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Nikkō, stone lantern with green tinted roof, from the photograph album of Mrs Van Brienens's journey in Japan in 1911, private collection.

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A flute playing mendicant monk, his head covered with a basket (*kōmusō*) (from the article *Historical Notes on the Japanese Garden in Clingendael*)

Preface

The first issue of the New Year contains two long articles. The first, written by Mrs Van der Eb, tells about the journey that a member (*another* member) of the Dutch nobility made to Japan in the days before World War I. Her trip through that country took place a full twenty years after that of Count Van Bylandt, described in our last issue of 2010, but like the count, Baroness Van Brienen, too, took photographs. Mrs Van der Eb discovered these photographs in a private collection in The Hague, and she has devoted considerable energy and acumen to the identification of the places in Japan where these photographs were taken. As it turns out, Baroness Van Brienen was especially interested in gardens, and as Mrs Van der Eb shows, this interest was directly connected with the Japanese garden she constructed after her return from Japan on her estate in The Hague, Clingendael. The history of the garden in Clingendael will be treated by Mrs Van der Eb in a second article, which will appear in the following issue of *The Netherlands-Japan Review*.

The other article is written by Paul de Leeuw, whom many readers may know as a Shintō priest who has a shrine in Amsterdam. In this article, Mr. De Leeuw tells about *naka-ima*, “a spatial concept of here and now,” which he sees as the essence of Shintō. In the course of the article he also describes how his mind was prepared through his acting experiences, how his contacts with the French scholar Jean Herbert inspired him, and how his growing interest in Shintō made him decide to accept the invitation to come to Japan and follow the training course at the shrine of Yamakage Motohisa. All in all, the article gives a unique inside view of Shintō.

The editors thank Mr. Arthur Witteveen for his calligraphy, inspired by the Shrines in Ise, and Frans Verwayen for his new translation of modern Japanese poetry. The poem is called *Fuyu no uta*, “Winter Poem,” but it contains no snow or ice. A lost glove is the only hint it contains of its season.

The editors thank Dick Stegewerns for contributing another column on present-day politics. This time he comments on the Russo-Japanese conflict about the Northern Territories, which ever since World War II has prevented the conclusion of a peace treaty between the two countries. Stegewerns maintains that, with the visit that the Russian president Medvedev paid to one of the islands last year, the conflict has moved into a new phase and is farther from being resolved than ever.

We hope that our readers will enjoy this new issue of our Review. We also hope that they will feel inspired to contribute, themselves, to the Review by contributing an article, a column, a translation, a review or, if all else fails, a letter to the editor.

W.J. Boot

Omslag in het hoge Noorden

Dick Stegewerns

In deze winterse tijden duiken er in de Japanse media altijd wat meer beelden op van het noordelijke eiland Hokkaidō dan normaal. Desalniettemin had het noorden beter in de herfst wat aandacht kunnen krijgen, want op dat moment tekende er zich een grote kentering af in het Japans-Russische geschil om wat de eerste partij de Noordelijke Territoria en de andere partij de Zuidelijke Koerilen noemt. Alle blikken waren juist naar het zuiden gericht, waar China door een vissersboot tegen een Japans kustwachtschip op te laten varen een ander territoriaal geschil op de internationale agenda probeerde te krijgen, namelijk dat om de Senkaku/Diaoyu Eilanden. Met name in Japan was er een hele media-hype ontstaan rond de kustwachtambtenaar die de beelden van een zichtbaar op een botsing aansturend China naar YouTube lekte. Dit, terwijl de Japanse regering, zijn werkgever, het geheel wilde afdoen als een ongeval, om op die manier de vrijlating van de Chinese kapitein onder ongekend grote economische druk van China zonder gezichtsverlies te kunnen rechtvaardigen. De zoveelste blamage op het gebied van buitenlands beleid van de Democratische regering ging de wereld rond en benadrukte de recente verschuiving in de economische pikorde: Japan moet buigen voor China. Ook in eigen land heeft de regering eieren voor zijn geld gekozen. De Robin Hood heeft ontslag moeten nemen, maar lijkt niet vervolgd te zullen worden. Zijn populariteit is te groot, en een uitgesponnen rechtszaak zou alleen maar aandacht blijven vestigen op de zwakke knieën van het huidige kabinet.

Maar in de tussentijd heeft de Russische president Medvedev begin november een officieel bezoek gebracht aan Kunashiri, een van de twee grote eilanden die behoren tot de Noordelijke Territoria en gelegen zijn vlak voor de Japanse kust. Hoewel de buitenlandse media er zo goed als geen aandacht aan hebben besteed, is dit bezoek van grote betekenis. Om Japan, dat de door Rusland bezette eilanden ook opeist, niet te schofferen is er nooit eerder een Russische leider op de eilanden geweest, zelfs niet in de grimmigste tijden van de Koude Oorlog. Het bezoek kwam bovendien vlak voor Medvedev's bezoek aan Japan in het kader van de APEC-conferentie. Op het protest van de Japanse premier Kan reageerde Medvedev uitgesproken: Rusland maakt zelf uit wat het doet en laat in zijn eigen territorium. Een later persbericht maakte gewag van een beleidsverandering. De Russische regering zou niet langer bereid zijn te praten op basis van de in 1956 overeengekomen teruggave van de twee kleine eilanden Habomai en Shikotan. En als de boodschap nog niet duidelijk is, was er nog een Twitter-bericht van Medvedev ter afsluiting van zijn bezoek aan Japan. Hierin noemde hij de territoriale kwestie 'onoplosbaar', een karakterisering die tot nu toe vermeden werd, en die in het kader van de *de facto* Russische controle over de eilanden inhoudt dat deze voor eens en altijd Russisch zijn.

Zoals vele territoriale kwesties is ook deze gecompliceerd. Historisch gezien heeft Japan de beste kaarten. Het vestigde als eerste, al in de 18e eeuw, zijn gezag over de eilanden, en ook in alle vooroorlogse internationale verdragen staat duidelijk dat de eilanden tot Japan behoren. Maar de bezetting door de Sovjet-troepen vlak na de Japanse overgave in 1945 betekende het begin van de *de facto* Russische overheersing en de gedwongen deportatie van de Japanse eilandbewoners. In het vredesverdrag van San Francisco deed Japan afstand van de Koerilen. Het probleem is echter dat het verdrag deze 'Koerilen' niet specificeert, waardoor

er ruimte is voor Japan om te argumenteren dat de vier eilanden niet onder dit verdrag vallen. Het pleit echter niet voor Japans zaak, dat de eigen regering eerst mededeelde dat de eilanden wel onder het verdrag vielen, en in 1955 bereid was een vredesverdrag met de Sovjet-Unie te sluiten op basis van teruggave van de twee kleinste eilanden. De Koude Oorlog stond een oplossing in de weg, en het nieuwe Japanse officiële standpunt van ‘alle vier eilanden terug, anders geen vredesverdrag’ gaf ook aan dat men geen enkele heil zag in onderhandelingen met de communistische vijand. Maar de implosie van de Sovjet-Unie schiep nieuwe kansen. Het nieuwe Rusland was bankroet en kon Japanse economische hulp goed gebruiken. President Jeltsin gaf duidelijk aan dat hij bereid was water bij de wijn te doen in ruil voor financiële steun. Onder de LDP-premiers Hashimoto en Mori was een groep realisten actief die begreep dat een compromis het hoogst haalbare was en de Japanse eis van alle vier eilanden in een keer overboord moest. Dit zijn ook de jaren dat Japan onder allerlei eufemismen de economische ontwikkeling van de vier eilanden begon te sponsoren, en dat korte bezoeken van voormalige Japanse eilandbewoners goed op gang kwamen. De onverwachte politieke revolutie in de vorm van het fenomeen Koizumi, een zelfbenoemde ‘excentriekeling’, resulteerde echter in een ruk naar rechts en zogenaamd ‘territoriale nationalisme’. Op een uitermate gewiekste en mediagenieke wijze werd het Japanse Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken gezuiverd van ‘pro-Russische elementen’. Enkelen eindigden in de cel, het merendeel kwam er met overplaatsing of tijdelijke ballingschap vanaf.

Het in rechtse kringen opgelaaide territoriale nationalisme betekent dat het voor elke politicus politieke zelfmoord is om iets anders te herhalen dan de mantra ‘Japans historisch rechtmatige aanspraak op alle vier de eilanden’. Bovendien lopen in Japan nog steeds genoeg ultra-nationalisten rond om een poging tot een realistisch compromis zelfs op politieke moord te laten uitlopen. De grote politieke verschuiving die na meer dan een halve eeuw dominantie door de Liberaal Democratische Partij een kabinet geleid door de Democratische Partij bracht, heeft dan ook tot geen enkele verandering in de Japanse houding geleid.

Het politieke taboe dat sinds het begin van deze eeuw rust op de Noordelijke Territoria doet echter weinig af aan het feit dat de hele kwestie voor het gros van de Japanners een ver-van-mijn-bed show is. En van de oorspronkelijke 17.000 Japanse eilandbewoners zijn er nog maar een kleine 7.000 over. De gemiddelde leeftijd is 77 jaar. Over een kwart eeuw zullen er geen direct betrokkenen meer zijn. Het Japanse Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken plant wel overal borden neer met de tekst ‘De dag van de teruggave van de Noordelijke Territoria is de dag van de vrede’, maar deze lijken voornamelijk tekens van wanhoop in de strijd tegen de algemene desinteresse onder het Japanse volk.

Aan de andere kant heeft Rusland eindelijk voldoende financiële armslag gekregen om zelf de infrastructuur van de eilanden te ontwikkelen. Elk jaar dat de huidige diplomatieke patstelling langer blijft bestaan, wordt het *fait accompli* van de Russische controle economisch verder gecompleteerd. Het recht van de sterkste geldt, en Rusland heeft besloten dat het sterk genoeg is om het zonder Japan te kunnen roeien, en laat zich niets meer gelegen liggen aan Japanse gevoelens. Recente uitlatingen van Democratische kopstukken die de Russische aanwezigheid op de eilanden karakteriseerden als ‘illegale bezetting’, waren de laatste druppels die de emmer deden overlopen. In Rusland geldt deze term voor Japans optreden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog, niet voor de heldhaftige daden van het Rode leger. Met het bezoek van president Medvedev aan Kunashiri heeft Rusland aangegeven dat dit eiland en het verder van Japan gelegen Etorofu Russisch territorium zijn en blijven. De in verhouding minuscule eilandjes van Habomai en Shikotan zijn de enige troostprijzen die er voor Japan nog te behalen zijn. Maar als het blijft vasthouden aan zijn starre, zelfingenomen houding zal het niet lang meer duren voor een Russische president deze eilanden ook komt inspecteren, en het geschil in realiteit niet veel meer zal inhouden dan een Japanse weigering om een vaststaande grens in de eigen atlas op te nemen.

Historical Notes on the Japanese Garden in
Clingendael, The Hague, Holland

Part I: Baroness Van Brienens's journey to Japan

T.A.J.M. Van der Eb-Brongersma

Introduction

In 1911, Marguérite Mary Baroness Van Brienens van de Groote Lindt (born 11-03-1871; died 22-11-1939) made a journey to Japan. To understand the design of the garden in Japanese style that she laid out at her estate after her return in the Netherlands, it is of importance to know what places she visited and which gardens she saw in Japan. It seems likely that these gardens were important sources from which she got her ideas and inspiration. Moreover, as we will see in Part II, she incorporated several of her memories of Japan in her garden in Holland.

Unfortunately, not much is known about Mrs Van Brienens's trip. If she kept a diary or made any notes during this voyage they have not survived the wear and tear of time. Until recently, even the names of her travel companions were unknown. There still exists, however, an old photograph album of the trip. By studying the photographs in this album not only was it possible to find out what she had seen in Japan, but also who the other members of her party were. One of the participants, Count Heinrich von Lützwow (1852-1935), reports on the trip in his memoirs.¹ Inquiries I made among the descendants of the other travellers unfortunately did not uncover any additional information.

Below, I will discuss the pictures in the photograph album. In an attempt to provide an insight into the way in which the baroness may have experienced her visit to Japan, I restricted myself in this discussion as much as possible to information and resources that were available in 1911. For the information regarding the sites she visited, I consulted a renowned travel guide, used by everyone who visited Japan at the time. This was Murray's *Handbook for travellers in Japan*, compiled by Basil Hall Chamberlain, emeritus professor of Japanese and Philology of the Imperial University of Tokyo, and W.B. Mason. In addition, for specific information about of the gardens visited, I used the famous book by Josiah Conder, *Landscape gardening in Japan*. This was one of the few books available in English at that time. Mrs Van Brienens will certainly have known it. I have purposely excluded the results of modern research into Japanese gardens and their background in Japanese culture.

1 Lützwow 1971, pp. 185-188.

Part I: Baroness Van Brienens's journey to Japan

Part II, "Baroness Van Brienens's Japanese garden," will be published in the next issue of The Netherlands-Japan Review.

The photograph album

The old photograph album is bound in black leather with blue linen and the pages are gilt-edged on three sides instead of two as was usual. On the back it reads 1911. The inside cover of the album is made of marbled paper in the colours red, blue, and yellow, and decorated with a combed and spiralled design. The binding is carefully done, and the book is well preserved. The paper of the photograph album is made of a thick, ivory-coloured material. It shows an interesting watermark with an inscription in bold letters:

BASKERVIL
VELLUM WO

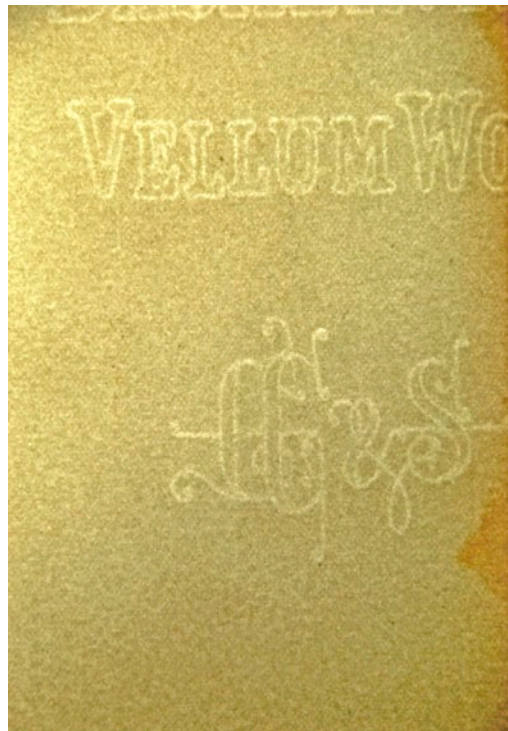
Due to the cutting of the paper the letters on the right end are cut off, but it is clear that this should be read as Baskerville Vellum Wove.² A second watermark shows a monogram in curly letters: CG & S. A search among watermarks in the Netherlands did not result in the identification of this monogram. However, the fact that most of Mrs Van Brienens's travel companions came from the United Kingdom³ made me decide to continue the search there. It turned out that the letters CG & S stand for Charles Goodall & Sons Limited, which was a leading paper trading company in London, selling a range of high quality paper with various watermarks.⁴ It produced Vellum Wove from 1868 onwards.⁵

The album contains 133 pictures. Twenty-four pictures are postcards with captions, so we know exactly where they have been taken. Unfortunately, most of the other pictures lack this information. Nevertheless after a thorough investigation it has been possible to determine where all these pictures, except two, were taken.

The majority of the photographs are in black and white, but twelve of them are coloured. Most of the black and white photographs are phototype prints on the heavy, ivory-coloured paper of the album pages, while some black and white and all the tinted photographs are gelatine silver prints on thin glossy



The old photograph album.



Watermark Vellum Wove and CG & S.

2 Baskerville Vellum Wove is a heavy, soft, finely woven handmade paper, named after John Baskerville, a seventeenth-century penman who made his own paper, known as 'wove' (Dutch: 'velijn') paper.

3 For details, see below. More information about Mrs van Brienens connections with the UK will be given in Part Two.

4 The company's factory, Camden Works, was located in Great College Street, London. The company existed from 1820 till 1922.

5 I would like to thank Peter Bower, the watermark expert of the Institute for Paper History and Analysis in London, for identifying the monogram.

paper, hand-coloured afterwards and pasted on the pages.

The coloured gelatine silver prints are duplicates of black and white photographs. Some of these pictures show Mrs Van Brien and her travel companions, indicating that the coloured photographs were not replicas purchased from the famous photograph studios in Japan as was customary for foreign travellers, but must have been printed from own negatives. The photographer must have been someone with an eye for composition⁶ and a considerable experience in landscape photography.

How and where the photographs were developed and tinted is not known. However, the colouring of the trees in a photograph of the red sacred bridge in Nikkō very much resembles a similar photograph from the Kusakabe Kinbei Studio in Yokohama.⁷ Furthermore, on a photograph of a stone lantern in Nikkō the roof of the lantern has explicitly been tinted green so as to show the mossy vegetation, which is something that suggests a Japanese painter. Because, within the genre of travel photography, colouring by hand was only done in Japan,⁸ at least the coloured photographs must have been printed and tinted in Japan.



Nikkō, Mihashi, the red-lacquered, sacred bridge



Nikkō, stone lantern with green tinted roof.

The travel companions

Until recently it was not known with whom Mrs Van Brien had made her journey to Japan. A great help in solving this question was the postcard of the Fujiya Hotel in Miyanoshita that is pasted into the album. In the year 2000 the author visited this hotel and discovered the names of Mrs Van Brien's companions in the old register of the hotel. According to this document, the members of the party were: The honourable Mrs George (Lady Alice Frederica) Keppel and maid from London, Sir A. (Archibald) Edmonstone and Lady (Ida Agnes Eleanor) Edmonstone with valet and maid from London, Mrs Baroness M. Van Brien and maid from The Hague, and Count H.

6 I would like to thank Hadassa Koning of the National Archives in The Hague for her informed comments on these points.

7 Meiji Era photographs #08011130 - A545: Red-lacquer Sacred Bridge, mount paper adheres on back.

8 Boom 1991.



Miyashita, Fujiya Hotel, ± 1911.

May 9	E. H. Banks	Amsterdam	128	May	
	O. Pfeiffer	Hausvolksten	99	May	
	Honorable Mr. de Kappel	London	88		
	Mr. A. - Lady Ligonier	Paris	14.100	May	
	Baroness de Brienens	La Haye	89		
	H. E. Count H. Lützow	Vienna	76		
	Otto Mayer (couier)	London	27	May	
May 11	Manuel Stephens	Calif. U.S.A.	8	May	466
	Wolffshen	England Liverpool	19	May	
	Fred J. Gunn	Siam	20	May	
	Mr. J. K. ...	Australia	55	May	

Miyashita, Fujiya Hotel, hotel register May 1911.

(Heinrich) von Lützow from Vienna. Count Von Lützow⁹ was accompanied by his valet and by his secretary and courier Otto Mayer.

The trip to Japan

In Count Von Lützow's memoirs we read that on January 6, 1911, Mrs Van Brienens and her travel companions boarded the steamer "Macedonia" in Marseille. Their luggage consisted of no fewer than ninety-five pieces. They sailed through the Suez Canal and on the way visited Colombo. After an enjoyable stay here, the party continued its voyage with other ships, including one of the Norddeutsche Lloyd named "Lützow." Travelling sometimes by boat, sometimes overland, they made stops in Rangoon (Burma), Penang, Singapore, Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Peking. Everywhere they were received in grand style. Finally, after a stormy crossing that took them past the island of Tsushima,¹⁰ the party arrived in the port of Nagasaki on April 15, just at the peak of the cherry blossom season.

⁹ Von Lützow (Heinrich Joseph Rudolf Gottfried Graf Von Lützow zu Drey-Lützow und Seedorf) was a relative by marriage of Mrs Van Brienens, having married her aunt Eleonora Isabella Jane Tuyll van Serooskerken (born 28-09-1855; died 17-10-1934). She was raised at Clingendael after she became an orphan. The marriage took place on 27 November 1879 with a Catholic service at Clingendael and a service in the Anglican Church in Wassenaar (Lützow 1971, p. 29).

¹⁰ Near Tsushima the Japanese Admiral Tōgō Heihachirō (1847-1934) defeated the Russian fleet on May 28, 1905. Later on, Mrs Van Brienens named her horse Togo after this Japanese Admiral. Together with the slabs of her beloved dogs, the tombstone of this horse, bearing the date 1935, can still be seen in the small pet cemetery under the big silver lime tree at the estate Clingendael. The epitaph reads: "Togo 1921-1935, Heard nothing, Saw nothing, Knew everything."

The party stayed in Japan for almost two months. Von Lützow's secretary, Otto Mayer, acted as their personal tour guide, but they will certainly also have made use of Japanese guides, who could be hired at every hotel. In those days travelling in Japan was time consuming. Long distances could be covered by rail or by steamer, and in big cities like Tokyo an electric tramway system and a few taxi's were available. For most of the trips, however, they had to rely on the high-wheeled carriages pulled by one or two coolies, called *jinrikisha*.

The photographs: description and discussion

The pictures in the photograph-album start in Tokyo with four postcards of the water garden Hōraien on the estate of Count Matsura of Hirado. This relatively small garden of a little over two acres had been one of the principal *daimyō* gardens in Edo during Edo Period. Originally, it had been laid out as a teagarden by Kobori Enshū (1579-1647),¹¹ and it was noted for its variety of scenery arranged in a relatively small area. The garden was situated in what was then the Shitaya District of Tokyo,¹² and existed until after World War II. There were even plans to renovate it, but in the end it fell victim to urban development. Today the only remains of this once beautiful garden can be found on the premises of a high school, Shinobuga-oka Kōkō, which are not open to the public. There is still a small lake, several lanterns including an old Enshū lantern, an impressive 400 years old Ginkgo biloba tree, and a big fragrant *Lindera obtusifolia*.¹³

In the Matsura family an album with photographs of the original garden has been preserved. This garden is not mentioned in Chamberlain's travel guide, so maybe Mrs Van Brienen and her company visited the garden on special invitation. Von Lützow mentions that they were flooded with invitations. He adds that almost all houses, apart from those in the business district, had such large gardens that they almost deserved the name "Park."

Two of the four postcards of the Matsura garden show a large pond with rocks and a snow-viewing lantern; on the shore is a trellis heavily covered with wisteria vines. Japanese cranes and domestic geese are part of the scene. The third postcard shows a pavilion with a veranda jutting out over the pond. The caption tells us that this is the "tea house Yeikitei" (sic). According to the



Tokyo, Hōraien teahouse "Yeikitei."

11 Conder 1964, p. 32.

12 Conder 1964, p. 19. Shitaya-ku was abolished after the war; the present address is Asakusabashi 5-1-24 in Daitō-ku.

13 I want to thank Drs Yamashita Noboru for his information regarding the history of this garden.

description of Conder, in addition to the teahouse there was also a small waiting room that was used in connection with the tearoom.¹⁴ The fourth postcard shows a picture of a very special stone lantern called Monji, which is dated 1185 AD.

A detailed description of the garden can be found in Conder. Here we read that the garden had a meandering path around the lake, overlooking the promontories, an island, bridges, and the shore on the other side. At one place the lakeshore expanded into a wide pebble- and boulder-covered beach, adorned with a shrine and a stone lantern. Numerous cherry trees, but also pine trees, lespedeza, kerria, Japanese maples, and weeping willows embellished the place.¹⁵ According to Newsom, this garden originally had a monolithic granite (Momoyama-style) bridge. A picture of the entrance to the shrine with steppingstones, a *torii*, two stone guardian dogs, two lanterns, and a square water vessel can also be found in Newsom.¹⁶

When Mrs Van Brienens visited the garden, the party was received by Count Matsura Atsushi (1863-1934). He was the head of a small tea school called Chinshinryū, which had been founded early in the seventeenth century by his ancestor Matsura Chinshin (1622-1703). It is not known, if Mrs Van Brienens attended a tea ceremony here.¹⁷

The next picture in the album is a postcard that shows that the party visited the garden of the Kameido Tenjin Shrine. This shrine was one of the chief showplaces of the capital, famous for its high-arched bridge (the so-called drum bridge or *taiko-bashi*) and its wisteria. The party must have been right on time to see the abundant flowering of the wisteria, which was trained



Tokyo, Wisteria at the Kameido Tenjin Shrine.

on elaborate trellises around the pond.¹⁸ Westerners were already acquainted with this view of long, hanging wisteria racemes over the arched bridge from Andō Hiroshige's (1856-1858) woodblock print in the series of 100 views of famous sights in Edo. In the West, Kameido was also known from the oil painting of a gnarled flowering plum tree that Vincent van Gogh (1853-1890) made in 1886-1888 after Hiroshige's woodblock print of the flowering plum tree garden behind the shrine. In the fire that followed the devastating

Kantō earthquake of 1923 the garden burnt down and the wisteria was heavily damaged. Nevertheless, today the renovated red, arched bridges and the flowering of the wisteria still attract many visitors.

From Count Von Lützwow's memoirs we know that, while the party stayed in Tokyo, he was honoured with an Imperial audience by Emperor Meiji (Mutsuhito; born 3-11-1852; died 28/29-07-1912)), whom he describes as a somewhat silent and reserved personality. Von

14 Conder 1964, p. 34.

15 Conder 1964, p. 32-34.

16 Newsom 1988, p. 64; photograph 18 after p. 190.

17 For other photographs of this garden see Harada 1928 p. 98, 158.

18 See also the photographs in Challaye 1915, p. 38, and in Harada 1928, p. 123.

Lützow does not refer to the garden on the Imperial premises, the Fukiage Garden. He mentions, however, that he was invited to the yearly cherry blossom viewing with the Emperor and Empress. Unfortunately, due to the very bad weather, their Imperial Highnesses cancelled their attendance. This cherry blossom viewing took place in the garden of the Hama *Rikyū*, which was known for its show of double cherry blossoms and also for its wisteria trellises.

The next two photographs in the album show a decorated entrance gate and give a glimpse of a flight of stairs with bronze lanterns at the side. There is no indication where these photographs were taken, but when we compare them with other old photographs,¹⁹ it becomes clear that they were taken at the entrance of the *Zōjōji*, the temple where the mausoleums of several Tokugawa shoguns were located. Due to the devastations in World War II, today only a modest park, Shiba Park, and some temples are still there.



Tokyo, decorated entrance gate of the Zōjōji.

After their stay in Tokyo the travellers went to see the temples and shrines in Nikkō. Many photographs and postcards, some with captions, others with a note in pencil, others without any text at all, show that Nikkō with its cryptomeria-lined avenues, all leading to the mausoleums of the shoguns Tokugawa Ieyasu and Iemitsu, must have made a big impression on the visitors. The album contains fifty-five pictures in total, of which several are duplicates and six, hand-coloured photographs.

The Mihashi, the red-lacquered, sacred bridge over the Daiya-gawa, which marks the beginning of the area where the shrines are located, was photographed several times. A copy of one of the pictures has been embellished with watercolours (see comment above). This bridge was washed away in a flood in 1902 and was restored in 1907. So when Mrs Van Brienon visited Nikkō, it was fairly new. In Tokugawa period the bridge was for the shogun's use only, and twice a year a group of pilgrims was allowed to cross it. It was closed to ordinary mortals, and so it still is today. Mrs Van Brienon and her party therefore had to use the so-called "Temporary Bridge" alongside. It was, however, one of the memories that she incorporated in her own garden later on.

There is a photograph of the "Mangwanji," i.e. the Rinnōji,²⁰ on the back of which is noted: "monastery founded by Shōdō Shōnin VII cent." (the traditional date is 766, so it was the eighth century). According to the legend, Shōdō Shōnin crossed the wild mountain stream of the Daiya-gawa at the place where the red, sacred bridge was built later.

¹⁹ Challaye 1915, p. 226.

²⁰ "Mangwanji" is written in pencil underneath the photograph. In Murray's Handbook, p. 194, it says "Mangwanji or Rinnoji ... names which, however, properly denote all the Nikko temple buildings collectively."

There are postcards and photographs, some of them hand-coloured, depicting *torii* and entrance gates of the various shrines. On one postcard and two photographs the captions say that these show the Niōmon, the gate that is the main entrance to the shrine of Tokugawa Ieyasu. This is true for the postcard, but the two photographs do not represent the Niōmon, but the Yōmeimon, seen from both sides: front²¹ and back. A note on one of them reads: "The three famous monkeys carved by Jingorō are in this temple." The famous monkeys "See no evil," "Speak no evil," and "Hear no evil" (*mizaru*, *iwazaru*, and *kikazaru*) are sculptures on a frieze of one of the storehouses. There is also a photograph of the exquisitely chiselled woodwork on the fences at both sides of the Yōmeimon. Furthermore there are postcards of the Nitenmon, i.e., the gate of the mausoleum of Taiyūin (the posthumous name of Tokugawa Iemitsu) and of the Futarasan Shrine, and a photograph of the sacred water cistern Onchōzuya. As regards for the misinterpretation of the Yōmeimon -- one can imagine that it must have been confusing to see all these highly decorated and awe inspiring structures for the first time!

A photograph of the tomb of Shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu (on this picture is written: "Founder of the Tokugawa dynasty") tells us that they must have climbed the more than two hundred steps that lead to this tomb on the top of the hill. Finally there are photographs of bronze and stone lanterns, one of which is hand-coloured, with pink and white flowering cherry trees, and topped with a deep green mossy roof.



Nikkō, a cryptomeria road (original and tinted).

21 There is also a coloured duplicate of this photograph.

Interesting also in connection with the garden that Mrs Van Brienen was going to lay out on her estate are the photographs (one coloured) of the long road leading to the temples, which is on both sides lined with high Japanese cedars (*Cryptomeria japonica*), and a postcard that shows the straight cryptomeria road from the town of Imaichi to Nikkō. This road was a must for every traveller to and from Nikkō. It was advised to send the luggage by train and take a *jinrikisha* to fully admire the centuries-old, tall, straight trees on either side of the road. As we shall see later the memory of this roads may well have been incorporated in her garden in the Netherlands.

There is also a picture (no caption) of the entrance to a building that in 1911 was called Hōkōkai, and today “Nikkō Dendō Annai Kyōdō Kumiai.”²² It is an office that supports the shrines and temples, and preserves and repairs them.

The next six pictures in the album show a garden from different angles with, among other things, a western-style fountainhead, a pond with rocks and a water basin, two bronze sculptures of deer, an elaborate stone pagoda, several stone and bronze lanterns, and a small sculpture of



Nikkō, Mrs Van Brienen in Kobayashi's garden.

Fudō Myōō. On two of the pictures Mrs Van Brienen can be seen. Research in Nikkō revealed that these pictures were taken in the stone masonry and antique shop of Kobayashi. tAlready in those days, Kobayashi was an ancient and renowned shop for stone garden elements. In 2006 the business was still there. Unfortunately, the records of the shop have not been preserved, so we do not know if Mrs Van Brienen already bought garden ornaments at Kobayashi's at that time, but it is obvious that she took at least a special interest in this shop. Of two of these pictures there is a hand-coloured duplicate.

From the photographs we know that, after the party had seen the shrines and visited Kobayashi's, they walked along the Daiya-gawa River, the Hyaku Jizō Road, and the adjacent cemetery in the Ganman-ga-fuchi Abyss. The Hyaku Jizō road with the long row of seated Jizō statues (*Murray's Handbook* states that they are statues of another bodhisattva: Amida, not Jizō²³) was photographed; most of the statues are still there today.

One of the photographs shows three persons. Mrs Van Brienen herself, holding a bunch of flowering rhododendrons, is one of them. As the other lady is not Mrs Keppel, she could

22 I want to thank the Nikkō Tourism Association for its help in identifying this photograph.

23 *Murrays's Handbook*, p 201.



Nikkō, Hyaku Jizō.

be Mrs Edmonstone, and the gentleman in the middle, holding a leaf of *Magnolia hypoleuca* (*M. obovata*), could then be Sir Archibald Edmonstone.²⁴ Von Lützow had fallen ill and stayed behind in Tokyo.

From Nikkō they toured the mountains near the picturesque Lake Chūzenji. Here many of the western diplomats had their country houses. This trip, too, was a major undertaking in those days, as the only way to get there was by tramway and *jinrikisha*. Half way up the steep road the coolies normally made a short stop near a charmingly situated teahouse called Naka no Chaya. << no 14 >> Near this teahouse there was a local curiosity: a magnetic stone, the *jishaku-ishi*. Two photographs, one with Mrs Van Brienens in the foreground, firmly walking with a walking cane, shows us this special stone. The photograph has no subscript, but the travel guide and a tiny sign with a Japanese legend that is shown on the photograph reveal the identity of this place.

According to the sequence of photographs in the album the next stop was Kamakura, which could be reached from Tokyo by train. Two postcards, a colour-printed one of the statue



Nikkō, Mrs Van Brienens (right) with two of her friends.

²⁴ The descendants could not ascertain this.

of the Great Buddha and a black and white one of the *taiko-bashi*, the arched bridge on the way to the Hachiman shrine, are the evidence of this stop.

The journey continued to the famous mountain resort and spa Miyanoshita, where the group stayed in the Fujiya Hotel. Count Von Lützwow here rejoined his travel companions, and according to the hotel registration the party stayed from May 9 until May 14. As I explained above, the postcard of this hotel was of major significance in my research of Mrs Van Brienen's journey to Japan.

Miyanoshita could easily be reached by taking the Tōkaidō railway from Yokohama, which took only one hour and a half to Odawara, where one changed to the electric tram to Hakone Yumoto. The last leg, a steep mountain road, was covered by *jinrikisha*, pulled by two coolies for one hour. The Fujiya Hotel, the oldest western style hotel in the Hakone Mountains, had opened already in 1878. It had a large garden, and its hot springs were famous. The hotel has not changed much over the years. Nowadays the front garden with the western fountainhead has become a parking lot, but the atmosphere in the interior is still as in the old times. Even two trees that can be seen on the old postcard are still there today.

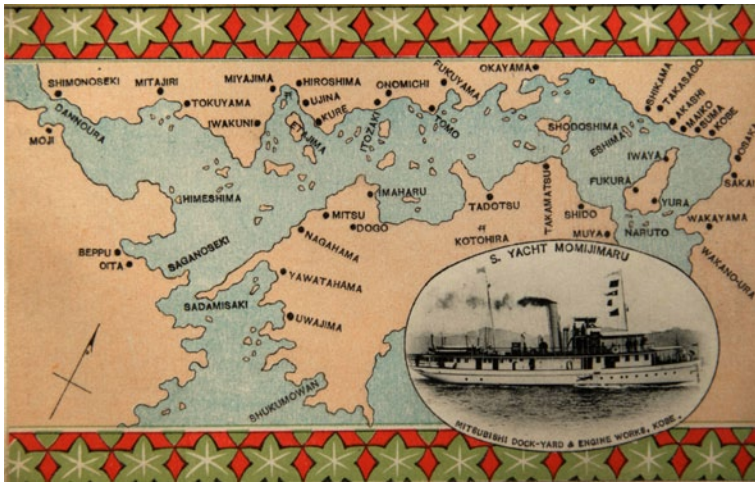
During their stay in Miyanoshita they must have visited Ashinoyu to admire the Buddhist sculptures known as Nijūgo Bosatsu ("the twenty-five bodhisattva's"), carved in relief on the stone along the road. The album contains a photograph of the big, somewhat damaged image of Rokudō no Jizō. It shows Jizō, the patron of travellers, pregnant women, and children, sitting in Buddha meditation posture, with one (damaged) hand pointing upwards and the other resting in his lap holding a jewel. A halo is sculptured around his head. With pencil the words "Rokoudo-no Jizo near Hakone" are written on the front, while on the back it says: "attributed to Kobo Daishi, end of the VIIIth - beginning IXth century". Today the sculpture has been restored and Jizō can be seen holding again his traveller's staff with metal rings and sitting sheltered in a small abode.



Nikkō, jishaku-ishi near the teahouse Naka no Chaya.



Hakone, Rokudō no Jizō.



Momiji Maru.



Takamatsu, Ritsurin Park, Kikugetsutei.

According to Count Von Lützow's memoirs, after the stay in Miyanoshta Mrs Alice Keppel, following a suggestion also made in the travel guide, hired a small yacht with crew, and they made a lovely cruise over the Inland Sea for almost two weeks, enjoying the scenery and stopping at various places to see the sights. A postcard with a map of the Inland Sea and an inset of the S(team) Yacht Momiji Maru of the Mitsubishi Dock-yard & Engine Works, Kobe, tells us that they came back on May 27, 1911.

During this voyage they visited the large strolling garden Ritsurin Kōen²⁵ in Takamatsu on the island of Shikoku. The album contains a sequence of nine photographs (one is mounted upside down) that have no captions, but when one studies the pictures there is no doubt that this is the garden where they were taken. The

party must have walked around the big South Pond with views of the pleasant Kikugetsutei (the "moon scooping" pavilion) with its thatched roof, situated on the water edge with a cycad and a trimmed black pine in front.²⁶ Other photographs in the series show a meandering stream, the edges lined with pieces of flattened stone, with impressive rocks on the promontories, people crossing a monolithic slab bridge over a streamlet, and people with hats taking a break.

Among the photographs in the Takamatsu sequence there are pictures of two other pavilions. One photograph shows Mrs Van Brienens walking in front of a pavilion near a pebbled stream with irises. (Due to the mild climate of Shikoku, in mid May the irises are already in bloom.) Today, this pavilion, Fukiage-tei, is still in use, now as a restaurant and souvenir shop. The other photograph shows a two-storied pavilion. This pavilion, however, has been identified as the Ryūten Pavilion in the Kōrakuen in Okayama (see below), so the photograph does not belong in the series of photographs taken in Takamatsu.²⁷ Another photograph, which shows two bridges in line, one faintly arched with an ornamental railing and the other one flat without a railing, and in the rear of these bridges shrubs strikingly trimmed in the box style (*hakozukuri*), clearly was

25 *Murray's Handbook*, p. 426, gives the name as Kuribayashi Koen, reading the characters "chestnut-forest" as Japanese words instead of using the Sino-Japanese pronunciation, as is usual.

26 See also Harada 1928, p. 119.

27 I want to thank Professor Watanabe Masami and the academic investigators of Ritsurin Park and Kōrakuen in Okayama for their help in identifying this photograph.



Takamatsu, Ritsurin Park, a pebbled stream planted with irises (left side of the original photograph).



Takamatsu, Ritsurin Park, Fukiage-tei, overlooking the stream (right side of the original photograph).



Inland Sea, Benten-jima near Tomonotsu.

taken in the Ritsurin Park,²⁸ but it is inserted in the wrong place, a few pages later.

I do not know if they had any substantial information about this beautifully landscaped garden, the laying out of which began in the seventeenth century with the South Pond, and which was extended in the next one hundred years. In the Meiji Period it was one of the first *daimyō* gardens to become a public park (1875). In the decades following the opening, it was somewhat neglected, but restoration started in 1911.

During the voyage through the Inland Sea with its delightful scenery of islands with high cliffs the next four photographs



Inland Sea, Miyajima.



Hiroshima, Asano's garden, zigzag bridges.

²⁸ See also Nitschke 1991, p. 226.



Hiroshima, Asano's garden, high arched stone bridge.



Hiroshima, Asano's garden, lantern and irises.

were taken. There are two unspecified pictures of a rocky island. A long flight of steps leads up to a temple, the double roof of which is visible above the trees. On the top of the steps a lantern and a stele with inscriptions can be seen. A stone pagoda (?) is barely visible. There is also a lighthouse on the tip of the island. Thanks to Drs Isabel van Daalen, who sent me an old picture of the island and gave the name of the island as Benten-jima, which is near Tomonotsu in the ancient province of Bingo, these photographs could be identified. In Mrs Van Brienens's time the island was called Sensui-jima.²⁹ The nearby island of Shōdo-shima was known for its granite quarries. The stone pillar that Mrs Van Brienens would later incorporate into her garden is made of hand-cut Shimaishi, i.e. granite quarried on one of the islands in the Inland Sea.

The other two pictures show sailing boats with many people on board, possibly fishermen.

The group went ashore on the pretty, forested island of Miyajima with its famous shrines and temples. They walked around, viewing the sights, and took pictures of the majestic "floating" wooden *torii* that is placed in the sea in front of the Itsukushima Shrine. At the time when the picture was taken, however, the tide was out and the *torii* is shown standing in the middle of mudflats. There is no picture of the shrine itself.

The next stop was Hiroshima, where the group visited the former private garden of the Asano *daimyō* family, which is much praised in the guidebook. The Asano had been relocated to Hiroshima in 1619. The garden was laid out shortly after this event. It has a circular, meandering path around the main pond, which it crosses with three consecutive, slightly arched, zigzag bridges. One of the photographs shows these bridges; another shows the Chinese-inspired high, arched, stone bridge that crosses the pond. An inscription on the back of this picture says: "Old bridge in Marquis Asano's garden Hiroshima". Yet another photograph shows a lantern and flowering irises along the banks of the pond. An identical lantern can be seen in the garden today. On the back of this photograph there is an inscription reading "Sentei garden Hiroshima." Today, the garden is named Shukkeien.³⁰ It is said that the garden was originally designed as a

29 A comparable hand-coloured photograph of this island from the Farsari studio is available on the Internet under "coloured photographs in the Meiji Era."

30 Shukkeien literally means "shrink-scenery garden." The name expresses the idea of collecting and miniaturizing many scenic views.



Iwakuni, Kintaikyō.

miniaturized landscape of the West Lake near Hangzhou (China); hence the arched bridge in Chinese style.

Like most of Hiroshima, this garden was devastated at the end of World War II, but it has been accurately restored. Though they are not shown on the photographs, it is possible that Mrs Van Brien en saw turtle islands in this pond. In the pond as it is nowadays, there are quite a lot of them.

From Hiroshima Mrs Van Brien en her travel companions made a side trip to the Kintaikyō at Iwakuni. Three photographs (no captions) unmistakably show this bridge with its distinctive wooden structure of 200 meters in length, and its five high arches supported by



Okayama, Kōrakuen, Sawa-no-ike.



Okayama, Kōrakuen, arched wooden bridge to island with pavilion; in the background Yuishinzan.

stone pillars. Mrs Van Brienens and a lady with a parasol and three gentlemen are walking on the dry pebble bed that covered the sides of the Nishiki River.

Then the journey went to Okayama, where the party visited the large strolling garden Kōrakuen, of which the travel book says: “Not being a semi-Europeanised bit of formalism and bad taste but a spacious and charming pleasure of the lord of the castle to which it lies.”

On several of the eight photographs (one of these photographs is coloured) taken there the lake in the centre of the garden (Sawa-no-ike) is immediately recognizable. In the background the dark, many-storied, scenic old castle can be seen towering high above the greenery. In the middle of the lake is an island adorned with dwarfed pine trees, a couple of bold rocks, and a granite stone lantern with a flat top. A long narrow stone slab “floats” in the water close to the island, pointing away. On this photograph we also see a high conical hill, the man-made Yuishinzan, with its path leading up to the arbour from where the entire garden (and the moon) could be viewed. The green hill is dotted with rounded clipped azalea bushes.

The island in the middle of the lake has no connection with the mainland. Conder explains that an island like this, which has no bridge connecting it with the mainland, is called an “Elysian” isle (Hōrai-jima), and he points out that this is an essential feature in a Japanese garden: without such an island no lake scenery was complete.³¹ The idea stems from a Chinese myth in which the “Elysian isles” were presented as islands far away in the Eastern Ocean. On these islands, which were fastened on the back of giant sea turtles, the Taoist immortals dwelled. Therefore, in garden lakes the “Elysian isle” was often made in a form resembling a tortoise,³² by adorning it with rocks and stones representing the head, legs, and tail of this animal.³³

31 Conder 1964, p. 38, plate XXXVI.

32 Conder, Harada, and Newsom all use “tortoise,” but a tortoise is a land animal; they should have used ‘turtle.’

33 Conder 1964, p. 51, 96, 101; see also Harada 1928, p. 28.



Okayama, Kōrakuen, En'yōtei.



Okayama, Kōrakuen, Ryūten.

Another photograph of the Kōrakuen in the album shows an island nearer to the mainland, connected to the shore by an arched, wooden bridge with a balustrade. On this island there is a pavilion, possibly a tearoom. A glimpse under the bridge reveals a tree trimmed into a long, strutted branch over the water. Today a tree exactly like this one is still there. In the background the same artificial hill can be seen as in one of the previous photographs.

There is also a photograph of a pavilion with square glass windows and a veranda; the name of this pavilion is En'yōtei. An interestingly shaped rock in front of the veranda draws the attention, and to the side of the pavilion we see a tall (Kasuga-type) stone lantern. A streamlet and a sandy area with a neatly trimmed and trained pine tree and sheared, round bushes form the nearby view from the pavilion. It is a central structure in the garden, and commands a broad vista of the Sawa-no-ike, the central pond.³⁴ The building burnt down in World War II but was rebuilt in 1960. Nowadays, the glass windows apparently have been replaced by *shōji*.

Still another photograph shows a long, open and, if one looks closely, two-storied pavilion. In the foreground a (captive) Japanese crane is stepping between the irises that are not yet flowering. Among the photographs in the sequence of Takamatsu (see above) there is a second picture that the authorities in Okayama have identified as being a picture of this pavilion; it may show the building from another side. Through the centre of this pavilion a stream passes, which is a rare design in Japan. Pebbles with beautiful patterns are scattered throughout the stream. The name of this pavilion is Ryūten, but because of the water arrangement, it seems to me that it should be identified with the pavilion called Kyokusuien-no-chin (“Arbour of the Meandering Water Garden”) that is described by Conder.³⁵ The garden dates from the end of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century and has not changed very much since. It has been open to the public since 1884.

Following the photographs taken in Okayama, there are three more pictures of fishermen's boats; they mark the end of the sailing adventure. According to Von Lützow's memoirs, the party arrived in the harbour of Kōbe on May 29. From here the journey continued over land to Kyoto. According, again, to the photographs, here the party visited the private garden of a person referred to as Mr Ichida, the gardens around the Heian Shrine, the Kinkakuji, and the temple in Kurodani.

A photograph without a caption can be identified as a view across the lower pond in Mr Ichida's garden.³⁶ This garden was situated closely to the Nanzenji in eastern Kyoto, in an area

34 Again, I thank Professor Watanabe Masami and the academic staf of Kōrakuen for their help in identifying these photographs.

35 Conder 1964, pp. 38-39. Conder translates the name as “Arbour of the Floating Wine-cup,” and says that formerly it was used for a pastime of “wine drinking and sonnet making.” The time in which the shallow winecups floated from one end to the other of the thirty feet long channel was the time allowed for the composition of a poem upon a given subject.

36 See also Newsom 1988, photograph opposite p. 266; Harada 1928, p. 89.



Kyoto, Mr Ichida's garden.

where several new villas and gardens were built at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. It had been completed in the first years of the twentieth century, so it was quite new in 1911. The photograph and its coloured duplicate are the only photographs of this garden in Mrs Van Brienens's album, but as she had the intention of laying out a Japanese style garden of her own, the garden may have been of great interest to her.

The designer of Mr Ichida's garden was Ogawa Jihei (1860-1933), a master-gardener who was famous for his new approach to Japanese garden design. Ogawa introduced lawns, and the trees and shrubs he planted were not limited to what was found traditionally in Japanese gardens at that time. He used many different kinds of trees and shrubs, and arranged these so as to resemble western-style planting.³⁷ His approach to garden architecture gave the garden a fresh, new spirit, which was entirely different from that somewhat dogmatic, over-regulated feeling one knows from the traditional nineteenth-century gardens, but he accomplished this without losing the feeling of harmony.

At the time of this writing, the Ichida garden is somewhat neglected, but originally it must have given a feeling similar to the nearby garden of the Murin'an, which still is in good condition and can easily be visited today. Though it was laid out a few years earlier (1894-1897), the strolling garden of Murin'an was designed by the same Ogawa Jihei. It is, therefore, somewhat comparable to the garden of Mr Ichida; here, too, we have a lawn, and the planting is varied and modern.

The photograph of Mr Ichida's garden shows a view of the lower pond with the twisted trunk of a pine tree and several big rocks in the water. In the background, a waterfall splashes its water down the slope. The water comes from the Lake Biwa Canal (*Sosui*), while the Higashiyama, the mountains east of Kyoto, serve as borrowed scenery. Other old photographs of this garden can be found in the books by Harada and by Newsom, who also gives lists of the trees and shrubs planted in Mr Ichida's garden.

Following the photograph of the garden of Mr Ichida there are two pictures. One shows a street with high telegraph poles, a sign that modern times had come, and a small restaurant

³⁷ Newsom 1988, p. 261-266; photographs and drawing after p. 266.



Kyoto, street with banner "Kinokuniya."

where one could have lunch; the banners give the name as Kinokuniya and promise sharp prices. The other photograph shows a flute playing mendicant monk, his head covered with a basket (*kōmusō*).

In Kyoto Mrs Van Brienens and her travel companions also visited the strolling pond-garden, called Shin'en ("Sacred Garden"), of the Heian Shrine. The Shrine was inaugurated in 1895 and purports to be a reconstruction on a reduced scale of the Imperial Palace as it was built 1,100 years earlier, when Kyoto became the capital (794). Today, Shin'en consist of four consecutive pond-gardens that surround the Shrine on three sides.

The construction of the West Garden (Nishi Shin'en) and the Middle Garden (Naka Shin'en) started in 1895 and was completed around 1913. Then the East Garden was built, between 1914 and 1926. The South Garden (Minami Shin'en) is a much later addition (1968). In other words, Mrs van Brienens only saw the first two gardens -- a conclusion that is supported by the photographs in the album. The West, Middle, and East Garden are a creation of Ogawa Jihei (1860-1933), which explains the unusual large number of seasonal flowering trees, shrubs, and plants in those gardens, as he combined traditional plants known from Heian poetry with more modern plantings.

Six photographs were taken of these gardens. It is interesting to note that only pictures of the gardens of the Heian Shrine were taken, and not of its quite remarkable buildings. The first photograph shows the Byakko-ike, the lake in the West Garden, where in those days the entrance into the gardens was located. Along the banks light-coloured irises with big, flat flowers are clearly visible (most probably *Iris ensata*; Jap. Hana-shōbu or Ayame). The second photo shows the famous and unusual stepping-stone path that crosses the pond Sōryū-ike in the Middle Garden. This pond was and is famous for its round stepping-stones, known as *sawatari-ishi* ("crossing stones"), which oblige one to walk slowly and carefully as they are quite far apart and laid out in an irregular zigzag pattern.³⁸ When you examine this picture carefully, you discover that here, too, the banks of the pond are lined with a mass of dark, flowering irises. These are most probably the deep purple *Iris laevigata* (Jap. Kakitsubata). The photograph



Kyoto, Heian shrine, West Garden with Byakko-ike.



Kyoto Heian shrine, Middle Garden with crossing stones.



Kyoto, Golden Pavilion (Kinkakuji), pruned pine tree.

³⁸ These cylindrical stepping-stones were made from the stone pillars of two sixteenth-century bridges that spanned the Kamogawa before an earthquake destroyed them.

with Mrs van Brienen under a parasol, admiring irises, is typical of these gardens. Other photographs show a stone pagoda, which is situated on the island in the pond in the Middle Garden Pond, and rough steppingstones crossing from this island to the mainland opposite of the *sawatari-ishi* crossing.

Curiously, the celebrated garden of the Golden Pavilion (Kinkakuji; more correctly named Rokuonji) is represented by only three pictures. One photograph and a postcard with the subscript “Kinkaku Kokuhou Kyoto” show an amazingly pruned pine tree. This tree can still be admired today; its branches are supported by trellises and pruned so as to resemble an old sailing ship. The second photograph shows us a pond with overgrown islands and pine trees. This is the Kyōkochi (“mirror pond”) in front of the Golden Pavilion.³⁹

Thought the pond is famous for its turtle islands, Conder does not mention them; possibly, they were not recognisable in his time (1893).⁴⁰ Newsom, however, in his description of the Golden Pavilion mentions them and gives pictures of a “tortoise” island.⁴¹

According to Conder, the formerly attractive garden had run wild,⁴² and this could be the reason why Mrs Van Brienen and her party did not take more photographs here. It is remarkable, however, that no picture of the architecturally interesting three-storied pavilion, of which the upper story was covered with gold and which had been restored in 1906, is included.



Kyoto, temple in Kurodani, Yoroikake pine tree.



Nara, Tōshōdaiji, ornamental water vessel.

39 See also photographs in Newsom 1988, following p. 248.

40 Conder 1964, text page opposite plate VIII.

41 Newsom 1988, p. 243-248, and pictures 5, 6. Newsom’s book was first printed in 1939, so it is based on more recent observations than Conder’s book.

42 The photograph in Conder shows a lake completely overgrown with water plants. *Murray’s Handbook* mentions this also and gives the Japanese name of the water plants as *junsai*, which is *Brasenia schreberi*, an edible plant. The photograph in Mrs Van Brienen’s album shows fewer water plants.



Unknown location: entrance gate.

The next five photographs are postcards with pictures of the temple of Kurodani (Kurodani Konkai Kōmyōji), situated on a wooded hill in the east of Kyoto. There are postcards of the colossal two-storied temple gate (built in 1860); of the main temple with a fan-shaped pine tree (Ōgi-no-matsu) trained and supported by many wooden poles; of the extraordinary, horizontally pruned and supported Yoroikake pine tree where the warrior Kumagai Naozane “hang his armour” (the tree is still there today)⁴³; of the three-storied Monju Pagoda towering above the cemetery; and of the Kumagaidō, a pavilion with an arched bridge above a lotus pond along the path to the cemetery. According to the travel guide, this was a shrine dedicated to the memory of Kumagai Naozane, who dwelt in this hut for over twenty years. All these photographs show the temple as it was in 1911, i.e., before it was destroyed by fire in 1934; it was rebuilt in 1942.

The next two photographs in the album may have been taken in the Tōshōdaiji,⁴⁴ a

temple in Nara, which town was the next and final goal of Mrs Van Brienens's travels through Japan. The first one shows a long, unpaved path leading up to an entrance gate. In the middle of the path stands a tall Kasuga-type lantern that almost blocks the way. The other photograph was taken in a garden with an ornamental, overflowing water vessel in the form of a tall, open flower with five or six petals, possibly made of bronze. The water is supplied, apparently under pressure, from beneath. The overflow falls down from the petals and is collected in a basin

43 Naozane is mentioned in *Heike Monogatari* (“The Tale of Heike”), a medieval warriors’ tale. After he had shot the enemy warrior Taira no Atsumoto, he pulled off his helmet to sever his head, but when he looked into his young face, he became overwhelmed with grief. He vowed never to bear arms again and became a monk. The Yoriokake pine tree is appropriately pruned in the shape of a samurai-helmet.

44 I want to thank the Kyoto Tourist Information Centre for its help in identifying this photograph.

around the base of the vessel,⁴⁵ the edge of which is formed by a ring of carved stones. The water in the basin is drained through a small channel at the side. Similar water containers in the shape of a tall, open flower can be found in Harada⁴⁶ and Challaye.⁴⁷

After completing their stay in Kyoto, Count Von Lützow's time was up and he had to say goodbye. On Pentecost Sunday he sailed from Tsuruga to Vladivostok and travelled back home by Trans-Siberian Railway. The rest of the party continued sightseeing in Nara. They focused on the old Hōryūji outside Nara, of which the travel guide says: "Though somewhat battered by time (it is) of interest to the serious student." There are six postcards of the Hōryūji with captions. In succession: the two storied main gate with Deva kings in the porch on each side (Niōmon or Chūmon, "Middle Gate"); the Daikōdō or Great Lecture Hall; the reliquary shrine Shōryōin; the octagonal Yumedono or "Hall of Dreams" with a weeping cherry tree in front; the Kondō or Golden Hall; and the five-storied pagoda, one of the oldest wooden structures in Japan.

The album closes with two pictures: one of a garden with a lantern and an interesting arrangement of high rocks, and one of an entrance gate that gives a glimpse of a garden with strutted tree branches and a waterwheel. In front of this gate it is noticeable that two western cacti have been planted. It is still unclear where these two pictures were taken. It may have been in Nara, and it may have been in Yokohama.

Conclusions

Mrs Van Brien visited Japan and saw the touristic highlights of Nikkō, Kamakura, Kyoto, and Nara. In addition she visited many gardens: in Tokyo she visited the Hōraien, the garden of Count Matura; in Nikkō, the garden of the antique shop Kobayashi; in Takamatsu, the Ritsurin Park; in Hiroshima, the garden of the Asano family; in Okayama, the Kōrakuen; in Kyoto, the private garden of Mr Ichida, the gardens of the Heian Shrine, and the Golden Pavilion; and in Nara, the garden of the Tōshōdaiji. Most of these gardens have a strolling path around a pond. She did not see dry landscape gardens such as the garden of the Ryōanji. The Ryōanji was not mentioned in the travel guide, and probably was not yet open to the public in 1911. Moreover, as the travel guide indicates, these dry gardens were of no interest to European visitors, because in European eyes they were "merely a sandy court with a few stones and forlorn bushes."⁴⁸

As she visited Japan in spring, she must have been impressed by the flowering cherries, wisteria, azalea, and irises. The photographs she took bear this out. She must also have noticed, however, that Japanese gardens did not customarily have flowerbeds of annuals and perennials. The Japanese, ardent flower lovers though they may have been, grew their beloved flower plants in pots.

Walking through the gardens she saw meandering streamlets; unusually shaped ponds with islands and bridges, some of which were flat and made of stone slabs, and others arched, made of wood with decorated railings; steppingstones in the water; a variety of lanterns; pavilions overlooking a pond; and many Japanese trees, shrubs, and plants.

At Kobayashi or at some other stonemason's shop (e.g. in Kyoto and Yokohama), she bought several intriguing stone lanterns and two monolithic stone bridges. She also acquired

45 The construction of the basin is very similar to the small pond in the Honpōji in Kyoto (see Nitschke 1991, p. 160).

46 Photograph of a private garden, Harada 1928, p. 78.

47 Photograph of Higashi Honganji, Challaye 1915, p. 244.

48 *Murray's Handbook*, p. 336.

a small wooden garden shrine with a Buddha sculpture, two wooden, red, arched bridges, a simple wooden entrance gate, a resting arbour, and the design for a pavilion. During her visit to Japan she must also have bought one or two small Jizō sculptures and a stele. All this she sent home. And when she came back to her estate Clingendael in The Hague, she started to construct her Japanese-style garden.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Mrs. and Mr. Hartman, the owners of the photograph-album of Mrs. Van Brienens, for giving me the opportunity to make a thorough investigation of the album. This made it possible to reconstruct the travels of Mrs. Van Brienens in Japan in 1911. Furthermore, I should thank Mr. Matsura Akira for discussing the Hōraien with me, and for showing me the location of the old garden in Tokyo, and Drs. Yamashita Noboru for additional information about the garden and the history of the Matsura. Drs Isabel Van Daalen I would like to thank for her help in arranging the contact with Mr Matsura and with the Kobayashi firm and for her help in identifying the photograph of the Benten-jima. Dr. Ogisu Mikinori I would like to thank for determining the leaf of *Magnolia hypoleuca*, and Prof. Watanabe Masami, the Nikko Tourism Association, the Kyoto Tourist Information, and the staffs of the Ritsurin Park (Takamatsu) and the Kōrakuen (Okayama) for their help in identifying several of the photographs. Dr. H. Porck of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek I would like to thank for discussing the watermarks, Peter Bower for identifying the names behind the monogram in the watermark, Hadassa Koning for discussing the technical aspects of photography, and Alex van der Eb for critically reading the manuscript. Finally I would like to thank Prof. W. J. Boot for his encouragement to write this article and the many helpful discussions.

Titia van der Eb-Brongersma studied biology at the University of Leiden, The Netherlands. During her first visit to Japan, in 1984, she became highly interested in the Japanese flora and in the history of Japanese garden architecture. She has made regular visits to Japan since, and gives lectures on Japanese Garden Art. She is involved in the conservation of the Japanese Garden in The Hague.

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Kumagayedo, Kurodani

堂谷熊 谷黒山本大

Kurodani, Kumagayedo

Ise Shintō

Calligraphy by Arthur Witteveen

Ise Shintō 伊勢神道, literally “the Way of the Gods of Ise” stands for a school of Shintō thought that was established in the Middle Ages by priests of the Ise Shrine, the oldest and most venerable of all Shintō shrines.

Shintō, the old indigenous religion of Japan, is the way of the *kami*, generally translated as “gods”. There is, however, more to the concept than the term “gods” would imply for most Western people. It has to do with the fundamental unity between the gods, man and nature; *kami* may be present in each of them; the “religion” consists of the practice of living according to this ideal unity. In the realization of that unity the idea of purity, inherent in nature, is of basic importance.

The Ise School stresses purity and honesty as the highest virtues.

The Ise Shrine is situated in a landscape of great majestic beauty some two hundred and fifty kilometres from the cities of Nara and Kyoto. According to legend it was established in the year 5 CE. It is dedicated to Amaterasu, the sun goddess. She is represented by the mirror that she donated to her grandson when he descended from the High Field of Heaven to rule the earth. Although the shrine is old, its outer appearance does not in any way reflect its age; this is because, since the seventh century CE, it has been rebuilt every twenty years. Next to the present-day construction there is an empty plot, where in 2013 the new shrine will be built up. In this endless cycle of reconstruction, the Ise Shrine perfectly reflects the practices of ritual traditionalism and of the renewal of natural purity, both typical of Shintō.

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A.Th. Witteveen LL.M. BA is currently a Research Master student of Chinese Studies at Leyden University. He started his study of Sinology after his retirement as a First Secretary of the International Court of Justice in The Hague. He has been practising Chinese calligraphy for some thirty years; in 2002 he wrote, at the request of the Nederlandse Vereniging voor Druk- en Boekkunst (Dutch association for printing art and book art), De dans van het penseel. Een korte inleiding tot de Chinese Calligrafie (“The Dance of the Brush: A Short Introduction to Chinese Calligraphy”). He has the 10th dan in his Japanese school of calligraphy, the Nihon Shodō Bijutsu-in.

伊勢

神道



NAKA-IMA 中今
Space in Japan

Paul de Leeuw

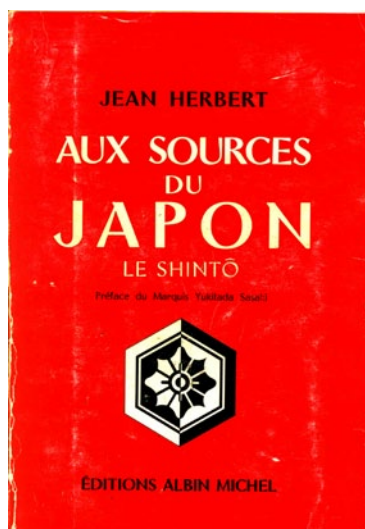
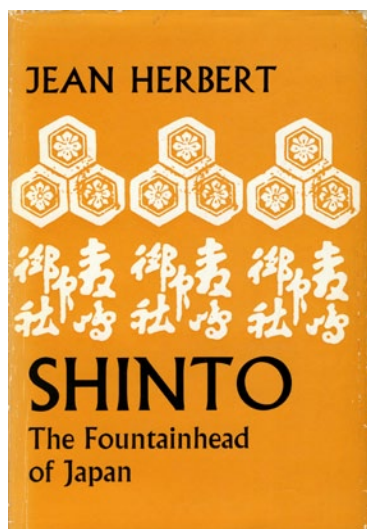
An Unorthodox Approach
In grateful memory of Jean Herbert (1897-1980)

Shintō: The Fountainhead of Japan was published in 1967 as an unorthodox approach of a relatively unknown aspect of Japanese culture. Originally it was written in French and published in two volumes. The first volume, *Aux sources du Japon: Le Shintō* (1964), was crowned by the French Academy. The French and English editions are written by one author, Jean Herbert. How fluent he was in French and English is indicated by his métier as first Chief Interpreter of the United Nations in New York after its founding in 1945. At the University of Geneva he held the chair of Eastern Mythology. As if challenging the limits of human imagination, fate saw him in the same space and time as the multicultural writer, Jorge Luis Borges, who also lived in Geneva.

The Fountainhead of Japan is an unusual book by a remarkable author, who showed the greatest sympathy instead of the usual contempt for Shintō that even the greatest Western experts had shown until then. In his introduction Jean Herbert explains his unusual approach.

The purpose of this book is to present to Western readers Shintō, the national Japanese religion, as it is understood and practiced by the Japanese in our time. My main source of information has been Shintō priests alive today, about their beliefs, teachings and practice. I also appealed to Japanese theologians and other professors of Shintō for elucidation in many cases when the statements made by the clergy were vague, confused or contradictory. I systematically abstained from consulting any person who did not profess Shintō.

The preparation of this book required many years. During my various stays in Japan between 1935 and 1964 I devoted most of my time to interviewing the high-priests of hundreds of shrines, from the North of Honshu to the South of Kyushu, including practically all the most



Books by Jean Herbert.



エルベール博士（中央）と、藤沢親雄教授（左から2人目）、佐藤定吉教授（右から2人目）。神道研究に來日されたエルベール博士を案内される諸先生。（昭和31年）



玉串奉尊中の仏人ジャン・エルベール博士（仏国国立TV撮影・撮影臨時祭・山藤神道斎宮にて）

Jean Herbert in Japan.

important, but also many unpretentious country side shrines. I usually spent with them between half a day and a whole week. The number of my informers rose to well over 300 and I built up individual files on each one of about 950 temples.

I also received the constant support of the Jinja Honcho (National Association of Shintō Shrines) and Kokugakuin University Tokyo. All my informers did all they could do to make me imbibe the spirit of Shintō. On several occasions they kindly allowed me to take part in religious services and spiritual practices exclusively reserved to Shintō priests.

The task was difficult for many reasons. One of them is that Shintō is based on concepts totally different from those found in other great religions. The most elementary and fundamental questions which in other cases can normally be answered in a couple of words, do not apply; hence the most competent and best-intentioned informers are at a total loss to give a valid and intelligible reply – it was just as if one were asking a musician whether the sonata he was playing was written in English or in French, painted in oil or in water-colours.

These difficulties may explain why Shintō, so far, has been so thoroughly misunderstood by the greatest Western experts.¹

The English version has a List of Sources, mentioning the names of 296 informants and the titles of 482 written sources. All numbered quotations in the book can be traced back to this list.

It is characteristic of his unusual approach that he avoids attempts to reconcile contradictory quotations from different informers about the same subject. He accepts the coexistence of mutually contradicting realities, since he is aware that contradiction exists only on the level of diction, or language. Beyond language he acknowledges the world of experience. The most important thing he learnt from his research of Shintō was the true understanding of the principle of here and now.² Language was the lesser part of his road to knowledge; wisdom had to be attained by the spiritual practices of Shintō. He writes about the spiritual practices of Shintō in *Chapter 3*. In this chapter we learn more about *Metaphysics, Ethics, Spiritual exercises and Aesthetics* and we learn about the existence of a mystic tradition of Shintō. He had actually joined some spiritual exercises. Thanks to his own practice he could understand that an essential idea of Shintō - *Purity and Beauty always go hand in hand* - is not just a written text, but a way of life.

1 Jean Herbert, *Shintō: The Fountainhead of Japan*, London, 1967, p. 13.

2 “Du Shintō, Jean Herbert déclare avoir tiré un grand principe ‘Ici et maintenant’.” Josette Herbert, “Un auteur et son œuvre: Jean Herbert (1897-1980),” *Les carnets du yoga* 5 (mai 1979), pp. 2-15.

Since other Western experts seem to avoid such a useful combination of research and practice, they continue to ignore the difficulties Jean Herbert mentioned in his introduction. What is worse, in a misplaced attempt to follow the footsteps of their Western examples, most Japanese intellectuals also have turned their back on native Shintō.

Shintō and Modern Japan

In order to explain the current position of Shinto I need to insert here my personal experience. Just like Jean Herbert I have had the ample opportunity to study Shintō, and I did so with great enthusiasm and respect. My teachers in Japan *did all they could do to make me imbibe the spirit of Shintō*. The words in italics are Jean Herbert's. In 1979 I entered the Shintō school whose mystic tradition Jean Herbert had described in great detail in Chapter 3 of his book. In this Yamakage Shintō School beauty and purity still lived hand in hand. It was my first stay in Japan and I experienced this place and its inhabitants as an authentic part of Japan. Later, when I had the opportunity to meet other Japanese people, it came more as a shock than as a deception that this place of beauty and purity was exceptional. Indeed, in common life the Japanese are not so eager to show interest in Shintō.

The fact that Shintō has become a thing of the past became clear to me at the moment that I listened to the words of Hamuro Yoriaki, Chief Priest of Kasuga Shrine. He gave a lecture in the Japanese Netherlands Cultural Center in Amsterdam. To my great astonishment he stated: *Japanese should be proud of Shintō*. It was a shock for me to realize that most Japanese have turned their back on Shintō. Everybody seems to have forgotten what it really is, being prejudiced and reversely brainwashed by the destructive effects of State Shintō. It took a rather long time for me to contemplate this situation from all possible points of



Master Yamakage and Student De Leeuw.

view. A crucial moment happened during an interview for a Japanese magazine. The interviewer did not try to hide her hostile attitude. She started with a rude question: “Why did you study Shintō, and not - like everybody else - Zen?” My answer was not defensive, but I started to talk about Zen as a vision of nature. Also I made it clear that Shintō is basic for the Japanese sense of nature. When she understood this, the interviewer heaved a sigh of relief, as if she finally realized how modern Japanese ideology had erased the memory of Shintō’s beauty and purity.

However, the Japanese view of modernity could not prevent the emergence of Shintō shrines outside Japan. The author of this article founded a Shintō shrine in Holland as early as 1981. In 1995 an American instructor of Aikidō built a Shintō shrine in the USA. Being an expression of universal respect for, and gratitude to nature, these non-Japanese Shintō shrines start to challenge the so-called modern Japanese ideology. However, without the seminal work of great minds like Jean Herbert, who wrote *The Fountainhead of Japan*, Shintō would never have been known outside Japan. Not only should Jean Herbert be credited, it would also be rewarding to make a study of the involvement of other writers, like Jorge Luis Borges and Claude Lévy-Strauss.

Jean Herbert and State Shintō

Having praised Jean Herbert as a true pioneer of Shintō, we should not overlook one major flaw in his definition of State Shintō.

Kokka Shintō, or what was called before the disestablishment State *Shintō*, and is now renamed *Jinja Shintō*, is accepted as evident truth by practically every Japanese, just as every Christian believes that the World has been created by God. It is the belief that the *Kami*, the Emperor, the Japanese People and the Japanese Islands have the same ancestors and are therefore of the same kin. Consequentially there are rules of behaviour that ensure the continuing benefit of this consanguinity.³

Referring to *Kokka Shintō*, State *Shintō* and *Jinja Shintō* as the same thing, Herbert regrettably followed a persistent orthodox approach of Shintō that identified the disestablished State Shintō and Jinja Shintō with the Fountainhead of Japan. I presume that his enthusiasm and sympathy for Shintō prevented him from looking directly at the historical fact that State Shintō was a political invention that postdated the Meiji Reformation (1868), and that eventually it turned into a manipulative tool that was used to herd the Japanese nation towards the Second World War. The American Headquarters in Tokyo abolished State Shintō after the war, by separating Shintō from the State and guaranteeing freedom for every religion. As a first-generation staff member of the United Nations Jean Herbert must have known these facts, but in an attempt to rehabilitate the original sense of Shintō, he may have averted his eyes deliberately from the dark site of Shintō, which was already too well known, and concentrated upon the pure and beautiful aspects, of which his 296 informers supplied him with ample information. This might have been the reason that “he systematically abstained from consulting any person who did not profess Shintō.” In hindsight it is really lucky for us that he found so many informers amongst the majority of Japanese who had turned their back on Shintō. He has collected and stored precious information from a minority still alive, information that preceded the doctrines of State Shintō by a thousand years or more. In his book he succeeds in explaining the cultural and human landscape of Japan by means of Shintō. He used the metaphor of a

³ Jean Herbert, *Shintō: The Fountainhead of Japan*, Allen and Unwin: London, 1967, p. 57.

Fountainhead: Shintō is a meandering river nourishing all levels of society. After the book had been out of print for forty years, finally a reprint became available in 2010.⁴

Privately, however, Jean Herbert did not support the orthodox idea prevailing in Western academic circles. He did not agree with the definition of Shintō as only “a religion of Japanese local communities and of the Japanese people as a national community.”⁵ Instead, he understood that Shintō is universal and valid for cultures outside of Japan.

Another unorthodox approach: Shintō is universal

This personal attitude of Jean Herbert has been seminal of the rise of universal Shintō. At the beginning of this article I already have mentioned my practical study of Shintō. Here I will elaborate my personal history, in which Jean Herbert has played such a decisive role.

My first and only meeting with Jean Herbert was in 1977 in Paris. He gave a lecture about Shintō in the *Théâtre des Bouffes du Nord*, which was the location of Peter Brook's Institute for International Theatre Research, where I attended a master class for actors and dancers. The master class was supervised by a famous Japanese actor, who was assisted by Japanese specialists in the arts of Kendō, Aikidō, Nō, Buddhism, and Shintō. One day was scheduled for lectures about Japanese arts. Among the speakers were Michel Random, Jean Herbert, and Yamakage Motohisa. Both French speakers showed their fascination for the fire ceremony they had witnessed in the Yamakage Shintō Shrine.

After the master class I received an invitation from the Shintō Grand Master Yamakage to continue my study of Japanese arts in the Shintō school in Shizuoka Prefecture, Japan. My study was mainly non-verbal, but I was requested to keep a diary. This was eventually published and became a guidebook for the future students of the Yamakage Shintō School.⁶

In order to write I got my own desk in the office. One day I found the book of Jean Herbert on my desk. On the title page it had his signature and a dedication. I found that Grand Master Yamakage was mentioned many times as a source of information, especially for spiritual teaching. I recognized his descriptions in chapter 3 as part of my daily exercise. When I mentioned this, Yamakage told me that I was very lucky to spend a much longer time in his school than Jean Herbert. One day we got the news from Switzerland that Jean Herbert had died. Immediately we made a fire ceremony to pacify his soul. Grand Master Yamakage wrote an obituary, of which the following part is significant.

A Gift for Shintō

One day he (Jean Herbert) said to me (Yamakage Motohisa) in the train: "Please don't propagate Shintō, though I admit it is good enough to be universal. People will come to Shintō surely when necessary." I remember his words sounded to me rather shocking and I contemplated them for a long time.

Indeed, a religion is inseparable from natural features, climate, custom or language of the people. If we propagate a particular religion to foreign people, we may not avoid to neglect their native originality with insisting upon our superiority, and finally to fight. What is worse, the religion itself might be distorted.

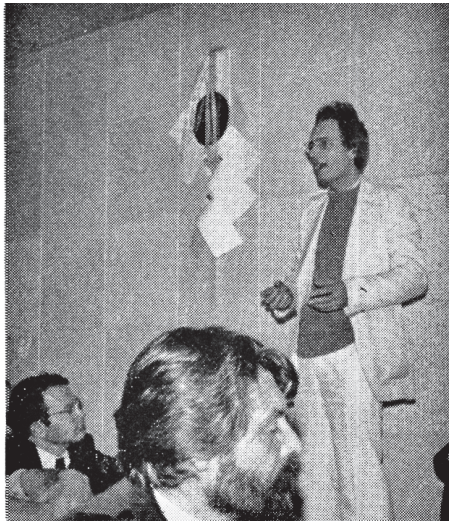
He meant to give us the most earnest warning because he was most afraid of the distortion of Shintō, for his great respect for it.

4 Jean Herbert, *Shinto: At the Fountainhead of Japan*, Routledge: London, 2010.

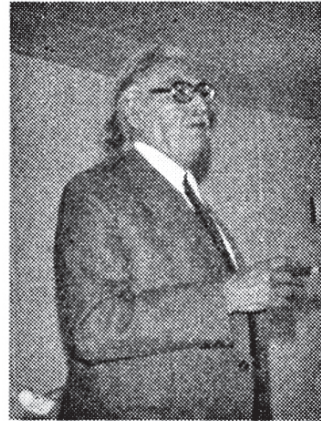
5 Colin Mackerras, *Eastern Asia: An Introductory History*, French Forest: Pearson Education Australia, 2000 [1992], p 55.

6 Paul de Leeuw, *Ware wa kagami nari, I am a Mirror*, transl. Komuro Yoshitsugu, ed. Yamakage Motohisa, Tokyo, 1980.

パリにおけるフランス政府主催の「人間性回復道場」において「映画（神道・武道）」を上映してくれた。フランス国営放送のプロデューサー「ミッシェル・ランドン」氏の講演風景。



Michel Randon in Bouffes du Nord.



ジュネーブ大学教授、ジャン・エルベール博士もわざわざスイスよりかけつけて筆者のため「神道」の讃辞を述べてくれた。

Jean Herbert in Bouffes du Nord.



Jean Herbert, Yamakage Motohisa, Michel Randon.

CENTRE INTERNATIONAL DE RECHERCHE THEATRALE

9, RUE DU CIRQUE

PARIS VIII^e

TEL. 359 13-33+

Paris, le 1er Septembre 1977

Monsieur Masando SASAKI
1-201-4 Kami fukuoka
Kami fukuoka-Shi
Saitama-Ken
Japon

Cher Monsieur Sasaki,

Nous sommes heureux de vous inviter à venir à Paris du 26 Septembre au 20 Décembre 1977 pour participer, en tant que Professeur de Shinto, à l'Atelier que Yoshi Oida dirigera au Studio des Bouffes du Nord.

Cet Atelier, qui bénéficie de l'appui du Ministère Français des Affaires Culturelles, a pour but d'enseigner les techniques du théâtre traditionnel japonais à une soixantaine de participants de nationalités diverses.

Nous vous confirmons, en outre, que vos frais de voyage et de séjour seront assurés par nos soins.

Dans l'attente du plaisir de faire votre connaissance, veuillez accepter, Cher Monsieur, l'expression de nos meilleures salutations.

Régine Guitschula

Régine GUITSCHULA
Administratrice

フランス俳優協会からの招請状

Entraînement du matin.
(ouvert à tous)

Lun Mer Sam } 10:30 - 11:30 Shintō avec M^r SASAKI

Mar }
Jeu } 10:30 - 11:30 Boukkyo avec M^r NAGAOKA

Mar } supprimés à partir du 29 novembre
Jeu } 16:30 - 17:30 Shintō avec M^r SASAKI

	Lun, Mer, Sam	Mar, Jeu, Ven.
12:00	⑤ Kendo, avec M ^r YOSHI MURA	⑤ Kendo, avec M ^r YOSHIMURA et SASAKI
1:05	⑤ Les nouveaux avec M ^r NAGAOKA	Nettoyer la salle ④
2:30	④ Tous le monde, avec M ^r SASAKI	④ Tous le monde, avec M ^r SASAKI (sans les nouveaux)
4:00	⑤ Les nouveaux avec M ^r SASAKI	④ Tous le monde avec M ^r NAGAOKA (les nouveaux y compris)
4:30		5:45 - 6:45 pour les nouveaux. Mais 4:30 - !
5:45	⑤ = Salle du Théâtre.	④ Salle du Théâtre.

パリの人間性回復道場の日程表

Bouffes du Nord, Schedule.

Shinto Bouffes du Nord.

Yet I should say I may not have understood the full significance of what he said, until now when I see a Dutch young man has in fact come to Japan to learn Shintō.⁷

When I had read this part about their meeting and conversation, I understood that my being in Japan was only the tip of an iceberg. It had started long time ago, when the two of them realized that Shintō was universal. Without their meeting the door to Shintō would never have been opened to me but would have stayed locked by the phrase: Shintō is only for Japanese.

My sense of space was suddenly widened and included parts of time that I had not physically attended. Also I started wondering about two other possibilities that never had happened. First, Jean Herbert had met so many other Shintō masters, why had none of them opened his school for a foreigner? And second, Netherlands and Japan have such a long relationship, already since 1600. Why had there never been a Dutchman who made the same discovery as Jean Herbert?

Thinking about these probabilities I became aware of a universe full of “impossible” layers. Our actual world is just one layer in space, but it is as if we have no time to visit the other ones, which are located beyond our possibilities. This idea of “impossibility” belongs to an ancient philosophy, starting with the Chinese scriptures of Zhuangzi (Chuang Tzu), and also explored by French philosophers like Bergson and Deleuze. The latter created a special kind of film theory in order to develop his philosophy. Later in this article I will use this theory to explore the Japanese concept of *naka-ima* or “here and now.”

In my study of literature I had already met the Argentinean writer Jorge Luis Borges, who was a master in imagining impossible worlds, especially in his short stories: *The Aleph* (1949), and *The Garden of the Forking Path* (1941) and *A Survey of the Works of Herbert Quain* (1941).

The meeting and mutual understanding between Yamakage and Jean Herbert was a multicultural event that marked the beginning of a long road to the rediscovery of Shintō as a universal way of life. Shintō would say that this “coincidence” is *kami no michi* – the way of *kami*. Borges has described this already in his own words: “Any human life consists in reality of one moment – the moment when you know for all times who you are” (*Other Inquisitions*).



Yamakage Motohisa.

7 Yamakage Motohisa, “Don’t propagate Shinto,” unpublished obituary of Jean Herbert, manuscript of 1981.

Naka-ima



Borges' hand in Izumo Taisha.



Akiba Mountain.

When I returned to Europe, Grand Master Yamakage recommended me to visit Jean Herbert's house in Switzerland and see his wife, Josette Herbert. She was pleased to receive me and willing to share her husband's experiences in Japan. Most impressive had been the visits to sacred places like Ise and Izumo Shrine, but also unpretentious shrines in the countryside. I told her about my visits to the Akiba Mountain in Shizuoka-ken, the residence of the kami of fire (Ho-musubi-no-kami). At the time of my visit the wooden shrine was burnt by accident, but on the bare mountain there was still a very small wooden shrine. It was there that I experienced for the first time a strong vibration, as if I entered a magnetic field. Grand Master Yamakage, who accompanied me on this trip, was amazed that I could sense this vibration, and he explained to me that this was the energy of *kami*, for which even the majority of Japanese is insensible. It had nothing to do with extrasensory perception, because I could feel a change of intensity. The closer I came to the source, the stronger it became. Thanks to his discovery of my hidden capacity Grand Master Yamakage granted me the nearly impossible task to find in the Netherlands a similar place that had *kami* vibration. He explained to me that this would be the original location where the *kami* of the Netherlands had resided since olden times. Due to the fact that this *kami*

had been out of service for thousands of years, it would be extremely hard to discover the remaining vibration, which would be extremely faint. Besides, he warned me not to tell this story to other Dutch people, for they would think that I was out of my mind. Fortunately Mrs. Herbert acknowledged my story. Her husband had the same sensibility and was praised for it by Grand Master Yamakage. Understandably, he had decided never to write about it, but he had found a similar location in France where *kami* resides. It is a famous mountain in the Provence, which was immortalized by the Italian poet Petrarch, who had lived there in reclusion to get inspiration for his cycle of sonnets. He also wrote an essay about climbing the Mt. Ventoux, while he cherished the company of one book, St Augustine's *Confessions*. A plaque commemorating Petrarch's stay is still visible in the Fontaine de Vaucluse. Of course, the presence of this *kami*

is rather unnoticed, but might still be visible in the whirls of the fountain. Mrs. Herbert encouraged me to find the *kami*-place in Holland and after several years of roaming I finally located the spot. Of course, this kind of information will rouse the curiosity of my readers, but I prefer to state here explicitly that where it is, is of less relevance than that which exists.

The existence of such a place in Holland or France seems odd, while in Japan it is natural. In Japan there are thousands of these places, indicated by a rock, a grove or a sacred rope. They still belong to daily life, even in the age of modernity. Perhaps it is a price paid for modernity that these places disappear from our consciousness. A short story by the Chinese writer Ah Cheng illustrates a similar process, how the natural awe for sacred space is decaying.

外人、神道研究家の大権威ジュネーブ大
学教授、ジャン・エルベール博士と登拝し
た秋葉山中の記念撮影（昭和四十二年八月）



Jean Herbert, spiritual zone.

At the beginning of the so-called Cultural Revolution a group of Educated Youth is sent to the mountains, in order to clear the trees and reclaim a waste of land in order to plant useful seeds. One mountain is already cleared, but nobody dares to cut one solitary tree that is called “the King of Trees.” A wise old man, a failed hero of the revolution, stood up against the students to protect this last tree. “This tree has to be spared. Even if the rest of them fall, this one will stand as witness.” “Witness to what?” Witness to the work of the Supreme God in Heaven!” The students burst out laughing. “Man will triumph over Heaven. Did the gods bring the land under cultivation? No, man did it, to feed himself. Did the gods forge iron? No, man did, to make tools and transform nature, including your Supreme God in Heaven of course.” It took four days to fell the Giant Tree and the man who had protected the tree in vain, died of grievance. He was buried at the foot of the fallen tree. However, its extensive roots system had put forth a tangled mess of new shoots and a patch of grass with white flowers grew over the gravesite. Whenever people look up into its direction, they still see the huge trunk, scarred like a man who had fallen, and the patch of white flowers like bones exposed in dismembered limbs.⁸

In Western philosophy we are inclined to see sacred spaces in relation to time. The ultimate sacred space, Heaven, is separated from us by a gap of time. Often it is called metaphysical. Likewise, the experience of “here and now” is often compared to enlightenment that transports us to another dimension of time.

Perhaps the most important thing that Jean Herbert has learnt from his experience in Japan was the idea of *naka-ima* as a spatial concept of here and now. In the Eastern way of

8 Ah Cheng, *The King of Trees*, transl. Bonnie McDougall, New Directions, 2010.

thinking Nature is a space where present, past and future concur. *Naka-ima*, literally: the core of the present comprises Great Nature (*Dai Shizen*). Nature is not a place we can visit, but is the space where we feel home. It is the home of the present generation, but also of the past and future generations, our ancestors and descendants. Taking care of nature implies a vision of long duration, which ridicules the cheaper attempts to make short-term profits and which reveals the real meaning of sustainability.

Time exists as an experience of sharing images of *naka-ima*. The sacred space is awesome, because we feel that time stands still and we feel connected to an open universe, which we share with our ancestors and descendants. While the awareness of eternal space is present, consciously or unconsciously, in the Japanese mind, it is conspicuously absent in the Western mind.

Since this notion of space is hard to understand but, in my opinion, crucial for the understanding of Japanese culture, I will resort to one of the most recent theories in film studies, based upon the philosophy of Gilles Deleuze. In his two books about images in cinema he developed the cinematic concept of *out-of-field* as a means to understand the Universe. In the next paragraph I will apply this cinematic concept to a Japanese movie in order to make clear how awareness of sacred space is present in the Japanese mind.

Out-of-field in the film Shara by Kawase Naomi, 2003

Out-of-field

Language, especially the art of literature, is the best way to tell a narrative. With the invention of film mankind developed a powerful tool to go beyond the limitations of language and narrative. However for some reason the development of film took the direction of narrative and left a much more interesting field unexplored. While the unit of language is the word, the unit of film is the frame. The frame is a composition of sound and image and may contain a fraction of language in the sound. Sound and image can be composed in such a way that they support each other, but the combination has the full potential to create a paradox, too. The playwright Mishima Yukio used this paradoxical combination in one of his modern Nō-plays. The Zen-inspired director David Lynch created confusing movies, where the narrative suddenly jumps into another world, where the same persons are no longer the same. A famous example is a scene in *Lost Highway*, where the main character is confronted in a phone call with himself in a place where he does not want to be. The combination of frames allows for simultaneity of otherwise impossible worlds. These movies might have been the dream of Jorge Luis Borges.

The apparatus of film is a metaphor of how consciousness works within our own culture. Common sense functions as a convenient frame inside which everything can be easily managed. What is outside the frame, simply does not exist, or will be managed inside another frame of common sense. Since film is a sequence of frames, the spectator is allowed to see what is within the frame and is denied to see what is outside the frame. In this theory, our knowledge becomes limited within the boundaries of space, i.e. the frame. Sometimes what is outside one frame will be revealed in the next one. Another word for what is outside the frame is: "out-of-field." In *Cinema 1: The Movement Image* and *2: The Time Image* the French philosopher Gilles Deleuze made a creative study of film in order to develop his philosophy of difference. He made an important distinction between two types of out-of-field: relative and absolute. Relative means that an out-of-field sooner or later can be put inside a frame. Absolute means that an out-of-field never will be framed.

Even in narrative film there is an absolute out-of-field. For most spectators it is not necessary to be conscious of it, for it does not provide relevant data for a better understanding of the film. This absolute out-of-field contains the political, economical and cultural background that is shared by the spectators and the directors. This type of out-of-field becomes significant if a spectator with another cultural background becomes involved. In such a case its absolute value should be reconsidered and in ideal circumstances the spectators might become aware that their economical or cultural backgrounds are embedded in more or less relative layers. This awareness has started with the rise of feminist and queer theories and will continue with the growing exchange in multicultural film festivals.

In Deleuze's theory the absolute out-of-field "testifies to a more disturbing presence, one which cannot even be said to exist, but rather to 'insist' or 'subsist', a more radical elsewhere, outside homogeneous space and time."⁹ So the study of film can be seen as an analysis of a sequence of frames, which have the double quality of being singular and mutually connected. The frame itself consists of an *inside*, which is a *visible + acoustic image*, and an *outside*, which is called the *out-of-field*. The out-of-field can be relative and then its function is to connect the frames; the out-of-field can also be absolute and then its function is to connect the film experience with an experience of the Whole, which is open; an experience that transcends common sense; a metaphysical experience. In this sense the study of film becomes a philosophical tool to understand the Universe.¹⁰

Shara by Kawase Naomi, 2003

Having introduced these basic tools of film theory, we can proceed to apply them in order to understand the aforementioned difference between the Japanese and the Western mind. My aim is to demonstrate how this difference becomes visible in the out-of-field of the film *Shara* (2003) by Kawase Naomi.¹¹<<9>>

Obviously, the film is not made from a specific Shintō perspective. The title refers to the name of a special tree, the legendary Sal tree or (in Japanese) *sharasōju* 沙羅双樹 that has witnessed Buddha's birth and death. A central part of the film is attributed to a Buddhist temple. An acoustic image, the sound of bells in this temple permeates the beginning of the film. However, in the backyard of the temple is a Shintō element: an Inari Shrine. A main theme in the film is the preparation of a newly created Jizō festival, which is a mix of Shintō and Buddhist ingredients. The actual performance of this festival takes a full ten minutes. The movie apparently has not been made to please a western audience. What is worse, the film seemingly lacks a narrative. When I saw the movie in the Filmmuseum, there were only a few spectators. Besides, many left the cinema before the end. For their spectator's mind the absolute out-of-field was unintelligible, since it referred to a strange cultural background.

The film is about loss. In a family with two children suddenly the eldest son disappears. The film opens with a shot of ten minutes showing the two brothers running through a maze of streets in Nara, the old capital. The camera is also running through the streets, following the brothers. The running suddenly halts in front of the Inari Shrine, where only the youngest son appears in the frame. His elder brother has disappeared, not only from the frames but also from the known world. He seems spirited-away. Since the Inari shrine was the last place where

9 Gilles Deleuze, *Cinema 1: The Movement Image*, transl. Hugh Tomlinson and Barbara Habberjam, London: Athlone Press, 1989, p. 17.

10 Terrence Yeh, *Time and Consciousness in Film*, MA Thesis (cum laude) Film and Television Department, University of Amsterdam, 2003.

11 The film was nominated for the Golden Palm in Cannes Film festival 2003. Duration: 99 minutes.



SHARA (cover of DVD).

he had been visible, the director might have used the frame of the Inari Shrine as an opening towards the out-of-field. It means that from here the eldest son disappears from our view. Neither the spectators nor his family will see him again. But he is still present in the out-of-field, as is suggested by camera-movements that sometimes arouse the uncanny feeling that the disappeared boy is still watching us.

The family has to deal with the loss, but we never see them sharing their emotions. Western spectators may complain about this, but if they become aware of the Japanese background, they will be able to sense the presence of love and emotion in the out-of-field. This becomes evident in a “conversation” (that lacks the usual elements of spoken dialogue) between father and son in a scene that lasts more than five minutes.

FATHER:

Shun, listen... what I want... is to face things. I've thought...about a bunch of things. There are some we can forget... some we must not forget... and then there are some we must forget. I've really thought about all this. Do you see? And then... I've tried to divide things into different categories.

After thinking long and hard... I have just about... managed to sort things out. And it's almost clear now. So? What does it come to?

Nothing seems to be said in these words, but everything is clearly exposed in the next scene, where the father uses brush and ink to draw two words on the paper: SHADOW LIGHT. This calligraphy seems to refer to the Buddha tree of life and death, the title of the film. The loss of his son, the disappearance out of the frame of life, is only to be accepted by the father when it falls in place with the cycle of life and death (the alternation of light and shadow), which is always present in the Japanese mind and belongs to the Japanese out-of-field.

While death happens in the beginning of this film, a new birth heralds the end. The

film ends with the camera moving for ten minutes through the streets of Nara and beyond. This movement seems to mirror the opening scene. But while the opening scene left us with the horror and mystery of a boy who is spirited away, the final scene solves the mystery. When the credits are being shown, the camera flies away from Nara and reveals the virginal woods in the surrounding mountains. They represent the out-of-field and give a clue to the secret of the Japanese mind. As we already have noticed, the gate that gives an opening to the out-of-field is represented in the frame of the Inari Shrine. Inari is the *kami* of life and rice and in popular Shintō takes the form of a fox. Although the shrine, the residence of *kami*, is located in the city, his original abode is in distant nature, the virginal forest of the mountains surrounding Nara. In ancient times cities were established on carefully chosen locations. The presence of a sacred space, the residence of *kami* who protect the area, was crucial for this choice. This presence is still visible in Japan's landscape. The divine has a spatial dimension and is not, as in the Western concept, separated from the earth by a gap in time.

Here and Now

In the Japanese consciousness there exists an awareness of a wide space that opens up to the Whole. We refer to this as the Japanese Sense of Nature and we may see it as becoming visible in the last frames of *Sharasōju*. Nature is a circle around homesteads and fields, wild fields and natural forests. Further away is the Chinju-no-Mori, the virginal forest, the sacred grove or the mirror rock on the mountain, which are the abodes of *kami*. In this consciousness *kami*, men and nature share the same space, which is called Great Nature. Japanese Buddhism, too, considers Nature as the body of Buddha. Understanding Japan begins with a rethinking in terms of space. It is also in terms of space that the first chapter of *Kojiki* ("Records of Ancient Matters"; 712) should be understood. The first chapter gives the names of the original *kami* of creation. By interpreting them in terms of time Western scholars have concluded that the text is meaningless. However, when we focus on space, creation starts to continue in *naka-ima*, the middle of now. If we may call Shintō a philosophy, it is a philosophy of becoming, not of perfection. That is the main reason why *misogi*, the art of cleansing, is considered the alpha and omega of Shintō.

But this will be the subject of another article.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR: Paul de Leeuw graduated from Leiden University in 1971; major: Dutch linguistics and literature; minor: drama. After his study he went to Amsterdam, where he became one of the founders of the now legendary Dogtroep, a visual theatre company. Following his increasing interest in Japanese visual arts he moved to Paris where he attended a Master class of traditional Japanese arts. In Paris he started to understand Japanese arts as being rooted in the older tradition of Shintō. He was invited to study Shintō at the Yamakage Shinto School in Shizuoka-ken, Japan. In 1981 he became the first non-Japanese *kannushi*, or Shintō-master, and he founded a Shintō shrine in Amsterdam.

Winterlied

's ochtends toen ik mijn ogen
opende en merkte
dat ik
met de oranje lamp nog aan
in slaap gevallen moest zijn
slingerde
mijn oude huid van eenzaamheid
afgestroopt
op het windstille bed
buiten het raam
had zich een beroete hemel
als in wrok
op zijn kant gelegd

toen ik de zonbeschenen trap afkwam
lag het toetsenbord van de piano
over de hele vloer verstrooid
dat was zeker
het werk van God
zonder enige twijfel
omdat ik gisternacht
in een droom gezien had hoe God
in de gedaante van een kind
al lachend
zoals de klank van Debussy
zich geschaamd had
voor een ster

de wastafel vulde ik met water en
toen ik mijn gezicht wilde wassen
kwam een kleine reiziger
aan de rand van het water
met onzekere stappen
aangelopen
in een klein veldflesje
schepte hij een drupje water en
nadat hij schichtig de omgeving
rondgekeken had
verdween hij plotseling geheel
eenmaal vastgesteld dat
de rimpeling de kust geraakt heeft
wordt het stil
(had, werd)

op de straathoek
met een vest aan
ben ik warm geworden en dan
komt tussen de wol door
“weer eens” of
“overall heen hoe ver ook”
zo zacht als een alfabet
binnengedrongen
haast angstig
met mijn lijf verzoend
en daarom
denk ik dat
mijn morgen of mijn vandaag
het gevolg moeten zijn
van een afspraak met niemand
herhaaldelijk
herhaaldelijk
alsof ik een leven leid

op het perron
een handschoen door iemand verloren en die
zich nog de vorm
van de hand van iemand
herinnert en wacht
dat hij zich herinnert
weten wij weliswaar niet
dat iets herinnering
oproept
kan
ook als het niet leeft
zelfs veel beter
dan wanneer
het zou leven

als ik de huissleutel omdraai
komt door mijn onverdedigde rug
een menigte spoken
zonder kloppen
voorbij
met een klik
draai ik de deurknop en
in de kamer heerst duisternis
ik was gewoon
alleen

Hirokawa Fumio

Het bovenstaande gedicht is afkomstig uit het internettijdschrift *Bungaku Gokudō* (Litteraire Gangsters; <http://bungoku.jp/>), dat, voor zover ik heb kunnen nagaan, sinds januari 2005 maandelijks verschijnt. Het beoogt een podium te zijn voor beginnende dichters, die vrijelijk hun gedichten kunnen plaatsen, waarbij de redactie zich het recht voorbehoudt kwalitatief benedenmaatse gedichten te verwijderen van de site; inzenders worden bovendien gewaarschuwd dat ze de kans lopen dat hun werk niet wordt verwijderd maar wordt voorzien van de kop *slechtste gedicht van de maand*.

Het hier vertaalde gedicht werd geplaatst op 9 oktober 2010 en door de redactie aangemerkt als een van de drie uitstekende gedichten van die maand. De oorspronkelijke tekst ervan is te vinden op:

<http://bungoku.jp/monthly/?date=201010>

Over de dichter, Hirokawa Fumio, heb ik helaas geen bio- of bibliografische gegevens kunnen vinden. Het intikken van zijn naam op Google leverde weliswaar 2670 hits op, maar dat op zich was prohibitief voor verder onderzoek op de korte termijn die mij restte voor het tijdig inzenden van mijn vertaling.

Frans B. Verwayen

De vertaler, Frans B. Verwayen, studeerde achtereenvolgens Rechten en Japans aan de Universiteit Leiden. Van 1984 tot 2005 werkte hij als universitair docent bij de opleiding Talen en Culturen van Japan en Korea van deze universiteit. In 1987-'88 was hij een jaar lang als visiting scholar verbonden aan de juridische faculteit van de Universiteit Tokyo. Hij is in 1996 gepromoveerd op zijn proefschrift Early Reception of Western Legal Thought in Japan. Verder schreef hij Recht en rechtvaardigheid in Japan (Salomé-Amsterdam University Press, 2004).