



NATURAL TOPOGRAPHY AND THE AESTHETIC OF ALLUSION IN GARDEN SCENERY

Many of the early daimyo gardens featured rustic scenery. Their structures were often reminiscent of tea houses nestled in the hills, and the tea ceremonies held in them tended to be simple, austere affairs incorporating such touches as drawing water for the tea directly from a nearby spring or brook. The gardens took full advantage of—or, to put it more accurately, had no choice but to work around—the native landscape and terrain of Edo, then still very much a place of wooded hills and valleys. They may have been quite heavily influenced by the aesthetic of *wabi*-侘び and *sōan*-草庵 style tea. In fact, they leaned even more heavily toward *wabi* and were more strongly reclusive than ceremonies being practiced in the old urban centers of tea in Kyoto, Osaka, or Sakai. The bright, open look of sprawling lawns and ponds that gave later daimyo gardens their characteristic feeling of freedom and spaciousness was probably little seen at that point in time.

High Culture of Japan and China: Koishikawa Kōrakuen

Perhaps this is why, in building Koishikawa Kōrakuen garden, Mito domain lord Tokugawa Yorifusa was attracted to the “secluded and densely forested” (地勢幽邃, 喬木鬱密 *chisei yūsui kyōboku utsumitsu*)¹ qualities of the property, which suited it to garden construction in the tastes of the times. Of course, garden making was not the major determiner of the location of a daimyo residence. Also significant were position vis-à-vis Edo castle and the residences of other domain lords, access to a water supply, ease of transportation, and other political, financial, and day-to-day considerations.

Even so, a garden was an indispensable element of the daimyo residence from early in the Edo period. No daimyo residence was without a garden, which could occupy a considerable proportion of the grounds. Given the engineering limitations of the time, preselecting favorable geographical conditions would have been helpful in limiting the costs not only of residence construction but also of future maintenance.

Natural Topography. Kōrakuen is reported to have been built with the existing topography, trees, and other natural conditions basically unaltered. The garden history *Kōrakuen kiji* states that the garden’s designer, Tokudaiji Sahei, “took care to build the garden without felling old trees or altering the contours of the land, in the belief that things should best be left in their natural state.”²

1 *Mito kinen*, p. 445.

2 *Kōrakuen kiji*, p. 130.

The description in the later-written domainial history *Mito kinen* as “secluded and densely forested” suggests a deeply wooded garden that must have been rather dark and gloomy by our standards today. It should be noted here that *Kōrakuen kiji* neither adopts the wording of *Mito kinen* nor refers to dense vegetation. Even so, we may surmise that many wooded areas remained in Edo when the garden was built only a few decades after the city’s establishment as the seat of the shogunate.

Garden builders typically do not consider it expedient to remove large trees. Given the extensive labor required to cut them down, it is much more common to design a garden around them, except when radical change of the atmosphere of the site is desired. Tokudaiji’s decision to preserve the existing environment is thus hardly out of the ordinary, but the writer of *Kōrakuen kiji* may have emphasized the point to bolster an argument he makes later in the work—namely, that garden renovations conducted in subsequent years had been ill-advised and excessive. In fact, even in the beginning there had been a great degree of human intervention, as testified by *Kōrakuen kiji*’s account of the selection and arrangement of the garden’s rocks:

Unusually shaped boulders from Oishiyama 御石山 in Izu and elsewhere were brought to lend the garden magnificence (*shōgon nashitamō* 荘厳なし給う). This was as Daiyūkō 大猷公 deemed appropriate.³

Here the writer expresses no argument with the “unusually shaped boulders” that were carried into the garden, notwithstanding his earlier insistence on the virtues of leaving the landscape and vegetation in their original state. He even makes a point of noting that the work had been according to the wishes of Daiyūkō, i.e., third shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu. Probably it is out of deference to the shogun that *Kōrakuen kiji* refrains from criticizing the intrusion of the rocks into the preexisting landscape. *Mito kinen*, too, states clearly that the rocks were brought on Iemitsu’s orders: “Daiyūkō assisted [in the garden’s construction] by having several large rocks transferred from Izu and other coastal regions of the country,” it writes.⁴

Reading Kōrakuen kiji. The assertion that the boulders lent the garden “magnificence” suggests that unusual and remarkable garden rocks were considered fitting features that in no way disturbed the beauties of an otherwise natural landscape. The writer remains strictly approving and matter-of-fact as far as the initial construction of *Kōrakuen* during the Kan’ei era is concerned. The ulterior motive of this positive attitude seems to be to prepare the reader for his condemnation of later renovations in the Genroku era as having destroyed the scenery and rendered it tasteless. He is equally unforgiving toward alterations made some years later in the Kyōhō era.

³ *Kōrakuen kiji*, p. 130.

⁴ *Mito kinen*, p. 445.

Kōrakuen kiji needs to be read with care in order not to fall into its author's biased view. Yet later studies of the garden have unfortunately followed its example in criticizing the Genroku renovations. Yoshikawa Matsu's 吉川需 1981 characterization of them as "a truly regrettable event" for *Kōrakuen* is a case in point.⁵ Yoshikawa likewise decries the Kyōhō renovations as "destructive acts":

The stone arrangements (*ishigumi* 石組) along the embankment were replaced with piled-up rocks (*ishizumi* 石積み), the towering, curiously shaped rocks were entirely removed, and nearly every venerable tree was cut down. Only a few of the trees and rocks remained. All others were scattered and lost.

...

Some drastic measures such as cutting down trees and thinning branches as necessary to maintain the garden and open up its views may have been acceptable. Alteration of the ground layout (*jiwari* 地割) and stone arrangements, however, was the greatest of destructive acts that in no way accorded with the tradition since the garden's construction of adhering to the natural state of the site.⁶

While Yoshikawa appears to accept the views of the *Kōrakuen kiji* author, a slightly different perspective emerges from a more nuanced reading of the document. The Genroku renovations were reportedly instigated by Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu, who was then grand chamberlain (*soba yōnin* 側用人) to fifth shogun Tsunayoshi, to prepare the garden for a visit by Keishōin, the shogun's mother. One modern-day history, *Bunkyo-ku shi*, comments that *Kōrakuen kiji* was written at a time when there was a tendency to blame many things on the unpopular Yanagisawa, and for its own appraisal takes the more circumspect view that "The garden's caretakers may well have made at least partial alterations to accommodate Keishōin's passage, considering that they were preparing to welcome a seventy-six-year-old dowager." Nonetheless, as *Bunkyo-ku shi* continues, "One should refrain from immediately concluding that Yanagisawa sought thereby to curry favor with the shogun."⁷ This interpretation presents a more reasonable view of events.

The Early Garden. Clearly, the writer of *Kōrakuen kiji* had certain strong opinions that he did not hesitate to express. Even so, *Kōrakuen kiji* is the only comprehensive account of *Kōrakuen*'s early years available, and despite its biases it appears to be generally reliable. Written approximately one quarter into the garden's history, it presents a valuable image of the initial state of the garden.

Kōrakuen largely reached completion by the time of second Mito lord Mitsukuni 光圀 (1628–1701). To picture the garden as it might have appeared in those days, we may begin by studying *Kōrakuen kiji*'s description of construction under his predecessor, Yorifusa:

5 Yoshikawa 1981, p. 24.

6 Yoshikawa 1981, pp. 26–27.

7 *Bunkyo-ku shi*, vol. 2, p. 335.

First the great pond (*daisensui* 大泉水) was created following the existing topography (in relation to which project Daiyūkō gave a great many instructions). The residence stood to the east of the pond. The thick growth of trees on Shuroyama しゅろ山 hill shielded the residence from view.⁸

The words “following the existing topography” (*chikei ni yorite* 地形に依て) suggest that the pond was an enlargement of a body of water already on the site. Kōrakuen was one of the earliest examples of a daimyo garden built around a large central pond, a layout that would be adopted by nearly every other daimyo garden in the years to come.

The following passage, also from *Kōrakuen kiji*, reveals that by the time of the account’s writing, the garden was filled with tea houses as well as an impressive array of other features:

To the south lies Shuroyama hill, Kisodani 木曾谷 ravine, Tatsutagawa 龍田川 stream, Saigyōdō 西行堂 hall, and Sakura no baba 桜馬場 riding grounds; to the west, Hitotsumatsu 一ツ松 pine, Bīdoro (Shōshi) no chaya 硝子の茶屋 tea house, Ōigawa 大井河 stream, Seikotei 西湖堤 causeway, Togetsukyō 渡月橋 bridge, a thatched cottage (*maroya* 丸屋), Shōrozan 小廬山 hill, Kannondō 観音堂 hall, Otowa no taki 音羽滝 waterfall, Ryūkyūyama 琉球山 hill, Daikokudō 大黒堂 hall, Tokujindō 得仁堂 hall, Tsūtenkyō 通天橋 bridge, and Engetsukyō 円月橋 bridge; and to the north, Tōyama 遠山 hill (which is said by some accounts to be modeled on Mt. Hiei 比叡). Other features include a field of pines (*matsubara* 松原), a hall dedicated to the god Fukurokuju 福祿寿, Furō no mizu 不老水 fountain of youth, a zigzag bridge (*yatsubashi* ハツ橋), a rice field overlooking an Inari shrine, Bunshōdō 文昌堂 hall, Komachizuka 小町塚 mound, Kawara shoin 河原書院 [a hermitage with its own attached garden], and a noh stage. In the northwest corner of the garden are Kōshindō 庚申堂 hall and Kaya no gomom 萱御門 gate, both of which stand inside a fruit orchard, and a water wheel. A wooden pipe carries water from the top of the wheel to Shōrozan. A long bridge (*nagabashi* 長橋) spans the great pond. . . . West of the bridge lies Hōraijima 蓬莱島 island, on which stands a shrine dedicated to the goddess Benzaiten 弁財天.⁹

While Mitsukuni is usually credited with bringing Kōrakuen to completion, it is doubtful that everything in the passage was already in place during his time. *Mito-sama Edo oyashiki oniwa no zu* 水戸様江戸御屋敷御庭之図 (Map of the Garden at the Mito Lord’s Edo Residence; hereafter, *Map*), which is believed to have been made during the rule of Mitsukuni’s successor, third lord Tsunaeda 綱條 (1656–1718), does not depict nearly as many features (see Figure 5-1). Not in evidence are Kisodani ravine, Ryūkyūyama hill, Daikokudō hall, Tsūtenkyō bridge, the Inari shrine, Bunshōdō hall, and Kōshindō hall, among others. Of course, it is possible that the artist omitted note of all but a few selected highlights, considering that what are presumably “Tsūtenkyō bridge” and “Komachizuka mound” in *Kōrakuen kiji* are labeled simply “bridge” and “stupa” (*tō* トウ), respectively.

8 *Kōrakuen kiji*, p. 130.

9 *Kōrakuen kiji*, p. 130.

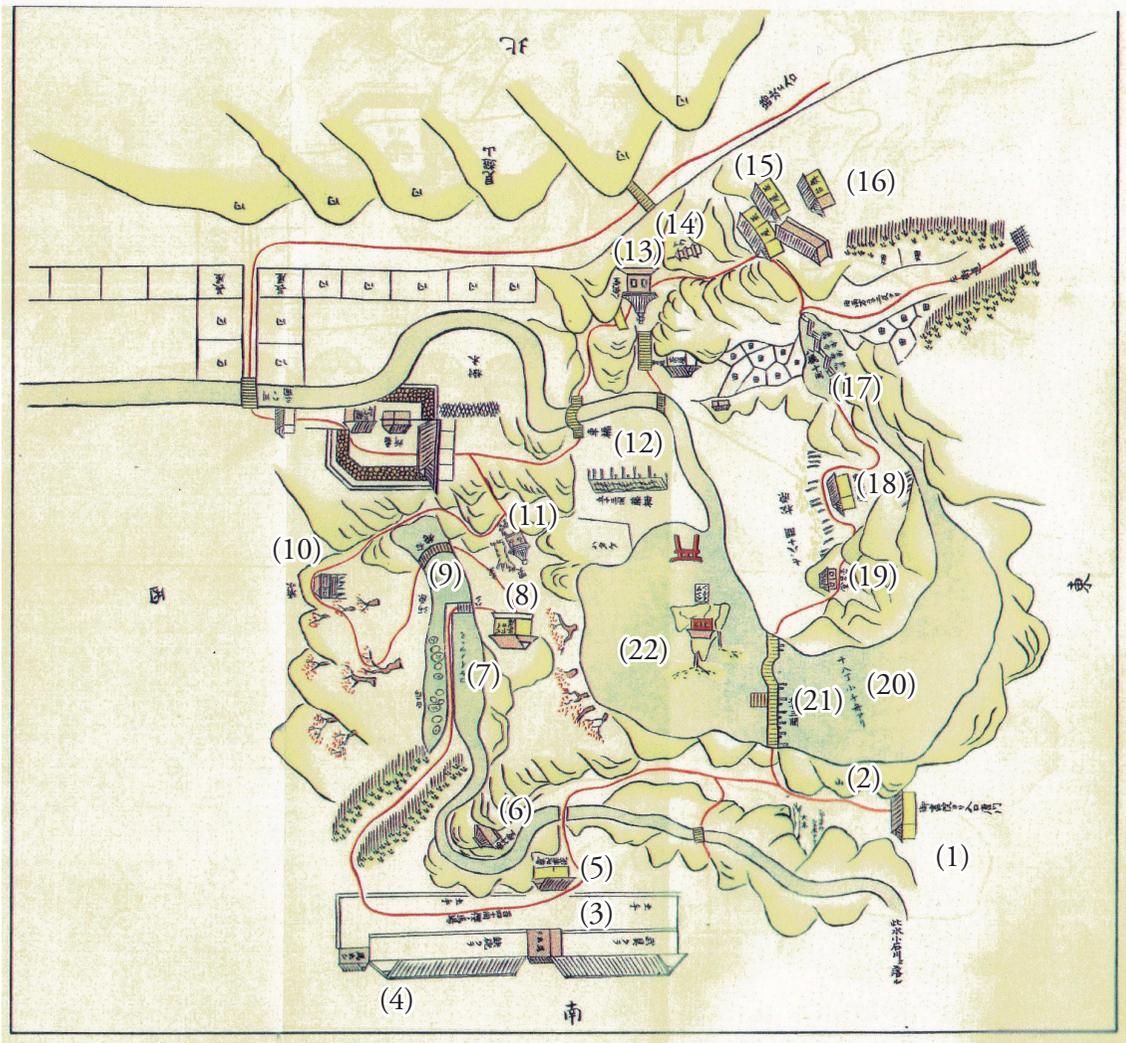


Figure 5-1. Diagram of Koishikawa Kōrakuen in its early period; *Mito-sama Edo oyashiki oniwa no zu*. Source: *Meishō chōsa hōkoku* 名勝調査報告, vol. 3 (Monbushō, 1937). Clockwise from lower right: (1) Chinese-style gate (*karamon*); (2) Shuroyama (“palm hill”); (3) Sakura no baba riding grounds; (4) *o-kenbutsudokoro* viewing stands; (5) Saigyōdō; (6) Chūhosen; (7) Kokei no tsutsumi; (8) Bidoro no chaya; (9) Engetsukyō; (10) Kiyomizu; (11) Kōshidō/Tokujindō; (12) arched bridge; wisteria trellis; (13) Hakkakudō; (14) Komachizuka mound (*tō*) or stupa; (15) Kawara shoin; (16) noh stage; (17) rice fields; (18) sake and tea house; (19) Hokurokudō; (20) *daisensui* (great pond); (21) long bridge; (22) Benzaiten shrine.

Overall, the *Map* gives the impression of a garden with a series of tea houses tucked into the contours of the hills or perched on the edge of the pond. At first glance it appears quite unlike Katsura detached palace, which spreads on open ground. Yet both gardens share a basic compositional focus on tea houses. The *Map* shows four tea houses in addition to the *Bidoro no chaya* cited in *Kōrakuen kiji*. One is labeled *ochaya* 御茶屋 (tea house) and another is called *sake chaya* 酒茶屋 (sake and tea house), suggesting that each structure was assigned a different purpose.

The “Hokurokudō” ホクロク堂 on the *Map* is most likely the same as the Fukurokudō 福祿堂 described in *Kōrakuen kiji* as “a small hall with tile floors and a Chinese-style interior enshrining a statue of [the god of wealth and longevity] Fukurokuju 福祿壽.”¹⁰ The structure was destroyed by a 1703 earthquake and not reconstructed, according to *Kōrakuen kiji*. Given that it shows the hall still intact, the *Map* must date from sometime before the earthquake. No evidence yet discovered suggests any renovations in the garden prior to 1703. Even had such alterations taken place, they are likely to have been only minor, making it possible to conclude that the *Map* shows the garden largely in its initial form.

Examining the *Map* together with the record in *Kōrakuen kiji*, we may thus embark on an imaginary tour of the garden, reconstructing as we go how it must have looked during Mitsukuni’s lifetime. In the course of this tour, it may be useful to consider that most of the features in the garden probably acquired their associations over the garden’s long history instead of being built with specific allusions or significances in mind from the outset.

Kōrakuen Tour. Approaching from the east entrance (the traditional main entrance), one first passes through a deep grove of trees past where the *karamon* 唐門 (Chinese-style gate; 1) once stood. The path enters another grove of trees and emerges at the edge of the great pond, where the scene opens out suddenly. Although this route is really the proper way into *Kōrakuen*, the entrance is now closed and the *karamon* is no longer in existence, so our “tour” must of necessity be aided by imagination.

Entering the garden through its current main entrance on the western side, one is disappointingly greeted by the giant white roof of the nearby Tokyo Dome baseball stadium, except perhaps in spring, when our gaze is captured by the loveliness of the garden’s weeping-cherry blossoms. The pond of the so-called inner garden (*uchi niwa* 内庭) is the first place the view opens up when following this route. The inner garden was once attached to the Goshoin 御書院, a complex of *shoin* 書院 structures that comprised the lord’s residence. While smaller than the great pond (*daisensui*), the inner-garden pond is nonetheless notable for its central island containing fine pine trees that are quite skillfully maintained for a public park. From here, one climbs the trail up Shōrozan hill to catch glimpses of the *daisensui* between the trees. Or one can skirt around the hill, following a level path to the right (east) that quickly comes to the edge of the *daisensui*.

Although both courses may be taken at present, they do not necessarily reflect routes taken in the past, which could have included several. For example, when the haiku poet Enomoto Kikaku 榎本其

¹⁰ *Kōrakuen kiji*, p. 141.

角 (1661–1707) toured the garden in 1702, he walked left (west) from the *karamon*, covering most of the major sights before reaching the *daisensui*.¹¹ From there, he crossed the imposing bridge that then spanned the water, looking back on the magnificent view afforded by the *daisensui* and its surroundings. Other paths may have been possible, but the *daisensui* was surely the showpiece in all of them.

Riding Grounds and Cherry Blossoms. An Edo-period visitor who ventured into the garden from the traditional east entrance would have walked through the *karamon* to see on the right Shuroyama hill (2), which was then planted with windmill palms (*shuro* 棕櫚) apparently in an effort to create a tropical look. A series of tree-covered hills to the left cut off the view on that side as well. Past the hills, one turned left to come upon the Sakura no baba riding grounds (3), a level, straight course 140 *ken* 間 (roughly 252 meters) long for exercising horses. At the edge of the course was a structure from which to observe the horses that the *Map* calls the *o-kenbutsudokoro* 御見物所 (viewing stands; 4).

For the members of a daimyo household, the residence garden was not only a site of entertainment but the locus of everyday life. Accordingly, nearly every daimyo garden had riding grounds for practicing horsemanship, which was part of a samurai's regular daily routine. Attractive as well as functional, the courses were integrated into the garden landscaping. The name Sakura no baba ("cherry blossom" riding grounds) given to the Kōrakuen example derived from the cherry trees planted along the course that made for a pleasant sight in spring.

Located nearby was the Saigyōdō (5), a hall commemorating the poet Saigyō 西行 (1118–1190), who was noted for his love of cherry blossoms. The association between Saigyō and cherry blossoms may well explain the proximity of the two sites, although it is hard to discern from the *Map* whether one would have been able to see the building from the riding grounds, or if the view would have been blocked by the hill between them.

The Saigyōdō stood alongside a stream in a setting designed to evoke a scene deep in the hills. Here, the Chūhosen 駐歩泉 ("stopping by a wayside spring"; 6) monument was added by ninth lord Nariaki 齊昭 (1800–1860) during the Tenpō 天保 era (1830–1844). The inscription on the back attributes the name to Saigyō's poem "On the wayside in the shadow of a willow by clear waters, I pause awhile" (*michinobe ni / shimizu nagaruru / yanagi kage / shibashi tote koso / tachidomari tsure* 道のべにしみずながるる柳かげしばしとてこそ立どまりつれ).

Seiko Causeway. According to the *Map*, the path wound from here through flowers (probably irises) to end at what it calls Kokei no tsutsumi 虎溪の堤 ("tiger valley" causeway; 7). This was modeled on the famed causeway, called Sudi 蘇堤 or sometimes Xihudi 西湖堤 (Jp. Seikotei/Seiko tsutsumi), which stretched along Xihu 西湖 (west lake) in the Chinese city of Hangzhou 杭州. *Kōrakuen kiji* gives the name "Seiko tsutsumi" to the site, explaining that the pond came to be called Seiko because of its likeness to Xihu as well as its western location in the garden. Evidently the causeway acquired its name through a similar process of association.

11 *Kōrakuen haiken no ki*, pp. 784–86.

A 1784 account of Kōrakuen that is attributed to the poet and writer Ōta Nanpo details the author's appreciation of the sight:

A long causeway stretched on the righthand side, its sections extending into the waters of the pond and linked by a stone arch. I felt as if I were looking upon the famed Seiko no tsutsumi [in China] and wondered whether I had not wandered into a strange and faraway country.¹²

The passage is disappointingly conventional coming from someone like Nanpo, who was known for his wit and clever turns of phrase, making one wonder whether the piece was edited by censors. The appraisal, which cannot help but strike one as disagreeably fawning, may have been tamed by Nanpo's gratitude at having been permitted to see the garden or perhaps his awareness that the account might also be read by the garden's owner. But of more relevance to our discussion is that the essay and *Kōrakuen kiji* agree in calling the site "Seiko tsutsumi" instead of "Kokei no tsutsumi" as in the *Map*. Seikotei/Seiko tsutsumi seems to have been the name by which the site was known throughout most of its history.

During Mitsukuni's time, in fact, there seems to have been yet another name. Zhu Shunshui 朱舜水 (1600–1682), a Chinese scholar who fled to Japan after the fall of the Ming dynasty and was greatly patronized by Mitsukuni, marked his first visit to Kōrakuen in 1669 with a work entitled *You Houleyuan fu bing xu* 遊後樂園賦并序 (Jp. *Yū Kōrakuen no fu narabi jo*; Poem and Preface upon Visiting Kōrakuen). In it, he calls the causeway "Su gong zhi pi" 蘇公之陂 (Jp. Sokō no tsutsumi; Lord Su's causeway), "Su" being a reference to Su Dongpo 蘇東坡 (1037–1101), the poet and statesman credited with building the original Hangzhou causeway. Although some later writers have attributed the Kōrakuen causeway's design and initial conception to Zhu, the theory is doubtful, given that the poem indicates it already existed at the time he first visited the garden.

The "Glass" Tea House. Having lingered long at Seikotei, let us move on. The *Map* shows that, after crossing a bridge (probably the "Togetsukyō bridge" in *Kōrakuen kiji*), one came upon a Bīdoro no chaya ビイドロ茶屋 (glass tea house; 8). According to *Kōrakuen kiji*, the structure was at first unnamed, but came to be known as the "glass tea house" on Mitsukuni's suggestion. It is unclear whether the characters for glass (硝子) used here were to be read *bīdoro* or *shōshi* or perhaps *shōji*. But one clue is the passage's reference to the "*shōshi* 硝子 paper," or sheets of hardened agar, that once covered the building's window panels. Taking this information into account with Mitsukuni's intention for the name to be used in popular parlance, it is possible the name had both readings—*shōshi* when spoken of formally and *bīdoro* at times when one wished to sound more chic.

The word *bīdoro* derives from the Portuguese *vidro* and had been used since the preceding Momoyama period to denote the glassware whose production methods had been introduced into

12 Ōta 1986 (1784), pp. 304–305. There is some doubt about Nanpo's authorship of this piece, as the collection of essays in which it is found, *Ichibuwa ichigen* 一話一言 (1775–1822; 56 vols.) includes works by other writers.

Japan by Dutch craftsmen arriving in Nagasaki. During Mitsukuni's time, however, glass was still used less for windows than for exotic craft and luxury items. It seems safer to conclude that the tea house was named *Bidoro no chaya* more out of a sense of play than because it incorporated real glass. Perhaps the name arose from the *mitate* 見立て (likening) of the *shōshi* paper covering the windows to glass windows known from imported Nanban 南蛮 (European) materials. On this we can only speculate.

The structure is also called *Bidoro no chaya* by Enomoto Kikaku in his aforementioned garden-tour account,¹³ indicating that it still went by that name at the time he viewed the garden in 1702. The tea house was later reworked and renamed *Kantokutei* 涵徳亭 (“virtue cultivation” tea house). The 1874 account attributed to Nanpo notes that an inscription with the characters “kantoku” 涵徳 hung on the wall of the tea house.

From Kōshidō to Hakkakudō. Beyond the *Bidoro no chaya*, the path continued across a stone bridge (perhaps the present-day *Engetsukyō* or “full moon” bridge, judging from its semicircular shape and geographical location; 9), before starting up a slope. Here, on a slight rise above the rest of the garden, stood a raised-floor structure with foundation posts set high above the ground. The building is labeled “Kiyomizu” 清水 (10) on the *Map* and corresponds to the “Kannon-dō” 観音堂 in *Kōrakuen kiji*, which is described as a worship hall for the bodhisattva Kannon that is modeled on Kyoto's Kiyomizu temple with its projecting stage.

Farther along the path stood another building, this one with a peculiar roof. The *Map* calls the structure “Kōshidō” かうし堂 (11), a reference to the statue of Confucius (Jp. *Kōshi* 孔子) that was enshrined there at the time. *Kōrakuen kiji*, which as we will recall dates later than the *Map*, gives the name *Tokujindō* 得仁堂 to the structure and identifies it as a hall to the legendary Confucian sages *Boyi* 伯夷 and *Shuqi* 叔齊. By the same account, the statues of *Boyi* and *Shuqi* were later removed, and the building was converted into a hall dedicated to *Shākyamuni* (Jp. *Shaka* 釈迦) during the *Genroku* era. Then, in the *Kyōhō* era, it was rededicated as a *Shintō* shrine in the lineage of the *Iwaseo Hachiman* 岩清尾八幡 shrine (in present-day Kagawa prefecture) and renamed *Hachimandō* 八幡堂. It is somewhat puzzling that *Kōrakuen kiji* persists in calling the site *Tokujindō*, when by its own explanation the structure should have been called *Hachimandō* at the time of the account's writing in 1736. We may surmise that the building was first called *Kōshidō*, perhaps had its name changed to *Tokujindō* when the statues of *Boyi* and *Shuqi* were installed, and then became known successively as *Shakadō* and *Hachimandō* before reverting to its old name, *Tokujindō*.

Moving beyond the hall, one came upon what are labeled on the *Map* “arched bridge” (*kurumabashi* 車橋) and “wisteria trellis” (*fujidana* 藤棚; 12). The shape of the bridge makes it a second candidate for the present-day *Engetsukyō*. The trellis stretched approximately 53 *ken* (94 meters) and was by all indications quite impressive.

From here, two paths, one climbing a sharp incline and another a steep series of stone steps, both led to what the *Map* calls the *Hakkakudō* 八角堂 (13), an octagonal pavilion at the top of the hill.

13 *Kōrakuen haiken no ki*, pp. 784, 786.

Although not labeled as such on the *Map*, the steps were modeled on the Atagozaka 愛宕坂 series of stone steps leading up Mt. Atago 愛宕 in Kyoto. In the park as it is today, the remains of the building are identified as “the former site of Hakkedō 八卦堂 [‘eight trigrams’ hall].” *Kōrakuen kiji* writes that “Although the structure is commonly called Hakkedō, its true name is Bunshōdō. It is an octagonal pavilion.”¹⁴ According to the account, designs derived from the eight trigrams of Chinese divination adorned the building’s eight sides.

The Great Pond. Close to Hakkakudō was the Komachizuka mound, called a stupa (*tō*) on the *Map* (14). *Kōrakuen kiji* identifies it as a “monument” (*hi* 碑) associated with the ninth-century female poet Ono no Komachi 小野小町 (dates unknown). As the account proceeds to explain, however, the monument was not dedicated to Komachi per se. Not even a monument in the strict sense, but simply a stone, it had been quarried in Ono in Hitachi province (present-day Ibaraki prefecture) and became linked to Komachi purely as a play on names. It is not clear what actually stood there: depending on the times it might have been a stupa, a mound, a monument, or other marker.

Farther down the path was the Kawara shoin hermitage (15). The *Map* shows two tea houses and a noh stage (16) erected alongside what appears to be the *shoin*-style structure, which itself is not labeled. A noh stage was a requisite amenity of an early daimyo residence, and the one at Kōrakuen was no exception. The houses (*nagaya* 長屋) were “where officials in attendance waited and food was prepared” during the many poetry gatherings held at the *shoin*.¹⁵ They were, in other words, buildings for catering the various banquets and entertainments inside the garden.

Past the *shoin*, the *Map* shows a zigzag bridge (*yatsubashi*) 10 *ken* (about 18 meters) long running across a portion of the garden labeled “rice fields” (*ta* 田; 17). From here the path led to the aforementioned “sake and tea house” (18) and Hokurokudō (19) before coming back down to level ground.

Here, at the end of one’s tour around the sights of the garden, spread the waters of the great pond (*daisensui*; 20). A grove of pine trees stretched along the shore. Comprising hundreds of trees “more than a century old” with “branches so thickly intertwined as to hide all view of the sky,” the grove was planted in a manner evoking the the well-known Japanese poetry motif of pines along the ocean shore.

The presence of the “long bridge” (*nagabashi* 長橋; 21) over the pond was probably the most marked difference between the original garden versus how it looks today. The bridge, according to the *Map*, was 53 *ken* (approximately 95 meters) in length. The Hōraiijima central island, with its shrine to Benzaiten (22), the goddess of water and music, lay to one side.

The bridge was the best vantage point in the entire garden, offering an unobstructed view of the central island rising from the pond’s broad waters. Midway across the bridge was a deck that extended over the water like a stage. Called the “horse-waiting place” (*komayoke* 駒よけ), it was similar to the space typically provided on a bridge for horses to wait while those crossing from the other side passed by. The Kōrakuen bridge, of course, was not one over which horses were ever likely to pass, so its deck was probably more of an observation point.

¹⁴ *Kōrakuen kiji*, pp. 143–44.

¹⁵ *Kōrakuen kiji*, p. 142.

It was also designed to host social events. Mitsukuni used it to hold gatherings for the Confucian scholars of the Shikan 史館 (historical office), the academy he created to compile the monumental *Dai Nihon shi* 大日本史 (Great History of Japan):

Here on moonlit nights His Lordship would invite the Confucian scholars of the Shikan to dine and write poetry. The view from the bridge was beautiful beyond words.¹⁶

The deck must have been quite large if it could accommodate a feast for so many people. The phrasing “on moonlit nights” (*tsukiyo ni wa* 月夜には) suggests that such banquets were held not once or twice but many times.

Indeed, entertainments for members of the Shikan seem to have been something of a tradition at Kōrakuen. *Mito kinen* recounts a plum-viewing banquet held for “retainer-historians” (*shishin* 史臣) in early spring, Bunka 文化 6 (1809):

In the first month, the plum blossoms were in full bloom. The domain’s retainer-historians were invited to a banquet held at the Shōkokaku 尚古閣 [“respect old things” pavilion]. His Lordship [seventh lord Harunori 治紀; 1773–1816] poured drinks for everyone himself. Breaking off a flowering branch and placing it on a tray, he improvised the poem, “Into my sleeve as I break off a branch of blossoms, the spring evening breeze blows the scent of plums” (*hitoeda o / taoru tamoto ni / fuki irete / ume ga ka niou / haru no yūkaze* 一枝ヲ手折ル袂ニフキ入テ梅カ香匂フ春ノ夕風).¹⁷

In as much as the gatherings were for people involved in one of the lord’s personal projects, they might be compared to the office parties of the present day. By alleviating the stress of scholars engaged in setting down the entire history of Japan in formal Chinese-style prose, surely the garden made an important contribution to the writing of *Dai Nihon shi*.

The Rocks of Kōrakuen. On the central island as it is today stands a large rock called the Tokudaiji 徳大寺 stone. Shaped like a standing screen, it has a distinctive silhouette that can be easily seen even from the opposite shore. However, historical records position the Tokudaiji stone near the once-extant bridge, intimating that the name may have originally belonged to a rock other than this one. The original stone reportedly acquired its name after Tokudaiji Sahei, the builder of Kōrakuen, discovered that his initial placement of it did not meet with the approval of owner Tokugawa Yorifusa. After several days he devised a new, much better design, and as a result the rock was named after him.

As already discussed, *Kōrakuen kiji* claims that several of the garden’s great rocks were removed in the Genroku era to make it safer for Keishōin, the mother of fifth shogun Tsunayoshi, to walk around during her visit. If this source is to be believed, then the rocks on the central island were probably left untouched, as they were unlikely to be any danger to a visitor. But a later note in this record indicates

¹⁶ *Kōrakuen kiji*, p. 133.

¹⁷ *Mito kinen*, p. 610.

the trees and rocks on the central island were reworked, and in some cases removed, during renovations in the Kyōhō era. Altogether, it would seem that the original Tokudaiji stone and other rocks that once stood on the central island survived the infamous “destruction” of Kōrakuen’s stone arrangements at the time of Keishōin’s visit and remained where they were at least until about the late 1710s.

Rocks offered important points of scenic interest to those strolling along a garden’s paths. Even today, Kōrakuen stands apart among surviving daimyo gardens for the quality both of its rocks and their manner of arrangement. Distinguished examples include the stone arrangements on the incline along the garden path and the “Taihu” 太湖 rocks (so called because of their similarity to Taihu stones, a kind of limestone from near Taihu 太湖 lake in China that was known for its sometimes-grotesquely eroded shapes) scattered throughout the garden. In particular, the Taihu-style rocks evidence the Chinese tastes incorporated into the garden by second lord Mitsukuni on the advice of the exiled Ming scholar Zhu Shunshui.

What the Names Reveal. The names, or more specifically the associations of the names, that were given to the features in the garden reflect the culture and tastes prevalent at each stage of its history. Many of the sights that were created during the time of first lord Yorifusa and second lord Mitsukuni are characterized by references to the native heritage, including ancient poetry. In this category are Tatsutagawa stream and Hitotsumatsu (also called Karasaki no matsu 唐崎の松) pine, both evoking noted scenic sites; Saigyōdō hall and Komachizuka mound, named after famous native-born poets; and the *maroya* thatched cottage, *matsubara* field of pines, and *yatsubashi* zigzag bridge—all familiar subjects in waka poetry.

A second set of features were Chinese-inspired, including the Seikotei causeway, Tokujindō hall, and Hakkedō pavilion. These sites reflect not so much an orthodox adherence to Confucian principles based on a sound understanding of China than a much more informal taste for things Chinese. Of them, Seikotei apparently became so well known that many later daimyo gardens often imitated it. No reliable evidence confirms the story, but the structure probably did attract the attention and the admiration of many who visited.

Chinese-style features increased in the garden as the Edo period progressed. For example, the Bīdoro no chaya tea house was redesigned and given the Chinese-derived name Kantokutei. Likewise, the noh stage, following damage by fire, was replaced with the Kingatei 琴画亭 (“zither and painting” tea house).

Another example of the garden’s Chinese influences is the Engetsukyō bridge, which according to some accounts was designed by Zhu, on whom Mitsukuni relied as a political and cultural advisor. Indeed, we cannot forget that the name Kōrakuen itself was originally intended to display the depth of Mitsukuni’s familiarity with Chinese learning.

In 1665, Zhu accepted Mitsukuni’s offer of a post within the Mito domain, which he kept until his own death eighteen years later. It was Zhu who suggested that the garden be named Kōrakuen (“pleasure later” garden) in reference to a well-known passage from *Yueyang lou ji* 岳陽樓記 by the Song statesman and poet Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹 (also Wenzhong 文正; 989–1052):

When [Mitsukuni] ordered the Ming exile Zhu Shunshui to choose a name for the garden, Zhu suggested “Kōrakuen” from Fan Wenzhong’s injunction that “a ruler should be the first to show concern for the masses and the last to indulge his pleasures.” A placard was inscribed with the name and hung on the *karamon* leading from the residence to the garden.¹⁸

Alluding to Chinese texts was a means of displaying the degree of one’s learning and cultivation. It served to advertise Mitsukuni’s enlightenment by proclaiming his commitment to the principle that a ruler should always anticipate the masses’ concerns and put their happiness before his own.

Admiration of Kyoto Culture. The Japanese aspects of the garden are, in addition to the allusions to traditional poetry discussed earlier, marked by a related but slightly different quality that may perhaps be characterized as an admiration and emulation (*mitate*) of the things and places of Kyoto, the imperial capital since the late eighth century. Many of the garden’s names derive from famous sights in the old capital. Ōigawa and Togetsukyō refer, respectively, to the river and bridge in the Arashiyama 嵐山 district; the Kannondō hall and Otowa no taki are modeled on the Kiyomizu temple in Higashiyama and its nearby waterfall; and Tsūtenkyō shares the name of the bridge at Tōfukuji 東福寺 temple, which is famed for its brilliant autumn foliage.

If we emphasize these allusions, we might be tempted to conclude that Edo daimyo gardens emulated Kyoto gardens. But other names suggest a somewhat more complex relationship. A case in point is Shōrozan hill (Figure 5-2), which is the designation given today to the low bamboo-grass-covered hill that rises immediately to the left of the main entrance gate. Originally, though, it seems to have belonged to the hill housing the Kannondō hall and Otowa no taki.

In 1640, Mitsukuni requested the Confucian scholar Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583–1657) to do the calligraphy for a sign for the hill. Razan did so, also setting down the name’s origins in a



Figure 5-2. Koishikawa Kōrakuen Shōrozan hill today. Photograph: Shirahata Yōzaburō, 2009.

text entitled *Shōrozan ki* 小廬山記. According to Razan, Otowayama 音羽山 hill, the location of the real Kiyomizu temple and Otowa no taki waterfall, was sometimes called Shōrozan (“little Lushan 廬山”) after the famous Chinese mountain Lushan, which like Otowayama stood east of the capital and was home to temples and waterfalls. The name of the Kōrakuen hill drew on those associations.

The allusion thus cannot be traced directly to Chinese culture but is instead something borrowed twice over, first from China into Japan (Kyoto) and from Kyoto to Kōrakuen. Kyoto stands as an intermediary; in fact, the connections may even be stronger to the Japanese capital than to China. Kōrakuen brings together a complex mixture of Chinese and Japanese influences and allusions to both traditions.

18 *Kōrakuen kiji*, p. 131. Today, this wisdom is inscribed in the calligraphy that hangs in the main hall of Kantokutei.

A Garden Inspired by Japanese Poetry: Rikugien

Unlike Kōrakuen, which incorporates numerous Chinese-inspired associations, Rikugien is a garden of predominantly Japanese taste. It is much gentler and brighter-looking when compared to the darker, more solemn Kōrakuen. Rikugien underwent considerable alterations in the Meiji era under the ownership of the Iwasaki 岩崎 family and therefore cannot be said to be preserved exactly in its original state. Nonetheless its character remains overall very genteel and pleasant.

Named by Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu. Rikugien is also one of the few surviving daimyo gardens whose initial construction is relatively well documented. Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu acquired the Komagome 駒込 property on which he would later build Rikugien on the twenty-second day of the fourth month of 1695. The date of the garden's completion is usually given as the twenty-first day of the tenth month of 1702, although people were not then in the habit of marking exactly when a construction project became “complete” in the way that they do today. The rationale for this day is the following entry in Yoshiyasu's diary, *Rakushidō nenroku* 楽只堂年録, which describes Yoshiyasu's naming of the garden's sights (Figure 5-3):

Today I visited my separate residence (*bessho*) in Komagome and gave names to its sights. The garden I named Mukusa no sono, the residence Mukusa no tachi 六義館, the archery range Kantokujō 観徳場, the riding grounds Senrijō 千里場, and the hill in the direction of the deity Bishamon 毘沙門 [north], Hisamoriyama 久護山. In all I established eighty-eight sights, noting in writing the derivations of each.¹⁹

The event was the closest to what we might call an official opening of the garden. The *Matsukage nikki* diary by Yoshiyasu's consort Ōgimachi Machiko concurs in stating that “All work was finished by autumn of this year [Genroku 15; 1702].”

The *Rakushidō nenroku* entry is followed by “Mukusa no sono ki” 六義園記, an exposition of Yoshiyasu's objectives for the garden that is written in Japanese *wabun* 和文 prose instead of the Chinese-style *kanbun* 漢文 usually adopted for such texts. “I was fortunate enough to be born in a peaceful time and to be blessed with extraordinary favor [from shogun Tsunayoshi] much greater than I could deserve,” he opens, explaining that now that he has become sufficiently accustomed to his governing duties and has gained some leisure, he feels at last able to turn his attention to the beauties of nature. Having thus attained some appreciation of Japanese poetry, he continues, he has decided “to emulate a few of the famed scenic locales sung in Japanese poetry”—or, in other words, to build a garden based on Japanese poetry—“at my retreat at Komagome.”

The rather stylized reference to “my retreat at Komagome” (*Komagome no hanare yakata* 駒籠のはなれ館) is not only an affectation that takes after similar expressions in Japanese poetry, but also a declaration of Yoshiyasu's intention to build his retreat in the model of a secluded home set deep in the

¹⁹ *Rakushidō nenroku*, 21st day of 10th month, 1702, p. 759.

hills. In fact, the estate was often referred to as “the rustic hillside village in Komagome” (*Komagome no yamazato* 駒ごめの山里).

One example is the *Matsukage nikki* entry (see p. 1) stating that work on the garden was hastened after the shogun’s mother declared her desire to visit “our rustic hillside village in Komagome.” It is possible that *Matsukage nikki*, which is written in emulation of Heian-period prose style, adopts the expression as a literary flourish; even so, it suggests that Rikugien was consciously designed to evoke the atmosphere of a rustic Japanese countryside instead of foreign (i.e., Chinese) landscapes, as for example at Kōrakuen.

Garden of Six Kinds. According to “Mukusa no sono ki,” “My residence represents the world of Japanese poetry. Visitors who enjoy this place take pleasure in the way of Japanese verse. The garden represents the six kinds (*mukusa* 六義, 六種) of poetry. Visitors here attain the truth of Japanese verse.”²⁰ The claim may seem a bit overambitious, but it does convey Yoshiyasu’s goals for the garden.



Figure 5-3. Mukusa no sono (Rikugien) as diagrammed in *Rakushidō nenroku* for the date 10th month, 21st day, Genroku 15 (1702). Courtesy of Yanagisawa Bunko.

20 “Mukusa no sono ki.” *Rakushidō nenroku*, p. 761.



Figure 5-4. Detail from handscroll depicting Rikugien’s “Deshio no minato” and other sites, ca. 19th century. Courtesy of the National Diet Library.

Reference to the word “mukusa” is moreover evidence that the garden’s name was originally read “Mukusa no sono” and not “Rikugien,” the *kango* 漢語 or Chinese-style reading usually given to it today. The term *rikugi* 六義 usually denotes the six classifications of Chinese poetry that is set down in the great preface (*daxu* 大序) to the Chinese classic *Shi jing* 詩經.²¹ Yet given that Yoshiyasu’s garden was built in the spirit of Japanese poetry, we must conclude that the “six kinds” in its name properly refer to the six principles of Japanese poetry that the poet and poetry scholar Ki no Tsurayuki 紀貫之 (ca. 868–945) developed from *Shi jing*, as discussed in his preface (*kanajo* 仮名序) to the poetry anthology *Kokinshū* 古今集.²²

Tsurayuki’s six principles are somewhat arbitrary, perhaps due to the difficulties of forcing Chinese poetics onto Japanese forms. More to our point, however, is that Yoshiyasu expressed his devotion to the world of Japanese poetry by naming his garden after the great scholar’s system. In that spirit, Yoshiyasu’s garden is more appropriately called “Mukusa no sono,” in Japanese fashion, than by the *kango* reading, “Rikugien.”

World Inspired by Waka. Indeed, nearly all the eighty-eight sights listed in “Mukusa no sono ki” evoked famous landscapes from Japanese poetry. The garden gate was called Yuki no mon 遊芸門 (“pleasure in the arts” gate), in Japanese fashion, not “Yugeimon,” as in the more usual Chinese-style reading.

21 Namely *fu* 賦 (ode), *bi* 比 (comparison), *xing* 興 (elation), *feng* 風 (wind), *ya* 雅 (elegance), and *song* 頌 (eulogy).

22 *Soe uta* そへ歌 (satirical poems), *kazoe uta* かぞへ歌 (expository poems), *nazurae uta* なずらへ歌 (figurative poems), *tatoe uta* たとへ歌 (metaphorical poems), *tadagoto uta* ただごと歌 (direct or straightforward poems), and *iwai uta* いはひ歌 (poems of celebration). The exact meanings of these terms have been debated since antiquity, giving rise to many different interpretations besides those given here.



The Analects instruct us to seek the Way, follow virtue, hold to benevolence, and enjoy the arts. Zhu Xi 朱子 likewise says that since the Way is true reason and the arts the embodiment of the Way, the Way and the arts are one. Since visitors who take pleasure in this garden are therefore taking pleasure in the Way, they should sing the delights of this peaceful world to the melody of the thirty-one syllables [of Japanese poetry].²³

The rather self-aggrandizing nature of its logic notwithstanding, the passage thus invites visitors to immerse themselves in Japanese poetry. The references to Confucius and Zhu Xi serve more to bolster the garden's claim of dedication to Japanese poetry than to recall any Chinese associations.

Among the features of the garden is a "bay" named Deshio no minato 出汐湊 ("turning tide" bay; Figure 5-4). The entry for it in "Mukusa no sono ki" cites the poem "Lonely is the cry of the crane at moonrise the tide comes in at Waka no ura" (*Waka no ura ni / tsuki no deshio no / sasumama ni / yoru naku tazu no / koe wa sabishiki* 和歌の浦に月の出汐のさすままによるなくたづの声はさびしき), then explains as follows:

[The bay] is near Yūhi no oka 夕日の岡 ["evening sun" hill], and after sunset it follows that moonrise and the turning of the tide cannot be far away. To the right is Tazu no hashi 仙禽橋 [crane bridge], which recalls the night-crying crane [of the poem]. Hakoyayama 藐姑射山 hill and Togetsukyō 渡月橋 ["passing moon" bridge] also share allusions to the moon. In all, the name Deshio no minato evokes images of boats in harbor awaiting the turning of the tide.²⁴

23 "Mukusa no sono ki." *Rakushidō nenroku*, p. 761.

24 "Mukusa no sono ki." *Rakushidō nenroku*, p. 765.

In the same vein, the name Togetsukyō was taken from the poem “Lonely-looking is the light of the moon passing across the nighttime sky to the cries of cranes among the reeds of Waka no ura” (*Waka no ura / ashibe no tazu no / nakigoe ni / yoru wataru tsuki no / kage zo sabishiki* 和歌のうら蘆辺の田鶴の鳴声に夜わたる月の影ぞさびしき), because its reference to “passing” makes it a suitable name for a bridge.²⁵

Oigamine 老ヶ峯 (“venerable age” peak) was paired with Waka no ura 和歌の浦 bay (modeled after the locale of the same name in present-day Wakayama prefecture) according to a pun turning on the similarity between “Waka” and the Japanese word for “youth” (*waka* 若). “Waka no ura, Oigamine, Imoseyama 妹背山 (husband and wife hills), and Imose matsu 妹背松 (husband and wife pines) altogether alluded to the prefaces to the poetry anthologies *Senzaishū* 千載集 and *Shin shoku kokin waka shū* 新続古今和歌集, which claim that everyone, young or old, man or woman, ought, as a matter of course, to be well versed in waka poetry.”²⁶

The many other waka-inspired names in the garden include Tamamo no iso 玉藻磯 (“ball moss” beach), Kataonami 片男波 (“higher waves” beach), Fujinamibashi 藤浪橋 (“wisteria waves” bridge), Koromode no oka 衣手岡 (sleeve hill), Chidoribashi 千鳥橋 (plover bridge), and Sasagani no michi 蛛道 (spider pathway). The names were chosen to carefully balance such complementary concepts as motion and stillness, youth and age, and yin and yang:

Imo no yama (wife hill) and Se no yama (husband hill) are united in a rounded form; the Tokiwa ときわ and Kakiwa かきは rocks stand still. Asahi no iwao 朝陽岩 (“morning sun” rock) and Yūhi no oka (“evening sun” hill) embody the profound worlds of poets Yamabe and Kakinomoto . . .²⁷

The names of the Tokiwa and Kakiwa pair of rocks derive from the words *tokiwa* 常盤, also read *tsune no iwao* and meaning an everlasting rock, and *kakiwa* 堅盤, also read *kataki iwao* and meaning a hard rock. These symbols of timeless eternity were placed near the husband and wife hills “to pray for long and enduring marriage,” in the words of “Mukusa no sono ki.” And the text adds, “The words *tokiwa* and *kakiwa* often appear in ancient mythological texts.”²⁸

Asahi no iwao rock and Yūhi no oka hill evoke “the profound world of Yamabe and Kakinomoto,” or in other words the works of *Man'yōshū* poets Yamabe no Akahito 山部赤人 (?–736?) and Kakinomoto no Hitomaro 柿本人麻呂 (c. 660–c. 720), two of Japan’s greatest poets.

In this fashion, “Mukusa no sono ki” lists one after another of the eighty-eight sights. The five names given in the prefatory entry in *Rakushidō nenroku*—Mukusa no sono, Mukusa no tate, Kantokujō, Senrijō, and Hisamoriyama—are not included among the eighty-eight, however.

Influence of Chinese Learning. As previously mentioned, Kantokujō was an archery range, Senrijō a riding grounds, and Hisamoriyama a small hill that was sometimes also called Bishamonyama 毘沙門山. None of the names is directly associated with Japanese poetry. Kantokujō (“virtue observation” site)

25 “Mukusa no sono ki.” *Rakushidō nenroku*, p. 770.

26 “Mukusa no sono ki.” *Rakushidō nenroku*, p. 770.

27 “Mukusa no sono ki.” *Rakushidō nenroku*, p. 760.

28 “Mukusa no sono ki.” *Rakushidō nenroku*, p. 766.

derives from a passage in the Chinese classic *Li ji* 礼記 claiming that one's character may be measured by one's skill at archery. "Mukusa no sono ki" parses the passage thus: "A virtuous person is righteous in soul, and an arrow shot by a righteous person cannot go astray, and therefore it follows that a person's virtue is revealed in his archery skills."²⁹

Senrijō ("thousand *li* 里" site) also references Chinese literature. According to "Mukusa no sono ki," the name, from a poem by Du Fu 杜甫 (712–770) about a famed horse that could run a thousand *li* (roughly 500 kilometers) in a single day, was given out of the desire that the horses at Rikugien would race just as well.³⁰ Hisamoriyama comes from yin-yang divination. The name hinges on what "Mukusa no sono ki" argues to be a similarity in sound between Hisamori, meaning "everlasting protection,"³¹ and Bishamon, short for Bishamonten 毘沙門天 (Sk. Vaishravana; also Tamonten 多聞天), a guardian deity of the north who was said to live on the north slope of the legendary Mt. Sumeru. Thus the name Hisamoriyama was both an allusion to the hill's northern location as well as a play on words that called down everlasting protection on the garden. (By the account's logic, Hisamori and Bishamon are alike because the sound "-n" is interchangeable with "-ri," as in the case of Ha-ri-ma 播磨 [the name of an old province; present-day Hyōgo prefecture], whose kanji can also be read Ha-n-ma; or *ka-ri* 雁 [wild goose], which can also be pronounced *ga-n*. Changing the final "-n" in Bishamon would give Bishamori, similar to Hisamori.) It is certainly a complicated, we might even say convoluted, derivation, but shows that Rikugien, while styled as a garden dedicated to Japanese poetry, in truth drew on many additional influences circulating in the learning and culture of the time.

Completion of Rikugien. It seems, however, that Yoshiyasu hardly saw the garden during its construction. "The lord was too busy to visit the site himself," relates *Matsukage nikki*. "His retainers went there everyday to draw pictures of the work's progress, and he gazed at them whenever he had a moment to give various instructions."³²

Construction proceeded in this fashion, until Yoshiyasu marked the completion of the garden by giving it the name Mukusa no sono and establishing the eighty-eight sights. Four years later, in 1706, Retired Emperor Reigen 靈元 (1654–1732) bestowed on Yoshiyasu a collection of poems praising the garden's "twelve scenes and eight sights" (*jūnikyō hakkei* 十二境八景).

References to this honor are to be found in *Matsukage nikki* as well as in *Jōken'in dono gojikki* 常憲院殿御実紀, the volumes in *Tokugawa jikki* dealing with the reign of fifth shogun Tsunayoshi:

Fifth day [of the tenth month, Hōei 宝永 3]: The grand minister (*dainagon* 大納言) [Tsunayoshi] visited Matsudaira Mino no kami Yoshiyasu 松平美濃守吉保 [Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu]. . . . Previously, the retired emperor had selected twelve scenes and eight sights from those at Yoshiyasu's retreat in Komagome . . . [and] bestowed [on Yoshiyasu] a collection of poems by imperial princes and other members of the court.³³

29 "Mukusa no sono ki." *Rakushidō nenroku*, p. 781.

30 "Mukusa no sono ki." *Rakushidō nenroku*, p. 781.

31 "Mukusa no sono ki." *Rakushidō nenroku*, p. 781.

32 *Matsukage nikki*, Section 14 "Tama Kashiwa," p. 204.

33 *Jōken'in dono gojikki*, vol. 54, p. 632.



Figure 5-5. Toyamasō, from *Owari-kō bessō michi no zu* 尾張公別莊道図, Edo period. Color on paper, 30.5 × 1887.0 cm. Courtesy of Mitsui Bunko.

The poems, in the words of *Matsukage nikki*, were “in the form of a scroll of the purest white silk.”³⁴ Also according to the diary, the retired emperor’s compilation was the end product of lobbying by none other than Yoshiyasu himself. It was he who commissioned pictures of Rikugien and arranged for them to be presented to the retired emperor. Exactly what he had hoped to gain through this act is not recorded, but there is no denying that the retired emperor’s return gift represented the Kyoto aristocracy’s stamp of approval. It was, in effect, an official recognition of the garden’s excellence.

Yoshiyasu wrote a lavish message of gratitude to the retired emperor, and sent it along with many gifts. He also wrote in appreciation to all the court nobles who composed the poems and presented them with gifts as well.³⁵

Aristocrat-bushi Shared Tastes. As the above anecdote suggests, cultural interaction involving gardens between the shogunate and the Kyoto imperial court indicates that the samurai elite and aristocracy shared basic tastes and stylistic concerns. For daimyo, interest shown in their gardens by members of the aristocracy could be useful; it had the effect of elevating their status within warrior society.

In her diary, Machiko describes her delight at being allowed to view the retired emperor’s scroll in Yoshiyasu’s presence. She writes, “The poems possessed an elegance and interest such as even the ancient poets could not have devised, and the skill shown by the retired emperor [in his selection of the sights] was also superior to anything found of old.”³⁶ According to *Tokugawa jikki*, Yoshiyasu later combined the poems with illustrations of Rikugien to create five scrolls to show to the shogun, presenting them as a gift upon Tsunayoshi’s request.³⁷

Earlier in history, Koishikawa Kōrakuen, too, caught the attention of Retired Emperor Go-Mizuno’s consort Masako 和子 (also Tōfukumon’in 東福門院; 1607–1678), the daughter of second shogun Hidetada

34 *Matsukage nikki*, Section 24 “Mukusa no sono,” p. 356.

35 *Matsukage nikki*, Section 24 “Mukusa no sono,” p. 372.

36 *Matsukage nikki*, Section 24 “Mukusa no sono,” p. 372.

37 *Jōken’in dono gojikki*, vol. 54, p. 632. See also in vol. 1 of *Tōkyō shi shikō: Yūen hen* 東京市史稿: 遊園篇, ed. Tōkyō Shiyakusho 東京市役所. Tōkyō Shiyakusho, 1929. Repr. Rinsen Shoten, 1973, p. 825.



and the sister of third shogun Iemitsu (who it will be recalled was actively involved in the building of Kōrakuen):

Having heard [of the beauty of the garden], Tōfukumon'in gave orders for a map of the site to be made for her benefit, and this was presented to her. The map eventually came to the attention of Retired Emperor Go-Mizuno'ō, who was pleased by it. The news spread the fame of the garden far and wide across the land.³⁸

The Yanagisawa household was by all indications extremely proud of the honor accorded by the selection of the twelve scenes and eight sights. “It was most extraordinary that imperial recognition should be given to eight sights [in a garden] in the eastern part of the country so far removed [from the capital],” Machiko writes in *Matsukage nikki*. “Everyone remarked to one another how wonderful it was.”³⁹ While some people may have been genuinely impressed by the occurrence, others were likely to have been envious. Given the way Yoshiyasu contrived to gain personal glory by ingratiating himself with the imperial family and the aristocracy, it is not surprising that the reputation that has been passed down of him is not praiseworthy. Rikugien nonetheless attracted much attention at its height from the late Genroku to Hōei (1704–1711) eras. Undoubtedly it was the best known as well as most emulated garden in Japan at the time.

A “Village” in a Garden: Toyamasō

Toyamasō 戸山莊 belonged to the lower Edo residence of the Owari domain (present-day Aichi prefecture) and covered 440,000 square meters at its height, making it the largest garden ever built in Japan (Figure 5–5). (Rikugien was, by comparison, 290,000 square meters even at its largest.) In 1671, the shogunate granted Owari lord Tokugawa Mitsutomo 光友 (1625–1700) 281,000 square

³⁸ *Kōrakuen kiji*, p. 131.

³⁹ *Matsukage nikki*, Section 24 “Mukusa no sono,” p. 373.

meters of land in the Wada Toyama 和田戸山 area of Edo. Combining the plot with an adjacent 153,000-square-meter *kakae yashiki* 抱屋敷 (property acquired by daimyo aside from those assigned them by the shogunate) already in Mitsutomo's possession resulted in a total area of 434,000 square meters. The residence grew even larger as the domain acquired more and more of the surrounding plots, for example purchasing roughly 7,000 square meters of a former shrine and 80,000 square meters of farmland in 1675.

Jundō sōkō 純堂叢稿 states that construction of the garden began only after the Kanbun 11 (1671) bestowal of land by the shogunate.⁴⁰ But according to *Owari hantei ki* 尾張藩邸記, a tea house called Ryōmen no ochaya 両面御茶屋 stood in the Owari estate from as early as Kanbun 8 (1668),⁴¹ suggesting that a tea garden, or at least a tea house inside a garden of some sort, previously existed in the *kakae yashiki*. *Murasaki no hitomoto* 紫の一本 (1681–1684), a guide to famous places in Edo by Toda Mosui 戸田茂睡 (1629–1706), contains a reference to a “Ryōrindō 両臨堂, formerly known as Ryōmen no ochaya”⁴²—further proof that the tea house was among the first structures erected in the residence. A noh stage called Bōyatei 望野亭 (“field viewing” tea house) or sometimes the O-niwa butai 御庭舞台 (garden stage) was constructed in 1687, indicating that Toyamasō, like most other daimyo gardens, was equipped for performances of noh as well as for the tea ceremony.

The spacious grounds of Toyamasō also included several noted historical spots dating from before the garden's creation. Among them was the ancient “Dōkan pine” (Dōkan no matsu 道灌松) that was associated with Ōta Dōkan 太田道灌 (1432–1486), the local warlord who built Edo's first castle, and Wada Toyama Daimyōjin 和田戸山大明神, a shrine to the tutelary deity of nearby Toyama village.

Owari Dainagon dono shimo yashiki Toyamasō zenzu 尾張大納言殿下屋敷戸山莊全図, a map that is estimated to date from the Hōreki 宝曆 era (1751–1763), shows the grounds entirely encircled by earthworks and, outside that, a dry moat (Figure 5-6). Two large ponds in the center of the garden are labeled “Gosensui” 御泉水 (pond) and “Kami no gosensui” 上の御泉水 (upper pond), respectively. Other topographical features include an elevated area called Gyokuenpō 玉円峯, a hill called Shōteizan 小庭山, a ravine called Shūsenkoku 修仙谷, and a stream called Takuōsen 濯纓川. Also depicted are structures such as the Hitomarodō 人麿堂 hall, the Dainichidō 大日堂 hall (dedicated to Vairocana [Jp. Dainichi] Buddha), the Kokūzōdō 虚空蔵堂 hall (dedicated to Ākāśagarbha [Jp. Kokūzō], the “great space repository” bodhisattva, and a five-storied pagoda. A cherry grove, two riding grounds, flowerbeds, grass-covered hills, vegetable fields, and a central pond island named Bentenjima 弁天島 with a hall dedicated to the goddess Benzaiten punctuate the garden's sweeping panorama, which contains dwellings for lower-ranking retainers of the domain as well. Overall, the estate seems more reminiscent of a large village than a garden in the traditional sense.

A Visit by Shogun Ienari. In the spring of 1797, eleventh shogun Ienari stopped at Toyamasō following a hunt in the Takada 高田 area of Edo. The hosts took special pains to prepare the garden for this visit,

40 *Jundō sōkō*, p. 495.

41 *Owari hantei ki*, p. 493.

42 *Murasaki no hitomoto*, p. 495.



Figure 5-6. *Owari Dainagon dono shimo yashiki Toyamasō zenzu* 尾張大納言殿下屋敷戸山莊全図 [Illustration of Toyamasō Lower Residence of the Lord of Owari], ca. 1751–1763. Courtesy of the National Diet Library.

given that they were—however informally—receiving the shogun. Overt fanfare and extravagance were avoided, and the entertainments were designed down to the finest detail to make the shogun feel he had accidentally wandered into an ordinary country village:

[The shogun] went to the falconing grounds. He heard the voice of a lark behind a dense thicket of grass. He sent his falcon after it, and the prey fell, hidden by grass. The shogun [looked for the bird], reciting to himself [the improvised poem], “Only the sounds of a bell mark the place where my falcon has dropped its prey among the thick grass” (*hashi taka no / tori no ochi kusa / shigeriaite / shirushi no suzu no / oto nomi zo suru* はし鷹の鳥のおち草しげりあひてしるしのすずの音のみぞする), until he stepped into the part of the famed garden [of Toyamasō] known as Ōhara 大原.⁴³

43 *Bikō Toyamasō ki*, p. 594.

Ienari followed a hilly path through the garden until he came to a sleepy “village” lined with several shops. He first entered a small tea house, sitting down to rest awhile upon its scarlet felt carpet, then proceeded to another building to enjoy the fine view. He wandered among the shops of the Omachiya 御町屋, a complex of structures modeled on the post town of Odawara 小田原 (in present-day Kanagawa prefecture), and was served a meal inside Koekirō 古駅楼, the part of the complex representing an inn. His attendants were meanwhile offered “something similar to lotus rice (*renpan* 蓮飯),”⁴⁴ probably a light snack of steamed sweet rice wrapped in lotus leaves. Ienari paused again at Sakura no chaya さくらの茶屋 tea house, embarking from there on a tour of the garden that took him past the five-storied pagoda and an Inari shrine before returning to the first tea house. “Here, the shogun and his attendants were served sake and other refreshments,” in the words of the account. “Everyone high and low became quite drunk. Many more rounds of drinks were passed, and everyone enjoyed themselves immensely.”⁴⁵ The description, though brief, more than adequately conveys the gaiety of the banquet, enlivened by plenty of drink.

Ienari left by palanquin from the residence’s southwest Sharikimon 車力門 gate. The account’s writer, Makino Shigeru, went directly home without accompanying Ienari to Edo castle, underscoring the relaxed nature of the visit. The occasion indeed sounds very informal compared with other shogunal visits, notwithstanding the extensive preparation and care undoubtedly required on the part of the hosts, the Owari Tokugawa.

An Edo Innovation: Tidewater Gardens

Daimyo gardens such as Toyamasō possessed an attractively bright and open atmosphere. Nowhere is this atmosphere more obvious than in so-called tidewater gardens (*shioiri no niwa* 潮入りの庭), which arose only in Edo and were a distinct Edo innovation. Built next to the ocean, examples like the gardens of Hama detached palace 浜離宮 and Shiba detached palace 芝離宮 once laid claim to expansive ponds filled with seawater as well as panoramic views taking in the entire surroundings.

Hama Detached Palace. The foundations of what would become the Hama detached palace garden were laid by Tokugawa Tsunashige 綱重 (1644–1678), the eldest of the younger brothers of fourth shogun Ietsuna 家綱 (1641–1680). In 1654, Tsunashige was granted property to build a seaside residence (*umite yashiki* 海手屋敷). The seaside property that Tsunashige received had originally been a shogunate hunting grounds. In *Bushū Toshima-gun Edo shō no zu* 武州豊嶋郡江戸庄図, one of the earliest surviving maps of Edo, the area where Tsunashige’s residence was to later stand is taken up by clumps of reeds labeled “otakaba” 御鷹場 (falconing grounds). The land was reclaimed and parceled out to domains for use in building their residences, and the plot assigned to Tsunashige was one of them.

It is unclear whether the creators of Tsunashige’s residence intended to incorporate the nearby ocean into the garden from the outset. The first written record of the garden’s construction, and of the name Hama, appears in 1669:

⁴⁴ *Bikō Toyamasō ki*, p. 599.

⁴⁵ *Bikō Toyamasō ki*, p. 603.

Record of reward bestowed for managing the construction of the Hama residence:

Five pieces of silver to Sorimachi Buhei 反町武兵衛

Three pieces of the same to Gensai 玄斎

The above to be given for their services in building a hill (*tsukiyama* 築山) and pond (*sensui* 泉水) at the said location.⁴⁶

The estate later passed to Tsunashige's son Tsunatoyo 綱豊 (1662–1712) and was called “the Kōfu Minister's Hama residence” (*Kōfu saishō no Hama no oyashiki* 甲府宰相浜御屋敷)—a reference to Tsunashige's lordship over the 250-thousand-*koku* domain of Kai 甲斐, of which Kōfu 甲府 (now in Yamanashi prefecture) was the capital.

Tsunatoyo was adopted by fifth shogun Tsunayoshi in 1704, at which time he changed his name to Ienobu 家宣. Once Ienobu moved into Edo castle as the heir apparent, the Hama residence took on the character of a shogunal retreat. Tsunayoshi reworked the grounds extensively, taking advantage of its location facing Edo bay to turn it into a military facility for shoring up Edo's maritime defenses. The garden was accordingly furnished with archery ranges and riding grounds similar to those in other daimyo gardens, in addition to a dock for naval ships and an observation tower for keeping watch over Edo bay. Construction began in 1707 and was mostly completed by the following year.

Amenities of a Tidewater Garden. At the same time, Tsunayoshi did not neglect the more pleasurable aspects of the garden. New structures—including the three tea houses of Nakashima no chaya 中島の茶屋, Umite chaya 海手茶屋, and Shimizu no chaya 清水の茶屋 as well as the Kannondō 観音堂 hall, Kōshindō 庚申堂 hall, Ōtemon 大手門 gate, and Ōtemonbashi 大手門橋 bridge—equipped the site for tea-ceremony events and banquets. No direct evidence indicates that the tidewater pond was also created on this occasion, although it would not be surprising, considering that the nearby Shiba garden (to be discussed below) already had a tidewater pond by at least 1686.

Once a pond is created in a seaside garden, there is really only one practical solution as to where to draw the water supply necessary to fill it. A completely desalinated pond would be all but impossible in such a location, and it was not only expedient but indeed inevitable that the pond at the Hama residence was designed to cleverly exploit the ebb and flow of the tide.

When Ienobu became the sixth shogun upon Tsunayoshi's death in 1709, the Hama residence officially became shogunate property and was renamed “Hama palace” (Hama goten 浜御殿), as it would be known until the start of the Meiji era. In the meantime, the site was improved by successive shoguns.

The improvements took into account the special topographical conditions of Hama palace. Since it and other tidewater gardens were built along the sea, and on reclaimed land, they could not help but be flat-looking. Artificial hills were typically built up from soil dug to create the garden pond and therefore were of limited height, meaning what little contour they provided did not go very far in effacing the flat and open feel of the overall landscape.

46 *Kōfu nikki*, p. 488.

Hama palace's status as a shogunal retreat made it unique among daimyo gardens in that it hosted social occasions not only among members of the samurai class but also between the samurai and the aristocracy. While construction projects were conducted with the shoguns' personal recreation and pleasure chiefly in mind, they thus had the added purpose of preparing the garden for use in entertaining Kyoto nobles visiting Edo.

One such event was the reception for imperial messengers that was held on the twenty-third day of the ninth month of 1710, the year following Ienobu's accession. The messengers were entertained with food and drink at Nakashima no chaya tea house on the island in the great central pond, followed by sessions of poetry and pleasure boating. The flat, wide-open setting must have seemed quite novel to the court aristocrats when compared with the more deeply contoured Kyoto gardens to which they were accustomed.

Of course, Hama palace did share certain similarities with Kyoto's riverside Katsura detached palace, both in terms of their association with water and their layout vis-à-vis their surroundings. Both had a bright and spacious look that resulted from their location on open ground. Naturally, the pleasures offered at the sites were also somewhat alike. Yet the differences between ocean versus river inevitably resulted in different kinds of entertainments.

Take, for example, the festivities during Ienobu's visit to Hama palace just four months after becoming shogun. Although he had long owned the Hama estate, the occasion was special in that it was the first time he entered it as shogun. Ienobu attended swimming demonstrations by his troops, enjoyed falconing, and inspected shogunate ships and their rowers, in effect the shogunal "navy." The occasion, however, was as much a pleasure feast as it was a formal military review. Brightly festooned ships slid to and fro across the sea before the palace, manipulated by rowers dressed in colorful costumes; the tea house hosting the subsequent banquet was piled with auspicious gifts such as red snapper from senior councillors (*rōjū* 老中) and other retainers, displayed for all to see. The day evidently doubled as a fête celebrating Ienobu's recent accession.

Good Fishing. Fishing was yet another enjoyable experience offered by the Hama palace garden, which was equipped with fishing spots at several points around the pond. While fishing can be done in any garden with a large-enough pond, in this garden, unlike elsewhere, one could catch fish living in the brackish estuary of Edo bay.

Visiting court aristocrats from Kyoto probably also enjoyed the novel experience of saltwater fishing here. But for now, let us take up the story of fishing during a 1826 visit by Shigeko 繁子, the wife of eleventh shogun Ienari, of which detailed records have been preserved.

Arriving by palanquin, Shigeko first rested briefly at the Nakashima no chaya tea house, following which she strolled around the garden. The ladies-in-waiting soon began dropping their lines from the fishing spots. An attendant instructed Shigeko on how to cast her own line, and she immediately caught one fish after another.

As with falcon hunts, on occasions such as these it was customary for hosts to go to great lengths to ensure the guests would have a good catch. An unimaginable amount of care and preparation must

have also gone into making Shigeko's fishing a success. In any case, she had such a good time and caught so many fish that she was loath to stop even for lunch.

Fishing seems to have been a standard part of the entertainment at the Hama palace, considering that Kawaji Toshiakira 川路聖謨 (1801–1868), an accounting magistrate (*kanjō bugyō* 勘定奉行) and foreign magistrate (*gaikoku bugyō* 外国奉行) during the last years of the Edo period, also did some fishing here on the third day of the eighth month of 1837.⁴⁷ Kawaji arrived at the garden on horseback. Alighting at the front gate, he walked to a newly completed building next to the *umamidokoro* 馬見所 (horse-viewing pavilion) in the garden riding grounds. An overseer official (*metsuke* 目付) came to ask Kawaji what he wanted to eat, and he was shortly served food and drink.

After the meal, which he found extremely satisfactory, Kawaji attended a lively banquet at the Nakashima no chaya tea house. The group was entertained with music and dance, and Kawaji himself performed a dance upon request. Afterward Kawaji went fishing on the shore opposite from the tea house. A little later someone offered to show him a better spot, and they moved to “Shiohama 塩浜,”⁴⁸ where he caught two mullet.

Sporting Pleasures. Aside from fishing, the list of activities available at Hama palace included falconry, horseriding, and fowl hunting, which today would all be considered sports. These new and more active pleasures gradually entered gardens as stiffly formal tea ceremonies, which had been of great import in the early days, increasingly gave way to more relaxed pleasures. Rougher sports such as falconry or horseriding, in turn, were eventually replaced by activities requiring less physical exertion, including fowl hunting (mainly duck snaring using nets) and fishing. Fishing was especially enjoyed as a light recreation suitable even for high-born ladies. Hama palace, with its possibilities for all kinds of easy and pleasurable exercise, was thus a refreshingly new kind of garden.

Hama palace also hosted tea ceremonies, of course, but on the whole its wide-open landscape and the ever-shifting flow of its tidewater pond gave it a bright and spirited character quite different from gardens focused more exclusively on the tea ceremony. This character became particularly marked during Ienari's reign as eleventh shogun. The number of his construction projects at Hama palace is impressive. Tsubame no chaya 燕の茶屋 (swallow tea house), Matsu no chaya 松の茶屋 (pine tea house), and Warabuki no chaya 藁葺の茶屋 (thatched tea house) were built during his time, along with several arbors (*koshikake* 腰掛) with such names as Ochin'yama 御亭山 (“arbor hill”), Matsubara 松原 (“pine field”), and Gobanbori 五番堀 (“fifth moat”). The structures were designed to add visual interest to the scenery and as such reflect the growing focus on strolling in the gardens of the period. Ienari also created a new duck-hunting pond (called Kōshindō 庚申堂 duck grounds) in addition to the already existing Shinsenza 新銭座 duck grounds. He evidently found Hama palace quite to his liking and visited it more than ninety times.

47 *Yūgeien zuibitsu*, pp. 133–34.

48 This is probably the area where the tidal pond is located today.

Following the 1868 Meiji Restoration, Hama palace was appropriated by the Meiji government and was renamed Hama detached palace. Carrying on its long-held role as a guest reception facility, it was used to entertain foreign dignitaries prior to the 1883 building of Rokumeikan 鹿鳴館.

Shiba Detached Palace. Like the Hama garden, Shiba detached palace (or Rakujuen 楽寿園, as it was originally called) is one of the few seaside daimyo gardens still extant today (Figure 5-7). The garden was built by Ōkubo Tadatomo 大久保忠朝 (1632–1712), who served as senior councillor to fourth shogun Ietsuna.

Tadatomo acquired the Shiba property in 1678. Eight years later, in 1686, the Confucian scholar Kikutan 菊譚 (Kinoshita Heizaburō 木下平三郎; 1667–1743) described the garden and the origins of its name in a text entitled *Rakujuen ki* 楽寿園記. He observes that the waters of the pond “ebb and flow with the tide, although in a continuous series of small waves so that one is hardly aware of the great degree of the change,”⁴⁹ indicating the presence of the tidewater pond from quite early in the garden’s history.

Kikutan was the second son of Kinoshita Jun’an 木下順庵 (1621–1699), who served as instructor in Confucianism to fifth shogun Tsunayoshi. While Kikutan may not be as well known as his father, his authorship suggests Tsunayoshi’s involvement in the garden’s creation. Apparently this garden, too, was intimately tied to the shogunate from the outset.

The Shiba estate changed owners six times. After the Ōkubo family, the garden passed in 1818 to the Hotta 堀田 family for two years, and then to the Shimizu 清水 family, one of the Gosankyō 御三卿



Figure 5-7. Shiba detached palace stroll-style garden. Photograph: Shirahata Yōzaburō, 2004.

49 *Rakujuen ki*.

branches of the Tokugawa clan. The Kii Tokugawa were next, followed by the Arisugawa no miya 有栖川宮 imperial family, who became the fifth owners after the 1868 Meiji Restoration. Finally, the garden was added to the imperial estates, at which point it was renamed Shiba detached palace and turned into a retreat of the emperor. Despite its successive changes in proprietorship, the garden underwent no significant changes either in scale or layout since its century and a half under the Ōkubo family.

The original property that was granted to Tadatomo encompassed slightly more than 33,000 square meters. An additional 6,600 square meters of reclaimed land were later included on the east side adjoining the sea. Still later inclusion of neighboring plots brought the total area to 44,500 square meters, or roughly the same as it is today. By the time it became an imperial retreat, the filling of surrounding waterways had further expanded the property to about 49,500 square meters. But in 1962, approximately 5,000 square meters were trimmed off to make way for the Tōkaidō Shinkansen railway, shrinking the garden back down to the same size it had been in the Edo period.

An area of 44,500 square meters is not very large for a daimyo garden; in fact, it is rather modest. Shiba detached palace is only a third the size of neighboring Hama detached palace, a fourth of Rikugien, and a fifth of Koishikawa Kōrakuen. Nonetheless, the Shiba garden is furnished with practically all the essential features of a daimyo garden. It provides an extremely compact and convenient model for understanding the stroll style.

Bridges over the Central Island. The garden's paths run around the pond and pass over bridges via the central island to the opposite shore. This is one of the few daimyo gardens where one can walk across the central island to get to the other side—or, in other words, where more than one bridge connects to the island. Another is Hama detached palace, which has bridges leading to the island from three directions. By contrast, the bridge that once stood at Koishikawa Kōrakuen led not to the central island but across a slightly narrowed section of the pond.

The tidewater pond seems to be why both the Shiba and Hama gardens had multiple bridges that were moreover maintained up to the present day. In a tidewater garden, bridges fulfill the crucial function of giving visitors vantage points from which to enjoy the landscape as it shifts with the ebb and flow of the tide.

Among the features that enhanced the visual pleasures of the Shiba garden was the “floating lantern” (*ukidōrō* 浮灯籠). It once stood near the pond's shore and seems to have been slightly taller than a regular stone lantern, at least if surviving illustrations are to be believed. At high tide, the lantern's post disappeared underwater, making the firehole look as if it were floating on the pond; at low tide the post emerged again, tall and slender. The lantern moreover doubled as a measure of the tide. Unmarred by uncouth depth marks, it was itself a point of scenic interest. Today, however, the tidewater pond itself is a thing of the past, as the Shiba garden is now cut off from the sea.

Shiba detached palace represents a high point in the refinement of the stroll style. This appraisal, however, is also limited by the failure to take into account tea houses and other amenities that are no longer extant. The Shiba garden once had several tea houses, including the Bidoro chaya びいどろ茶屋 (glass tea house), in addition to riding grounds and an archery range. Despite its modest scale, at one point the garden even had its own duck-hunting grounds.

Attention to Visual Pleasures: Yokuon'en

Among the best documented and best known of all Edo-period tidewater gardens is Yokuon'en 浴恩園, the garden of the daimyo and senior councillor Matsudaira Sadanobu 松平定信 (1759–1829). The grounds of Yokuon'en covered roughly 66,000 square meters at the time Sadanobu was first granted the property in 1792; it was thus slightly larger than the Shiba garden, but nevertheless only about half the size of the Hama palace garden. Later maps indicate the presence of a large central pond and a layout quite similar to that of the Shiba garden—although no trace of the garden remains where it once stood in the Tsukiji 築地 area of Tokyo, today occupied by fish-processing plants and the famous Tsukiji Fish Market.

The garden appears to have taken very little time to build. It was already complete within two years after Sadanobu acquired the property, as evidenced by a Kansei 6 (1794) description by the Confucian scholar Shiba Kunihiko 柴邦彦 (also Shibano Ritsuzan 柴野栗山; 1736–1807). Perhaps this was made possible by the small number of large-scale artificial hills, waterfall stone arrangements, and other features in the garden requiring extensive construction.

Another factor may have been the presence of an earlier garden built on the site during the Kan'ei era by Inaba Masanori 稲葉正則 (1623–1696), who had been senior councillor to third shogun Iemitsu. The garden was later incorporated into the lower residence of the Hitotsubashi 一橋 family, one of the Gosankyō branches of the Tokugawa clan. It is often told that the Hitotsubashi family caused much damage to the garden by using it as falconing grounds, but such claims must, once again, be read against the possibility of self-serving distortions by later generations. In any case, by taking advantage of the previous garden, Sadanobu was perhaps able to finish Yokuon'en more quickly than would have been the case if he had built it from the ground up.

Shiba's account reveals that the garden was given its name, meaning “basking in benevolence,” to commemorate the shogun's bestowal of the estate on Sadanobu. A Kansei 7 (1795) description of the garden lists and describes some ten features, including Shūfūtei 秋風亭 (“autumn wind” tea house), Shunpūkan 春風館 (“spring wind” hall), Tamamokayama 賜力山 (“god-sent” hill), Yūsenitei 遊仙亭 (hermitage tea house), Bōgakutei 望岳亭 (“mountain viewing” tea house), Chinantei 知難亭 (“hard to know” tea house), Tanzensai 淡然齋 (serenity room), Kōbudō 講武道 (martial arts hall), Kankotei 咸故亭 (“all antiquity” tea house), Ryūwansō 柳湾倉 (“willow bay” storehouse), and Jakunentei 寂然亭 (silence tea house). Assuming “-tei” 亭 indicates tea house would suggest the existence of at least six of them by the time.

Tanzensai was Sadanobu's study and its attached garden; Ryūwansō was an earthen warehouse for storing preventive and emergency supplies against fires and other urban disasters. Thus even practical facilities not chiefly intended for appreciation were given aesthetic roles extending beyond their initial purposes, demonstrating again the freedom and flexibility of the design philosophy informing daimyo gardens.

Fifty-one Sights. At the same time, Yokuon'en differed significantly from daimyo gardens of the past in that it was much more focused on visual appreciation than on concerns related to the tea ceremony.

In 1812, Sadanobu resigned from his political duties, handed over his title to his son, and retired

to Yokuon'en. On this occasion, he established the “fifty-one sights” (*gojūissshō* 五十一勝) of the garden, giving them one Japanese- and one Chinese-style name each.

The term “fifty-one sights” itself bespeaks the garden’s strong preoccupation with visual concerns. A majority of the names referred in one way or another to the tidewater pond, the main feature of the garden, suggesting its importance in the scenery. Examples included Chitose no hama 千とせの浜 (“one thousand years” beach; Chinese name, Shōtōhan 松濤浜, or “pines and billows” shore), Chiyo no iwahashi 千代の岩橋 (“eternal rock” bridge; Sekiryō 石梁, or stone bridge), Kinugasa yanagi 衣笠柳 (“silk hat” willow; Jinensan 自然織, or “natural umbrella”), and Ariake no ura 有明の浦 (daybreak bay; Sengetsutei 銭月汀, or “sending off the moon” beach).

Sadanobu moreover had one Japanese and one Chinese poem dedicated to each selected spot; the Japanese poems were composed by the shogunate poetry scholar Kitamura Kibun 北村季文 (1778–1850), and the Chinese verses were commissioned from several noted literary men of the time. The Japanese- and Chinese-style names and poems were inscribed on a rectangular stone marker about ten centimeters wide and seventy centimeters tall that was erected at each sight. The names were written in Sadanobu’s hand, the Japanese poems in Kibun’s, and the Chinese poems in their authors’.

Yokuon'en was lost in a fire in 1829. To keep the memory of the garden from fading into oblivion, in 1842 Okamoto Shisō 岡本茲英, a former retainer of Sadanobu, produced the map *Yokuon'en zenzu* 浴恩園全図 (Figure 5-8). The map shows the stone markers scattered throughout the garden and



Figure 5-8. Detail of Yokuon'en garden, from *Yokuon'en zenzu*, 1884 (copy of 1842 original). Image courtesy of the National Diet Library.

also identifies their labels, corroborating their existence. Let us now take an imaginary stroll around Yokuon'en using this map as our guide.⁵⁰

A Tour of Yokuon'en. Yokuon'en had only one entrance (lower right corner of Figure 5-8), unlike other large daimyo gardens, which often had multiple side and back entrances. A weathered-looking gate immediately next to the main entry to the residence was all that marked the way into the garden. The gate was built of unpeeled logs and was bordered by an equally simple fence of slender wooden slats woven together in a wickerwork pattern. All in all, the entrance suggested the atmosphere of a humble retreat (*wabizumai* わび住まい).

The gate led into an open area (*hiroba* 広場) lined with ten or so bonsai. Beyond this area spread the wide waters of the tidewater pond. Thus at Yokuon'en visitors saw the pond stretching out before them immediately upon arrival, whereas in other gardens they would typically come upon it after making their way through a dark grove of trees.

The *hiroba* adjoined the residence and was used not only to receive visitors but also by the people of the household to perform their daily activities. The map shows an archery target on a large rock, with an explanation that this was where Sadanobu in his last years practiced archery. A boat dock along the pond's shore allowed visitors who wished to tour the garden by boat to do so from the entrance.

To one side of the *hiroba* lay a rectangular surface of lawn bordered by stone blocks. Labeled *gaku butai* 楽舞台 (noh stage) on the map, it reveals outdoor entertainments to have been among the numerous functions fulfilled by the *hiroba*. The Chiyo no iwahashi 千代の岩橋 stone bridge arched over a nearby stream, draped by the wisps of the Kinugasa willow.

Also in the *hiroba*, along the edge of the pond, was a structure resembling a rectangular box that the map calls a *rodai* 露台 (platform; not shown in Figure 5-8). Fashioned of wooden slats woven in a wickerwork pattern in much the same manner as the entrance fence, this platform had a ladder with which to climb up to its top. The top was carpeted by scarlet felt (*himōsen* 緋毛氈), so presumably one would have needed to take off one's shoes below prior to going up. Most likely an observation deck from which to survey the garden, the platform was portable and could be easily set up whenever necessary. Considering its structure, it was probably not more than three or four meters high, suggesting that the garden itself must have been rather low-lying if it could be looked down upon from that height.

More on Platforms. At the risk of digressing, let us take a moment to discuss the platform a little further. Prefabricated portable observation decks of the kind are not found in other daimyo gardens. At the very least, they have never appeared in any of the garden illustrations I have studied. There is, however, one structure at Shiba detached palace that may possibly be linked—namely, the stone posts now called the Komatsunagi no ishi 駒つなぎの石 (bridlepost stones). The intended purpose of these four rectangular posts has long been a puzzle to scholars. The most widely accepted hypothesis so far (and the source of their present-day name) cites their proximity to the riding grounds and the hole running through each as evidence they must have been used to tie horses. But the explanation

50 To view a full-size map of Yokuon'en, see the National Diet Library website: <http://www.dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/9367513>. Accessed May 25, 2016.

has several weaknesses, for example the posts' distance from the path that was normally taken to lead horses out to the riding grounds. Many other possibilities have been suggested, such as that they are the foundations of a once-extant tea house or religious structure, or perhaps that they were some sort of marker or observation tower.⁵¹

The last theory is based on the reasoning that since the garden was used for cannon exercises during the ownership of the Shimizu family, it must also have had an observation deck from which to aim the cannons and see where the fired missiles landed. This is actually closest to my own theory, although in my opinion the deck was probably used for much more relaxed and peaceful purposes—in short, as a look-out podium for enjoying the view.

I would argue that the columns were foundation posts that supported the four corners of an observation deck similar to that in the Yokuon'en map. The holes were probably used either to pass wooden beams or to tie the panels of the deck firmly together with ropes. A deck made only of wickerwork panels would have been too weak and unstable to stand on its own, especially on a windy day. A structure that was stylish-looking enough to match an elegant felt carpet would moreover have been too fragile to be left standing outdoors for any length of time, dictating that it be taken down while not in use. Strong stone posts would have marked the position of the deck and excellently supported its structure, while remaining relatively unobtrusive when the platform was not set up. Although not seen in the map, most likely the deck at Yokuon'en, too, had posts standing at its four corners.

Simply because the platform was near the entrance does not necessarily signify visitors were always required to survey the garden before touring the grounds. They could have just as easily climbed it to look back upon the garden after one round. Whatever the case, the platform was built expressly for visual pleasure and as such was not directly related to any of the more traditional functions associated with daimyo gardens, for example tea ceremony, or feasting. It gives one measure of the extent to which late-Edo daimyo gardens became customized toward strolling and visual appreciation, particularly the prospect of the whole garden from a high vantage point.

Creating "Sights." Overlooking a garden from one vantage point is part and parcel of the experience of exploring its individual parts. Yokuon'en offered many possibilities in terms of the latter as well. One example was the pair of pond islands called Tokiwa and Kakiwa that faced the *hiroba*. The names, which taken together mean "everlasting and forever," were also given to a pair of rocks in Rikugien, as we have already seen. What made the Yokuon'en islands noteworthy was that they each had a giant sago palm, one from Hachijōjima 八丈島 and the other from Iyo (present-day Ehime prefecture), lending them a somewhat exotic atmosphere. Instead of the erudite references to Japanese poetry conventions or Confucian teachings typical of other gardens, what the garden demonstrated here was the intention to astonish visitors with strange and rarely seen attractions.

Another stretch along the pond shore likewise exhibited many fine specimens of pine trees from different regions of Japan, all arranged to evoke an oceanside grove. The trees were named Shirakawa no seki 白河の関 ("Shirakawa pass"), Nakoso no seki 奈古その関 ("Nakoso pass"), Suma no atoyama

51 Kosugi 1981.

須磨の後山 (“mountains of Suma”), Ashiya no sato 芦屋の里 (“Ashiya village”), and so on in reference to locales celebrated for their pine trees. One tree, identified on the map as being from Karasaki 唐崎, probably originated from seeds or saplings from the famous Karasaki pine along the shores of Lake Biwa 琵琶 in present-day Shiga prefecture. Other pines seem to have been planted for the sake of their unusual-looking needles or branches, not because they necessarily derived from the places indicated by their names (although some may well have).

Indeed, the garden contained so many different botanical specimens that it might almost have passed as an arboretum. Among the fifty-one sights was Chigusa no sono 千草の園 (“all sorts of plants” garden), which cultivated water lilies, chrysanthemums, sasanqua, peach, and other horticultural specimens. The water lilies, in particular, were all extremely rare varieties with such names as Asahi 朝日 (“morning sun”), Tennyō 天女 (“celestial maiden”), Gojiin 護持院 (“law-embracing temple”), and Karayama Tenjiku ren 唐山天竺蓮 (“Tangshan Indian lotus”). The peach trees in the collection included both flowering varieties and those that grew fruit. A medicinal herb garden and a fruit orchard also lay in the grounds. From these aspects, we may see that the interest in naturalist knowledge prevalent among the samurai class from the mid-Edo period onward had also found its way into daimyo gardens, even giving shape to the scenery.

Several tea houses stood along a narrowed part of the pond, including Shūfūtei 秋風亭, Shijitei 四時亭 (“four seasons” tea house), and Kannōden 咸応殿 (“all responsive” pavilion). The structures apparently were built not to host tea ceremonies, but to simply give visitors places to sit and rest while strolling. Like the small bridges spanning the water, they served practical purposes at the same time they were aesthetically integrated into the landscape.

Freedom and Eclecticism. A salt farm lay along one section of the pond. The map shows two gray, roof-like shapes labeled *shioya* 塩や (salt house). One of the fifty-one sights included Minatoden みなと田 (port field), but as the creator of the map notes, “rice was once grown here; only a monument remains.”

Instances of salt production, rice farming, and other forms of industry were commonly part of a daimyo garden’s sights. At Yokuon’en, the high culture and sophisticated musings of Japanese and Chinese poetry coexisted with practical and experimental science. Such an intermingling of intellectuality and practicality, far from lowering the garden’s aesthetic value, complemented its purpose of providing strolls rich in visual enjoyment.

In a corner of the garden was an area called Ajirogaura 網代が浦 (fishnet bay; upper left corner), to which the map adds the note “tide gate,” indicating this to have been the location of the water gate that controlled the flow of the water so crucial to giving the scenery its sense of movement and rhythm. Yet aesthetic considerations were not neglected in even such an eminently practical facility, which was given a romantic-sounding name and duly included among the fifty-one sights. A fishing spot named Ajiro no toko あじろの床 (fishnet floor) was also situated near the water gate, so that the place had aesthetic, practical, and recreational functions all seamlessly interwoven into one. The act of strolling linked these varied functions.

Sadanobu, incidentally, has left behind some of his thoughts on gardens. The subject is taken up several times in his essay collection *Kagetsu sōshi* 花月草紙, albeit not in any rigorously developed form. By all indication, Sadanobu's outlook was extremely liberated. He believed, first and foremost, that one's garden should be designed entirely according to one's own tastes.

One essay cites the example of a man who greatly praises a garden in which the pines are elaborately trained and the trees and plants are “painstakingly wrought” (*tsukuritatete keru* つくりたててけり). The rocks of the garden, too, are of all sizes and hues. This praise puzzles another person who knows the man usually prefers to see things left in their natural form. The first man explains that he did not praise the garden out of sarcasm, but because “it is absurd to praise things only when they suit one's own tastes and to disparage them when they do not.”

The man speaks for Sadanobu himself. Simply put, his view is that since people are entitled to their own tastes, it is not right to criticize a garden merely because it does not accord with one's preferences. Gardens should not be limited by conventions but left free for their owners to devise in any way they wish.

Another of Sadanobu's views also has to do with patience, but in this case with time instead of with other people. Here again, Sadanobu begins by citing the example of a man who, despite being impatient about all other matters, is extremely easygoing where his garden is concerned, planning to move this tree in the spring and that tree next fall. “How could everything about a garden be finished in only two or three years?” the man asks. “At least ten years will be needed before it comes into any kind of shape. I have no intention of trying to rush things, since I know that doing so now would be of no use.” Sadanobu thus argues that one should think at least ten years into the future when planning a garden, although he perhaps intended the lesson behind the story to apply more generally to life as well.

The above philosophies were reflected in Sadanobu's own garden at Yokuon'en. With Sadanobu's outlook in mind, the seemingly haphazard combination of elements—the bonsai, fruit orchards, vegetable fields, and salt farms—grows easier to understand.

Focus on Strolling. The eclecticism of Yokuon'en introduced a sense of variation and rhythm that heightened the pleasure of strolling its grounds. Appreciating a garden while strolling moreover did not necessarily require feasting or socializing. This was quite in contrast to the past, when both activities had been paramount.

The tidewater garden was very much a product of Edo and the city's development by the sea. Such gardens were not built elsewhere in Japan, not in landlocked Kyoto, of course, but neither in coastal domain castle towns such as Takamatsu 高松 (on the eastern side of Shikoku island). Tamamo 玉藻 castle in Takamatsu is known for its seawater moat, but its Ritsurin'en garden is built near the hills away from the coast.

I would suggest, moreover, that tidewater gardens fostered the outlook that gardens should primarily be for visual appreciation. Of course, the gardens of daimyo residences had been equipped for strolling to some degree even in the early days, when they functioned mainly as settings for the tea ceremony. The tidewater gardens along Edo bay, however, had the power to make strolling into a rich visual experience.

From the Hills to the Sea: Changing Conceptions of the Daimyo Garden

The discussion in this chapter reveals that as daimyo gardens developed, they underwent a shift in setting and scenic features from the “country” (*yamazato* 山里) type to the “seaside” (*umibe* 海辺) type. In the *yamazato*-style garden, the host served his guest in a manner faithful to the traditions of the *wabi* tea ceremony, while augmenting it with the pleasures of exploring the grounds. For example, one might, while climbing a path through a secluded wood, suddenly come upon a tea house and be served tea in a charming rustic setting. This was the kind of experience arranged for third shogun Iemitsu when he visited Gamō Tadasato’s residence (see Chapter 4). Ikutokuen (the garden of the Kaga domain upper residence) and Koishikawa Kōrakuen in its early days also belonged to this type.

The atmosphere at Rikugien and Toyamasō was quite different. At Toyamasō, farmers could be seen working the fields in a generally pastoral setting. The garden could perhaps best be described as being in the “country village” (*murazato* 村里) style. Cherry-blossom viewings and tea ceremonies vividly evoked the pleasures of the countryside. The mock post town built in imitation of Odawara likewise exemplified a shift in landscape preferences away from densely wooded hills and valleys. In place of *wabi* tea served in a secluded wood, the garden of Toyamasō offered the pleasures of “shopping” and socializing in a bustling village environment re-created in idealized form.

The emergence of tidewater gardens, incorporating scenery and activities associated with the sea, represented the next phase. Tidewater gardens offered a variety of diversions possible in neither *yamazato* nor *murazato*, ranging from active pleasures such as fishing to quiet visual appreciation of the scenery as it changed with the ebb and flow of the tide. Moreover, the emphasis that was placed in such gardens on visual experience of the landscape elevated the practice of strolling in the garden, which had already emerged in *yamazato*-style gardens, into a perfected mode of garden appreciation.

The evolution of the daimyo garden may thus be analyzed as a series of shifts in scenic focus from the country to the village to the seaside. This path of development was also tied to changes in function, from gardens devoted to traditionally formal tea ceremonies at tea houses built in the folds of hills, to those offering lighter occasions of tea in a bright country-village setting, and finally to tidewater gardens centered mainly on strolling and visual enjoyment.

The adjective “open” still best describes the expansive view offered by the pond at the Shiba detached palace garden, notwithstanding that it is now completely cut off from the sea and therefore no longer a genuine tidewater pond. Some garden experts criticize the garden for the inferior quality and arrangement of the embankment stones, but such evaluations are fundamentally misguided. They overlook that the garden was built not to show off faultlessly composed stone arrangements, but to allow visitors to walk around, relax, and enjoy themselves—to be actively used, in other words. Grim arrangements of stones would be nothing but a hindrance in a garden intended to make visitors feel peaceful and relaxed.

An open and spacious look likewise characterizes the pond at Hama detached palace, which remains connected to the sea even today. This garden, too, is meant not to impart some sort of spiritual discipline, but to afford ease and repose.

“*Haikenki*”: *The Garden-Viewing Perspective*. The genre of literature known as *haikenki* 拝見記 (garden-viewing records) offers one glimpse into the factors that influenced the emergence of strolling as the primary means of garden appreciation. The birth of *haiken* combined with that of the tidewater garden formed a significant turning point in the manner in which people visited and viewed daimyo gardens.

The word *haiken* 拝見, a polite form of the verb *miru* 見る (to look at), suggests a visit motivated not by an invitation to enjoy banquets, tea, or sake, but purely by the desire to see a garden. Only a short distance separates this outlook from still later perspectives upholding gardens as works of art that should be evaluated by visual attributes alone.

Among the early examples of *haikenki* was *Kōrakuen haiken no ki* 後樂園拝見之記, the account by Enomoto Kikaku that was cited in our earlier discussion of Koishikawa Kōrakuen. Kikaku may at least have been served tea when he visited the garden in the eleventh month of 1702, but on the whole he seems to have toured the garden much as sightseers might today. Of course, his experience was distinct in that he viewed the garden as a poet and left a record of his impressions in the form of haiku and an essay, but it involved nothing of the garden’s uses as a venue for banquets or the pleasures of society.

Aside from *haikenki*, accounts of gardens were primarily authored by their daimyo owners or the people they invited to visit. Given such appellations as *enrin bungaku* 園林文学 (garden literature),⁵² works of this kind typically render appreciations of the natural scenery in literary style, showing little awareness of gardens as artificial venues or works of art that are distinct from nature. By contrast, the *haiken* perspective, while not entirely unrelated to *enrin* literature, regards gardens as human creations subject to visual appreciation.

A comprehensive survey of Edo-period *haikenki* awaits future study, but even a cursory glance at some of the major titles suffices to show that they arose and flourished from the eighteenth century onward.

Kōrakuen:

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| Genroku 15 (1702) | Enomoto Kikaku 榎本其角, <i>Kōrakuen haiken no ki</i> 後樂園拝見之記 |
| Tenmei 4 (1784) | Ōta Nanpo 大田南畝 (attributed), “Mittsu ga hitotsu” 三つが一つ |
| Kansei 6 (1794) | Ōta Motosada 太田元貞, <i>Yū Kōrakuen ki</i> 遊後樂園記 |
| Kyōwa 2 (1802) | Kōgyō 高行, <i>Suifu kō Kōrakuen ki</i> 水府候後樂園記 |
| Bunsei 3 (1820) | Shiga Shinobu 志賀忍, <i>Gyoen no ki</i> 御園之記 |
| Bunsei 9 (1826) | Saka Shōsei 坂昌成, <i>Kōrakuen no ki</i> 後樂園の記 |

Rikugien:

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|-----------------|---|
| Bunka 10 (1813) | Shaku Keijun 釈敬順, “Matsudaira Kai no kami rinsen no shōyō” 松平甲斐守林泉の逍遙, in <i>Jippōan yūreki zakki</i> 十方庵遊歷雜記 |
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52 Fukui 1976 (1937).

Toyamasō:

- Kyōhō 20 (1735) Kuze Shazen 久世舎善, *Toyama oniwa ki* 戸山御庭記
 Kansei 5 (1793) Sano Noriyuki 佐野義行, *Wada Toyama onari ki (Toyama no haru)* 和田戸山御成記 (戸山の春)
 Kansei 5 Ōta Nanpo 大田南畝, “Bishū Toyama yashiki ikken no koto” 尾州戸山屋敷一見の事, in vol. 3 of *Hannichi kanwa* 半日閑話
 Kansei 9 (1797) Makino Shigeru 牧野成, *Bikō Toyamasō ki* 尾候戸山莊記
 Kansei 10 (1798) Narushima Katsuo 成島勝雄, *Toyama no momiji* 戸山の紅葉
 Bunsei 7 (1824) Doi Seiken 土居清健, *Toyama no shiori* 戸山枝折
 Kōka 4 (1847) Tōtōmi no kami Yasutsugu 遠江守泰従, Untitled
 Meiji 1 (1868) Hirano Tomoo 平野知雄, *Toyama hantei kenbun ki* 戸山藩邸見聞記

Haikenki were also produced for several daimyo gardens in the provinces, again mostly from the late eighteenth century.

The “Cult” of Haiken. Most likely it was hearing about tea ceremonies and entertainments enjoyed in gardens by daimyo, their chief retainers, and others close to them that first inspired outsiders to seek *haiken* tours. Being a lower-ranking shogunate vassal, Ōta Nanpo was especially in a position to access such information. Nanpo toured many gardens, evidence not only of his personal inclination but also of the spread of a kind of “cult” of garden viewing (*haiken no shisō* 拝見の思想) during his time.

Touring the sights of a garden requires little social interaction such as one might have if invited to a tea ceremony or banquet. The spread of garden tours had the effect of pushing visual appreciation of gardens to the forefront of their functions. However, the resulting excessive emphasis on aestheticism and visual considerations ironically hastened daimyo gardens’ own decline, by introducing standards that tended to favor the gardens of Kyoto. Even before *haiken*, the daimyo garden had begun to devise a very suitable style for strolling through a garden, which was initially only one of the pleasures a host could offer to guests invited to a banquet. But the cult of *haiken* transformed the character of touring the garden into a preeminently visual activity. Thus the garden form known today as the “stroll style” (*kaiyūshiki*) attained its final phase of development—although the term *kaiyūshiki* itself, as I believe, probably did not come into use until during or after the Meiji era.

Over the years, daimyo gardens changed to suit shifting attitudes toward nature, tastes in scenery, and forms of socializing and pleasure prevalent in each phase of history. The changes were moreover deeply tied to the roles fulfilled by gardens in the governing structures of the Tokugawa feudal regime. We next turn to examining those roles.

