *Shisendō*, (Benridō) sold at the Shisendō house and garden. For the history of this place see: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meienki*, chūkan, pp.21-43. The lower parts of the garden, where teahouses can be found, are later additions; in previous times vegetables were grown there.

242. See: Kuwata, et al., (ed.), *Chadō Zenshū, Chajinhen*, pp.296/7, with a quotation from Kubo Gondayū's memoirs, the *Chōandō ki*.

243. See: Hayashiya, *Zuroku chadōshi*, pp.312ff., not always the same individuals were considered to belong to the Seven Disciples. Names differ in almost every tea manual. Only orthodox followers of Rikyū, like Hosokawa Sansai, were considered to be one of the Seven. Oribe was far too liberal and is often omitted.

Jōō and Shukō were fit into a consistent interpretation of the history of Tea in the manual *Nampōroku*.

244. The manual *Sukidō daii*, also known through other handwritten copies. See: CJ p.399 for a short bibliography.

245. Translated from the quotation in: Horiguchi, *Cha no kenchiku to niwa*, p.160.

246. For instance in *Kissa zatsuwa*, which is quoted on this point in: Kimura, *Chanoyu teien seiryū ronko*, p.240. The quotation from the *Hermit's Grove* (*Senrin*, 1612), also on this page, op. cit.

247. See the bibliography of this manual in: Varley, et al., "The Culture of Tea", in: Elison, et al., (ed.) *Warlords, Artists and Commoners*, note on pp.325/6.

248. Poem by Fujiwara Sada'ie (first years of 13th century), see for instance: Hammitzsch, H., *Shinkokin wakashū*, Stuttgart, 1964, pp.68/9, w. comment. Here quoted in the English translation given in: Varley, et al., "The Culture of Tea", in: Elison, et al., (ed.) *Warlords, Artists and Commoners*, p.210.

249. Translation adapted from: Varley, et al., "The Culture of Tea", in: Elison, et al., (ed.) *Warlords, Artists and Commoners*, p.327, (note 51), checking on the original text given in: Uehara, K., *Kaisetsu Nampōroku bassui, Roji kikigaki*, Kajima shoten, 1983, p.16, and the German translation of this section given in: Hennemann, "Cha-no-yu", p.32.

250. Hammitzsch, "Zu den Begriffen 'wabi' und 'sabi' im Rahmen der japanischen Künste", pp.44-47 makes clear how the late mediaeval, "chilled and dried up" (Cf. note 12, above) returns in the early modern world of aesthetics. See also: Horiguchi, *Rikyū no chashitsu*, pp.442/3 on the tradition of Heian loneliness and the appreciation of the countryside (*yamasato*) continued into the early modern period.

251. See: Uehara, *Kaisetsu Nampōroku bassui, Roji kikigaki*, p.57.

252. Quoted from: *Kobori Enshū kakisute no fumi*, given in: Hennemann, "Cha-no-yu", pp.38, and 43. Hennemann comments that this reminds of the famous beginning of the classical *Pillow Book*, *Makura no sōshi*: "Haru wa akebono...", etc.

253. A classical poem by the poet Saigyō (1118-1190), see: Tanaka, *Nihon no teien*, p.98. Tanaka treats the spreading of leaves or pine needles in the tea garden extensively.

254. Advise on this design idea by Seigan (1588-1661), from Daitoku-ji, quoted from Seigan's notes in: Tanaka, *Nihon no teien*, pp.102/3.

255. Translated from the quotation from a manual by Yamada Sōhen (1627-1708), given in: Tanaka, *Nihon no teien*, p.106.

256. Many of the stone lanterns in the gardens of the Katsura Palace are made from Teshima stone. (Teshima, or Tejima, after the name of the island in the Seto Inland Sea where this stone is found.) This type of stone witheres that quickly that lanterns have to be replaced after twenty, thirty years. The management of the garden keeps identically cut stone lanterns for many years in a yard at the back of the palace, to be able to replace the broken lanterns by nicely withered ones. The same type of stone was used for the two staircases leading from the waterfront to the Shoi-ken tea house. The steps are now as withered as to be almost overgrown by moss. See also for instance an advise on the material evoking of *sabi* in *Kaku kaku Sainyōshin kikigaki*, from the Omote school of tea ceremony that advises to

use small stones cemented in a not too wide slab to evoke the effect of *sabi*, quoted in: Horiguchi, *Rikyū no chashitsu*, p.504.

257. See: Horiguchi, *Rikyū no chashitsu*, pp.483/4 on the use of stepping stones deeply embedded in the ground, for which the words *sabitaru yō*, “as if rusted together”, were used by Hosokawa Sansai. Iron oxide mixed with sand and loam was used to finish walls of rooms, which gave a nice brownish patina. To be seen for instance in the tea houses and annex rooms of the temple Manshū-in, north east Kyōto. Also Rikyū made use of this technique. See: Itoh, *The Elegant Japanese House*, p.49.

258. Translated from the *Yamanoue no sōjiki*, quotation in: Itō, *Sukiya*, p.61.

259. See on this requirement at the tea meetings: Itō, *Sukiya*, p.61, with a quote on the *kaiseikiriyōri*, the tea ceremony dishes that had to express originality as the rest of the entertainment. Itō gives no source of this quote.

260. Translated from the quotation from Anrakuan Sakuden's *Seisuishō* (1623, G.9, 8 volumes), as given in the dictionary *Dainippon Kokugo Jiten*, entry *saku*. See on Anrakuan Sakuden also the short biography in: *Nihon Bungaku Kojiten*, p.41.

261. See: Mori, *Kobori Enshū no sakuji*, pp.47 and 48. It gives a quotation from *Meiryō kōhan zokuhen - go* that quite humorously describes the disappointment of Hidetada when visiting a tea house Enshū had designed: “(Hidetada thought)...the ridge of the roof too low, and things like the ceiling of too much taste (*monozuki sugite*)”, op.cit., p.47. And on p.48 a quote from *Shōhō nikki zōho*, dated 1645 (S.2.7.28), that relates of a visit of daimyō Abe Chikugo no Kami to the Second Outworks (*ni no maru*) of the Edo castle, where a tea garden was designed by Enshū. Iemitsu ordered at that time to reconstruct the garden because it did not comply with his tastes. Abe objected, but works were carried out, because a shōgun can change things as many times as he likes, which is not a matter of good or bad, as the passage states.

262. Referring to pp.296/7 of the chapter “Contemplation and Creativity”, in: Arnheim, R., *Towards a Psychology of Art*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1966.

263. Translated from the *Yamanoue no sōjiki*, quotation in: Itō, *Sukiya*, p.61.

264. Translated from a certain Itagaki's *Shōbaigoen*, given as a quotation in: Mori, *Kobori Enshū no sakuji*, p.146. Daimyō Chūnagon is Maeda Toshitsune (d.1658), see also: Itoh, T., *Space and Illusion*, p.57.

265. A significant personality expounding this view was, of course, Bruno Taut (1884-1938), the German architect who was in Japan from 1933-'36. In his *Grundlinien der Architektur Japans*, Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai, Tokyo, 1936, he states for instance: *Von "ewiger Schönheit" kann man also nur insofern sprechen, als bestimmte Werke, sei es der gotische Dom und der dorische Tempel oder der Ise-Schrein und der Palast von Katsura, die Forderungen nicht reiner und eindringlicher erfüllen konnten, die ihnen vom Lande, seinen klimatischen und sonstigen Bedingungen gestellt waren, kurz, von der Gesamtheit all der Dinge, auf denen sich das Werk als ihre Formwerdung erhob... Ewige Schönheit — das bedeutet führen. Somit gibt es heute nichts Exotisches mehr, weder für Japan in Europa noch umgekehrt... So verschieden die Länder und Menschen sein mögen, so genau gleich ist ihre Logik, ihre rationale und ästhetische. Eternal beauty, as found in the buildings of the Ise Shrine or in the Palace at Katsura, is an architectural form that follows the requirements and conditions of its function in a pure and clear way. This does not give an exact representation of all of Taut's ideas, but rather*

illustrates his biased enthusiasm for the architecture of the Katsura palace and its gardens. That Taut was so enthusiastic about Katsura's simplicity was because of his experiences in Europe with the modern movement in architecture. Compare also chapter 8.2 of part two of this work on the pre-war cultural climate in Japan, in the light of which Taut's experiences and evaluations must be seen.

266. From the earlier seventeenth century on, lofty theories on simplicity became popular through the commercially published manuals on the tea etiquette. Entering the tea house, walking along the stepping stones, for instance, became to be viewed as something almost religious. The manual *Nampōroku* states that it was Rikyū who taught one should set aside the numerous distracting thoughts so that Buddha's heart could be exposed when approaching the tea house over the dewy ground. The 'dewy ground', is a concept from the Lotus Sutra, referring to the evanescence of human existence, it is pronounced *roji*. The characters with which this word is written became generally used to refer to the tea garden, in stead of the word 'approach', which is also pronounced as *roji*, but written differently. See: Kimura in: *Chanoyu teien seiryū ronko*, p.234 on the history of this word. See the quotation of the *Nampōroku* in: Kitao, *Chaniwa*, p.106, or another section of the manual in: Uehara, *Kaisetsu Nampōroku bassui, Roji kikigaki*, p.48. I wonder if an experience of beauty in the romantic, man-made nature of the tea garden was not mistaken for a religious experience of the presence of Buddha. If these nonetheless should be the same, then tea gardens should be classified in the same ranks as other Buddhist art. See on the problem of religious interpretation of garden art also my chapter on the Zen interpretation in part two of this thesis.

267. See: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meienki, jōkan*, pp.265-277, on the history and design ideas of the garden.

268. See: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meienki, jōkan*, p.273 on the name and its allusions. Enshū got the idea from a poem by Shun'oku Sōen (Kokushi) (1529-1611), who had been associating with Imai Sōkyū, Rikyū and others. It shows Enshū's interest in the merchant's tea of the late 16c.

269. See: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meienki, jōkan*, p.274, on this name, taken from a poem attributed to Zhuang zhou (also Zhuang zi), a contemporary of Mencius (370?-290?BC). See also chapter 7 in: Mori, *Kobori Enshū no sakuji*.

270. Original drawing reproduced in: Mori, *Kobori Enshū no sakuji*, ill.no.42, or 43, also the photo of the approach, ill.49.

271. Cf. note 268, above, and chapter 5.3 that explains the revival of merchant's tea in these days.

NOTES TO THE FIGURES

- Fig.'s 1, 2. The illustrations were taken from: Hall, J.W., Mass, P.M., (ed.), *Medieval Japan, Essays in Institutional History*, New Haven, London, 1974, pp.14,16. The chapter "Kyoto As Historical Background", pp.3ff., gives a lot of information on the imperial government of the Heian period.
- Fig. 3. The picture was taken from: Shimoyama, *Sakuteiki, The Book of Garden*, where it is reproduced as last page of Shimoyama's introduction.
- Fig. 4. The plan was taken from: Oota Hirotarō, *Zusetsu Nihon jūtaku shi*, p.24, that gives a redrawn version of the original plan as it was presented in: Oota Seiroku, *Tōsanjōden no kenkyū*, in: Kenchiku Gakkai Ronbonsū, Vol.21, april 1941, ill.10, p.17. See also: Mori, *Heian jidai teien no kenkyū*, p.474, ill.no.32, for the details of the garden in this map.
- Fig. 5. The sketch was traced from a photograph of the reconstructed model as it is given in: Mori, *Teien*, (1984), p.16. The caption at the photo in this source says that this is a model of the palace Hōjūji-den, but this is a misprint. The buildings are clearly recognizable as the palace Tōsanjōden, for instance by the large eastern annex. Hōjūji-den had an annex on the west side.
- Fig. 6. The sketch was traced from the reproduction in: Akiyama, *Emakimono*, p.80-82, ill.no.63. The painting is in the Sōtarō Kubo Collection.
- Fig. 7. The sketch was traced from the reproduction in: Nagasaka, K., *Nihon emakimono shūsei*, Yuzankaku, 1931, Vol.12, pp.20-23.
- Fig. 8. The sketch was traced from a photo of a model reconstructing the appearance of the palace Hōjūji-den that appeared in: Ebata, *Niwa*, p.37. The planting and the paths in this model were not conjectured from historic sources.
- Fig. 9. The sketch was traced from reproductions of the original that appeared in: Akiyama, *Emakimono*, pp.138-140, and in: Itō, *Nihon no niwa, an Approach to Nature*, pp.154/5.
- Fig. 10. The plan appeared in: Fujishima, et al., *Mōtsuji garan daiichiji hakkutsu chōsa*, in: Kenchikushi Kenkyū, no.25 (1957.9), p.3. It was slightly adapted for this publication.
- Fig. 14. Simplified and redrawn from the diagram given as appendix in: Morohashi, et al., *Daishūkan shinkanwa jiten*, p.1063.
- Fig. 15. Redrawn from the drawing given in: Mori, *Shindenzukuri-kei teien no rit-chiteki kōsatsu*, unnumbered page, illustration I.
- Fig. 17. The original is titled *Kenchō-ji sashizu*, a redrawn plan is given in: Oota, et al., *Zendera to sekitei*, p.177, ill.9. See also: Kenchikugaku Taikei Henshū linkai (ed.), *Nihon kenchiku shi*, Tokyo, 1978, p.187/8 for more information on this map. The screen tone was added for clarity.
- Fig. 18. The sketch gives the locations and appearance as these can be conjectured from a few contemporary descriptions given in: Oota, et al., *Zendera to sekitei*, pp.214/5. See also the small map indicating the probable position of some of the buildings in: Yoshinaga, Y., *Saihō-ji teien ni kansuru shiryō to*

- kosho*, part II, p.26 in: *Kenchiku Bunka* 2 (1946), reproduced in: Hennig, *Der Karesansui Garten*, p.112.
- Fig. 19. Reproduced from: Toda, T., *Mokkei, Gyokukan*, Suiboku Bijutsu Taikai, Vol.3, Kōdansha, 1978, pp.18/19, ill.7. 'Mokkei', in the title of this work is the Japanese transcription of the Chinese 'Mu Xi'.
- Fig. 20. The sketches were made, interpreting the seventeenth century ones that are given in: Uehara, *Kaishien Jusekigafu*, p.87/8.
- Fig. 21. The sketch does not rely on a specific historic painting. Compositions are usually far more elaborate. See also fig.22.
- Fig. 22. The illustration was taken from a reproduction of the painting given in: Suzuki, K., *Ritō, Baen, Kakei*, vol.2 in the series: Suiboku Bijutsu Taikai, Kōdansha, 1978, p.94, ill.58.
- Fig. 23. The perspective sketch from Tenryū-ji's waterfall was constructed from the detailed plan and elevations of the rock arrangements in: Shigemori, *Nihon teien shi taikai*, Vol.4, p.51/2.
- Fig. 24. The perspective sketch was constructed from the plan of Tenryū-ji given in: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meien ki, gekan*, pp.24/5.
- Fig. 26. The illustration is taken from *Nihon kenchikushi zushū*, p.59, ill.1. A colour reproduction of the original, *Boki-e*, scroll no.5, section 3, may be found in: Hayashiya, *Zuroku chadōshi*, ill.no.2 pp.2/3.
- Fig. 27. The illustration is taken from: *Nihon kenchikushi zushū*, p.59, ill.8, where it was redrawn from the *Kundaikan sa-u chōki*, most likely from the well known version *Tōhaku bon*.
- Fig. 28. The drawing was taken from: Shigemori, *Nihon teien shi taikai*, Vol.6, appendix and adapted a little for the present publication.
- Fig. 29. This illustration appeared in: Nagashima, *Zōen seizu jissū*, p.122.
- Fig. 32. The painting is reproduced in: Oota, et al., *Zendera to Sekitei*, p.77, ill. no.52, from which the present figure was taken.
- Fig. 34. The sketch is traced from the reproduction of the original in: Ōyama, *Ryōan-ji sekitei*, pp.46-49 (with comment on this illustration).
- Fig. 35. The illustration appeared in: Akisato, R., *Miyako meisho zue*, Ōsaka, 1780, last volume.
- Fig. 36. The plan is traced from a reproduction of the original in: Ōyama, *Ryōan-ji sekitei*, pp.41-43 with comment. Ōyama is not very critical on the history of this plan. It is kept in the treasury of the temple Myōshin-ji, of which Ryōan-ji is a branch temple.
- Fig. 37. The illustration by Sakuma Sōen is from: Akisato, R., *Miyako rinsen meisho zue*, Ōsaka, 1799, vol.4. A selection of this five-volume original is re-edited as: Uehara, K., *Miyako rinsen meisho zue (sho)*, Kajima Shoten, 1975.
- Fig. 38. The picture appeared in: Akisato, R., *Tsukiyama teizōden (gohen)*, Ōsaka, 1828.
- Fig. 41. The model is on display in the museum at Ichijōdani where all the artefacts excavated on the various sites are kept. See also: Asakurashi Iseki Shiryōkan, *Ichijōdani*, 1986, edited by the museum that gives a photo of the model on p. 18..
- Fig.'s 43-47. Photo's were taken from the facsimile edition (April 1930) of the scroll that was kept by the daimyō family Maeda.
- Fig. 48. The illustration is a detail from a reproduction of a section of the original early sixteenth century *Rakuchū rakugaizu*, "Sights in and around Kyōto",

- pair of six-fold screens, colour on paper, owned by Machida Mitsujirō, Tōkyō. Section reproduced in: Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, (ed.), *Rakuchū rakugaizu*, Kadogawa Shoten, 1966, ill.no.1.
- Fig. 49. Taken from a reproduction of a part of the *Matsuya chahishō*, that shows a garden approach and teahouse of Matsuya Hisayoshi. Reproduced as ill. no.4, p.160 in: Horiguchi, S., *Chashitsu okoshi-e zushū, dai ni shū, kaisetsu*, Bokusui Shobō, 1963.
- Fig. 50. Redrawn in a simplified version of the plan that appeared in: Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai, (ed.), *Nihon kenchikushi zushū*, p.89, with comment on pp.152/3. The city Hikone was planned and built in the first decade of the seventeenth century; the plan, from which the illustration in the above source was drawn, dates from 1736.
- Fig. 51. Redrawn from the reproduction in: Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai, (ed.), *Nihon kenchikushi zushū*, p.72, ill.no.1. The original map (titled *yashikizu*) appeared in the manual on architecture *Shōmei*, dated 1608, written and drawn by Hiranouchi Masanobu.
- Fig.'s 52, 53. Redrawn from reproductions from the manual *Safu* that are given in: Tanaka, *Nihon no teien*, pp.164, 181. Cf. note 36 of part three of the present work for a short comment on the manual *Safu*.
- Fig. 54. The plan, dated in the first years of the nineteenth century, shows the teahouse En-an of the Yabunouchi school of tea. Reproduction given in: Horiguchi, *Chashitsu okoshi-e zushū, dai ni shū, kaisetsu*, 1963. The garden is now a little smaller than given on this map.
- Fig. 55. The redrawn plan appeared in: Nishi, *Sukiteki kukan o motomete*, p.3. Cf. note 90 of part three for reference on the reproductions of the original drawings.
- Fig. 57. Taken from the reproduction of the original in: NKBT Vol.90, *Kana sōshi shū*, p.149.
- Fig. 58. Taken from a reproduction of the original drawing titled *Kan'eido Meishō-in Goshō sashizu* as given in: Hirai, (ed.), *Nakaike monjo no kenkyū*, cf. note 95 of the text.
- Fig. 60. Taken from a reproduction of the original titled *Nagatani gochaya sashizu* in: Hirai, (ed.), *Nakaike monjo no kenkyū*, Vol.1, ill.no.36. See note 114 of the text.
- Fig. 63. From the *Shūi Miyako meisho zue*, vol.3, reproduced in: Hisatsune, *Kyōto meienki, chūkan*, pp.188/9.
- Fig. 65. Drawing titled *Kan'eido Dairi goniwa ezu*, also, *Kinchū gosenzui no ezu*, taken from a reproduction in: Hirai, (ed.), *Nakaike monjo no kenkyū*, Vol.I, p.27, ill. no.27.
- Fig. 66. Detail taken from a reproduction of part of the original, given in: Mori, *Kobori Enshū no sakuji*, bl/w. ill. no.25. The drawing is titled *Konchi-in keidai tsubo sū narabini sho tatemono no ezu*.
- Fig. 70. Plan, slightly adapted, reproduced from: Shigemori, M., *Jissokuzu Nihon no meien*, no.98.
- Fig. 72. Taken from a reproduction of the original, given in: Mori, *Kobori Enshū no sakuji*, bl/w. ill. no.43. Mori speaks of the plan as a design sketch, drawn therefore before the construction of the garden in the mid seventeenth century.

All other sketches and photographs by the author.

LIST OF JAPANESE WORDS USED IN THE TEXT

ashide no yō	葦手の様	meisho	名所
ayu	あゆ、鮎	nantei	南庭
biwa	びわ、枇杷	nō	能
bonsai	盆栽	reihaiseki	礼拝石
bonsan	盆山	renga	連歌
bonseki	盆石	rinkan chayū	淋汗茶湯
chakai	茶会	sabi	寂び、錆
chanoyū	茶の湯	sakui	作意
chanoyusha	茶の湯者	sakuji bugyō	作事奉行
chō	町	Sakuteiki	[作庭記]
daidairi	大内裏	sansui	山水
dairi	内裏	Sansui narabini	
dōjin	道人	yakeizu	[山水並に野形図]
emakimono	絵巻物	sanzon ishigumi	三尊石組
enshūgonomi	遠州好み	senmin	賤民
fuzei	風情	senzuikawaramonō	山水河原者
hatsuboku	はつぼく、発墨	shakkei	借景
hōjō	方丈	shin,gyō,sō	真、行、草
hōrai	蓬萊	shinden	寝殿
ikkō ikki	一向一揆	shindenzukuri	寝殿造
insei	院政	shishinsetsu	四神説
ishi o tateru	石を立てる	shōchikubai	松竹梅
ishi tatesō	石立僧	shoin	書院
iwakura	岩座	shoinzukuri	書院造
kaisho	会所	shō no fue	笙の笛
kampaku	閑白	shōtoku no	生得の
karesansui	枯山水	shōtoku no sansui	生得の山水
kasenzui	仮山水	shugo	守護
katakana	カタカナ、片仮名	sōsho	草書
kazan	仮山	sotoroji	外路地、外露地
kei	景	sudare	すだれ、簾
keiseki	景石	suki	すき、好き、数奇、数寄
ken	間	sukisha	数寄者
kiwari	木割	sukiya	数寄屋
koicha	濃い茶	tainoya	対屋
kōmin	公民	tatchū	塔頭
kyakuden	客殿	tayori ni	
makurakotoba	枕詞	shitagatte	便りに従って

tobiishi	飛石
tōboku	唐木
tokonoma	床の間
uchiroji	内路地、内露地
uekiya	植木屋
wabi	侘び
wake	わけ、分
watarirō	渡廊
yamabuki	やまぶき、山吹
yamazato-an	やまざとあん、山里庵
yarimizu	やりみず、遣り水
yatsubashi	やつはし、八つ橋
zansan jōsui	残山剩水
zashiki	座敷
zatsudan, zottan	雑談
zen	禅
zenteki teien	禅的庭園

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abbreviations

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- KEJ Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan, Tokyo, 1983.
- KENRON Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai Ronbun Hōkokushū, Tōkyō.
- NKBT *Nihon koten bungaku taikai*, Iwanami Shoten, 1960's.
- MN Monumenta Nipponica, Studies on Japanese Culture, Past and Present, Tōkyō.
- MOAG Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens (Hamburg).
- NOAG Nachrichten der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens (Hamburg).
- OE Benl, O., et al., ed., *Oriens Extremus*, Wiesbaden.
- ZZ Nihon Zōen Gakkai, (ed.), *Zōen Zasshi*.

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