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日蘭評論

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SieboldHuis
Postbus 11007
2301 EA Leiden

Tel: +31-(0)71-5125539
Fax: +31-(0)71-5128063

Email: thenetherlandsjapanreview@gmail.com

Website: http://magazine.sieboldhuis.org
Drs D.N.W. Raatgever (webredacteur / *web editor*)

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For an explanation of the calligraphy on the frontpage, see Calligraphy by Arthur Witteveen, page 74.

The Netherlands-Japan Review ・ 日蘭評論

A votive tablet. *From the article Historical notes on the Japanese garden at Clingendael, The Hague, Holland*

PREFACE

Autumn has been around for several months already in the Netherlands, but now, finally, the autumn issue of *The Netherlands-Japan Review* has appeared. We are somewhat behind schedule, and apologize to our readers and subscribers for the delay. We hope that the contents of the present issue will in some measure compensate them for their patience.

The present issue opens with the second article by Titia van der Eb-Brongersma about the Japanese garden of the estate Clingendael in The Hague. This time, she concentrates on the history, the layout, and the buildings and objects in the garden, which she describes and analyses in relation to similar Japanese gardens laid out in other parts of Europe. It is again the result of thorough, painstaking research.

Mrs Van der Eb's article inspired Arthur Witteveen's calligraphy. It reads *roji* and, as he explains, these characters mean 'tea garden.'

The next contribution is a translation with sundry notes and an introduction of two of the four cycles of 'linked verse' (*renga*) contained in *Sarumino* - the well-known anthology of *haiku* and *renga* of Matsuo Bashō and his disciples. The translation is made by Henk Akkermans who acquired an interest in *renga* when he studied Japanese in Leiden. For this issue, Akkermans has translated the cycles 'Winter' and 'Summer.' The other two cycles, not surprisingly named 'Spring' and 'Autumn,' will follow in the next issue of *TNJR*.

The other poetic element in this issue is Frans Verwayen's translation of a modern poem. It is called 'April came' ('Het werd april'), but it describes the first day of school. In Japan, this is an event that happens in April, but in the Netherlands, it is suitably associated with September

The issue is completed by a review of *The Chronicle of Lord Nobunaga*, the recently published translation of *Shinchō-kō ki*. It is the account of the life of the hegemon Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582), the first of the three warlords who re-unified Japan in the second half of the sixteenth century. The authors are Jurgis Elisonas (a.k.a George Elison), who is emeritus professor of Japanese history of the University of Indiana, and of Jeroen Lamers, who studied Japanese in Leiden and is presently stationed in Peking as the Councilor of Economic Affairs. It is a monument of scholarship, and a major contribution to the field of Japanese Studies. As it was conceived and printed in Leiden, we thought it deserved a review in *TNJR*.

This issue does not have the usual column by Dick Stegewerns. It fell victim to a summer cold and the election of a new president of the Democratic Party. Stegewerns will recoup with a new column in the next issue. We are looking forward to it.

On behalf of the Board of Editors

W.J. Boot

Historical notes on the Japanese garden at Clingendael, The Hague, Holland

Part II : Baroness Van Brienen's Japanese garden

The development of a flowery Japonaiserie into a subdued moss garden

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

Introduction

In Part I, 'Mrs Van Brienen's journey to Japan,' which appeared in *The Netherlands-Japan Review* Vol. 2, No. 1, the photograph album and Mrs Van Brienen's travels in Japan were described extensively. In Part II, I will deal with Mrs Van Brienen's background and the Japanese and western elements in the layout of the garden. The planting in her garden will be the subject of a separate paper.

Fig. 1. Portrait of Baroness M.M. Van Brienen.

The Japanese garden is part of the country estate Clingendael in The Hague[1], and was created in 1912/1913, after a visit to Japan by the owner of the estate, Mrs Marguérite Mary, Baroness Van Brienen van de Groote Lindt, known to intimates as Lady Daisy. In 1954 the estate Clingendael became the property of the city of The Hague and was opened to the public the following year.[2] In 2003 the Clingendael estate was designated a National Monument. Since 1983 the Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael (Nederlands Instituut voor Internationale Betrekkingen Clingendael) is housed in the country house that was once the centre of Mrs Van Brienen's festive gatherings.

We can safely say that this garden, which in another two years will be 100 years old, is unique. Most of the Japanese-style gardens that were laid out in the west around 1900, have not survived the wear and tear of time, and in those gardens that have been restored little of the original design is left. In Clingendael, however, the overall design with the winding paths and the meandering stream are virtually the same today as they were in the days when the garden was first laid out. What is more, most of the original stone lanterns and other ornamental elements are still there. Therefore the garden is a monument of historical and cultural value.

Fig. 2. Country house Clingendael.

Unfortunately, not many details are known about the history of the Japanese garden. If there ever was a diary in which records of the garden were kept, it is now lost. All that is left is a photograph album of Mrs Van Brienen's travels in Japan in 1911, a copy of an old undated plan

1 Formally the land belongs to the nearby municipality of Wassenaar, whereas the Department of Green Management of The Hague (Dienst Stadsbeheer van de gemeente Den Haag, stadsdeel Haagse Hout) is responsible for the maintenance.

2 The Japanese garden is open to the public during six weeks in spring, starting from the beginning of May, during the Azalea flowering season, and two weeks in October for the autumn colours (www.denhaag.nl/japansetuin).

of the garden, an old undated plant list, a few old photographs of the garden, and a drawing of several stone ornaments that were there in 1954. They deserve to be stored in official archives for Garden History or in the archives of the city of The Hague or nearby Wassenaar.[3] Yet, although only a few documents are left, they provide an interesting insight into the way in which the idea to create a Japanese style garden originated, and how the construction and planting were realized.

The Van Brienen family and its interest in things Japanese

Mrs Marguérite Mary Baroness Van Brienen van de Groote Lindt (11.03.1871-22.11.1939) grew up in The Hague, in an environment where an interest in Japanese culture had flourished since the beginning of the nineteenth century.[4] With the founding of the Royal Cabinet of Curiosities[5] (Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden) in 1814 in The Hague, King Willem I gave everyone the opportunity to get a glimpse of Japan's culture, long before 1854, when Japan opened its ports for trading with western countries other than the Netherlands, and even longer before World Exhibitions introduced Japanese art to the west.

Mrs Van Brienen's family undoubtedly must have been interested in Japan. Her grandfather, Arnold Willem (05.04.1783- 26.10.1854), owned a large collection of Japanese porcelain,[6] and her father, Arnoud Nicolaas Justinus Maria[7] (18.07.1839- 04.01.1903), who held many high positions, was a member of the reception committee that in June 1862 received the first Japanese delegation to visit The Netherlands, led by Takeuchi Yasunori (1807-1867). During this visit Baron Van Brienen van de Groote Lindt gave a speech at the Malieveld and accompanied the Japanese delegation.[8]

The Van Brienen family and western gardening: Clingendael in de nineteenth century

In the early nineteenth century Mrs Van Brienen's great-grandfather (Willem Joseph; 1760-1839) inherited the estate Clingendael and transformed the formal seventeenth-century gardens into the then favoured English landscape style. Around 1888, Mrs Van Brienen's father Arnoud planned to reorganize the gardens. He contracted the German garden architect Von Petzolt, but for some reason things did not work out.[9] Subsequently it was Leonard Springer (1855-1940), one of the most important Dutch garden architects at the end of the nineteenth century, under whose guidance several of Arnoud's renovations were carried out, all in western style. Interest

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3 The photo album and a series of old photographs are the property of Mr and Mrs E.B. Hartman (The Hague), the old plan, the plant list, old photographs, and the drawing are the property of Mr J.S.H. Gieskes, The Hague; copies can be found in the archive of the Department of Green Management of The Hague.

4 Keblusek 2000, p. 7.

5 The collection included among other things the ethnografica collected by Cock Blomhoff and Overmeer Fisscher during their stay at the Dutch Factory on Deshima (Nagasaki) in 1809-1813/1817-1824 and 1820-1830 respectively. Von Siebold's collection was in Leiden.

6 Van Doorn en Vaillant 1982, p. 51.

7 Arnoud Nicolaas Justinus Maria was chamberlain in special service of King Willem III, and after the death of the King he became a member of the Board of Guardians (lid van de Raad van Voogdij) of the young Queen Wilhelmina.

8 *Leidsch Dagblad* 18 June 1862, p. 2; Dagblad van Zuidholland en 's Gravenhage, 19 June 1862.

9 Van Doorn en Vaillant 1982, p. 55.

in Japanese gardens came later, when his daughter Marguérite inherited Clingendael in 1903.

The introduction of gardens in Japanese style in the west

In the west, interest in Japanese gardens arose in the second half of the nineteenth century. Immediately after the opening of Japan, many diplomats and western traders visited the country. This was the start, not only of an interaction at the political and economical level, but also of an exchange of artistic ideas between Japan and the west. At the World Exhibitions in London (1862), Paris (1867), Vienna (1873), Philadelphia (1876), and Paris (1900), where Japanese art and *ukiyo-e* prints were on display, the western public got in touch with Japanese art and the impact was huge. It became a completely new source of inspiration for western artists, and led to a movement that we now call Japonism; it was the start of the New Art, the Art Nouveau or Jugendstil. Although at these exhibitions (Vienna 1873, Paris 1900) the public also could admire some small Japanese gardens, this did not immediately spark off a similar enthusiasm for the Japanese *garden* art as a new art form in western garden architecture.

Diplomats and rich western traders who went to Japan on business trips were the ones who laid out the first Japanese gardens in the west. They had the opportunity to see with *their own eyes* the art of the Japanese garden and the elegance of the high arched bridges at the Kameido shrine. They were so impressed by the Japanese gardens they saw, that once they were back home, they built gardens in the Japanese style on their own properties. At the end of

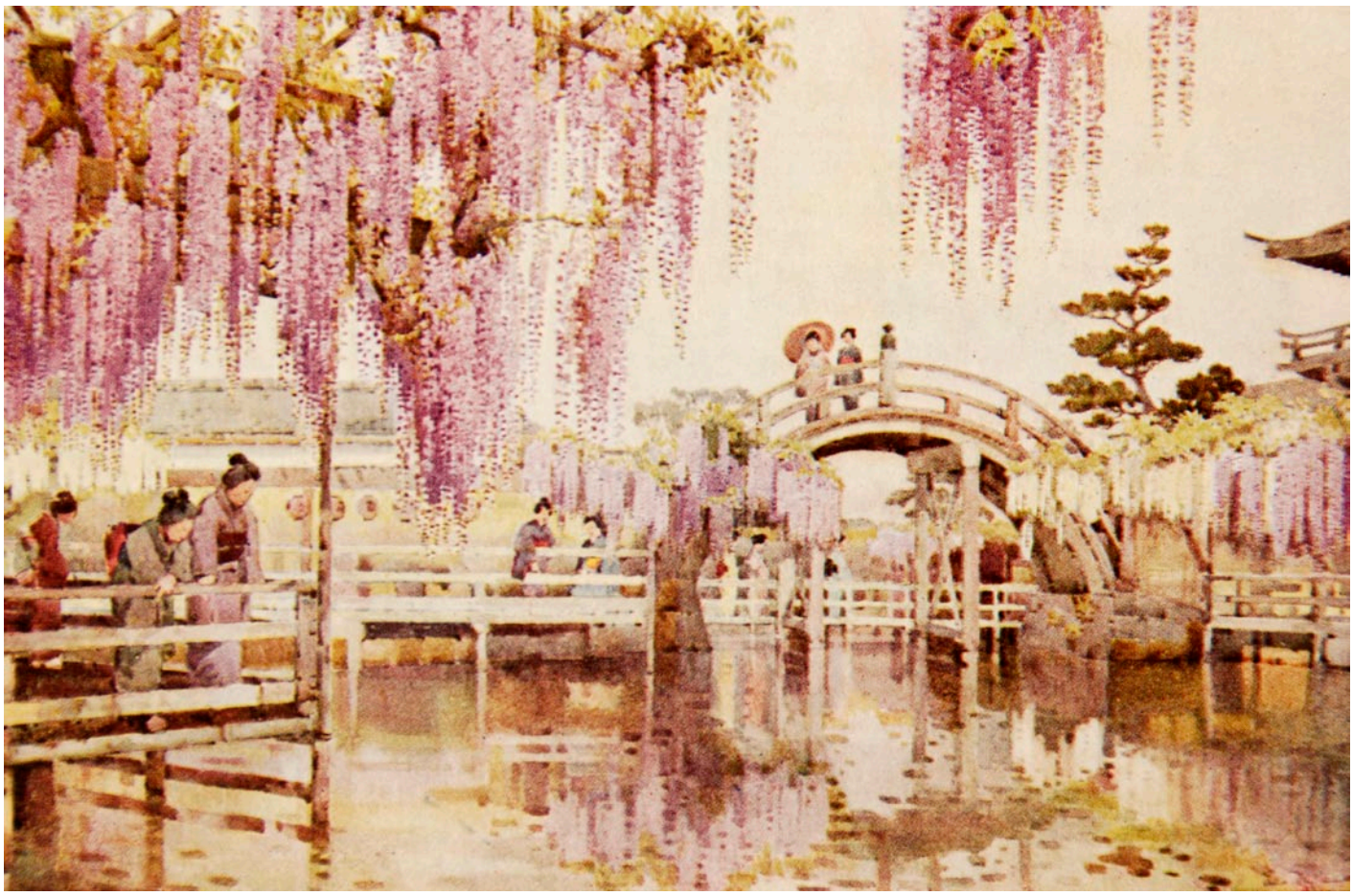

Fig. 3. Arched bridge Kameido shrine.

the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, 'Japanese' gardens became a fashion among the upper class in Europe and the United States.[10]

Remarkably, it was *not* the Dutch, who had been in Japan for more than 200 years, who began to make Japanese gardens for themselves, but the English. During the nineteenth century Holland was still recovering from the aftermath of the economic depression that had resulted from the French occupation, and therefore it was not ready yet to take up the challenge of the new business opportunities. This situation lasted till around 1895, when prosperity increased again. Moreover, it was not part of the Dutch national character to adopt eagerly ideas of such an 'exotic' nature. It was the English who, immediately after the opening of the country, energetically took up trading with Japan. In addition, through English magazines that regularly published about the breathtaking Japanese culture, the British public got an exotic and overly romantic image of a mysterious and far away country.

Between 1880 and 1920 over forty Japanese style gardens were built in the United Kingdom,[11] mostly as part of larger estates of well-to-do, high-ranking people. In the Netherlands only two of such exotic gardens were built during that period, of which the Japanese garden in Clingendael is the only one that still exists. The other one, laid out on the estate Beukenstein in Driebergen-Rijsenburg, has practically disappeared.

Baroness Marguérite van Brienen's interest in Japanese gardens and the possible origin of the idea to visit Japan

In the wake of the diplomats and merchants, also well-to-do tourists went to visit the land of the rising sun. Baroness Marguérite van Brienen was one of them. Mrs Van Brienen had many family ties[12] in the United Kingdom and also many friends. Much of the year she spent in England. Almost all her domestic staff in Clingendael was recruited in London.[13] As there were various Japanese-style gardens in the United Kingdom at that time, it is not impossible that during one of her stays with her sisters in England, Mrs Van Brienen saw some of these gardens, e.g. Fanhams Hall, laid out 1901 near Ware (Hertfordshire), or Sir Frank Crisp's garden, laid out in 1906/1907 in Friar Park, Henley-on-Thames (Oxfordshire), or The Garden House, laid out in Cottered (Hertfordshire) in 1905. Such visits may have aroused her interest in Japanese gardens. In addition, it is also possible that she was acquainted with the Japanese-style garden that was built in Paris by Albert Kahn between 1895-1910, as another of her sisters, who had married a French nobleman, was living in Paris.[14] It is quite likely, furthermore, that Mrs Van Brienen visited the Japanese-British trading exhibition that was held at White City near Shepherd's Bush, in West London, from May till the end of October 1910. In this exhibition

10 Herries 2001, p. 5; Kuitert 2003, p. 222; Raggett 2006, p. 6.

11 Information kindly provided by Mrs Jill Ragget, Writtle College, Essex, United Kingdom.

12 Marguérite van Brienen was the only unmarried daughter. Her father, in his will, had left her the usufruct of Clingendael. Her mother Marie Louise Ottolina Niagara Baroness Van Tuyll van Serooskerken (25.07.1848-18.08.1903) was born in Niagara Falls, Canada, and had family living in England. Two of her sisters married in London in 1904 and 1905 with members of the British aristocracy: (1) Charlotte Marie Louise (1866-1948) x Cecil Edmond Banbury (1878-1963), Kebsworth (Oxfordshire); (2) Irene Blache Nicolette (1883-1974), who was born in London, x Hon. Cycil Augustus Ward (1876-1930), Hertfordshire; after his death she remarried Hon. Arthur Charles Strutt (1878-1973).

13 Archives of the municipality of Wassenaar.

14 Eleonora Helena Louisa (1868-1931), married to Philippe Charles d'Alsace Comte d'Henin Liétard (1856-1914).

two traditional Japanese gardens had been built.[15] These examples may have suggested to her the idea of creating a Japanese style garden at her estate in The Hague; they even may have inspired her with the idea to visit Japan herself.[16]

In May 1910, however, another incident occurred, which could also have triggered the idea or accelerated the project of making the long journey to Japan. Just before the Japanese-British trading exhibition opened, King Edward VII died on the sixth of May. Under the circumstances, the king's most famous concubine, Lady George (Alice) Keppel[17], and her brother Sir Archibald Edmonstone, groom in waiting of the king, suddenly became redundant. In order to avoid embarrassing curiosity, they thought it wise to retire from English society circles for a while.[18] So they planned to go on a long trip to the Orient.

Fig. 4. Portrait of Lady George (Alice) Keppel.

Since Alice Keppel and Marguérite van Brienen were good friends, maybe Mrs Van Brienen decided to join them on this trip, as it would meet their respective needs: to retire from the public eye for the one, and to visit faraway Japan for the other. In the summer of 1910 Mrs Keppel visited Clingendael[19] and here the plans must have taken definite shape. Until recently, the fact that Mrs Keppel and Mrs Van Brienen had travelled together to Japan was not known. However, as explained in the first part of this article, the author found their names and those of their travel companions in the register of the old and renowned western-style hotel Miyanoshita in Hakone.

In January 1911, Baroness Marguérite van Brienen, Lady George Keppel, her brother Sir Archibald Edmonstone, and his wife Lady Ida Agnes Eleanor Edmonstone departed from Marseille on the planned world tour. A fifth member of the company was Heinrich Joseph Rudolf Gottfried Count Von Lützow zu Drey-Lützow und Seedorf (1852-1935), who was a relative by marriage to Mrs Van Brienen.[20] A valet or a maid accompanied each of them. Von Lützow's secretary and courier, Otto Mayer, joined the party and acted as tour guide. The party arrived in Japan on April 15 and travelled around for almost two months.

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15 The exhibition was a major event and attracted more than eight million visitors. To celebrate the hundredth anniversary of this exhibition, the Japanese gardens, of which parts still remained, were restored in 2010. The restoration was supervised by a Japanese garden expert and was supported by several English and Japanese societies.

16 There is a rumour that Mrs Van Brienen had already visited Japan in 1895, but this cannot be verified.

17 Lady George (Alice) Keppel, born Alice Frederica Edmonstone (14.10.1869-22.11.1947), may have become intrigued by things Japanese as she may have seen the unique specimens of *bonsai* trees at Sandringham that King Edward possessed and in which he was greatly interested (Mauerné 1908, p. 68). It is nowhere mentioned in the literature that she had an interest in gardens.

18 Jullian & Phillips 1976, p. 27.

19 Buchanan 1958, p. 84.

20 Count Heinrich von Lützow was an elderly diplomat from Vienna and had married Eleonora Isabella Jane Tuyl van Serooskerken, a niece of Mrs Van Brienen. He joined the party only at the last moment as a stand-in for an acquaintance of Mrs Van Brienen, who suddenly had fallen ill. The names of the travel companions are also listed in his memoirs (Lützow 1971, p. 175).

A description of the places visited during the trip through Japan, based on the photos in the extensive photo album, can be found in the first part of this article. It is important to note that the pictures in the album relate only to gardens and places of cultural interest and are not the usual pictures taken by tourists e.g. of Japanese women and children. The photographs clearly reflect Mrs Van Brienen's own interest.

Our travellers were fortunate in arriving at the top of the cherry blossom season. During their months in Japan they saw the flowering of the wisteria and the intense crimson colours of the azaleas, and just before they left they enjoyed the first blooming irises. In the gardens they visited, they found paths winding around interestingly shaped ponds, various types of bridges crossing meandering streamlets, pavilions, wisteria trellises and other elements that later on would become integrated into Mrs Van Brienen's garden in The Hague.

Von Lützow and his secretary returned to Vienna on June 21, 1911. Mrs Keppel and her relatives went on to China and stayed abroad for about two years. Only in August 1912 did Mrs Keppel return to London to take up her social life.[21] It is not recorded when Mrs Van Brienen came back to the Netherlands, but if we assume that she accompanied her friends, she did not return before August 1912. This may explain why her garden was not constructed earlier than the end of 1912 or the spring of 1913. The dating is not quite clear, but there is an inscription on the ridge beam of the pavilion in the Japanese garden that bears the date 9 July 1913.[22]

The original design of the Japanese garden in Clingendael

When Mrs Van Brienen came back to the Netherlands she must have been eager to start her Japanese garden project. In Japan she had bought stone lanterns, stone bridges, a lotus water vessel and other attributes. To build her garden she chose one of the triangular segments of the so-called *sterrenbos*[23] on the premises.

The layout of the Japanese garden in Clingendael is a clever and elegant composition, consisting of a small strolling garden with a path around a pond. The size is about 6785 square meters (2000 *tsubo*). When walking around one gets various interesting, changing views over the water, which reminds us of gardens in Japan with a comparable layout. Nevertheless, next to Japanese elements in the design one can also observe western influences. It is, therefore, unlikely that a Japanese garden designer was involved.[24]

It is unclear who designed the Japanese garden. Two independent investigators, Mrs C.M. Cremers[25] and A.F. Hartman,[26] both report that Mrs Irene B.N. Strutt (1883-1974),

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21 Jullian & Phillips 1986, p. 27.

22 If this is correct, the photographs taken in early spring with neatly laid out paths and a pavilion without *shōji* cannot be dated earlier than the spring of 1914, as the roof of the pavilion was already finished.

23 A 'sterrenbos' (star wood) is a forest in which the lanes are radiating from one central point, thus forming a star with triangular wood segments. It is an architectural garden form dating from the baroque period (eighteenth century).

24 English landowners occasionally recruited Japanese gardeners (e.g. Tully in Kildare, Ireland, laid out between 1906 and 1910), but most landlords created their 'Japanese style' garden themselves. They worked from memory or from photographs, and followed their own taste. A good example is the Japanese garden of Leopold de Rothschild at Gunnersbury (London), which was created using photographs taken in a similar garden near Lake Como (Hudson 1907, p. 1-10) .

25 Christopher Thacker, *The History of Gardens* 1979. The Dutch edition, entitled *Tuinen door de eeuwen heen*, (1979), is supplemented with information regarding Dutch gardens by C.M. Cremers.

26 A.F. Hartman (1963, unpublished paper, p. 5). See also Gieskes 2005, p. 25.

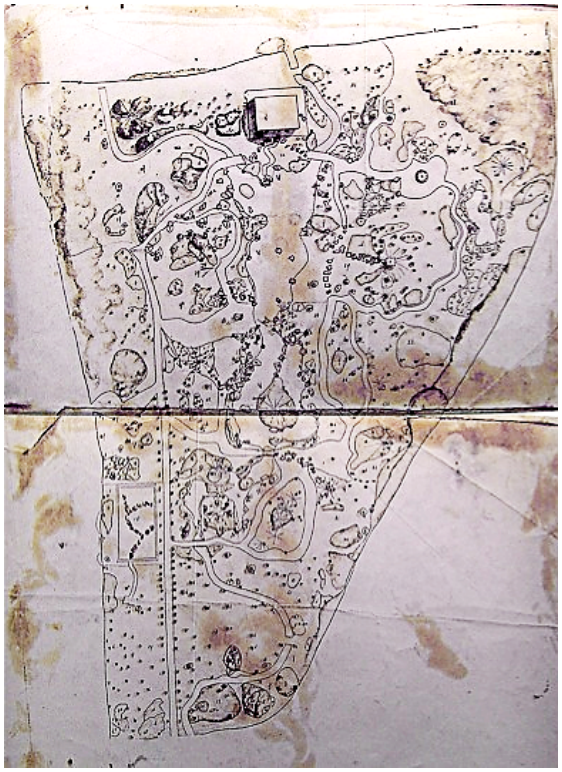

Fig. 5. Old, undated plan of the garden.

the younger sister of Mrs Van Brienen, once told them that it was Marguérite herself who designed the garden, using her photographs and the books she had purchased. Of the two investigators, Cremers further mentions that the original design consisted of a thick book, probably Japanese, with drawings, a list of plants, and suggestions how to arrange the garden ornaments, accompanied by a short note on their symbolic meaning. Cremers never actually saw this book; she says that, until the time of her writing, she had been unable to trace it. Cremers also claims that the garden ornaments were imported with the help of the Japanese Embassy and that according to Japanese instructions *only* Japanese garden plants were used. This story is based, at least in part, on fantasy, as becomes clear when one studies the surviving plant list, which includes many non-Japanese plants. Most of the plants were purchased in Boskoop, some came from the Botanical Garden of the University of Leiden, and the very rare ones were imported directly from Japan. The rumour that the Japanese Embassy was involved in the construction of the Japanese garden in Clingendael has never been confirmed, and is contradicted by A.F. Hartman. The short notes on the symbolic meaning, finally, to which Mrs Cremer is referring, may have originated from the book by Conder (see later), or from Murray's travel guide, which Mrs Van Brienen probably used during her travels in Japan.

In his extensive and interesting article about the Japanese garden in Clingendael, Kuitert states that the design of the Japanese garden, the strong spatial arrangements and the horticultural ambitions of the planting are of such high professional quality that Baroness Van Brienen cannot have designed the garden herself; she simply did not have the expertise.[27] In addition, Kuitert recognizes a possible link of the design of Clingendael with the Y-forked mini-serpentine lake of the hillock-style Peace Garden in Shepherd's Bush (London), laid out on the site of the Japan-British Trade Exhibition in 1910, but notes that there are also major differences.[28] Nevertheless, as the Japanese garden in Clingendael has a strong European-style arrangement, Kuitert also points to a European designer.[29] As possible garden architect of the Japanese garden in Clingendael, he suggests Theodoor Johan Dinn (1876-1931).[30]

As the Japanese garden was constructed in 1912/1913, I doubt if Theodoor Dinn already had the proficiency to design such a perfect garden. There is no doubt, however, that he was involved in the garden. On account of his education in horticulture at the School of Horticulture

27 Kuitert 2002, p. 8; idem 2003, p. 232.

28 As mentioned above, it is very possible that Mrs Van Brienen visited the Japan-British Trade Exhibition in 1910, but thus far no support has been found for the idea that the Japanese gardens of this exhibition were a source of inspiration for her garden in Clingendael.

29 Kuitert 2002, p. 6; idem 2003, p. 221, 226, 232, 233.

30 Kuitert 2002, p. 8, 22; idem 2003, p. 221, 232.

(Tuinbouwschool 'Linnaeus') in Amsterdam (1892-1894), followed by a period of training abroad that included some time at the Royal Botanic Gardens in Kew and on the Canary Islands, Dinn was a man with a fine botanical knowledge. Mrs Van Brienen appointed him as chief gardener in 1905; later he is referred to as steward. In 1909 a commercial nursery was begun in Clingendael, and on September 18, 1913 the N.V. 'Clingendaalse Kweekerij' was established, of which Theodoor Dinn became the director. This nursery was a commercial undertaking with the aim of growing and trading flowers, shrubs, and trees. One of the specialties of the nursery was carnations. In 1912 the carnation 'Baronesse M. van Brienen' was cultivated there, and around 1918 a catalogue of perennials, rockery plants, bulbs, and indoor plants was published.[31]

If Dinn put his stamp on the garden, then it was through the elaborate planting. Plants were Dinn's specialty. He was a nurseryman, a plant collector and an ardent lover of flowers arranged in herbaceous borders.[32] Many of the plants in Mrs Van Brienen's estate must have been grown in the nursery of the estate, under Dinn's care, and the flower borders that were prominent in the original Japanese garden may very well betray his hand. In 1912/1913, however, he did not yet design gardens. From 1914-1916, he taught architectural drawing of gardens at the evening course of the Academy of Visual Arts in The Hague (Academie van Beeldende Kunsten) and around 1918 a landscaping department was added to the nursery.[33] From 1918 onward he designed a few so-called late, landscaped style gardens with meandering paths. On the whole, however, his style was more the architectonic garden style.

In 1920, Dinn resigned from Clingendael to establish himself as independent garden architect.[34] After his death (30.12.1931), a collection of one hundred of his photographs was donated to the Library of the Nederlandse Vereeniging voor tuin- en landschapskunst Bond van Nederlandse Tuinarchitecten ('Netherlands Association for Garden and Landscape Art Union of Garden architects').[35] Unfortunately this collection, which could contain valuable information about the Japanese Garden in Clingendael, cannot be found. It is a shame, as the collection could well have contained pictures of the herbaceous flowerbeds in the Japanese garden, which are not to be seen on any of the extant photographs.

While Dinn appears to be a less likely candidate, I think that the well-to-do Mrs Van Brienen would in 1912 have turned for help to an established garden architect. I would not be surprised if Leonard A. Springer (1855-1940), the best-known Dutch garden architect of the time, who had already worked for her father at several occasions, may have advised her, and helped her to make her dream come true. Springer was known for his landscaped gardens with meandering paths and streamlets, just as we see this in miniature in Mrs. Van Brienen's garden.

Although Springer was widely regarded as a conservative landscape architect, who throughout his life remained faithful to the traditional English landscape style,[36] he had some experience with Japanese gardens, as he had been involved a few years earlier, in 1908, in the construction of the other Japanese garden in the Netherlands. This was the garden at the countryseat Beukenstein of Jonkheer (Esquire) J. Neervoort van de Poll.[37] The remnants of this garden, which originally had many Japanese elements like meandering paths, streamlets with

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31 Wijnands 1981, p. 448.

32 Wijnands 1981, p. 449.

33 Wijnands 1981, p. 448.

34 Wijnands 1981, p. 448. Ingenhous van Schaik became his successor as steward of the Clingendael estate. In 1930, L.A. Hoek leased the nursery and concentrated on the breeding of chrysanthemums.

35 *Het Vaderland* 19.01.1932.

36 Kuitert recalls that Springer regarded the 'Japan fashion' as foolishness (Kuitert 2002, p. 10).

37 Springer, Aanleg buitenplaats Beukenstein 1908,1929

graceful bridges, tea arbours, stone lanterns, a pond with an ornamental boat, and even a *torii*, i.e. the entrance gate of a Shinto shrine, today can be found behind a nursing home at Hoofdstraat 57 in Driebergen-Rijsenburg (Utrecht). The original planting in this garden included ferns, gunnera, aralia, irises, and various species of conifers. As a token of his gratitude, Jonkheer Neervoort van de Poll presented Springer with the book *The Flowers and Gardens of Japan* by Ella and Florence Du Cane.[38]

It is imaginable that Springer lent Mrs Van Brienen a number of his own design drawings of landscaped gardens to study, and that this gave rise to the story of the 'design book' mentioned by Mrs Cremers. One of Springer's early design sketches for an oblong garden, actually the graduation drawing he made in 1874, shows two small streamlets that bring water from an adjacent canal into the rear of a garden. There is a bridge over each of them. The streamlets join in a lake and from there on a single stream meanders through the length of the garden, finally ending in a big bend. This is comparable to the design of the garden in Clingendael. The sketch itself was clearly inspired by an almost similar drawing from the *Lehrbuch der schönen Gartenkunst* by Gustav Meyer (1860).[39] In an older, well-known Dutch garden book, Van Laar's *Magazijn van Tuinsieraden* (*'Storehouse of Garden Decorations'*) a comparable design of a Y-forked lake and a meandering stream can be found.[40] Springer certainly knew this book, too.

It is not known who made the drawing of the plan of the Japanese garden in Clingendael. The way the pathways are drawn does not show a skilled hand. However this is not conclusive, as this may be the result of copying an original drawing, now lost.

The most likely conclusion would be that it seems justified to assume that Mrs Van Brienen designed the garden herself, with help of her memories of the gardens she had seen in Japan, of the books and drawings she may have studied, and of an old friend, Leonard Springer, the best garden architect of landscaped gardens at the time. In this way, the design of the Japanese garden in Clingendael could become a work of professional quality, a work of art. Springer, however, cannot be held responsible for the inventory of the plants in the plant list. That should be attributed to Dinn. Dinn was a specialist in herbaceous plants, and always tried to make nice compositions, carefully taking into account height and colour.

East meets west: Japanese and western influences in de original design of the Japanese garden in Clingendael

At the end of the nineteenth century, in Japan as well as in Europe and the United States, garden-minded people were in need of, and open to, new impulses. In Japan, after almost a century of stagnation in garden design and innovative ideas, some Japanese garden designers had begun to use western-style planting. Ogawa Jihei (1860-1933), a famous and innovative garden designer, active around the beginning of the twentieth century, was not really interested in western garden architecture, but he did introduce lawns and the more abundant western-style planting, in which he used a wide variety of trees and shrubs instead of the hitherto limited traditional selection.[41] As described in Part I, Mrs Van Brienen visited two of the gardens designed by Ogawa Jihei (the villa garden of Mr Ichida and the gardens behind the Heian Shrine,

38 Thacker 1979, p. 77 (Dutch edition).

39 *Op. cit.*, Atlas, Tafel XIX; cf. Moes 2002, p. 18.

40 Van Laar 1866, Pl XXXII.

41 Newsom 1988, p. 261 sqq.

both in Kyoto). Whether these visits influenced her vision of Japanese gardens is unknown. It is remarkable, though, that another of Jihei's gardens, Murin-an, with its open grassy area in the centre and its pavilion overlooking most of the long axis of the central stream, evokes an atmosphere comparable to that of the Japanese garden in Clingendael.

Most of the gardens Mrs Van Brienen saw during her visit to Japan in 1911 were traditional strolling gardens.[42] These were the gardens where she must have walked along pathways around a lake, carefully stepping on the rough stepping-stones and admiring the various designs of stone lanterns on the way. Here she must have lingered on the arched bridges to view the reflection of the blue Wisteria beneath, and may be sat down in one of the resting arbours to contemplate the garden. Those are the features that we eventually will see in her Japanese garden. While in Japan, Mrs Van Brienen bought several of the stereotypical garden ornaments to incorporate in her future Japanese-style garden in The Netherlands.

However, although Mrs Van Brienen certainly must have been inspired by the gardens she saw in Japan, her garden did not become an authentic Japanese garden. Apart, of course, from differences in climate and soil conditions this was due, first of all, to the fact that in Europe hardly anybody knew how to design and lay out a garden in the Japanese style, as will be discussed below. Secondly, also in Europe, at the end of the nineteenth century, new and exciting developments in garden design were underway. The second half of the nineteenth century was a period of important horticultural developments, not in the least by the introduction of a wealth of new and thus far unknown garden plants from all over the world. In particular, those imported from East Asia were a welcome addition to the assortment.[43] These fascinating plants led to great excitement in the gardening world and would have a far-reaching impact on western gardening, which is still felt today. It started in the United Kingdom, where, also after a period of relative stagnation in garden innovation, new and refreshing garden trends became *en vogue* at the end of the nineteenth century. In a reaction to the traditional, geometrical Victorian flower beds, planted with 'greenhouse grown' annuals laid out in artful, brightly coloured mosaic patterns, now more natural arrangements of hardy perennials laid out in drifts of colour became popular, the so-called 'herbaceous borders.' Major influences behind this completely new concept were the English gardeners William Robinson (1839-1935) and Gertrude Jekyll (1843-1932). Jekyll, one of the most important designers of the early twentieth century, specialised in informal flower borders in various matching colour patterns. She is the author of *Colour in the Flower Garden* (1908). In the Netherlands, E.Th. Witte (1906) and A.J. Van Laren (1913), who were respectively *hortulanus* of the Botanical Garden in Leiden and in Amsterdam, were advocates of the herbaceous border.

In England, the period around the beginning of the twentieth century, the 'Edwardian' era (in reference to the reign of King Edward VII, 1901-1910), was an epoch of prosperity and romantic sentiment. This was reflected in the exuberant, romantic gardens of the upper class, in which planting with the new and exotic plants and the herbaceous borders became fashionable.[44] In these romantic western gardens mysterious Japanese ornaments such as stone lanterns, red arched bridges, and little shrines, though devoid of their historical and philosophical background, fell upon fertile soil. Several of the 'Japanese gardens' in the United Kingdom were of this type. Leopold de Rothschild's Japanese garden in Gunnersbury (near Ealing, West London), laid out in 1901, was a striking representative of this fashion.[45] Tatton

42 The photographs in her album indicate that she did not see any dry landscape gardens.

43 China was open to plant hunters after the end of the Opium War in 1842, and Japan opened its ports in 1854.

44 In the caption of a picture of such a garden, Richard Bisgrove typifies them in the following words: 'Nurserymen and artists combined to make the Edwardian garden as gay as a party dress' (Bisgrove 1990, following p. 150). This may be a dig at Miss Jekyll, who had started out as a painter. See also Ottewill 1989.

45 Hudson 1907.

park (near Knutsford, Cheshire), laid out in 1910, was also a typical Edwardian interpretation of a Japanese garden.[46] Through her contacts in England, Mrs Van Brienen's Japanese garden also became influenced by these new garden trends as can be concluded from the choice of plants in the plant list and the combinations of herbaceous plants she employed in her garden; details will be discussed in a separate article.

At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, hardly anyone in Europe and the United States had any knowledge of the philosophical principles behind the centuries-old Japanese garden culture, the Japanese vision of nature, and the practical aspects of building a Japanese garden. In western languages, only a few books and a number of articles were available that dealt with Japanese garden art, and they only gave limited space to the background of garden architecture as it had developed in Japan. Of the books that were available at the time, two were very popular and Mrs Van Brienen must have known and used them. The first was a famous and very influential book by Josiah Conder, entitled *Landscape Gardening in Japan*.[47] Apart from a brief historical overview of the development of Japanese garden art, most of the text is devoted to the various elements of a Japanese garden that had become traditional by the end of the nineteenth century. The book abounds in illustrations of lanterns, bridges, water-basins, fences, etc. Thus it became a most helpful guide for the eager laymen and owners of a Japanese garden in the west.

The other celebrated book was the beautifully illustrated *Flowers and Gardens of Japan*,[48] made by the sisters Florence (author) and Ella (watercolour illustrations) Du Cane after a stay in Japan. The authors were the daughters of Sir Charles and Lady Du Cane. The two formed an unconventional pair, who travelled overseas extensively and unchaperoned, painting what they saw and making copious notes. One result was *The Flowers and Gardens of Japan*, which became a bestseller and was reprinted several times. The Japanese garden at the large estate of the Du Cane's in Maldon (Essex), named 'Mountains,' was furnished with both ornaments and plants brought back by the daughters from their travels. Today, nothing remains of this Japanese garden.[49] The sisters knew Mrs Van Brienen and stayed at Clingendael, though it is unclear whether that was before or after her journey to Japan. Anyway, it seems likely that this book and her contacts with the Du Cane sisters were one of the sources of inspiration for her garden. The book was published in 1908, three years before Mrs Van Brienen's great journey to the Orient.

In summary, Mrs Van Brienen's 'Japanese-style' garden was based primarily on the memories of what she had seen and learned while in Japan. Secondly, it was based on information and pictures she had gathered from the available books and, thirdly, it became embellished with the prevailing, luxurious, romantic features and planting of the English garden style of the Edwardian Period. In this way the Japanese garden in Clingendael became a beautiful, elegant amalgamation of western and Japanese elements. Kuitert, defines it as 'Japonaiserie', analogous to Chinoiserie in European garden history, and stresses the point that with this term he does not imply that it was cheap imitation.[50]

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46 Herries 2001, p. 5.

47 Conder was an English architect who had lived and worked in Tokyo since 1877. His house with western- and Japanese-style gardens can still be visited today. The book was first published in 1893. A supplement contains the photographs of most of the famous Japanese gardens of the end of the nineteenth century. Revised editions appeared in 1912 and in 1964.

48 This was the book the Dutch garden architect Springer received in 1910. For information regarding the background of Japanese gardening, Du Cane & Du Cane refer to Conder.

49 Information kindly provided by Ray Hendy, Japanese Garden Society, England.

50 Kuitert 2003, p. 221, 23.

As the inscription in the roof beam of the pavilion tells us, Mrs Van Brienen's garden was nearing completion in the summer of 1913. From July to September of the same year, Alice Keppel and her husband, the Hon. George Keppel, stayed at Clingendael, sharing the household costs with Baroness Van Brienen. Here they entertained their mutual friends, the old Edwardian coterie, who more often than not stayed weeks on end at the hospitable estate. English and Dutch cooks took care of the extensive dinners, while Mrs Keppel's husband served as master of ceremonies, assisted Lady Daisy in working out the allocation of the guestrooms, made the seating arrangements for the dinners, and organized many tours and trips to the beach in Scheveningen, to the cheese markets in Alkmaar and Gouda, and to the summer residence of the Queen, 'Huis Ten Bosch.'[51]

The following year promised to become a similar occasion at Clingendael, but at the height of summer of 1914, when all the Edwardian friends were gathered around the dinner-table, beautifully laid out with oriental China, and Dutch and English silverware, the announcement came that war had broken out. The next morning, cars drove the guests back to the Hook (Hoek van Holland).

During the First World War the Netherlands were neutral. In England, however, many of the Edwardian gentry and their sons were called to arms, George Keppel being among them. When the news about casualties poured in, Mrs Van Brienen opened part of her house to the Red Cross and injured British army men were hospitalized here. She herself, risking her life, spent much of her time on the high seas, going back and forth between England and Holland and crossing several times to France to assist in hospitals.[52] To entertain the hospitalized English military at Clingendael, on August 4, 1918, Baroness Van Brienen organized a party. On that occasion, several scenes from Giacomo Puccini's opera 'Madame Butterfly' were performed in the Japanese garden. The pavilion was chosen as stage and background. It was embellished with *bonsai*, which later on must have found a place in the garden. The proceeds were for the British Red Cross.

After the war, society changed. The luxurious, playful days were over, but for some time the contacts with the Edwardians continued. As the Keppels had no country house in Britain to entertain their guests, they entertained at Clingendael, just as they used to do before the war. In July 1921, another performance of Puccini's opera was staged in the Japanese garden, this time for the benefit of the Dutch Red Cross. Miss A. O'Brien of the Opéra Comique of Paris, and Miss D. Mandela and the gentlemen E. Burke and B. Binyon of the Covent Garden Opera were engaged.[53] With the departure in 1927 of Mr and Mrs George Keppel to Italy, the epoch of the Edwardians was over.[54]

Mrs Van Brienen remained active in the social field, campaigning for animal welfare, sports etcetera. Already before World War I, she had been breeding horses. One of her prize-winning horses (born in 1904) was named Togo, after Admiral Tōgō Heihachirō (1847-1934). The admiral was well known in England, for in his younger years he did part of his training in England, and in 1905, after the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), he was honoured by King Edward VII as a Member of the British Order of Merit. At the graveyard for Mrs Van Brienen's dogs, under the big silver lime tree on her estate, one of tombstones bears the inscription: 'Togo

51 See Sonia Keppel 1958, p.100:: '... a fascinating expedition to the Queen's summer residence, the House in the Wood, quite close to Clingendaal (sic), where Daisy got us in on a non-visiting day, because she was Daisy…' Sonia Keppel was Alice's second daughter.

52 Keppel 1958, p. 161.

53 *NRC* 16 July 1921.

54 Jullian and Phillips 1987, p. 218, and footnote.

Fig. 6. 'Madame Butterfly'.

(1921-1935), heard nothing, saw nothing, knew everything.' However, given the dates, this Togo cannot be a memorial to the aforementioned famous horse.[55]

Changes in the Japanese garden after World War I: from a flowery garden to a subdued moss garden

Not only society changed, the Japanese garden changed, too, though it remained an important feature of the Clingendael estate. Violet Keppel, Alice's notorious daughter, writes from Clingendael in 1921 (or 1920?) in one of her passionate letters to her intimate friend Vita Sackville-West: 'There is a really lovely garden in the middle of the woods. It has a little paper house in the middle, where it would be divine to sleep.' In July 1924, members of the American Garden Club on a tour in the Netherlands visited the garden, and in the last years before her death in 1939, on several Sundays, Mrs Van Brienen opened the estate, including her Japanese Garden, to the public.

In these years, the garden gradually changed from a romantic, flowery garden into a subdued moss garden. Over the years the trees had grown taller and the shrubs denser, as is witnessed by two drawings of the garden made by A.A. van Hoijtema (1875-1967, also written as Hoytema) and dating from 1933. When one compares an old photograph from the early years of the garden with these drawings, one can see that the once so sunny, open garden had transformed into an introvert, secluded, and shady garden. The sunlight, filtered through the

55 See also Gieskes 2011, p. 31.

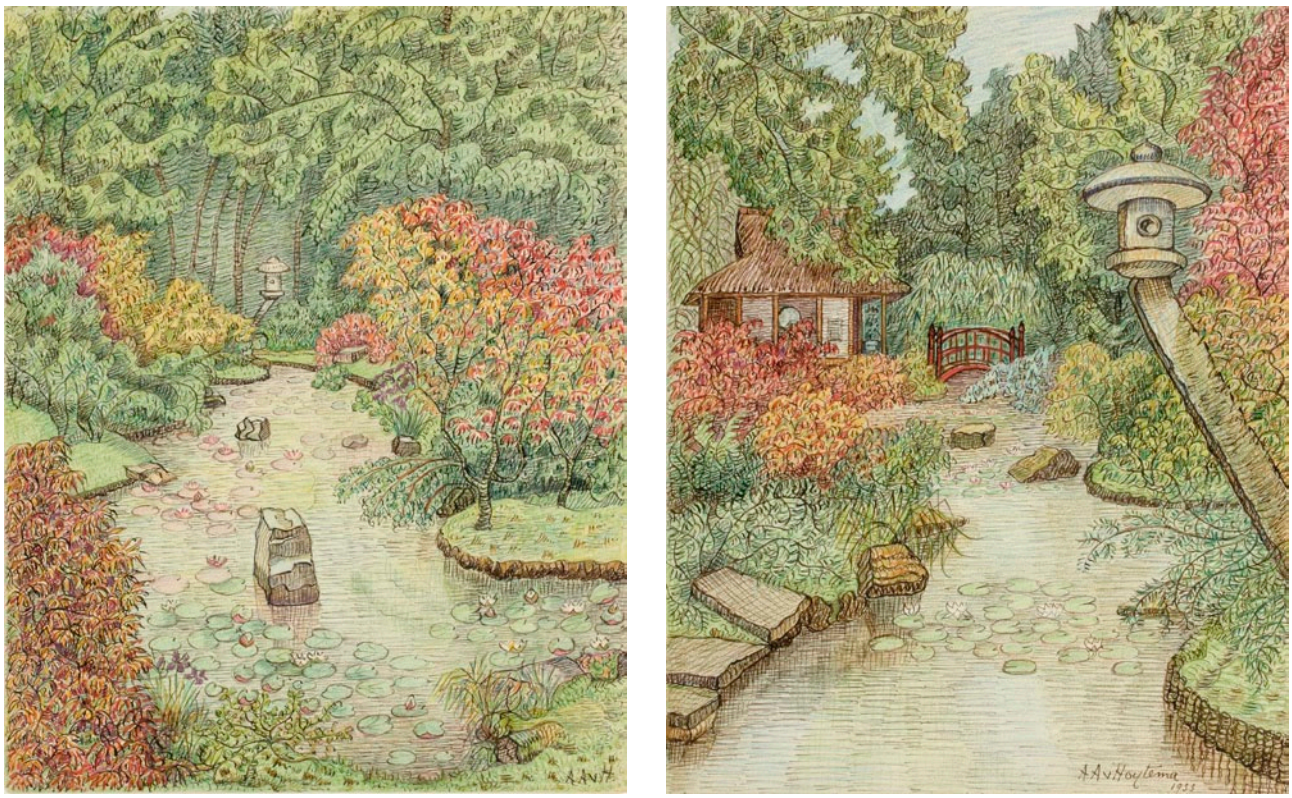

Fig. 7a. & 7b. Crayon drawings by A.A. van Hoijtema ,1933.

full grown trees, together with the favourable location on a sandy, semi-acid soil made that, already in 1930, the brilliant, velvety moss carpet, which nowadays is the garden's treasure, covered most of the garden.[56] Van Bommel does not mention any flowerbeds, so my guess would be that, with the departure of Dinn in 1920, and due to the increasing shadiness, these flowerbeds had by then already disappeared.

Although in the period between World War I and World War II the western interest in Japanese-style gardens diminished, Mrs Van Brienen's interest in Japanese gardening was unabated, as can be concluded from a plant catalogue that was in her possession, dating from 1932/33 and offering Japanese seeds from plants and bulbs.[57]

Baroness Van Brienen passed away in November 1939. During World War II the occupying German forces requisitioned the Clingendael estate. After the war, relations of Mrs Van Brienen resided at Clingendael until 1968, while the municipality of The Hague acquired the estate in 1954. Since until then the estate had continuously been in private hands and the maintenance of the Japanese garden was not interrupted during World War II, many original features and elements have been preserved and up to this day one can see them when one walks through the garden.

Western and Japanese elements in the original garden

In this chapter an inventory is made of the features and elements in the original garden. Successively, the original layout with paths and ornamental water, garden stones and bridges will be discussed; it can still be seen today. Furthermore, we will investigate what is left of the original garden buildings. Finally, a description will be given of the original stone elements, still extant in the garden, which, because of their age and design, are of special historical interest.

56 Van Bommel 1930, p. 471.

57 The *Chugai Shokubutsu Yen*, Seed Merchants and Nursery Men, Yamamoto, Kawabegun, Kobe.

Fig. 8. View of the pavilion, arched bridges to the left and the right. In the foreground the Kasuga and chrysanthemum lanterns.

Since the garden came under the supervision of Department of Green Management of the city of The Hague several stone elements and design elements such as a *tsukubai* arrangement[58] and a pebble beach have been added. As these additions are due to changes in insight and were not part of the original garden design I will discuss them only briefly.

An important feature, which contributed much to the romantic atmosphere of the original garden, was the planting. Which plants were selected and how they were applied can be deduced from the figures and numbers written on the old plan in combination with the extensive plant list. This aspect, however, will be discussed separately, as in this paper I intend to focus on the above-mentioned features.

In order to help us gain an impression of the early garden, we have at our disposal several sources: the old plan of the garden (see fig. 5),[59] the old plant list, several old photographs, and a drawing made by the supervisor of the garden at that time, J.A. Overzet. The drawing shows the eleven ornamental stone elements that were present in the garden shortly after the City of

58 A *tsukubai* arrangement is an arrangement of stones originally found in a teagarden around a washbasin, the *chōzubachi*. The water from the washbasin is used to purify hands and mouth before entering the tearoom. The stones are laid there specifically for use in the tea ceremony. Often a lantern is placed nearby. Around 1900, the Japanese tea ceremony was not known in the west, so it did not influence garden design in Japanese style. Neither was a *tsukubai* arrangement a feature of the original garden of Clingendael.

59 The old, undated plan is a copy of the original map of the garden, which was a drawing in watercolour and pen. It was saved from destruction by the head of the Department of Green Management of The Hague, Mr. J. de Jager, when the villa Clingendael was cleaned after the last occupant had left the building in 1968. This original map afterwards was lost, but fortunately a copy is still available.

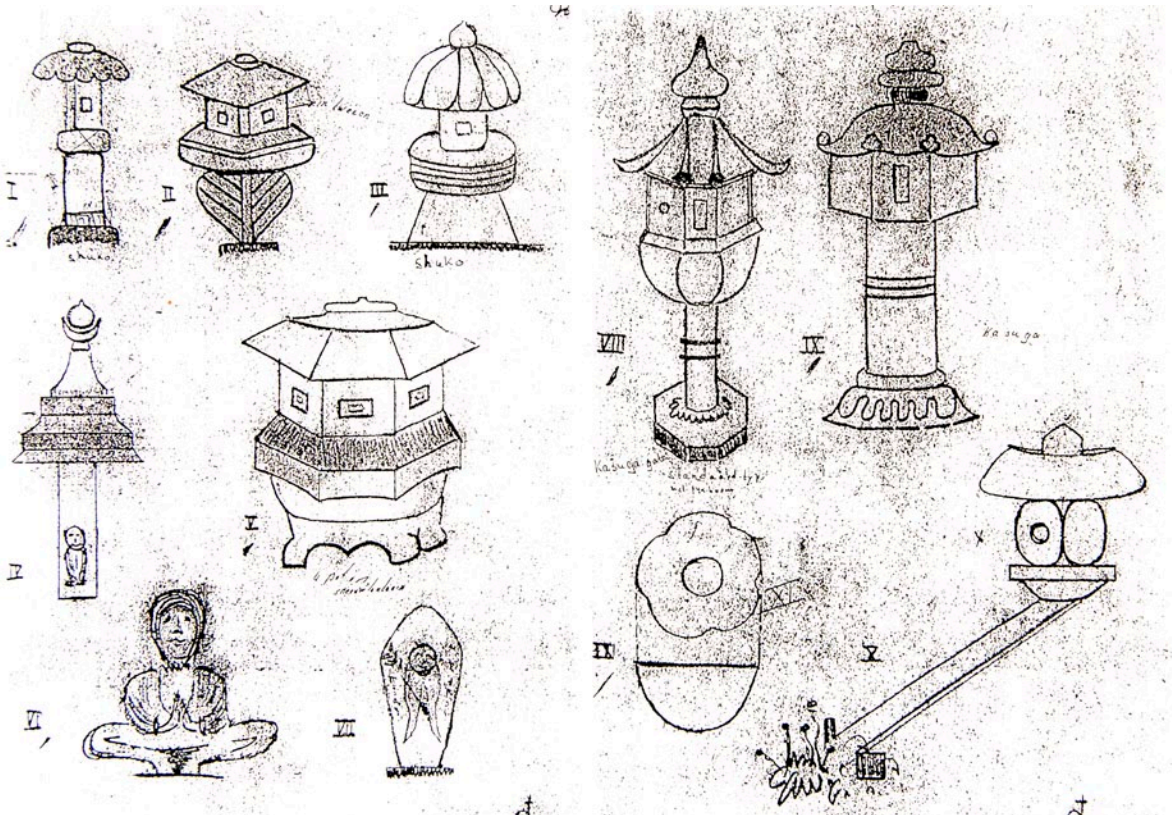

Fig. 9. Drawing by J.A. Overzet 1955.

The Hague took over in 1954: seven stone lanterns, a water vessel, a Buddha statue, a votive tablet, and a stele.

In the plan, the garden is shown as an oblong triangle, a canal bordering it on the two sides and bushes screening off the third side. A water stream and a separate small pond, garden paths, hillocks, buildings, garden stones, garden ornaments, shrubbery and many of the plants are indicated. Compared to today's situation, the only additional features are a small stream and two extra paths in the north-eastern part of the garden. These must have been constructed after the plan was drawn, but before 1930. [60]

The interesting question, which we will address first, is, which western and which Japanese elements can be discovered in the old plan of the garden? As I argued above, most probably Mrs Van Brienen designed the garden herself with the help of a western garden architect. She designed it as a small strolling garden with a path around the lake. Winding paths and meandering watercourses were a characteristic both of landscaped gardens in the west in the nineteenth century, and of Japanese strolling gardens.

One of the design elements that are clearly of western origin, and which show the hand of a western designer, is the position of the pavilion (see fig. 5). Overlooking the meandering stream the pavilion is situated in the centre of the short side of the triangle. Two small streamlets, one to the left of the pavilion and one to the right, supply the main stream with fresh water from the adjacent canal behind the pavilion. Symmetrically to the left and to the right in front of the pavilion, two red arched bridges cross the streamlets. As is well known, symmetry is a valued element in western garden design, but it is not much favoured in Japanese garden art.

Another typical western element in the design is the long, straight path running parallel to the canal along the northwest side of the garden. A long straight path like this is highly unusual in a Japanese garden. However, when studying an until now unknown map of the

60 Gieskes 2005, p. 29.

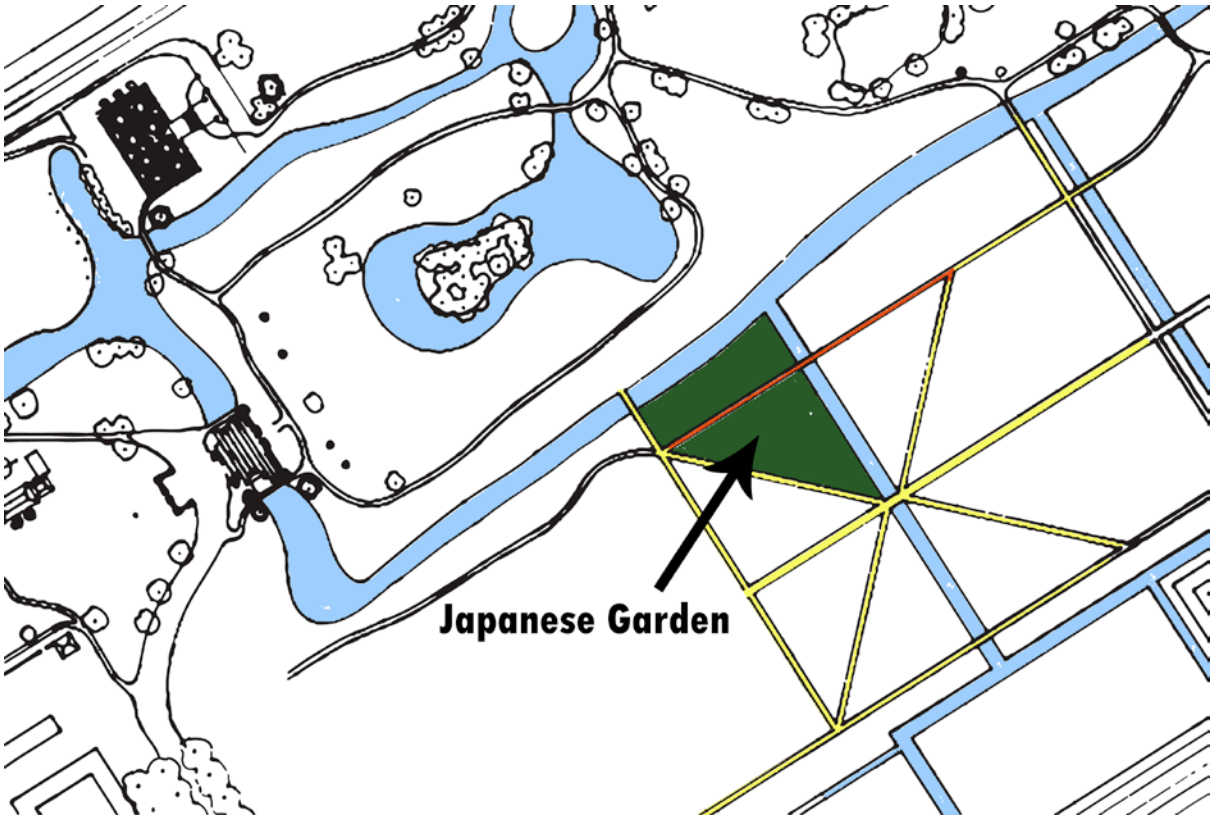

Fig. 10. Map of Clingendael showing the straight path that may have existed before the Japanese garden was laid out.

estate,[61] it turns out that the path may have existed already *before* the Japanese garden came into being. On this map, the path is shown as a straight lane that crosses the canal at the short side of the garden with a bridge, and continues straight on until it merges with one of the radiating lanes of the star wood (see fig. 10). What looks like a deliberately western design element in the layout of the garden could well be an already existing path that was incorporated into the design. When the Japanese garden was constructed in 1912/3, the bridge crossing the canal, together with the last part of the path, must have been removed. The point where the path was interrupted can be seen at the plan of the Japanese garden, as an obvious nook at the point where the path branches off to the pavilion (see fig. 5).

The long straight lane is also shown on an old photograph of the entrance gate to the Japanese garden. It shows a row of already relatively tall trees lining the path on both sides. If we bear in mind that Mrs Van Brienen visited Nikkō with its impressive avenues lined with high Cryptomeria (*sugi*) trees (see part I), it is possible that she decided to keep the lane as a souvenir of her travels in Japan. (fig. 11c (modern foto, dwars; tussen beide alinea's, over hele breedte)

A further look at the old plan reveals a rectangle drawn to the left of the long, straight path in which several lines of stepping-stones are depicted. Today this rectangle is no longer discernable; it is overgrown with a thick layer of moss. Kuitert makes the interesting suggestion that it could have been a place intended for the display of potted plants and *bonsai*. In Japan such displays are frequently seen at the entrance of gardens and temple grounds.[62] Undoubtedly, Mrs Van Brienen saw such displays during her visit, although her album contains no photographs of

61 Collection Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, obj. nr BT 033761. Before definitive conclusions can be drawn, the map must be studied more closely. On the map the year 1969 is indicated, but the map does not correspond with the situation in that year.

62 Kuitert 2002, p. 11.

Fig. 11a. and Fig. 11b. Old entrance gate with straight path & Drawing of an entrance gate by Du Cane.

flower exhibits. So eventually, it could also be a reminder of her trip to Japan.
A relatively wide path, connecting the straight path with the parallel canal, is nowadays also overgrown with a luxuriant moss carpet. Maybe this path was used during the construction of the garden to bring attributes into the garden by water transport or to remove coppice from the site. It may have nothing to do with the design.

Small mounds are also indicated on the plan, in more then ten different places. Whereas Clingendael[63] lies in the Dutch dunes and has natural differences in height, the Japanese garden is situated in a flat valley; therefore, these hillocks are artificial. In traditional Japanese garden techniques, miniature garden hills are often included to evoke a feeling of a natural landscape. Ornaments top quite a few of the mounds: a shrine, a special stone lantern, and a stele (see below).

Fig. 11c. Modern entrance gate with straight path.

Another feature that needs discussion is the island halfway down the meandering stream. A close look at the map will reveal a big round

63 The name 'Clingendael' derives from 'cling,' an old Dutch word for hill, and 'dael,' meaning valley or dell.

boulder at the south end of the island. This is remarkable. Unfortunately there is no clear, *old* photograph of the island that could support the impression, but the presence of the boulder could be an indication that the island was intended to represent a turtle.

'Turtle islands' are an often-used symbolism in Japanese gardens, and Mrs Van Brienen may well have been aware of it, because in his book Conder extensively describes 'Elysian' islands (Hōrai-jima) in the form of a turtle and includes the names of the ornamental rocks that represent its six extremities: head stone (*kitōseki*), foreleg stones (*ryōshuseki*), hind leg stones (*ryōkyakuseki*), and tail stone (*osakiseki*).[64]

Moreover, Mrs Van Brienen herself had seen turtle islands in Japan (see Part I). There was an example of a turtle and a crane island in the lake of the Mangwanji (nowadays Rinnōji) in Nikkō, to portray the felicitous emblems of the crane and the turtle.[65] She must have seen these when she visited the temple. She also saw one when she visited the strolling garden Kōrakuen in Okayama. It has a turtle island with a prominent headstone in the centre of its lake, which Mrs Van Brienen photographed (see Part I). In the pond in Clingendael, stones representing flippers are difficult to recognize. There is, however, a string of stones at the tail side that may suggest weeds trailing behind the shell of the turtle, as it is often depicted in Japanese drawings. Although it is tempting to advocate the idea that the island refers to the symbolism of the turtle, some reservation must be made. The same applies to the thought that the water flow in the Japanese Garden has deliberately been constructed to run from northeast to southwest. As also is mentioned in Conder, this was done to ensure good fortune.[66]

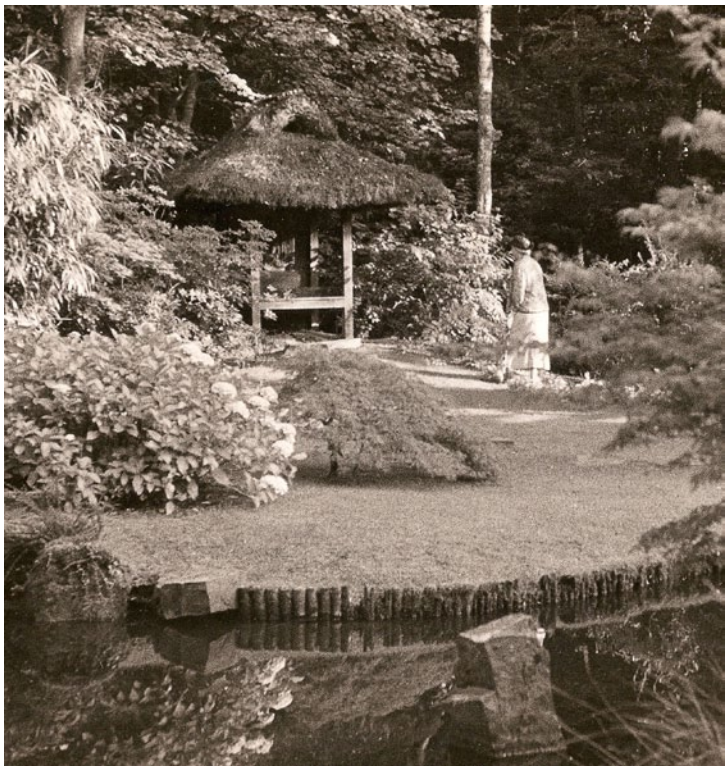

Fig. 12a. Shrine and banks of the stream with wooden pegs and rocks.

As it is, in the beginning of the twentieth century authentic symbolism in Japanese garden art was poorly understood in the west. In most of the Anglo-Japanese gardens that were laid out in those days, Japanese symbolism did not play a role (e.g. Gunnerbury, see above). On the other hand in those Japanese style gardens that were laid out with the help of Japanese gardeners several elements of Japanese symbolism were incorporated. One example is the Japanese garden at Tully (county of Kildare, Ireland) that was created in 1906-1910 for Colonel Hall-Walker (later Lord Wavertree), a wealthy businessman and orientalist. It was laid out by Eida Tassa and his son Minoru according to philosophical principles, and symbolized

64 Conder 1964, p. 51, p. 31.

65 Conder 1964, p. 102.

66 Conder 1964, p. 96: 'The direction taken by the current of lakes and currents is considered of much moment. The inflow should if possible be from the east, the main stream direction of the current southerly, and the outlet to the west.'

the course of one's life. Another example is the Japanese garden at Cowden by Dollar (Scotland), created in 1908 for Miss Ella Christie by Honda Taki, who received her horticultural education at a school of Garden Design at Nagoya. A Japanese gardener named Matsuo maintained it until his death in 1936. This garden was named *Sharaku-en* ('garden of pleasure and delight') and was famous for the symbolic Japanese names of the garden stones. This kind of 'outward' symbolism fitted well in the prevailing romantic view of the period. There is no evidence, however, that Japanese gardeners assisted in the construction of the Japanese garden in Clingendael.

Fig. 12b. Shrine with Buddha statue.

According to old photographs and the above mentioned drawing from 1933 by A.A. van Hoijtema, the banks of the island and also those of the meandering stream were mainly faced with wooden pegs, in several places interrupted by rocks, jutting out into the water, just as was traditional in Japan.[67] Due to the sagging of the banks over the years, the edge of the island extended considerably. Some time ago the banks of the island were renovated. At that occasion, during the cleanup of the pond, the author discovered that the innermost periphery of the island was demarcated with roof tiles ('kruispannen') in the Dutch fashion. As this type of tiles, made in the factory of Dericks and Geldens (Druten), was not on sale before 1908, their presence would, among other things, refute the rumour that the garden was built in 1895.

Fig. 13. Duck stones.

Garden stones: The Netherlands are not blessed with rocks. In Japan, on the other hand, ornamental rocks are the backbone of a garden and stones are much sought after for their shape, texture, and colour. On the old plan of Mrs Van Brienen's garden, more than 200 stones, mostly Red Weser Sandstone,[68] are depicted as stepping-stones in paths, as boulders in the middle of the stream, as decorative flat stones along the banks of the stream (in Japan called waterfowl or duck-stones), as a flight of steps leading down to the water, and as square elevated steps in front of the veranda of the pavilion. Apart from these, there also were some single rocks.

Arranging rockwork needs a well-trained eye. It is not known whether Mrs Van Brienen had any professional (Japanese) help in arranging all these rocks, and it is doubtful whether she

67 Newsom 1988, p. 101, and diagrams following p. 109.

68 Kuitert 2002, p. 14.

Fig. 14a. Drawing of a snow-viewing lantern by Du Cane.

had any idea of Japanese aesthetics regarding the use of rocks in gardens.[69] Maybe she read the lengthy pages Conder devotes to the classification of garden stones,[70] but possibly the romantic watercolours in the book of her friends Florence and Ella Du Cane were more of a inspiration. The arrangement of the snow-viewing lantern, combined with steps leading down to the water, comes close to one of the pictures in this book.[71]

Today, several of the garden stones are in bad condition, and many have been relocated and scattered all over the garden. In recent times new stones have been added, too, e.g. the rockwork in the *tsukubai* arrangements, and in the pleasant, newly designed pebble beach.

Bridges: Three types of Japanese style bridges adorn the garden today: the afore-mentioned red wooden bridges, to the left and the right of the pavilion, and two monolithic bridges that cross the meandering water further down the stream. Recently an earthen bridge was constructed over the brook in the north-eastern corner. The high-arched, Chinese inspired, red bridges, resembling the wooden arched bridges that Mrs Van Brienen had seen on several occasions in Japan (see Part I), with their pointed, sharp 'lotus-bud' ornaments on the railings, are depicted on several of the old photographs (see fig. 8). From these pictures it is difficult to decide whether they originally were made of bronze, as is often the case in Japan, or whether they were simply made of wood. Because the timber of the bridges decayed in the course of time, they have been renovated several times. High-arched bridges were one of most beloved features in Japanese gardens in the west and essential to evoke the exotic, Japanese feeling in *Japonaiserie* gardens, as is shown by the many paintings, the impressionist painter Claude Monet (1840-1926) made of the arched bridge over the pond in his garden in Giverny with the floating water lilies; they are clearly Japanese inspired.

Fig. 14b. Snow-viewing lantern in Clingendael today.

69 Not to be confused with the rock gardens or 'alpines' that were a fashion at that time in the west. Alpines were artificial rockeries planted with special, small alpine plants. According to the plant list of Mrs Van Brienen's garden she had rockeries in special sites, the remains of which still exist today.

70 Conder 1964 p. 41-58; p. 133-137.

71 Du Cane 1908, following p. 4, p. 46.

While high, wooden, red bridges, in Japan, stand out through their exclusive design, the granite, slightly curved, monolithic stone bridges stand out because of their natural simplicity. Of the two stone bridges that are found in the garden today, one is original and made of hand cut Shirakawa granite,[72] the other one is a recent replica. No clear old pictures of these stone bridges are available.

Garden buildings

Roofed entrance gate: though Japanese gardens usually have two gates (a main entrance for the visitors and a back entrance to remove garden waste), the original garden of Clingendael had only one gate; it is not indicated on the plan. An old photograph shows a simple roofed entrance gate, as is typical of small, private, Japanese gardens. It is made of two vertical wooden posts connected by a horizontal, slightly arched, wooden beam, and covered with a thatch roof.[73] Bamboo poles on the roof weigh down the thatch. A gate door is missing but it must have existed, and was made of whole and split bamboo cane.[74] A comparable entrance gate is depicted in Du Cane (see fig. 11b).[75] Again according to the photograph, to the left and the right of the porch a typical, airy, 'Dutch-looking' fence was put up, made of vertical planks fastened to horizontal poles. The present gate is a replica, and an open bamboo fence has replaced the 'Dutch-looking' screen (see fig. 11a, 11c).

Fig. 15a. Azumaya in 1963.

In 1992, the robust-looking entrance gate of the Japanese exhibition in the Floriade[76] was donated to the Japanese garden in Clingendael. This is now the main entrance and gives access to a small, newly laid out section of the garden. Walking through this part one comes to the original garden proper. As a result of this new situation, the garden nowadays has three gates. Two of these, the main entrance in the extended garden with the 'Floriade' entrance gate and the gate on the bridge over the long canal, are located outside the original garden. The third is a gate for wheelchairs, which gives access to the Japanese garden proper and can also be used as back gate. The former roofed entrance gate now forms part of the garden.

Azumaya: On the old map, the place of a resting arbour (*azumaya*) is indicated with an L-shaped line. A small path connects it to the above-mentioned, rectangular 'potting place.' Regrettably, the only available picture of this *azumaya* dates from 1963. It shows a lovely covered bench,

72 Kuitert 2002, attachment, p. 3.

73 Japanese gates are constructed with roofs to protect the wood from extreme moisture during a heavy rainfall.

74 Van Bommel 1930, p. 471.

75 Du Cane 1908, following p. 214.

76 The Floriade is big, international exhibition of flowers and gardening, held in the Netherlands every ten years. The next Floriade will be held in 2012 in the neighbourhood of the city of Venlo. Japan will participate with a key entry, as it did in the previous exhibitions.

shielded at the back and at one side by a wooden panel. According a report from 1969,[77] the bench was made of wood and bamboo and the panel at the back was made of wood that on the outside was covered with a bamboo frame, filled in with Lespedeza (*Hagi*) twigs -- a construction often used in Japan. The *azumaya* had an ornamental opening in the side panel, the outer surface of which was most beautifully embellished with latticework. The thatched roof was of the same construction as that of the entrance gate. At the time when the photograph was taken, the roof was completely neglected and a duck had chosen to build its nest on it. The *azumaya* was of such a picturesque design that it must have been a pleasure to sit in it and enjoy the scenery of the garden.

Fig. 15b. Azumaya today.

During World War II, the original *azumaya* was transferred to another location in the garden. In 1971, it was relocated to its original place again, which could be established because the original foundation of the corner posts was still detectable. Of course, the light, wooden material from which the *azumaya* originally was constructed had deteriorated over the years, and so the *azumaya* which one sees in today's garden is a replica. Unfortunately, it has not been copied from the original.

After the garden came under the supervision of the Department of Green Management of the city of The Hague, it was assumed that the garden was to be considered as a Japanese tea garden.[78] Accordingly, the bench was described as a *machiai*, or waiting bench, for use in the tea ceremony.

Although, Mrs Van Brienen may have seen a tea garden when she visited Mr. Matsura's garden in Tokyo (see Part I), and could have found information about tea gardens in Conder,[79] the layout of the Japanese garden in Clingendael, the planting, and the position of the bench, which has its back turned towards the entrance and the open side towards the path, do not support this interpretation. I think that the garden should rather be regarded as a small strolling garden. A second consideration is that, as I mentioned earlier in connection with the *tsukubai* arrangements, the Japanese tea ceremony was not an issue in the western world at the beginning of the twentieth century. Resting arbours, on the other hand, were a favourite in the gardens in Europe and Japan alike.[80]

Shrine: In Japanese-style gardens in the west, small shrines were much in demand.[81] It was one

77 J.L. Mol 1969.

78 To this effect, J.L. Mol in his report of 1969. A.F. Hartman (1963, unpublished paper, p. 5) also assumes that the garden in Clingendael can be documented as a Japanese tea garden. Hartman also mentions, however, that Mrs Strutt, the younger sister of Mrs Van Brienen did not share this view.

79 Conder 1964, p. 143-152.

80 Kuitert 2002, p. 11.

81 One example is Miss Ella Christie's garden at Cowden in Dollar (Clackmannanshire, Scotland); it also had a small shrine.

Fig. 16. & Fig. 17. Bodhisattva *Jizō in present-day shrine & New additional entrance of the shrine.*

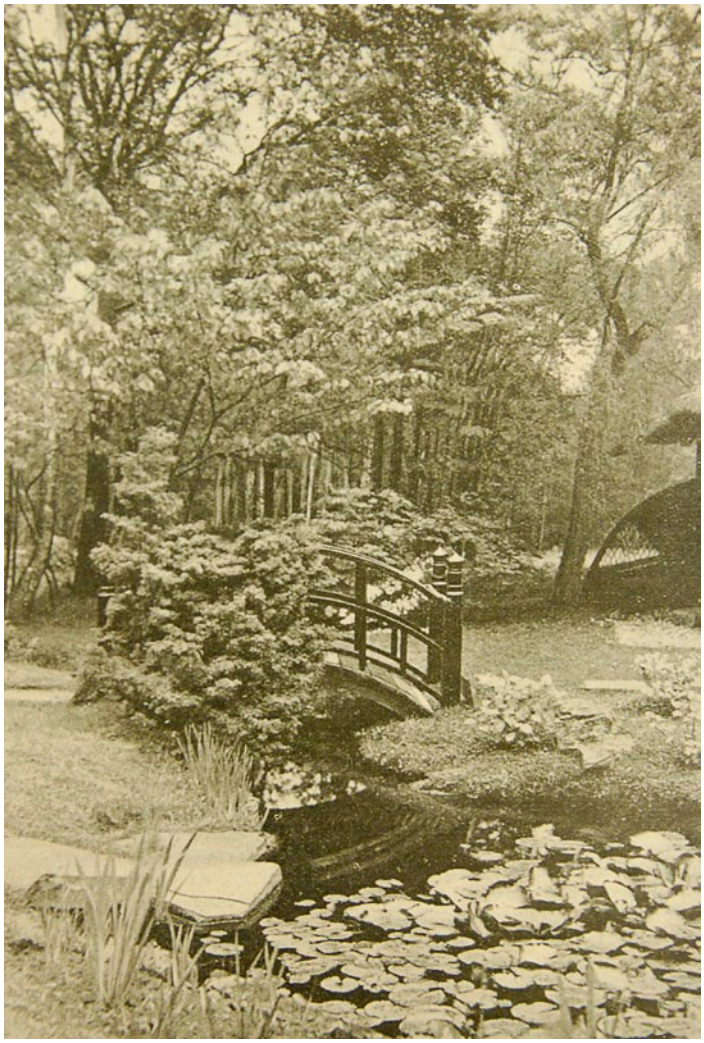

Fig. 18. Japanese Bamboo fence at a corner of the pavilion.

of the features that contributed to the mysterious atmosphere of the garden, and mystery was a design element that the owners of Japanese style gardens were eager to create. Clingendael has one, too. On the old map the shrine is indicated as a small square on a hillock. A path of stepping-stones leads to the shrine. An old photograph shows a lady, maybe Mrs Van Brienen herself, walking up the steps towards the shrine (see fig. 12a), in which a statue of a Buddha was placed (see fig. 12b). The Buddha is also depicted in the drawing made by Overzet (Overzet no VI). The shrine, with a hipped thatch roof, resembling the roof of the pavilion, looks westward over the pond. In the old days, Cryptomeria (*sugi*) and Chamaecyparis (*sawara*) trees surrounded the shrine.

The shrine as we see it today is most probably a replica. The Buddha, too, is not the original. After the original Buddha statue was stolen, it was replaced by the statue of a sitting *bodhisattva* Jizō. Recently, in order to manage the flow of visitors, the shrine has been given a second entrance, and the statue has been turned around ninety degrees so as to look; vanaf links, over in the southern direction. The big Chamaecyparis trees, which hide the shrine today, could well be original.

Fig. 19. Early garden, pavilion with circular window.

Pavilion: The pavilion is central to the garden and affords a charming view of the garden stream. The hipped straw-thatched roof gives it a Japanese look, attractive and exotic. Old photographs show, however, that the roof ridge was originally made of stone tiles and looked more like the ridge of a thatched roof of an old Dutch farmhouse than as the roof of a Japanese garden arbour, which generally are straw-ridged.

There are two exactly dated photographs that show the pavilion. One is dated August 4, 1918; it was taken at the occasion of a concert where several arias from the opera 'Madame Butterfly' of Puccini were performed (see fig. 6). The other photograph was taken in 1930[82]; it shows only a glimpse of the left back corner of the pavilion. A careful look at these two photographs reveals the presence of the curved railing of a Japanese style bamboo fence[83] at the left back corner of the pavilion, as seen from the front.[84] Remarkable is that, on the old plan of the garden, at this corner a small projection is drawn. It might be the fulcrum of the fence.

An undated, obviously old photograph shows the start of the garden construction (see fig. 8). The pond has been dug, bridges and lanterns are in place, some plants have been planted and the pavilion is ready. In front of the pavilion stands a stone water vessel, and three (may be

82 Van Bommel 1930, p. 471.

83 Traditional Japanese bamboo fences are screens, which screen off unwanted views but they also can have a decorative function in a garden.

84 Compare Conder 1964, p. 82, Plate XV, and p. 82-83. The accompanying text (p. 83) reads: 'A fence five feet high, and three and a half feet wide, curved at the top in a quadrant, constructed with reeds arranged in diamond shaped lattice-work and bordered with a thick roll of the same material.'

Fig. 20. View from the pavilion. Note the thin matting and repaired shōji.

Fig. 21. Corner of the pavilion with single railing of the front shōji *and double railing at the side.*

four) bold, square stepping-stones are laid down to make it easier to step on the raised veranda of the pavilion (N.B. On the map stepping-stones are also indicated at the sides). A water scoop lies on the veranda. Inside the pavilion a chair and some furniture are placed. On a similar photograph, the circular window in the back wall, ornamentally barred with bamboo strips, is better visible. No *shōji* (sliding panels made of wooden lattice-work and pasted with paper) are installed yet, but may be they are stored at the back. Yet another photograph taken from the inside, which probably is of much later date because the thatch of the roof is somewhat decayed, shows thin cloth-bordered matting on the floor. On this photograph daylight is flowing softly through the paper *shōji*, which are clearly repaired. *Shōji* can also be seen on several of the other old photographs. In two of the frontal *shōji* rectangular glass windows are visible, allowing a view of the garden even when the *shōji* are closed. When we look closely at the *shōji*, however, we discover something peculiar. It looks as if the lattice-work is on the *outside* instead of on the inside of the *shōji* (see fig. 6). Of the three front panels only the middle one is sliding. The outer ones are fixed. Moreover the railings in the floor show a difference between the front and the sides of the pavilion.

The pavilion has a nice panelled ceiling and the ridgepole carries the inscription 'July 9, 1913,' in the fashion of Dutch carpenters who used to indicate in this way that a building was nearing completion.

As we see it today, the pavilion is authentic in most of its parts. It was either made in Japan, or it is a well-executed western copy. Kuitert argues that the woodwork is more durable than that of similar Japanese buildings, but that the measurements and proportions are approximately those of a Japanese pavilion. He concludes from this, that the pavilion was built in Europe after a Japanese model.[85]

*Fig. 22a. Stone water basin '*hasu no hachi*' in modern* tsukubai *arrangement with* rokkaku-gata.

In summary: The roofed entrance gate may have been modelled after the picture in Du Cane, whereas the *azumaya* and the original shrine probably were imported. They were either bought in Japan or ordered from one of the firms that were active in importing Japanese garden materials into England. The pavilion was probably built with western materials in Europe, but after a Japanese model. As written evidence is lacking, however, all we have is suppositions and probabilities.

85 Kuitert 2002, p. 12.

Fig. 22b. Firebox of rokkaku-gata with decoration of a tumbling hare.

Stone elements in the garden

Apart from the above-mentioned granite bridges, the original garden was decorated with a number of interesting stone elements: a stone water basin, several stone lanterns, a votive tablet, decorated with a *bodhisattva* Jizō, and a remarkable stele.

Stone water basin: The sturdy water basin in the shape of a lotus flower (*hasu no hachi*) is one of the highlights of the garden. It was bought by Mrs Van Brienen in Japan and is depicted in one of Overzet's drawings (see fig. 9). According to old photographs, this large and heavy ornamental water basin was originally located in front of the veranda. It is hand-cut from Nara granite and shaped in the form of an open lotus flower, identifiable as such by the slightly pointed tops of its five petals. In the middle a waterhole has been cut. After the garden became the property of the city of The Hague, the water basin has been relocated several times. Nowadays, it is placed in a recently composed *tsukubai* arrangement to the left of the pavilion (see fig. 22a).

Stone lanterns: One of the first things that catch the eye when visiting the Japanese garden today, are the stone lanterns that adorn the garden, eighteen in all! They are spread out all over the garden. As can be concluded from Overzet's drawings of 1955, seven are original. Nowadays these old, original, hand-cut, granite lanterns, beautifully weatherworn, are the showpieces of the garden. The eleven other lanterns are later additions, dating from the time after the garden became under the supervision of the city of The Hague. They are of lower quality, machine-cut, and some are made in Korea.[86] Today's over-abundance of lanterns in my view really spoils the beauty of the garden.

Originally in Japan lanterns were used to light the path leading up to the entrance of a temple, but from the sixteenth century onwards, they also became an important ornamental

86 Kuitert 2002, attachment, p. 1-12. In 2002 the stone ornaments, including seventeen lanterns, were inspected by Amasaki Hiromasa, Nishimura Kinzō, Tamane Tokuhiro, and Wybe Kuitert. Wybe Kuitert wrote a detailed report for the Department of Green Management of The Hague, which includes information about the origin of the stone, the way in which the stone was worked, and an indication of current estimated prices. Recently another lantern has been added to the garden, which, at that time, was in repair. This has raised the total number of lanterns to eighteen.

feature in garden design. From the very beginning lanterns were a must in the Japanese style gardens in the west, and they became the most essential 'Japanese' element. While in Japan, Mrs Van Brienen saw lanterns in many different shapes and styles, and she bought several very special ones. A hundred years after her journey to the East these lanterns can still be admired in her garden. In Japan stone lantern ornaments often are used in combination with rocks and shrubbery or are placed near water vessels. If Mrs Van Brienen was sensitive to the correct placement of the lanterns in the garden, she could have found all relevant information in Conder.[87]

Fig. 23. Kasuga lantern. Note the missing chūdai.

Unfortunately not all the original lanterns are depicted on the old photographs. One of the original lanterns (Overzet no. IX), which can be seen on several photographs, was a Kasuga-type lantern or Kasuga-*dōrō* (see fig. 9).

Lanterns of this type are composed of six separate parts, namely, from top to bottom, the jewel (*hōjū*), roof (*kasa*), firebox (*hibukuro*), base of the firebox (*chūdai*), shaft (*sao*), another base supporting the shaft (*dai*), which is a plate on which the lantern rests. The base of the firebox (*chūdai*) and the base supporting the shaft (*dai*) are normally decorated with the same motif of stylized lotus petals. Another characteristic of the Kasuga lanterns are the scrolled corners of the roof, said to represent unrolling fern leaves. Usually the firebox has two big openings, large enough to admit a candle, and two smaller ones for the airflow, said to represent the sun and the moon. Usually, a stag and a doe are depicted on the fire-

87 Conder 1964, p. 59-65.

box. Kasuga lanterns are named after the votive lanterns that are lined up along the approach to the Kasuga Shrine in Nara. The Kasuga-*dōrō* in Clingendael originally it stood in front of the pavilion, at the end of a short zigzag path leading to a promontory jutting out into the pond (see fig. 6).

Some time ago, unfortunately, this lantern was lost and has now been replaced by a modest low lantern (*oki-dōrō*). However, the history of the old Kasuga lantern is too interesting to pass it over in silence. Amongst other things, it shows how little was known in the old days of the technical details, and how little they mattered in Japonaiserie gardens, as long as lanterns helped to evoke the desired romantic mood.

Fig. 24. Kiku-gata *(chrysanthemum) lantern in 1963.*

In Overzet's sketch of 1955 (IX, top right), we see that the base of the firebox is missing. This cannot be due to a loss in the final years, immediately before the garden became the property of the city of The Hague. Already on old photographs this base (*chūdai*), on which the firebox (*hibukuro*) should rest, appears to be missing (see fig. 8, 23). On these photographs the base supporting the shaft of the lantern, the *dai*, clearly has fine stylized lotus petals (see fig. 23). As *chūdai* and *dai* as a rule bear the same decorations, the missing *chūdai* also should have a comparable decoration of stylized lotus petals. Of course it is possible that this part (*chūdai*) of the lantern was damaged or lost during transportation to the Netherlands, but another suggestion is that it was used elsewhere in the garden. In his report of the survey of the stone elements in 2002, Kuitert suggests that the *chūdai* of this Kasuga lantern is used as the *dai* under the *rokkaku-gata* lantern (see fig. 22a). Although I am convinced that this is true for today's situation, personally I think that in the early days the *chūdai* of this Kasuga lantern served as the base of one of the *kiku-gata*, the Chrysanthemum lanterns. This Chrysanthemum type of lanterns normally does not have a base under the shaft, but are planted directly with their shaft into the earth. As apparently nobody knew this fact at that time, the builders saw in the *chūdai* of the Kasuga lantern an appropriate base and used it. Old photographs show the Chrysanthemum lantern placed on a stylized lotus-petalled *dai*, and on a photo taken in 1963, the Chrysanthemum lantern can be seen still standing on such a base (see fig. 24). Afterwards, as this lantern was relocated several times, the shaft broke and the lantern was dug deep into the earth. The *chūdai* became redundant and ended up as the *dai* of the *rokkaku-gata*, which will be described hereafter. Nowadays the broken shaft of the Chrysanthemum lantern has been repaired and a replica of a finely stylized, lotus-petalled *dai* supports it. It can be found on the east side of the stream, almost on the spot where it is depicted in the oldest known photographs (see fig. 8).

The *rokkaku-gata* lantern is an original; it can still be admired in the garden of today. It is depicted in Overzet's drawing (Overzet no. VIII), but unfortunately no old photograph is available that shows this *rokkaku-gata* clearly. In former days it stood east of the pavilion; nowadays, it can be found at the west side of the pavilion as part of a recently built *tsukubai*

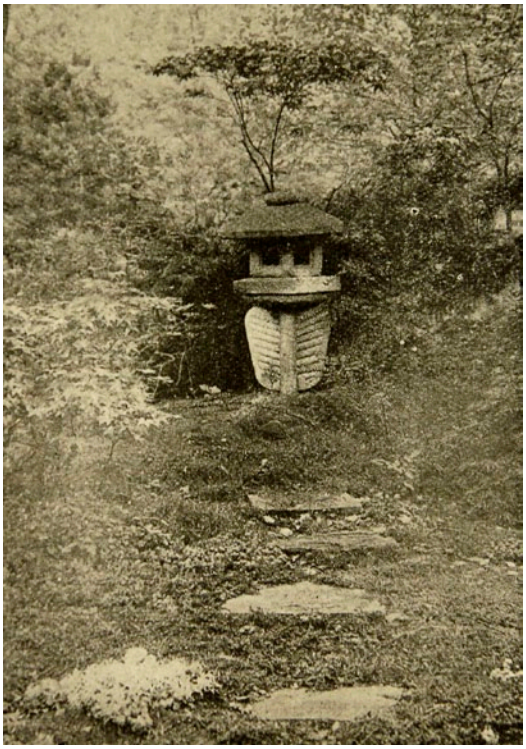

Fig. 25a. Gunbai-gata *lantern.*

setting (see fig. 22a). A photograph of a side of its firebox shows a decoration with a 'tumbling' hare (see fig. 22b). Except for the *dai*, which is made of Nara stone, the *rokkaku-gata* is hewn from Kosei granite.[88] The decoration of its *dai* with its many fine, stylized lotus petals, does not match the sturdy decoration of the *chūdai*. As discussed above, this suggests that very likely this *dai* originally does not belong to the *rokkaku-gata* but was the *chūdai* part of the above-mentioned Kasuga lantern.

A favourite type of lantern in Japanese as well as in western-style Japanese gardens is the *yukimi dōrō* or snow-viewing lantern. This type of lantern derives its name from the wide, umbrella-shaped roof that catches the snow in winter. It is a sight particularly enjoyed in gardens in Japan, as is mentioned in Conder.[89] While in Japan, Mrs Van Brienen had seen similar lanterns, e.g. in Tokyo in the garden of Count Matsura, but the presence of this type of lantern in Clingendael could also be explained by the romantic watercolour picture in the book of her friends Du Cane (see fig. 14a).[90]

The four-legged snow-viewing lantern with its hexagonal umbrella-roof in Clingendael (Overzet no. V) is hand-cut from Shōdō-shima granite. Because of the typical model of the legs, it can be dated to the Meiji Period.[91] There is no old photograph of this lantern available. The oldest known photograph dates from 1963 and shows such a snow-viewing lantern on the banks of the water stream, opposite the island. This is the location indicated on the old plan and the lantern can still be found there today (see fig. 14b). On the old map, also the stepping-stones leading to the water are depicted.

Although many lanterns in Japanese gardens are of a few well-known, traditional types such as the above-mentioned Kasuga and snow-viewing lanterns, tea masters, stonemasons, and owners of gardens in Japan have always felt challenged to use their artistic creativity and design lanterns with a personal

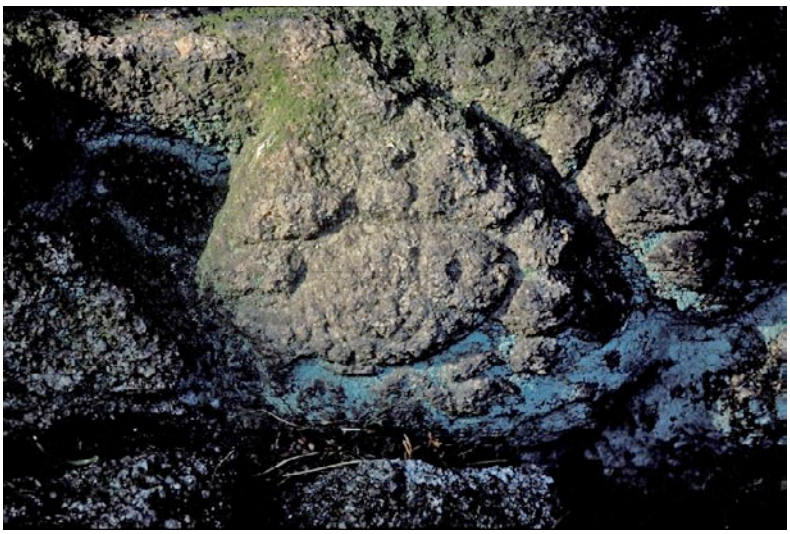

Fig. 25b. Gunbai-gata *lantern with decoration of fish in waves.*

88 Kuitert 2002, attachment, p. 10.

89 Conder 1964, p 64.

90 Du Cane 1908, following p. 4, p. 46.

91 Kuitert 2002, attachment, p. 7.

touch. In Mrs Van Brienen's garden there are three examples of such specially designed lanterns. The first one is a very decorative *gunbai-gata lantern*, hewn from Nara granite.[92] It belongs to the original garden (Overzet no. II). It is not depicted in any of the old photographs available, but it was photographed in 1930, romantically surrounded by thick shrubbery, and with a set of stepping-stones leading up to it.[93] It still is in the same location today. The roof of the firebox, the firebox itself, the *chūdai* and the shaft are all flattened. The firebox is too flat to contain a light and moreover there are no extra apertures made for the airflow, which indicates that it model was never intended for illumination.

The shaft shows a *gunbai* or battle fan.[94] The base, a block of stone carved in a pattern of waves, is of the same Nara granite[95] as the lantern itself, but has a different design. In the waves a small fish is carved. This could be the representation of a carp, a well-known Japanese symbol of perseverance (see fig. 25b). It is uncertain, however, whether Mrs Van Brienen was aware of this symbolism. The jewel and the firebox have been remade recently, unfortunately from a different kind of material. Nevertheless, this lantern is a splendid example of a purely ornamental garden element. It was designed as such in Japan, but it will also have appealed to the romantic vision that held sway in the west of the early twentieth century.

Fig. 26. Kikugata ikomi-dōrō.

92 Kuitert 2002, attachment, p. 6.

93 Van Bommel 1930, p. 473.

94 A battle fan was an essential signalling device on the battlefield, used by officers to command and direct their troops. I made inquiries with several museums in Japan, but I have not been able to unravel the origin of this type of lantern.

95 Kuitert 2002, attachment, p. 6.

The two other special lanterns, which are of a most interesting design, are the weather-worn, decorative lanterns with an umbrella-shaped roof in the form of a Chrysanthemum, called *kiku-gata* (Overzet no. I, III). Both are original and hewn from Shirakawa granite.[96] One has already been described above, in connection to the Kasuga and the *rokkaku-gata*. The umbrella of this lantern (Overzet no. I) has as many as twenty petals, and the jewel on top of the umbrella represents the heart of the flower. The base of the firebox is ribbed (see fig. 8, 24). Originally, as can be seen on the old photographs, this lantern was placed on a *dai*, a base plate, which had a decoration similar to that of the *dai* of the Kasuga lantern that once stood in front of the pavilion. The other Chrysanthemum lantern, a *kikugata ikomi-dōrō*[97] (Overzet no. III), has an umbrella with eight petals. It has no base plate; its shaft is set directly into the earth.

Fig. 27. Replica of straight-shafted lantern in today's garden.

At the time when Mrs Van Brienen visited Japan, these Chrysanthemum lanterns should have been highly fashionable. The emperor's emblem was the chrysanthemum.[98] Moreover, since 1886 *kiku* (Chrysanthemum) exhibitions had been held in the Akasaka Detached Palace. Together with the Cherry Blossom Parties, also held yearly in the same palace, they had become important Court functions, attended by the Emperor and Empress.[99] *Kiku* contests were part of the exhibitions, and one of the challenges at these contests was to grow a thousand-bloom culture, i.e. one plant with 1000 flowers. In the Kameido Shrine, visited by Mrs Van Brienen in 1911, such contests are still held every year. Maybe it was here that she saw pictures of these amazing plants.[100]

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96 Kuitert 2002, attachment, p. 11.

97 Kashioka & Ogisu 1997, p. 230.

98 More specifically, this was the Chrysanthemum flower with sixteen petals, which is also used as the Imperial seal.

99 In the spring of 1911, Mrs Van Brienen and her travel companions were invited to attend the Cherry blossom Party (see Part I).

100 A photograph of such a phenomenal plant also appears in the coronation issue of *Present Day Japan, English*

Fig. 28. Rankei-gata *that stood on the island for a while.*

As a result, one would expect Chrysanthemum lanterns to have been all the rage. However, although I made inquiries in Japan with several museums and checked with famous stonemasons, I have not been able to find a Chrysanthemum stone lantern anywhere in Japan. If any of the readers ever traces such a lantern in Japan, the author hopes that he or she will let her know. Then we may also know, how Mrs Van Brienen had become aware of these unique garden ornaments, and was able to acquire them. Both lanterns belong to the top ornaments of the garden and have been recently restored, unfortunately without consulting Japanese experts.

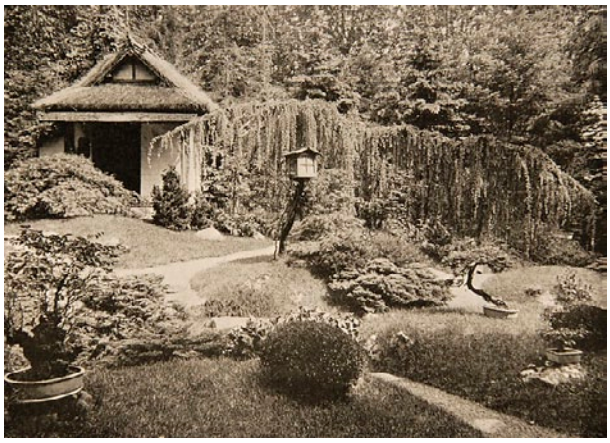

Fig. 29a. & Fig. 29b. Lantern in early Japanese garden of Albert Kahn, Paris.

The last, most unusual type of lantern I want to discuss is composed of a firebox with an umbrella, which is placed on a long, straight, slanting pole. Placed on the island, it juts out over the water. It is not known whether this eccentric, straight-shafted lantern was part of Mrs Van Brienen's garden from the very beginning in 1912/13, but old photographs (see fig. 20), pictures in the literature from 1930, and a drawing, dating from 1933 (see fig. 7 b), that was made by a contemporary of Mrs Van Brienen, Antoinette A. van Hoijtema, prove that this extraordinary lantern was present in Mrs Van Brienen's garden at least

supplement of the Osaka and Tokyo Asahi, p. 33, dedicated to the enthronement ceremonies of Emperor Hirohito in 1928. A copy, formerly owned by Mrs Van Brienen, is now in the possession of E.B. Hartman.

from 1930.[101] The lantern is also depicted clearly in one of Overzet's drawings (Overzet no. X), and thus was still part of the garden when the Department of Green Management of The Hague took over. Because it looked so completely 'un-Japanese' and out of place, however, it was then decided to replace it with a known type of lantern, a so-called '*rankei-gata.*' A *rankei-gata* or 'orchid valley type' lantern is a popular garden lantern in Japan. It is a stone lantern with a curved shaft that is always placed at the waterside, so that the firebox hangs over the water and the reflection of the light can be enjoyed at night. Recently, as a result of renewed study of the old photographs and drawings, the *rankei* lantern was removed and a replica of the unusual lantern has been restored to the original site.

It is a pity that no clue has survived regarding the provenance of this unique design. As I said earlier, not only in Japan, but also in the west lanterns were subject to romantic fantasies of the designer or of the client who ordered them, so unique specimens do occur. In Albert Kahn's Japanese garden in Paris, laid out in the beginning of the twentieth century, similar lanterns of a unique design, consisting of fireboxes fastened to long, slightly curved, wooden poles, are attested.[102] It is conceivable that Mrs Van Brienen was inspired by the French examples.

In summary, of the seven original lanterns that we know to have been present in Mrs Van Brienen's Garden, five still exist. These are the *rokkaku-gata*, the *yukimi-dōrō* (snow-viewing lantern), the *gunbai-gata* (lantern with a fan shaped shaft), and two *kiku-gata* (Chrysanthemum lanterns). The sixth, the straight-shafted lantern, is present in the form of a replica. The Kasuga lantern is now lost.

Fig. 30. Votive tablet.

As one walks through the garden one comes across two special stone elements not often seen in Japanese style gardens in the west. These are a votive tablet and a stele -- items that in Japan are found in temples and in connection with graveyards.

Votive tablet: In the Japanese garden in Clingendael, there is a small votive tablet, hewn from Izumo sandstone.[103] It shows the carving of a monk representing the *bodhisattva* Jizō,[104] standing on a pedestal decorated with a carved, open lotus flower, and holding a long peduncle with an unopened lotus bud in his hands. To the left and right of the Jizō figure, an inscription tells us that the tablet was made to commemorate a small girl. Unfortunately the tablet has been restored. The restoration and the ravages of time make the inscription difficult to decipher. The inscription on the left shows that the votive is dated first day, twelfth month of Kyōhō 7 (January 7, 1723). The inscription to the right

101 Van Bommel 1930, photo p. 469. Depicted in drawing by Van Hoijtema (fig. 7b).

102 These lanterns appear on three early photographs, taken in the Japanese garden laid out by Albert Kahn, and authenticated in a private communication by Mme Sigolène Tivolle, researcher of Albert-Kahn Museum. See also Challaye, p. 147.

103 Kuitert 2002, attachment, p. 9.

104 Jizō is the patron saint of children, expectant mothers etc. He is the only *bodhisattva* who is always portrayed as a monk. His stereotyped features are a shaven head, the lack of adornments, and a monk's simple robe. Often a halo surrounds the head, but in this case it is not visible (anymore), maybe due to the restoration. Usually the symbol of Jizō is a pilgrim staff with six rings (*shakujō*).

42 *Introduction:—Japanese Buddhism.*

sutras are offered for sale, also bundles of straws or sticks used as counters by those performing what is termed the *Hyaku-do*, that is the pious act of walking up and down the temple court a hundred times, etc., etc. The little wisps of paper often to be seen on the grating of minor shrines are tied there by devotees in token of a vow or a wish, mostly connected with the tender passion. The flocks of doves seen fluttering about many temple courts are not objects of worship. They simply take up their home where piety secures them from molestation.

An object frequently seen in Buddhist temple grounds is the *sotoba* or *toba*, a corruption of the Sanskrit *stûpa* ("tope"), which was originally a memorial erected over the remains of an Indian saint. In Japan it assumes two forms, one being a thin stick, notched and often inscribed with Sanskrit characters, the other a stone monument in common use as a grave-stone, where the component elements of the structure are more clearly indicated. They are the ball, crescent, pyramid, sphere, and cube, symbolising respectively Ether, Air, Fire, Water, and Earth. One glance at a *sotoba* is said to ensure the forgiveness of all sins.

THE SOTOBA
(*in its two shapes*)

The way up to temples or sacred mountains is frequently marked by oblong stones, like mile-stones, at the interval of a *chô*, inscribed as follows: 一町 (or 一丁), one *chô*; 二町, two *chô*, etc. Stones with inscriptions, for which wooden boards are often substituted, also serve to commemorate gifts of money to the temple, or of trees to ornament the grounds. Irregularly shaped slabs of stone are much prized by the Japanese, who use them as monumental tablets.

All the famous holy places have subsidiary or representative temples (*utsushi* or *de-bari*) in various parts of the empire, for the convenience of those worshippers who cannot make the actual pilgrimage. The shrine of the Narita Fudô at Asakusa in Tôkyô is a familar example.

Finally, a broad distinction can be drawn between those temples which are resorted to by worshipping crowds, such as Kiyomizu at Kyôto, the Asakusa temple at Tôkyô, and the various Hongwanji on the one hand, and on the other those which like the Shiba temples at Tôkyô, are privately maintained. These last are often beautiful specimens of art; but it is in the former class that the religious life of the people can be best studied.

One, alas! of the characteristic features of the Buddhist temples of to-day is the decay into which most of them have fallen, not because of any general conversion to Christianity, but owing to the disendowment of the priesthood and the materialistic tendencies of the age. The wooden architecture of Japan, so attractive when fresh, at once becomes shabby and ramshackle under neglect,—not venerable like the stone ruins of Europe.

Fig. 31. Page from Murray's Handbook for Travellers.

contains the characters *dō-jo* ('small girl').[105] The unopened lotus bud tells us that the tablet represents a memorial for a miscarriage or a stillborn child.

It is not known where Mrs Van Brienen bought this tablet, but when she visited Kamakura (see part I), she must have been impressed by the hundreds of little Jizō statues in the temple grounds of the Hase-dera, close to the Great Buddha (*Daibutsu*). From a written list of garden ornaments, made up by J.A. Overzet, we know that originally there were two of these votive tablets in the garden, one of which is now lost. The initiative to make a duplicate of the existing tablet and to incorporate this duplicate in the garden was not a good idea. A votive tablet is a unique memorial, made for one specific person. It does not feel right to make a duplicate of it for ornamental purposes, not even as an attempt to restore the original *Japonaiserie* garden.

Stele: Another intriguing stone object in the garden is a stele (135 cm from the ground), located on a small mount, as is indicated on the map. It is hand-cut from *shima-ishi* (*ondo-ishi*) granite that originates from one of the islands in the Inland Sea.[106] On all four sides images are carved. A look at Overzet's drawing (Overzet no. IV) shows that, originally, there was a remarkable decoration on the top of the stele (see fig. 9). This decoration is now lost, but oral information definitely states that such an ornament, made of wood, existed.[107] Unfortunately, the stele with this decoration was never photographed.

The ornament had four parts. When we include the stele, the whole arrangement consisted of five components. This would tend to support the hypothesis that it represented a *gorintō*. A *gorintō* is a uniquely Japanese grave marker, composed of five parts that represent (from top to bottom) 'space' (a round and pointed gem), 'wind' (half moon shaped), 'fire' (triangular), 'water' (normally a sphere), and 'earth' (a square column). In the drawing by Overzet, the parts for space, wind, and fire, and the square column that stands for earth are clearly recognizable, although Overzet evidently was unfamiliar with the symbolism. If we compare Overzet's drawing with an illustration in the *Handbook for Travellers in Japan*, which Mrs Van Brienen most probably used, we see a *sotoba* (derived from the Indian word stūpa) in two forms.[108] One is a stone *gorintō*, and the other is an oblong, wooden board, the top of which is carved in the form of a *gorintō*. This may have been Mrs. Van Brienen's source of inspiration and the origin of the wooden construction.

There is no inscription on the column; it is not impossible that an inscription has been removed, but this could not be confirmed. However near the base interesting figures are carved on all four sides. At first sight they could well be images of Jizō, but on one side of the column an apparently 'nude' being (a human person?) is depicted, one of his hands pointing upwards and the other downwards. It has strikingly huge feet. Inquiries with several museums in

105 See Kuitert 2002, attachment, p. 9. Of the inscription to the right, Kuitert says: 'Sanskrit calligraphy, followed by *dōjo* ('girl') underneath.'

106 Kuitert 2002, attachment, p. 4.

107 Gieskes 2005, p. 29, 31.

108 Chamberlain 1913, p. 42.

Japan did not lead to an explanation of this unusual representation, but Prof. W.J. Boot suggested that it could be a representation of the infant Siddhartha Gautama Buddha (563-483 BC; also known as Sakyamuni, or Shaka Nyorai). There is a legend that shortly after his birth the Buddha stood up, walked seven steps, looked in all directions, and said in a dignified voice that 'in Heaven above and on Earth below, he was the only being worth revering.'

Whether the images on the other sides are representations of Jizō or, as I could imagine, of The Buddha in later life, is still to be resolved. The second side shows a person in an antique dress with long sleeves, hands folded, and a halo around the head. The third side shows a person in the typical dress of Buddhist monks: wide sleeves, a V-shaped collar and a pleated skirt. Around the bald head an obvious halo is visible. The fourth side shows a monk, again dressed in a long, antique gown with long sleeves and holding a pearl, or maybe a lotus flower, in his hands. A halo is difficult to detect in the weathered stone.

Fig. 32a. Stele: Infant Buddha (?).

Where and why Mrs Van Brienen bought this stele, is not known. However, she sailed the Inland Sea (see Part I), where this granite comes from. To my knowledge a *gorintō* was not a common feature in Japanese-style gardens in the west, though it is known that sometimes parts of a *gorintō* were re-used to serve as water basins in gardens. The present stele is therefore a very special element; it is documented here for the first time.

Figs. 32b., 32c., & 32d. Stele: figure in antique dress, hands folded; stele: figure in dress with wide sleeves; stele: figure with lotus flower in hands.

After the city of The Hague became the owner of the Clingendael estate, and the Japanese garden came under the supervision of the Department of Green Management, new stone elements have been added to embellish the Japanese garden. Apart from a Jizō that was substituted for the lost statue in the shrine and a new bridge as a replacement for a broken one, the new acquisitions were a square stone water vessel, decorated on the sides with images of the Buddha's of the four directions (see fig. 15b), and various stone lanterns. These newly added elements are not the subject of this paper. A description is given in the survey of experts of 2002,[109] to which I refer. I will make an exception, however, for two so-called Oribe lanterns, as their design is easy to recognize when one walks in the garden.

Fig. 33. Oribe-dōrō *with inscription 'IHS'.*

Oribe lanterns are named after *daimyō* and tea master Furuta Oribe (1544-1615). Although initially, in the seventeenth century, the decorations of the so-called 'Oribe' stone lanterns served a purely aesthetic purpose, and they were not, at that time, associated with one or other religion, later these decorations were often associated with Christianity. Possibly, this happened because it was known that Oribe had taken a keen interest in Christian paraphernalia.[110] The rectangular shaft is planted directly into the earth. The upper part of the shaft has a curving outwards and so the shaft is said to represent a cross. One of the Oribe lanterns has a figure carved at the base of the shaft, half buried into the ground, which looks like a Buddhist monk, but occasionally it is said to represent the Virgin Mary (see fig. 15b). Another Oribe lantern has a special inscription, carved into the cross part of the shaft, which is sometimes thought to represent the Christian monogram 'IHS' (see fig. 33). Both, therefore, are also called 'Christian' lanterns. Further research will be needed, however, to verify these ideas.

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The Japanese garden in Clingendael is the only surviving Japanese garden in the Netherlands and still in splendid condition. The garden was created in 1912/1913 as a small strolling garden. In the beginning it was a romantic open flowery garden in accordance with the prevailing garden trends and the craving for exoticism and romanticism from around the beginning of the 20th century. However, as the trees grew taller, the flowers vanished and the dabbled light through the leaves provided a condition in which a magnificent velvety moss carpet developed.

109 Kuitert 2002, attachment, p. 2-12

110 For Furuta Oribe, see Kuitert 1988, pp. 178-187, 234-235; for Oribe's ideas concerning lanterns and religion, see esp. p. 183.

Fig. 34. Today's moss garden.

Most of the original design, as well as most of the original stone elements: lanterns, a water basin, a votive tablet and a stele are still there. Due to their age and design they are of historical interest. The garden is not only of interest for the casual visitor, but should also be an object of study for western and Japanese students alike.

Acknowledgments

I am indebted to Mrs and Mr E.B. Hartman for allowing me to use the old and valuable photographs of the Japanese garden, which are in their archive. Furthermore, I am indebted to Mr Joost S.H. Gieskes for giving me permission to use the old photographs, the drawing by Overzet, and old the plan of the garden, which he collected over the years.

I would like to thank Johan Feijen and Hans Busker, both associated with the Department of Green Management of the Hague (Dienst Stadsbeheer van de Gemeente Den Haag, stadsdeel Haagse Hout) and Joost Gieskes and Herman Spijker, garden architect, for their constructive discussions and all those who are working hard to keep the Japanese garden in splendid condition. I would also like to thank Mrs. Mayumi Beukers for her help in finding information about Oribe and the Oribe lanterns.

I thank Alex van der Eb for critically reading the manuscript and for making the photographs of some of the old prints and of the present day garden. Finally I would like to thank Prof. W.J. Boot for his constant encouragement and many helpful suggestions.

Additions to the first article (*TNJR* 2/1)

1. Mr. Matsura Akira wrote me a long letter, from which I quote the following paragraph:

> 'I might say just a few things concerning my great-grandfather, Atsushi Matsura, even though this has no real significance to the nature of your article. Atsushi Matsura was primarily a politician, a member of the Peers' Party and, was devoted to the making of Kanshi (Chinese poetry) and did not do Chinshin Ryu tea, just being its figurehead. Instead, Countess Matsura took responsibility over the tea operation. This great-grandmother of mine, by the way, was from the Asano family of Hiroshima. Both of them had been gone before I was born, so I never saw them.'

2. Peter Bower, the London specialist of Paper History and Analysis, who traced the water mark for me, wrote the following:

> 'A couple of small points about Baskerville (Footnote 2 on page 9). John Baskerville was an eighteenth century printer, not penman (1706-1775). There is no evidence that he made his own paper. The first wove paper, developed in 1755-6, was made for Baskerville by James Whatman the elder at Turkey Mill, Maidstone, Kent, which Baskerville used for the printing of his 1757 edition of Virgil.'

About the author

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.

JUSTIFICATION OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1, 6, 7a/b	Gemeente archief, Den Haag
Fig. 2	Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael
Fig. 3, 11c, 14a	Du Cane: *The flowers and Gardens of Japan*
Fig. 4	S. Keppel: *Edwardian daughter*
Fig. 29a/b	Challaye: *Le Japon Illustré*
Fig. 31	Chamberlain: *Hand-book for Travellers*
Fig. 10	Beeldbank.cultureelerfgoed.nl
Fig. 11a	Collection Arcadia, Amersfoort
Fig. 18, 25a	NCB Naturalis, sectie NHN;
Fig. 8, 12b, 15a, 19, 20, 23, 24	Collection E.B. Hartman
Fig. 5, 9, 12a	Collection J.S.H. Gieskes
Fig. 11b, 13, 14b, 15b, 16, 17, 21, 22a /b, 25b, 26, 27, 28, 30, 32a/b/c/d, 33, 34	Photographs by A.J. Van der Eb

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Roji

Calligraphy by Arthur Witteveen

The calligraphy reads *Roji*, 'Dewy Ground.' It is the poetic name used to indicate the garden that gives access to a teahouse. The passage through that garden should take the visitor away from his everyday, worldly concerns and put him in the right state of mind for attending the upcoming tea ceremony.

The Japanese garden at Clingendael was - as is explained in Mrs van der Eb-Brongersma's article in this issue – created as a strolling garden, in Japanese style, but not in accordance with strict, authentic Japanese principles. Many authentic elements are nevertheless to be found in the garden.

Although it is not really a tea-garden (*chaniwa*), I chose the calligraphy *Roji* for this issue, because upon entering the garden, the long and narrow, lane-like path with its high trees on both sides and the moss-covered ground at the left, would for Westerners like me effectively perform the required function of the 'Dewy ground,' namely to erase the outside world and its concerns from one's mind. Now, in Japan the path wound necessarily be winding and not straight, to create an element of surprise; in Clingendael the surprise is in the fact that the entry lane first leads the eye into a far wooded distance, and thereby hides the remainder of the garden, including the pavilion overlooking the pond. And in the mossy area to the left of the path is indeed, like in Japan, a simple roofed structure with a bench to be found, used as a waiting room.

As already indicated in the explanations accompanying the calligraphy in Vol. 1, No. 2 of this journal, Sen no Rikyū (1522-1591) is considered the father of the three main schools of *cha-no-yu* of today. It therefore comes as no surprise that he is also considered the inventor of the *Roji*.

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A.Th. Witteveen LLM 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 tenth dan in his Japanese school of calligraphy, the Nihon Shodō Bijutsu-in.

De speelman en zijn aapje:
Een vertaling van de *renga* in Bashō's Sarumino – Deel I

Henk Akkermans
ha@uvt.nl

Summary

Nowadays, Bashō is known as a haiku poet. Few people realize that for Bashō himself the haiku *rather were a byproduct of the 'linked verse' or* renga*, over the composition of which he, as a* renga *master, presided. We see this also in the anthologies that* renga *masters composed, e.g. in Sarumino ('The monkey's raincoat'; 1691). The bibliographical database says that it was 'written by Bashō and edited by (his disciples) Kyorai and Bonchō,' but the majority of the* haiku *it contains are not by Bashō, but by his disciples, and apart from the haiku the anthology also contains four* renga*. The* renga *are of the kasen type, i.e., they count thirty-six verses - the number of the Poetic Immortals. The first two of these* renga *('winter' and 'summer') are translated and annotated in this contribution. A translation of the other two ('autumn' and 'spring') are due to appear in the next issue.*

Veel vreemds aan de populariteit van de haiku *van Bashō*

De *haiku* is in de westerse wereld de bekendste en meest populaire dichtvorm uit Japan. De beroemdste *renga*-dichter, hier zowel als in Japan zelf, is Matsuo Bashō (1644-1694). Daarom is het wel vreemd dat de term *renga* ten tijde van Bashō zelf nog niet bestond, maar pas in de negentiende eeuw is bedacht: een heus anachronisme dus, die *haiku* van Bashō. Wellicht nog vreemder is het dat de verzen die Bashō maakte en die wij dus *haiku* noemen, door hem en zijn tijdgenoten niet als zijn belangrijkste poëtische prestaties gezien werden. Wat voor Bashō veel meer zijn *chef d'oeuvre* vormde, dat zijn de *renga*, of kettinggedichten, die hij componeerde samen met andere dichters.

Als beroemdste dichtbundel van Bashō wordt algemeen *Sarumino* gezien, een werk uit 1691. Hierin vinden liefhebbers de typische stijl van Bashō het voortreffelijkst vertegenwoordigd.

Sarumino bevat inderdaad honderden 'losse' *haiku*, 382 om precies te zijn, verdeeld over vier hoofdstukken, voor elk seizoen een. Een van de bekendste is het openingsvers, waarin de woorden *saru* (aap) en *mino* (regenkap, regenmantel) voorkomen, en waaraan de bundel zijn Japanse naam ontleent:

Hatsu / shigure *Saru / mo / komino / wo* *Hoshige /nari* *Bashō*	*Eerste / regenbui* *Aap / ook / regenmantel /* *lijdend vw* *Verlangend lijken / zijn*	Eerste winterse bui – Ook het aapje Wil wel een regenkeepje??

Evenwel, vreemd blijft het voor de westerse lezer dat *Sarumino*, anders dan het kort hiervoor door Bashō voltooide *Ōku no hosomichi*, maar voor een klein deel door Bashō zelf geschreven is, slechts 40 van de 382 losse *haiku*, net iets meer dan een tiende. Het overgrote deel van de bijdragen is van de hand van leden van zijn school. Dat is even wennen voor een westers individualistisch kunstenaarsbegrip: alsof Rembrandt maar een klein stukje Nachtwacht geschilderd zou hebben, of Mozart maar een paar maten van die Zauberflöte.

Het gaat in deze vertaling niet om de losse *haiku*, het gaat om de vier *renga* die ook deel uitmaken van *Sarumino*, en die opgeborgen zijn in hoofdstuk 5. Zoals gezegd, die *renga*, daar ging het Bashō zelf ook om. Hij zag zichzelf op de eerste plaats als een *renga*-meester, de *haiku* waren oorspronkelijk alle slechts oefeningen voor goede beginverzen van *renga*, de zogeheten haikai-no-hokku (hetgeen door latere literatuurcritici is samengetrokken tot hai-ku).

Vreemds en vertrouwds in de renga *van* Sarumino

Ook met de vier *renga* in *Sarumino* zelf is het een en ander aan de hand dat vreemd overkomt. Niet met de meeste basisregels. Het blijven kettinggedichten, dus verzen die gecomponeerd worden door een groep dichters, waarbij elke dichter probeert zijn (of soms zelfs haar) vers aan te laten sluiten bij het voorgaande, maar tegelijkertijd er naar streeft om het af te laten wijken van het daaraan voorafgaande vers. Blijvend bevreemdend, maar wel zeer vertrouwd voor de Japanse poëzieliefhebber is het '*stream of consciousness*' effect dat hierdoor ontstaat: de onderwerpen vloeien van thema naar thema, doordat ieder individueel vers hoort bij twee andere verzen, het vers ervoor en het vers erna, die elk steeds over duidelijk andere onderwerpen gaan. Een mooi voorbeeld hiervan vormt het vers van Bashō dat aanleiding gegeven heeft tot de titel van deze vertaling, Nr. 17 uit de *renga* over de zomer:

16. *Sō / yaya / samuku* *tera / ni / kaeru / ka* *Bonchō*	*Monnik, priester / nogal / koud* *Tempel / in, naar / terugkeren /* *vraagpart.*	Zal de monnik in deze kou Naar zijn tempel terugkeren?

17. *Saruhiki / no* *Saru / to / yo / wo / furu* *Aki / no / tsuki* *Bashō*	*Speelman, jongleur / van* *Aap / met / wereld / lijdend vw* */ ervaren, doormaken* *Herfst / van / maan*	De speelman en zijn aapje Ze gaan samen door het leven Onder de herfstmaan

18. *Nen / ni / itto / no* *Jishi / hakaru / nari* *Kyorai*	Jaar / in / één schep / van Rijstbelasting / meten /zijn	Per jaar meet zijn rijstbelasting Maar net één schep

De mannelijke hoofdpersoon in vers 16 is een monnik, daar waar het kort hiervoor nog een dame was die bezocht werd door een minnaar. In vers 17 wordt dit een rondreizend kunstenmaker met zijn aapje. Echter, in vers 18 hebben we het al weer over een arme boer, wiens land zo weinig opbrengt dat hij amper belasting hoeft te betalen. De koppeling tussen de gedichten is er eerder een van sfeer, van geur, van *nioi-zuke*, zoals Bashō het inderdaad ook zelf omschreef.

De *renga*-dichtvorm blijft een zeer ongewone dichtvorm voor de westerse poëzieliefhebber. Niet alleen het feit dat het geen solo-productie is, maar ook het idee van die opeenvolging van thema's. Een spaarzaam voorbeeld hiervan uit het Nederlandse taalgebied is *Een Winter aan Zee* van Adriaan Roland Holst, waarvan onze Prins der Dichters zelf zei dat het qua structuur een *roosvenster*[1] was; zo'n gebrandschilderd raam aan de voorkant van middeleeuwse kathedralen met allegorische voorstellingen daarop.

Het metrum van deze *renga* blijft wel keurig vertrouwd: een afwisseling van verzen van 5-7-5 lettergrepen en dan weer 7-7 lettergrepen, bij elkaar de aloude *tanka*-versvorm nabootsend. Wat in deze tijd wel anders is geworden, is dat men de honderd verzen van de 'klassieke' *hyakuin renga* te lang vindt duren en kiest voor een kortere variant, de *kasen*, van zesendertig verzen. Vier van zulke *kasen* vinden we in *Sarumino*. Dat Bashō kiest voor de meer praktische vorm van de *kasen* is niet zo vreemd, en dat hij er twee schrijft samen met twee andere dichters en een met drie mede-auteurs, ook niet. Wel heel bijzonder is de laatste *kasen*, want daarin komen uiteindelijk wel vijftien auteurs opdraven. Deze *kasen* heeft ook de ondertitel 'afscheidsgeschenk voor Otokuni, die op reis naar het oosten gaat'; iedereen kwam even dag zeggen, daar lijkt het op.

Ook echt ongewoon is de volgorde van de deelverzamelingen. Klassiek sinds de aloude bloemlezingen is een indeling op seizoensvolgorde: eerst lente, dan zomer, gevolgd door herfst en winter. Maar de volgorde die in *Sarumino* gehanteerd wordt, zowel in de hoofdstukken 1 tot 4 waarin de *hokku* staan, als in hoofdstuk 5 met de *kasen*, is winter-zomer-herfst-lente. De ordening is niet *comme il faut*, maar de *haikai* dichters van deze tijd waren het aan hun stand verplicht om regelmatig iets geks te doen, om de traditie aan hun laars te lappen – en haar meteen daarna weer prompt te volgen. In elk geval werkt deze buitenissige volgorde goed in dit concrete geval, omdat we beginnen in de winter, net als het beklagenswaardige aapje, en we vaarwel zeggen met de collectieve afscheidsgroet aan Otokuni, in de hoopgevende lente.

Bij het noteren van *kasen* hoort een volgorde die vertrouwd is voor de Japanse kunstliefhebber, omdat zij past bij de klassieke structuur van Japanse muziek en Nō

1 Zie Mosheuvel, L.H. (1980). *Een roosvenster. Aantekeningen bij Een winter aan zee van A. Roland Holst*. Wolters-Noordhoff, Groningen.

toneelstukken, de zogeheten *jo-ha-kyū*-vorm. De *jo*, de rustige introductie, die begint in het hier en nu en vaak met een zwenkend camera-perspectief uitwijkt naar verdere oorden en onderwerpen, duurt dan zes verzen en die passen mooi op de voorkant van het eerste vel. Dan volgt de *ha*, gevuld met 4 x 6 = 24 verzen van toenemende dynamiek en afwisseling, natuurlijk ook met de obligate liefdes- en maanverzen op vaste locaties. Tenslotte passen op de achterkant van het tweede vel de laatste zes verzen, die samen de finale of *kyū* vormen, waarin het tempo weer omlaag gaat, we wat meer moralistisch getoonzette onderwerpen vinden, en er met een hoopvol of beschouwend vers geëindigd wordt. Heel vertrouwd vinden we dat in de hierna vertaalde *kasen* terug. In deze vertaling is hierom ook gekozen voor een groepering in reeksen van zes verzen, met commentaar op de vertalingen tussen deze groepen van zes.

Wat tenslotte nog bevreemdend kan zijn voor u, de lezer, is de mate waarin er zelfwerkzaamheid van u verwacht, of op zijn minst aangemoedigd, wordt. De opvatting van uw vertaler is namelijk dat poëzie vertalen niet mogelijk is, wat geen of juist al te meer reden is om het toch te blijven doen. Er is simpelweg te veel context die onvertaalbaar is, en te veel restricties in metrum en klanken die verloren gaan in vertaling. Deze vertaling bevat daarom nadrukkelijk *mogelijke, niet noodzakelijke* vertalingen. Veelal wordt er gekozen voor een vertaling die nog voor meerdere uitleg vatbaar is, maar daarom wat minder gladjes loopt dan een vertaling die radicaal en gelikt durft te kiezen voor één specifieke interpretatie. Om de onmogelijkheid van het proces van vertalen nog zichtbaarder voor de lezer te maken geef ik niet alleen regelmatig mijn eigen overwegingen bij mijn woordkeuze, maar ook de letterlijke vertalingen van de oorspronkelijke individuele Japanse woorden. Mijn hoop hierbij is dat dit alles bijdraagt aan het esthetisch genot dat ontstaat bij het savoureren van deze in het Japans onbetwist prachtige verzen.

Zoals immer is evident en zeker niet vreemd dat dit werk nadrukkelijk schatplichtig is aan de wijze adviezen van mijn eminente mentor/*sensei* Wim Boot, en al even duidelijk is dat alle tekortkomingen en fouten enkel voor mijn eigen rekening komen.

Fuyu **Winterregen**[2]

1. *Tobi / no / ha / mo* *Kai-tsukuroi- / nu /* *Hatsu-/ shigure* *Kyorai*	*Wouw/ van / veer / ook* *Strijken en netjes ordenen /* *verl. tijd* *Eerste / regenbui*	Zelfs de veren van de wouw Glanzen als gladgestreken In de eerste winterregen

2. *Hito-fuki / kaze / no* *Ko / no / ha / shizumaru* *Bashō*	*Eén vlaag / wind / van* *Boom / van / blad / stil* *worden*	Een windvlaag waait door de bladeren – En 't is al weer rustig

2 De vertaling is gebaseerd op *Bashō Shichibu-shū, Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei 70, Iwanami Shoten*, Tokyo, 1990, 6e druk, 2007, pp. 313-326. Nrs. 1-36 van *Fuyu* corresponderen met Nrs. 1998-2033.

3. *Momohiki / no* *Asa / kara / nururu* *Kawa / koete* *Bonchō*	*Onderkleding / van* *Ochtend/ vanaf / nat worden* *Rivier / oversteken*	Kletsnat ondergoed Al vanaf de ochtend Bij het oversteken van de rivier

4. *Tanuki / wo / odosu* *Shinohari / no / yumi* *Fumikuni*	*Das / lijdend vw / bang maken* *Bamboe-bespannen / boog*	Zij schrikt de das wel af, De boogval van bamboe

5. *Mairado / ni* *Tsuta / hai-kakaru* *Yoi / no / tsuki* *Bashō*	*Deur / in, door* *Klimop / kruipen woekeren* *Avond / van / maan*	Door de lattenhouten deur Overwoekerd met klimop Schijnt de avondmaan

6. *Hito / ni / mo / kure- / zu* *Meibutsu / no / nashi* *Kyorai*	*Man, mens/ aan / ook / geven/ ontkenning* *Streekspecialiteit / van / peren*	Aan hem geeft hij ze niet, de beroemde peren uit deze streek

Bashō dicht hier met drie van zijn trouwe discipelen: Fumikuni, Bonchō en Kyorai. In het openingsvers van Kyorai heeft net als het beklagenswaardige aapje zonder regenkeepje deze wouw te lijden onder de gure winterse regen. Verzen 1 en 2 geven duidelijk een beeld van verstilling in het hier en nu. In vers 3 gaan we van dier naar mens, een reiziger die het onderweg niet breed heeft. De boogval in vers 4 doet de das schrikken, maar het geluid ervan ook onze reiziger.

In vers 5 zwenkt het perspectief verder door naar een huis met een lattenhouten deur, waar iemand kostelijke vruchten aan het eten is, maar niet genegen is in vers 6 om die met de reiziger te delen.

7. *Kaki-naguru* *Sumie / okashiku* *Aki / kurete* *Fumikuni*	*tekenen en vloeien* *monochrome inktschildering / grappig, plezier* *Herfst / Doorbrengen, eindigen*	Soepel schildert hij Spelenderwijze schoonschrijverij De herfst loopt ten eind

8. *Haki- /gokoro-yoki* *Meriyasu / no / tabi* *Bonchō*	*Aandoen /hart, gevoel / goed* *Medias (uit Spaans) mengsel van katoen en wol / van / sloffen*	Ze zijn echt lekker om aan te trekken Deze sokken in Spaanse stijl

9. *Nanigoto / mo* *Mugon / no /uchi / wa* *Shizuka / nari* *Kyorai*	*Wat voor ding / ook* *Stilte, niet-spreken / van / in/ wat betreft* *Stil / worden*	Alles wat er ook is Zolang je maar niks zegt Blijft alles rustig

10. *Sato mie-somete* *Uma no kai fuku* *Bashō*	*Dorp / zien / beginnen* *Paard / van / Schelp, hoorn / blazen*	Het dorp begint in zicht te komen: Een hoorn blaast voor het middaguur

11. *Hotsure- /taru* *Kozo / no / negoza / no* *Shitataruku* *Bonchō*	*Rafelen / verl. tijd* *Vorig jaar / van / slaapmat / van* *Plakkerig nat*	Er hangen rafelig geraakte Slaapmatten van vorig jaar, Plakkerig nat geworden

12. *Fuyō / no / hana / no* *Hara-hara / to / chiru* *Fumikuni*	*Lotus / van / bloemen / van* *Blad – blad / op wijze van / vallen (van bladeren)*	De bloembladen van de lotus Dwarrelen neer, een voor een

Vanaf vers 7 verlaten we de traditioneel rustig en beschouwende introductie en komen we in het centrale deel van de *renga*, waarin het tempo normaliter omhoog zou moeten gaan, maar dat valt erg mee in deze *kasen*. De gierige vruchtenboombezitter van vers 6 blijkt in vers 7 ook zijn onthaaste kanten te hebben, en een vaardig vrijetijdsschilder te zijn, die zo de stille herfsturen doorkomt. Relaxt schuifelt hij rond op zijn comfortabele sloffen, en weet dat spreken zilver is, maar zwijgen goud (vers 9).

Pas in vers 10 komen we echt in beweging. Het zwijgen werd blijkbaar gedaan door een stille reiziger, die rond het Uur van het Paard, dus het middaguur, het dorp bijna bereikt heeft. De hoorn is gemaakt van een zeeschelp. In het dorp hangen de vochtig geworden slaapmatten uit, een armoedige bedoening in deze afgelegen streek (vers 11).

De overgang van 11 naar 12 is er juist een van contrast, tussen het eenvoudige boerenleven en dat van de rijke herenboer, waar men lotusbloemen vinden kan. Ook dit is een geijkte *renga*-koppeling tussen twee verzen, die van de tegenstelling tussen bijvoorbeeld arm en rijk, of naar boven en naar onder.

13. *Suimono / wa* *Mazu / dekasare- / shi* *Suizenji* *Bashō*	*Heldere soep, bouillon / wat betreft* *Eerst / lukken, uitkomen, serveren (pass.) / verl. tijd* *Suizenji-tempel*	Een heldere bouillon Serveerde men eerst In de *Suizenji*-tempeltuin

14. *San- / ri / amari / no* *Michi / kakae- / keru* *Kyorai*	*Drie / li (afstandsmaat ± 4 km) / ongeveer, amper / van* *Weg / hebben / verl. tijd*	Ruim drie li aan weg Had hij nog voor zich

15. *Kono / haru / mo* *Ro Dō / ga / otoko* *i- / nari / nite* *Fumikuni*	*Deze / lente / ook* *Lu Tong (Chinese dichter) / van / man, dienaar* *Zijn / worden / zijnde*	Ook deze lente Bleef Lu Tong's dienstknecht Maar bij hem plakken

16. *Sashiki / tsuki-/taru* *Tsuki / no / oboro / yo* *Bonchō*	*Stek / wortel schieten / verl. tijd* *Maan / van / wazig / nacht*	De stekken die wortel hebben geschoten En de maan in wazige nacht

17. *Koke / nagara* *Hana / ni / naraburu* *Chōzu- / bachi* *Bashō*	*Mos / terwijl* *Bloem, bloesem / in / rangschikken* *Handenwas- / bassin*	Ook al is het met mos overgroeid Hij schikt het tussen de bloemen, Het waterbekken

18. *Hitori / naori- / shi* *Kesa / no / haradachi* *Kyorai*	*Alleen, vanzelf / repareren, in orde komen / verl. tijd* *Vanmorgen / van / woede*	Toch vanzelf weer overgegaan, Die woedeaanval van vanmorgen

Deze meer verheven context blijft gehandhaafd in vers 13, de lotusbloemen bevinden zich in de kloostertuin van de Suizen-tempel in Kumamoto. Het Japanse commentaar suggereert dat de bouillon van hier, de zogeheten *suizenji-nori*, indertijd al beroemd was, en zij is dat nog steeds. De *nori*, de gedroogde algen die men er doorheen mengt en het zuivere water ter plekke zijn daarvoor verantwoordelijk.

In vers 14 lijkt het er op dat deze tempel een halte was op een pelgrimsroute, en dat deze pelgrim nog een paar uur te lopen heeft voordat hij daar aangekomen zal zijn. Vers 15 maakt dan ineens een sprong naar een beroemde dichtende kluizenaar, Lu Tong (overl. 835), en diens klaarblijkelijk niet al te voortreffelijke dienstknecht. Beiden, zowel meester als knecht, konden wel eens genieten van het schieten van de stekken in vers 16. Wellicht is dat in een tuin, waar ook een bassin staat om de handen in te wassen (vers 17). Dat bassin is met mos overgroeid, en hoort daarom eigenlijk te staan bij andere mospartijen, maar wordt hier toch tussen de bloemen geplaatst. Al met al een fraai sfeerbeeld, met de maan die het geheel belicht. Dat vindt blijkbaar ook de hoofdpersoon van vers 18, want die wordt er helemaal rustig van, na een eerdere woedeaanval.

19. *Ichidoki / ni* *Futsuka / no / mono / mo* *Kūte / oki* *Bonchō*	*Ineens / in* *Twee dagen / van / ding, zaak / ook* *Eten, smikkelen / Alvast doen*	In één keer heb ik Het eten van twee dagen Naar binnen gesmikkeld

20. *Yuki- / ge / ni / samuki* *Shima / no / kita- / kaze* *Fumikuni*	*Sneeuw / lijkt het / bijw. part./ koud* *Eiland / van /* *Noorden- /wind*	Het lijkt te gaan sneeuwen, zo koud is het In de noordenwind over dit eiland

21. *Hi / tomoshi / ni* *Kurure- / ba / noboru* *Mine / no / tera* *Kyorai*	*Vuur / aansteken / in* *Donker worden / wanneer / klimmen* *Bergtop / van / tempel*	Om het licht te ontsteken Klimt hij bij het vallen van het duister Naar het altaar op de bergtop

22. *Hototogisu / mina* *Naki- / shimai- / tari* *Bashō*	*Koekoeken / alle* *Zingen / ophouden met / verl. tijd*	De koekoeken, ze zijn allemaal Al lang opgehouden met zingen

23. *Sōkotsu / no* *Mada / okinaoru* *Chikara / naki* *Fumikuni*	*Dunne botten / van* *Tot / opstaan* *Kracht / niet zijn*	Tot op het bot vermagerd Is hij en te verzwakt Om nog op te staan

24. *Tonari / wo / karite* *Kuruma / hikikomu* *Bonchō*	*Ernaast, de buren / lijdend vw / gebruiken* *Wagen / in plaatsen, in zetten*	Hij gebruikt de oprit bij de buren Om zijn rijtuig weg te zetten

De woedeaanval uit vers 18 heeft juist een heel ander effect op de hoofdpersoon van vers 19; deze krijgt er een vreetaanval van en eet het voedsel voor de komende twee dagen in één keer op. In vers 19 is daar dan weer een heel andere reden voor, geen woede, maar bittere kou, op een verlaten eiland in de winter.

In vers 20 maken we wederom een fikse sprong – we zijn inmiddels in een behoorlijk dynamisch deel van deze *kasen* aangekomen – verplaatst de handeling zich naar iemand die

een berg beklimt op dit onherbergzame eiland om een licht aan te steken. Dat ene lichtje in het duister doet eenzaam en verlaten aan, en dat geldt ook voor het roepen van de koekoek tegen het vallen van de avond in vers 22.

In vers 23 geeft het verstillen van de koekoeken wellicht de gemoedsstemming weer van een oude grijsaard, te zeer verzwakt om nog op te staan. En in vers 24 is die grijsaard weer een heel ander iemand, namelijk de oude wachter bij het huis van Yūgao, een van de veroveringen van Prins Genji uit de *Genji monogatari*. In het desbetreffende deel rijdt Genji uit om zijn oude min te bezoeken, maar kan bij haar nederige woning niet parkeren, en plaatst zijn rijtuig daarom op de oprit van Yūgao. En van het een komt het ander. Dit wordt nog eens opgehaald in vers 24.

25. *Uki / hito / wo* *Kikoku- / gaki / yori* *Kugura- / sen* *Bashō*	*Treurig, triest / man / lijdend vw* *Doornen- / haag / door* *Doorheen gaan / hww laten doen*	Laat de geplaagde minnaar Door de doornenhaag Zich zelf een pad banen

26. *Ima / ya / wakare / no* *Katana / sashidasu* *Kyorai*	*Nu / twijfel / afscheid / van* *Zwaard / presenteren*	En nu bij het afscheid houdt zij hem zijn zwaard voor

27. *Sewashige / ni* *Kushi / de / kashira / wo* *Kaki-chirashi* *Bonchō*	*Gehaast / kennelijk / bijw. part.* *Kam / met / haren / lijdend vw* *Kammen en verstrooien*	Gehaast haalt zij De kam door haar haar Maar maakt het in de war

28. *Omoi-kittaru* *Shinigurui / mi- / yo* *Fumikuni*	*Moedig, drastisch (< denken en doorsnijden)* *Stervensbereid / kijk / toch*	Onverschrokken en bereid Om te sterven, kijk toch eens!

29. *Seiten / ni* *Ariake-/ zuki / no* *Asaborake* *Kyorai*	*Mooi weer, helder / in* *Zonsopgang / maan / van* *Dageraad*	In de heldere hemel staat Bij zonsopgang de maan: De ochtend schemert nog

30. *Kosui / no / aki / no* *Hira / no / hatsu- / shimo* *Bashō*	*Meer / van / herfst / van* *Berg Hira / van / begin / rijp*	Bij het herfstmeer ligt De eerste rijp op de berg Hira

Met vers 25 blijft Bashō in de sfeer van de Heian-tijd. De smachtende minnaar die zijn rijtuig met moeite parkeert in vers 24 moet nu maar zien dat hij binnenkomt door de lastig doordringbare doornenhaag. Het gaat hier om de *Poncirus trifolata*, een citrussoort, waarvan dan weer aardig is om op te merken dat deze door Von Siebold, de aartsvader van de vaderlandse Japanologie, in 1844 in Nederland is ingevoerd, althans volgens Wikipedia. Daar staat ook vermeld dat deze struik gebruikt kan worden als welhaast ondoordringbare haag.

Ook vers 26 blijft in amoureuze sferen; nu gaat het volgens het Japanse commentaar om het smartelijke afscheid de volgende ochtend, waarbij de vertrekkende minnaar zijn zwaard aangeboden krijgt door de vrouw die verlaten wordt. In het Japans is het ook mogelijk dat de man zelf zijn 'zwaard des vertrekkens' tevoorschijn tovert. In vers 27 kamt diezelfde verliefde vrouw gehaast en met ongewenste gevolgen nog haar golvende haar. Maar in vers 28 gaat het minder om verliefdheid, en meer om stervensbereidheid. Wederom is het Japans voor velerlei uitleg vatbaar. Die stervensbereidheid kan zowel gelden voor een mannelijke held als voor de haren kammende vrouw. Niet uit te sluiten valt zelfs dat het in de context van vers 28 een man is die in vers 27 een rommeltje maakt van de haardos. In het Japans, dat geen mannelijke en vrouwelijke voornaamwoorden gebruikt, zijn beide opties mogelijk, in het Nederlands moet de vertaler keuzes maken.

In vers 29 zijn we wel klaar met de liefde en gaat het om strijd, om de krijger die zich bij zonsopgang klaar maakt voor de beslissende slag. Maar dat is slechts even, want in combinatie met vers 30 blijkt vers 29 deel uitgemaakt te hebben van een prachtige natuurbeschrijving. Maan en zon, meer en berg, ook dit soort combinaties van tegenstellingen is een geaccepteerde manier om verzen aan elkaar te verbinden in de *renga*-kunst.

31. *Shiba / no / to / ya* *Soba / nusumarete* *Uta / wo / yomu* *Fumikuni*	*Sprokkelhout, vurenhout / van / deur / nadruk geven* *Sobasoep / stelen pass.* *Gedicht, lied / lijdend vw / dromen*	Achter een vurenhouten deur Dicht hij verzen Over een hem ontstolen *soba*-soep

32. *Nunoko / ki-/ narō* *Kaze / no / yūgure* *Bonchō*	*Gewatteerde kleren / dragen/ gewend zijn* *Wind / van / avond*	Wel gewend gewatteerde wol te dragen In de kilte van de avondwind

33. *Oshi-ōte* *Nete / wa / mata / tatsu* *Karimakura* *Bashō*	*duwen en wederzijds doen* *Slapen / wat betreft / weer / staan* *Dutje*	Net nog suffend op een hoopje Staan ze al weer overeind – Het was maar een hazenslaapje

34. *Tatara / no / kumo / no* *Mada / akaki / sora* *Kyorai*	*Blaasbalg / van / wolk / van* *Nog / rood / hemel*	Wolken als door blaasbalgen voortgeblazen Tegen de nog purperen hemel

35. *Hito-/ kamae* *Shirigai / tsukuru* *Mado / no / hana* *Bonchō*	*Eén / huisje, hutje* *Paardentuig / maken* *Raam / van / bloemen*	In het huisje achteraf Maakt men paardentuig – Bloemen staan bij het raam

36. *Biwa / no / furuha / ni* *Konome / moetatsu* *Fumikuni*	*Japanse mispel (Eriobotrya Japonica) / van / oude bladeren / in* *Knoppen / uitkomen schieten*	In het oude mispelgebladerte Botten toch weer knoppen uit

We zijn nu aangekomen bij de finale, de zes verzen die op de achterkant van het manuscript gegroepeerd zijn. Hier hoort het tempo omlaag te gaan en de toon beschouwend te worden, en aldus geschiedt hier. Humor speelt nadrukkelijk een rol in vers 31, met een kluizenaar die in de prachtige omgeving van het meer Biwa zit te kniezen over een kop soep – maar dat dan wel al dichtend weet te doen. En dat die kluizenaar goed aangekleed is om de kou 's avonds te verdragen, in vers 32. Humor zit er ook in vers 33, dat een groepje reizigers beschrijft dat eerst nog op een hoopje lag te suffen, maar snel al weer verder moet op zijn tocht. In vers 34 wordt beschreven hoe prachtig de ochtendhemel er uit ziet.

In vers 35 zijn we niet langer op reis, maar nog wel bij de onderlaag van het volk, want het werken met huiden van dode dieren is voor een nette Boeddhist onkies, en dus normaliter iets voor *eta*, de Japanse onderklasse. Daarom ook staat het huisje achteraf. Het is wel een idyllisch ingericht huisje, met bloemen voor het raam. En we eindigen helemaal optimistisch en Boeddhistisch, met een verwijzing naar de gedachte van wedergeboorte. Dezelfde gedachte vinden we al honderden jaren eerder in een andere beroemde *renga*, de *Minase sangin hyakuin*, in een vers van Sōgi:

Kareshi hayashi mo *Haru~kaze zo fuku*	Ook door het verdorde woud Waait weer een lentebries

Natsu - Zomergeuren[3]

Ook in deze *kasen* doen Bonchō en Kyorai mee, een driemans-*renga* dus. Het openingsvers is van Bonchō, en is prachtig. Je stelt je meteen voor wat er op zo'n zwoele zomeravond allemaal ruikt en riekt aan aangename en onaangename geuren. Dat gevoel van zwoelheid wordt versterkt door het tweede vers, van de hand van Bashō, dat geniaal is in zijn eenvoud. Let ook op het klankrijm, zowel in de tweede als de eerste versregel.

1. *Machi / naka / wa* *Mono / no / nioi / ya* *Natsu / no / tsuki* *Bonchō*	*Stad / in / wat betreft* *Dingen / van / geuren / nadruk* *Zomer / van / maan*	Binnen in de stad: Hoe alles ruikt en geurt Onder de zomermaan

2. *Atsushi / atsushi / to* *Kado / kado / no / koe* *Bashō*	*Heet / heet / aldus* *Hoek / hoek / van / stem*	'Zo heet zo heet!' Klinkt het van kant tot kant

3. *Niban- / gusa* *Tori / mo / hata- / zu* *Ho / ni / idete* *Kyorai*	*Tweede keer / onkruid* *Plukken/ ook / uitvoeren / ontkenning* *Rijsthalm / in / uitkomen schieten*	Het onkruid nog niet eens Voor de tweede keer gewied En de rijst schiet al in de aren

4. *Hai / uchi-tataku* *Urume / ichimai* *Bonchō*	*As / slaan en kloppen* *Sardine, visje / één stuks*	De as klopt hij wat af Van dat enkele sardientje

5. *Kono / suji / wa* *Gin / mo / mishira- / zu* *Fujiyusa / yo* *Bashō*	*Deze / draad, hoek* *Zilver / ook / herkennen / ontkenning* *Ongemak / uitroep*	In deze uithoek Herkennen ze mijn zilvergeld niet eens Wat een ellende!

6. *Tada / tohyōshi* *Nagaki / wakizashi* *Kyorai*	*Slechts / opschepperij* *Lang / korte dolk*	Enkel boerenbluf, Met hun buitenmaatse dolkjes

3 *Bashō Shichibu-shū* p. 326-331. Nrs. 1-36 van *Natsu* corresponderen met Nrs. 2034-2069.

In vers 3 is het nog steeds heet, maar zijn we niet meer in de stad maar op het platteland, waar het groeizame weer er toe leidt dat de rijst sneller rijpt dan de boeren kunnen bijhouden met onkruid wieden. Die werkdruk leidt er ook toe dat een boer in vers 4 amper tijd heeft om fatsoenlijk te eten, en zich beperkt tot een eenvoudig gegrild sardientje, waar hij de as snel van afklopt.

Dat duidt wel op een zeer eenvoudig leefmilieu, zo eenvoudig zelfs dat de monetaire economie er nog niet doorgedrongen is, zoals de verfijnde stedeling in vers 5 merkt. De ergernis over dit simpele klootjesvolk strekt zich ook uit tot de plattelandse boerenbluffers, die vanzelfsprekend geen zwaard mogen dragen, dat mogen enkel de *bushi*, de *samurai*, en daarom maar stoer doen met een extra lange dolk.

7. *Kusamura / ni* *Kawazu / kowagaru* *Yūmagure* *Bonchō*	*Afgelegen terrein, 'gras-dorp' / in* *Kikker / bang zijn* *Avondschemering*	In het grasland Maakt een kikker ze al bang Wanneer het 's avonds schemert

8. *Fuki / no / me / tori / ni* *Andon / yurikesu* *Bashō*	*Groot hoefblad / van / spruit scheut* *Lantaarn / schommelen / uitdoven*	Bij het plukken van scheuten hoefblad Dooft haar lantaarn van het schommelen

9. *Dōshin / no / okori / wa* *Hana / no / tsubomu / toki* *Kyorai*	*Moreel besef geloof / van / opstaan ontwaken / wat betreft* *Bloem / van / ontknoppen / tijd*	Het plots ontluiken van het geloof: Ten tijde van het knoppen van de bloesems

10. *Noto / no / Nanao / no* *Fuyu / wa / sumi- / uki* *Bonchō*	*Noto (schiereiland) / van* *Nanao (dorp op Noto) / van* *Winter / wat betreft / wonen / moeilijk*	In Nanao op Noto Is het leven 's winters zwaar

11. *Uo / no / hone* *Shiwaburu / made / no* *Oi / wo / mite* *Bashō*	*Vis / van / bot, graten* *Kauwen / tot / van* *Ouderdom / lijdend vw / zien*	Zie die oude man Hij sabbelt aan De graten van de vis

12. *Machi- / bito / ire- / shi* *Ko-/ mikado / no / kagi* *Kyorai*	*Wachten / man / binnenlaten / verl. tijd* *Kleine / poort / van sleutel*	Met de sleutel van de kleine poort Laat hij de man die wacht naar binnen

Echte helden zijn het niet, want het plotselinge gekwaak van een kikker buiten in het grasland (dit is geen keurig gazongras, maar meer gras in de zin van *bushlands*) 's avonds jaagt ze al schrik aan, zo lezen we in vers 7. In vers 8 doet plots kikkergebrul dit nog steeds, maar nu niet bij boerenblaaskaken, maar bij een meisje dat in het schemerdonker met haar lantaarn in de hand scheuten groot hoefblad zoekt, die blijkbaar hier gegeten wordt. Van schrik laat ze haar lantaarn vallen.

Zo'n plotse en onverwachte gebeurtenis leidt in het Zen-boeddhisme vaak tot dieper religieus inzicht. Befaamd is het verhaal over de Chinese Zen-meester Xiangyan Zhixian, die na een leven van studie zonder verlichting te bereiken zich gedesillusioneerd terugtrok in een hutje in het bos. Daar was hij op een dag buiten het terrein voor zijn hut aan het vegen toen een rotsblokje dat hij wegveegde aankwam tegen een stuk bamboe. Het geluid dat dit veroorzaakte verhief onverwacht zijn geest tot het niveau van *satori*,[4] van Boeddhistische Verlichting. In vers 9 gaat het niet over verlichting, maar wel over het begin van de weg daar naartoe, over het ontluiken van moreel besef.

We maken wel een hele grote sprong in plaats en tijd van vers 9 naar 10. Evenwel, in diezelfde Boeddhistische traditie zoekt men vaak religieuze verdieping in barre levensomstandigheden, zoals op het onherbergzame schiereiland Noto (vers 10). Wellicht dat de hoofdpersoon hier in weemoed terugdenkt aan hoe het allemaal begon. Wellicht is deze hoofdpersoon de oude man in vers 11 die we de restjes vis van de graat zien afsabbelen.

In vers 12 maken we wederom een grote sprong in ruimte en tijd. Dan is diezelfde oude man ineens een bejaarde wachter van het huis van een adellijke dame, aan wie een edele heer een amoureus bezoek wil brengen, en door de zijpoort binnengeleid wordt door de grijsaard.

13. *Tachi-kakari* *Byōbu / wo / kokasu* *Onna- / godomo* *Bonchō*	*staan en er tegenaan hangen* *Kamerscherm / lijdend vw / doen omvallen* *Vrouwen- / kinderen*	Ze staan zo te dringen Dat ze het kamerscherm omstoten De nieuwsgierige dienstmeisjes

14. *Yudono / wa / take / no* *Sunoko / wabishiki* *Bashō*	*Badruimte / wat betreft / bamboe / van* *Open vloer / zielig troosteloos*	De badkamer heeft een vloer Van bamboe latjes hoe armzalig

4 Zie Mizenko, M. (1999). 'Bamboo Voice Peach Blossom: Speech, Silence and Subjective Experience.' *Monumenta Nipponica* 54(3), p. 309.

15. *Uikyō / no* *Mi / wo / fuki-otosu* *Yū / arashi* *Kyorai*	*Venkel / van* *Vruchten / lijdend vw / blazen en laten vallen* *Avond/ storm*	De pluimen van de venkel Dwarrelen voort in de wind: Avondstorm

16. *Sō / yaya / samuku* *tera / ni / kaeru / ka* *Bonchō*	*Monnik, priester / beetje / koud* *Tempel / in, naar / terugkeren / vraag*	Zal de monnik in deze kou Naar zijn tempel terugkeren?

17. *Saruhiki / no* *Saru / to / yo / wo / furu* *Aki / no / tsuki* *Bashō*	*Speelman, jongleur / van* *Aap / met / wereld / lijdend vw / ervaren, doormaken* *Herfst / van / maan*	De speelman en zijn aapje Ze gaan samen door het leven Onder de herfstmaan

18. *Nen / ni / itto / no* *Jishi / hakaru / nari* *Kyorai*	*Jaar / in / één schep / van* *Rijstbelasting / meten / zijn*	Per jaar meet zijn rijstbelasting Maar net één schep

Deze mannelijke bezoeker trekt wel bekijks van het vrouwelijk personeel, zo blijkt in vers 13. De dienstmeisjes laten het kamerscherm omvallen waarachter ze zich verdringen om een glimp van deze heer op te vangen. Deze gebeurtenis krijgt een andere duiding in vers 14; hier gaat het meer om de eenvoudige en waarschijnlijk krappe behuizing van de dame in kwestie.

In vers 15 staat iemand in deze eenvoudige badruimte en kijkt naar buiten, en ziet daar hoe de pluimen van de venkelplanten in de verwaarloosde tuin voortgeblazen worden door de avondwind. Diezelfde wind waait nog altijd stevig, maar ook nadrukkelijk koud, in het landschap waar een eenzame monnik doorheen moet om naar zijn tempel terug te keren in vers 16. Een aapje en zijn baas, hier speelman genoemd, moeten dezelfde kou trotseren, maar hebben elkaar in elk geval, zo suggereert vers 17. Vervolgens springen we verder, van monnik naar speelman naar de arme boer in vers 18, die zo arm is dat hij maar een bescheiden hoeveelheid van zijn rijst hoeft af te staan als belasting.

19. *Go-rop- / pon* *Namaki / tsuke- / taru* *Mizutamari* *Bonchō*	*Vijf / zes / stuks* *Onbewerkte boomstammen / erin leggen / verl. tijd* *Modderpoel*	Vijf, zes boomstammen liggen opgestapeld in een waterplas

20. *Tabi / fumi- yogosu* *Kuro- / boko / no / michi* *Bashō*	*Tabi (teensloffen) / treden en vies maken* *Zwart / aarde / van / weg*	De teensloffen maakt hij bij het lopen vies Op deze wegen van zwarte aarde

21. *Oitatete* *Hayaki / o – / uma / no* *Katana / mochi* *Kyorai*	*Voortjagen, drijven* *Snel / erend voorvoegsel / paard / van* *Zwaard / (vast) hebben*	Voortjagend op zijn rappe ros de zwaarddrager

22. *Detchi / ga / ninau* *Mizu / koboshi- tari* *Bonchō*	*Hulpje, leerjongen / onderwerp / dragen, sjouwen* *Water / (ver)spillen / verl. tijd*	Het hulpje sjouwde water Maar heeft alles gemorst

23. *To-/ shōji / mo* *Mushiro- / gakoi / no* *Uri- / yashiki* *Bashō*	*Deur / shōji (schuifdeuren) / ook* *Stromat / afsluiten / van* *Koop / huis*	Voor de ramen en de deuren Hangen strooien matten Bij het huis dat te koop staat

24. *Tenjō-mamori* *Itsu / ka / irozuku* *Kyorai*	*Spaanse peper* *Wanneer / vraag / (ver)kleuren*	De peperplanten in de tuin, Wanneer zullen ze verkleuren?

Vers 19 bevestigt de armoe van deze plaats: een handjevol boomstammen ligt opgestapeld op het erf in een waterplas, om het hout uit te laten werken. In een dergelijke armoedige omgeving loopt de reiziger, die zijn *tabi*, de Japanse sloffen met de karakteristieke teen apart, besmeurt van de modder van de waterplas en de weg erlangs. In vers 21 wordt er nog steeds gelopen op deze modderige paden, maar dan in een hoger tempo, omdat er een edel ros bijgehouden moet worden door bijvoorbeeld een schildknaap. Zo'n jongen kan er een rommeltje van maken en heeft dat ook gedaan in vers 32, want hij heeft het water dat hij droeg gemorst.

Vers 23 verplaatst de handeling naar binnenshuis. Nu is het water gemorst door een hulpje in een leegstaand huis dat te koop staat, met matten voor ramen en deuren. In vers 24 wordt deze verlaten sfeer bestendigd als een voorbijganger meewarig kijkt naar de peperplanten in de verwaarloosde tuin bij dit huis. Let er dan niemand op dit leegstaand huis? Jawel, de peperplanten, want letterlijk heten die hier 'plafond-oppassers,' maar dat blijft onvertaalbaar.

25. *Koso-koso / to* *Waraji / wo / tsukuru* *Tsuki / yo / zashi* *Kyorai*	*Zachtjes, stilletjes / aldus* *Strosandalen / lijdend vw / maken* *Maan / nacht / schijnen*	Zachtjes, zachtjes Sloffen de strosandalen In het schijnsel van de maannacht

26. *Nomi / wo / furui / ni* *Oki- / shi / hatsu-/ aki* *Bashō*	*Vlo / lijdend vw / schudden, zwaaien* *Opstaan / verl. tijd / begin / herfst*	Om de vlooien af te schudden Staat hij op – de herfst is begonnen

27. *Sono / mama / ni* *Korobi-ochi- / taru* *Masu-otaoshi* *Kyorai*	*Die / toestand / in* *Rollen en vallen / verl. tijd* *Muizen-, rattenval*	Onberoerd en leeg Is zij dichtgevallen De rattenval

28. *Yugamite / futa / no* *Awa- / nu / hanbitsu* *Bonchō*	*Kromgetrokken / deksel, lid / van passen / ontkenning / koffer*	Kromgetrokken is het deksel Van de koffer en past niet meer

29. *Sōan / ni* *Shibaraku / ite / wa* *Uchiyaburi* *Bashō*	*Hut, van planten gevlochten / in* *Kort(stondig) / wonen / wat betreft* */ kapot gaan*	Het gevlochten twijgenhutje Waarin ik kort verbleef Valt alweer uit elkaar

30. *Inochi / ureshiki* *Senjū / no / sata* *Kyorai*	*Leven / vreugde, blij* *Compilatie, bloemlezing / van aanwijzen, noemen*	O vreugde van mijn leven: Opgenomen te worden in de Verzameling

Aan het te koop staande huis van vers 24 gaat iemand voorbij, zachtjes, op strosandalen. Het Japanse *koso-koso* betekent stilletjes, verholen, maar werkt hier ook als klanknabootsing, van het sloffen van de sandalen. Het is nacht in vers 25, de maan schijnt. Dat doet deze ook in vers 26, maar dan om de man te beschijnen die gek wordt van de vlooien, die bij uitstek welig tieren na een warme lange zomer, bij het begin van de herfst. Weer eens een vers van Bashō waarin hij de sfeer naar het aardse, het alledaagse, weet terug te brengen.

In vers 27 blijven we bij deze persoon, bij zijn huiselijke omgeving en bij deze tijd van het jaar, waarin het stikt van het ongedierte, zo ook van de ratten en de muizen. Deze ratten- of muizenval werkt echter niet, of ze is te gevoelig, want leeg klapt ze dicht en valt op de grond. Van eenzelfde matige kwaliteit is de koffer in vers 28, want het deksel ervan is kromgetrokken en past niet meer.

Een koffer, dat vraagt om reizen, en dan heb je tijdelijke verblijfsplaatsen, zoals de zelf gevlochten verblijfplaats in vers 29, die een kort leven beschoren is. Het kan natuurlijk ook een geriefelijk zomerhutje zijn, waarin je gaat zitten om de ergste hitte en zonneschijn te ontvluchten. In elk geval staat het kortstondige bestaan van dit hutje mooi in contrast met de onsterfelijkheid die de dichter in vers 30 ten deel valt: als je opgenomen wordt in één van de keizerlijke bloemlezingen, zoals de *Kinkokinshū*, dan blijft je naam voor altijd gekend, hetgeen reden tot grote vreugde is.

31. *Samazama / ni* *Shina / kawari- / taru* *Koi / wo / shite* *Bonchō*	*Gevarieerd, van alles / op* *Goederen, kwaliteit, manier /* *veranderen / verl. tijd* *liefde / lijdend vw / doen,* *maken*	Al even gevarieerd En met dames van diverse rang en stand Heeft hij de liefde reeds bedreven

32. *Ukiyo / no / hate / wa* *Mina / Komachi / nari* *Bashō*	*De vergankelijke wereld / van /* *vruchten, eind / wat betreft* *Allemaal / Komachi /* *zijn*	Maar we eindigen wel op deze aarde Allemaal zoals de dichteres Komachi

33. *Nani / yue / ni* *Kayu / susuru / ni / mo* *Namida / gumi* *Kyorai*	*Wat, welk / reden / in* *Rijstebrij / slurpen, slobberen /* *in / ook, zelfs* *Tranen / putten*	Om welke reden toch Gaat zelfs het slurpen aan de rijstebrij Gepaard met tranen?

34. *O-rusu / to / nare- / ba* *Hiroki / itajiki* *Bonchō*	*Erend voorvoegsel / afwezig /* *aldus / zijn / wanneer* *Ruim, breed /* *plankenvloer*	Met de meester afwezig van huis Lijkt de kamer met de plankenvloer erg groot

35. *Te / no / hira / ni* *Shirami / hawasuru* *Hana / no / kage* *Bashō*	*Hand / van / palm* *Luis, ongedierte /* *laten kruipen, oversteken* *Bloem / van / schaduw*	Over de palm van zijn hand Laat hij de luizen lopen In de schaduw van de bloesems

36. *Kasumi / ugoka- / nu* *Hiru / no / nemutasa* *Kyorai*	*Mist, wazig / bewegen / ontkenning* *Middag / van / slaperigheid*	De mist hangt bewegingloos Over de slaperige middag heen

In een anthologie vinden we tal van verschillende stijlvormen, geschreven door talrijke personen van allerlei verschillende achtergronden. Vers 31 trekt de vergelijking met het liefdesleven van de verheugde dichter. In hoofdstuk 2 van de *Genji Monogatari*, *Hahaki* ('De bezemboom'), wordt verteld van een discussie tussen Prins Genji en zijn vrienden over soorten en gradaties van vrouwen. In hoofdstuk 4, *Yūgao* ('De avondwinde') wordt hiernaar verwezen met de term *Shina-sadame*, letterlijk 'het vaststellen van kwaliteit.' Vers 32 tekent daar wel bij aan dat voor al die promiscuïteit later in dit leven wel de rekening gepresenteerd wordt, zoals bij de legendarische Ono no Komachi: beroemd dichteres, al even beroemd minnares, maar desalniettemin arm en verlaten door alles en iedereen uiteindelijk gestorven.

Met een dergelijke melancholische gedachte over de vergankelijkheid van de zinnelijke liefde in het achterhoofd, kan het best dat de hoofdpersoon van vers 33 af en toe volschiet, zelfs bij zoiets alledaags als het nuttigen van een kommetje rijstebrij. En als je dat doet in een leeg en niet ingericht huis, waar zelfs geen *tatami* in liggen zodat je zo op de kale planken vloer uit kijkt, zoals in vers 34, dan wordt de sfeer er niet vrolijker op.

Echter, we naderen het eind van de *kasen*, en die moet eindigen 'on a high note': tijd dus voor een relativerend beeld. Laat dat gerust aan Bashō over. Hij dicht vers 35, over een man die rustig geniet van de bloesems, en kijkt hoe er in, of vanuit, de schaduw van de bloesems, ongedierte kruipt over zijn handpalm. Luizen zitten vaak in de *tatami*; zou deze man ze dan de oude matten net de deur uitgedaan hebben?

Vers 36 brengt ons eindelijk in de onthaaste en onthechte stemming waarin we horen te eindigen. Deze man bij de bloesems zit en sust wat, ongestoord door een enkele luis, in zo'n mistige middag in de vroege Japanse lente die daar uitermate voor geschikt is.

Beknopte westerse bibliografie

Akkermans, H.A. (2005). *Zelfs wat ik nodig heb gaat niet lang mee. Minase sangin hyakuin*. The Pauper Press, Voorschoten. – De enige andere *renga* die integraal in het Nederlands vertaald is, en een zeker zo mooie als de *kasen* in *Sarumino*. Deze *renga* uit 1488 kent nog 100 verzen: men had de tijd voor een dag lang dichten, in die dagen.

Dombrady, G.S. (1994). *Bashô Sarumino. Das Affenmäntelchen*. Dietrich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Mainz. – Degelijk Duits werk, alle vier de *kasen* uit *Sarumino* vertaald, met transcriptie, en uitleg van de verzen ernaast, veelal, zoals ook in mijn eigen vertaling, gebaseerd op het Japanse klassieke commentaar. Al met al een prachtig boekje. Er zitten ook nog vertalingen van de veertig 'losse' *haiku* van de hand van Bashō bij uit *Sarumino*, en de vertaling van een *haibun*-tekst (dichterlijke prozaschets) van Bashō uit dezelfde bundel.

Mayhew, L. (1985). *Monkey's Raincoat Sarumino. Linked Poetry of the Basho School with Haiku Selections*. Charles E. Tuttle Company, Rutland VE / Tokyo Japan. – De enige Engelstalige vertaling van *Sarumino*, ook in een keurig boekje gepubliceerd, maar toch niet echt een aanrader. Lenore Mayhew was zelf musicologe en dichteres en vertaalde uit diverse talen, en misschien dat haar artistieke talent gewoon wat te onstuimig is voor mijn bedachtzame natuur. De verzen klinken prima in het Engels, maar wijkt nogal eens erg ver af van wat er in het Japans staat.

Shirane, H. (1998). *Traces of Dreams. Landscape, Cultural Memory and the Poetry of Bashō*. Stanford University Press, Stanford CA. – Een prachtige inleiding in de culturele en historische context waarbinnen Bashō opereerde, en tegelijkertijd ook een goede letterkundige uitleg van hoe dat verbinden van verzen in *haiku* nu eigenlijk in zijn werk ging.

Sieffert, R. (1989). *Le Haïkaï selon Bashô. Propos recueillis par ses disciples*. Publications Orientalistes de France, I.R.B., L'Aigle. – Dit is vooral een aanrader vanwege de integrale vertaling van de *Kyorai-shō* die er in staat, de notities van Bashō's trouwe pupil Kyorai over hoe Bashō vond dat je *haiku* en *kasen* moest schrijven. Betreft precies deze periode, de tijd waarin Kyorai met een paar andere leerlingen en Bashō zelf bezig was met het samenstellen van *Sarumino*. Bevat ook vertalingen naar het Frans van twee van de *kasen* uit *Sarumino*, winter en herfst.

Van Tooren, J. (1973). *Haiku. Een jonge maan*. Meulenhoff, Utrecht. – Is een verzameling *haiku*-vertalingen uit een ander tijdperk. Met veel liefde gedaan, wellicht wat hapsnap overkomend in deze 21ste eeuw, maar blijft wel mijn eigen kennismaking met Japanse poëzie, en daarom voor altijd dierbaar.

Vos, J. (2005). *Bashō. De smalle weg naar het verre noorden*. De Arbeiderspers, Amsterdam. – Jos Vos laat zien hoe ver we inmiddels zijn qua professionaliteit bij het vertalen van klassieke Japanse literatuur. Uitvoerig gecommenstarieerde vertaling van Bashō's meest bekende werk, *Oku no Hosomichi*.

Henk Akkermans (1964) is professor at the Tilburg School of Economics and Management of Tilburg University. He holds a MA in Japanse Language and Culture from Leiden University (1988), a MSci in Information Management from Tilburg University (1987) and a Ph.D. in Industrial Engineering from Eindhoven Technical University (1995). His Japan-related research interests are Japanese business practices, Japanese history (Edo-period), and Japanese classical poetry. In 2005, he published a Dutch translation of the Minase sangin hyakuin renga.

The Chronicle of Lord Nobunaga by Ōta Gyūichi.
Translated and edited by J.S.A. Elisonas and J.P. Lamers,
Leiden: Brill. 2011.

Reviewed by W. J. Boot

It is an expensive book, but also a handsome book, and its contents beat the best of Clancy. It has the added advantage that its contents are true, or as true as the writer, Ōta Gyūichi (1527-1610?), could make them. The book opens an immediate window on sixteenth-century Japan, through the hegemon Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582), whose person, personality, and *faits et gestes* are at the centre of the work.

I regard *The Chronicle of Lord Nobunaga* as a major contribution to the field of Japanology. As the second half of the sixteenth century is one of the key periods in the history of Japan and *Shinchō-Kō ki* is the single most important source, it is a great boon to anyone who has an interest in the period to have at his disposal a fully annotated, accessible English translation - all the more so, as the best modern Japanese edition (see underneath) is not easily available.

Elisonas and Lamers have done an excellent job in translating the text. It is well written, eminently readable, and not a mistake is to be found. They have added a Preface and an Introduction, copious notes, a detailed index, and a total of fifteen maps. The maps are a must if you want to follow the many campaigns that Nobunaga undertook in the course of his life, and the index is indispensable, for the book has an enormous crowd of major and minor characters who all, in the established Japanese fashion, appear under a bewildering variety of names and titles. The notes supply the necessary biographical and geographical information, and rectify mistakes in the text by confronting it with other sources. The Preface gives details about chronology, reference works, and the Japanese use of names and titles, while the history of the text and information about its author are discussed in the Introduction. For ease of orientation, a chronology is included.

Translation and annotation are indebted to two Portuguese and a number of Japanese works. The most important of the latter is Okuno Takahiro's *Oda Nobunaga monjo no kenkyū* ('Study of the Documents of Oda Nobunaga').[1] The same Okuno, together with Itasawa Yoshihiko, also published the complete original text of *Shinchō-Kō ki* in a not very glamorous,

1 Two volumes, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1969-1970; an enlarged edition appeared in 1988 with the same publisher.

but cheap pocket book edition.[2] In this way, even poor students like me could afford to buy this carefully edited and annotated edition and eventually (years later, back in Leiden) read it in class. An important reference work is Taniguchi Katsuhiro's *Oda Nobunaga kashin jinmei jiten* ('Biographical Dictionary of the Vassals of Oda Nobunaga').[3]

The Portuguese works that deserve mention are the treatise on names that is included in João Rodriguez" *Arte breve* ('Abbreviated Version of the Art [of Japanese Grammar]'; 1620), and the Japanese-Portuguese dictionary that was printed by the Jesuit press in Nagasaki in 1603-1604. It is entitled *Vocabulario da lingoa de Iapam* and frequently quoted in Japanese dictionaries as *Nip-Po jisho*. It is essential for reading Japanese sources of the Azuchi-Momoyama Period (Preface, pp. xi-xvi).

Translation and annotation are the result of a lifetime of research. Jurgis Elisonas, who earlier published under the name of George Elison, has been a recognized specialist of the period ever since he published his history of the first Christian mission in Japan, *Deus Destroyed*.[4] After that, he contributed essays about Nobunaga and his successor Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537-1598) to *Warlords, Artists & Commoners*,[5] and two more to Vol. 4 of The Cambridge History of Japan (1991). He is also responsible for the chapters about Nobunaga and Hideyoshi in the new edition of *Sources of Japanese Tradition*.[6] All his writings share the same broad learning, meticulous research, and incisive analysis.

After studying in Leiden, Cambridge, Coimbra, and Osaka (with Prof. Wakita Osamu), Lamers took his Ph.D. in 1998 with his dissertation *Japonius Tyrannus: A Political Biography of Oda Nobunaga* (1534-1582).[7] Since then, he, too, has been one of the acknowledged Nobunaga specialists outside Japan. Presently, he is stationed in Peking as Economic Councillor of the Royal Netherlands Embassy. From 2008 till 2011 he was Chief of Staff of the Netherlands Ministry of Economic Affairs, Agriculture, and Innovation. Before that, he was stationed in Seoul and Tokyo.

Glory and Renown

A book like this confronts the reader with the truth of the threadbare truism that 'the past is a different country.' There is a huge difference between the Nobunaga of *The Chronicle* and the Nobunaga of, e.g., the NHK drama 'King of Zipangu' of 1992. In the drama, Nobunaga is presented as rational. Of course, he chops off the odd head, but all his actions are presented as inspired by, and conducive to the realization of his great plan; Nobunaga is a visionary, who is ahead of his time, and misunderstood by his vassals. This Nobunaga you will not find in

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2 Kadokawa Bunko 2541, 1969. When I checked on 3-9-2011, Amazon Japan listed six second-hand copies of the reprint of 1984 as still available. It also listed a number of second-hand copies of the re-edition of 1997 of Kuwada Tadachika's earlier, but inferior edition of 1965, which appeared in *Sensō Shiryō Sōsho*. The site also lists three separate re-translations of the text into modern Japanese.

3 Taniguchi Katsuhiro, comp., *Oda Nobunaga kashin jinmei jiten*, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1995; rpt 2010.

4 Elison, George, *Deus Destroyed: the Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan*, Harvard East Asian Series Vol. 72, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1973.

5 Elison, George, and Bardwell L. Smith, eds, *Warlords, Artists & Commoners: Japan in the Sixteenth Century* Honolulu: University Press of Hawai'i, 1981.

6 Wm. Theodore de Bary, William M. Bodiford, Yoshiko Dykstra, comp., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, Vol. 1, Columbia Asian Studies series: Introduction to Asian Civilizations, New York: Columbia University Press, 2001.

7 It was republished in a commercial edition as Lamers, J.P., *Japonius Tyrannus: The Japanese Warlord Oda Nobunaga Reconsidered*, Japonica neerlandica Vol. 8, Leiden: Hotei Publishing, 2000.

Gyūichi's pages. The grand design is never spelled out. The viciousness with which Nobunaga sometimes lashes out is shocking and hardly instrumental, war and fighting are enjoyed for their own sake, glory and renown are the most potent motives, and gods and the Way of Heaven are ever present influences on the human fate.

The Introductory Chapter (*Shukan*) of *The Chronicle*, which tells the story of Nobunaga's exploits before he appeared on the national scene in 1568, contains two appreciations of Nobunaga by experienced commanders. The background of both stories is that in his youth Nobunaga, because of his unconventional habits and attire, was usually regarded as a fool (*tawake*); perhaps not his sanity, but certainly his soundness was at issue (pp. 58-59, p. 61). The first commander to see through this was his father-in-law Saitō Dōsan (1494-1556), *the daimyō* of Mino. It is a famous scene, never missed in any film made about Nobunaga, how Dōsan, crouching in a small hut along the road, observed the arrival of his son-in-law. He was sitting on his horse, 'his hair straight up like a tea whisk, tied with fresh-green ribbons, and [wearing] a bathrobe with its sleeves removed.' Instead of a decent obi he wore a straw rope around his middle into which he had stuck two outsized swords, and from which any number gourds and pouches were dangling down, 'as though he was some kind of a monkey trainer.' For good measure, he wore half-trousers made of tiger and leopard skin, each panel dyed a different colour. *Tawake* is the word.

As soon as he arrived in the temple where he was to meet Dōsan, however, Nobunaga disappeared behind a screen, had his hair done in the formal samurai style ('gathered at the back and doubled over the top of his head'), changed into decent *nagabakama* ('long trousers'), dyed dark blue, and girded with one small sword, instead of the two he had been sporting on the road. Gyūichi mentions that Nobunaga himself, without anybody knowing how or when, had ordered the *nagabakama* and the sword, so the effect that resulted when he emerged from behind the scene was deliberately aimed at. The first to be impressed were Nobunaga's retainers, who 'realized to their bewilderment that lately he had been playing the fool on purpose.' The second one was Dōsan. After he had seen off Nobunaga, 'he was in a foul mood, saying not another word,' and when one of his vassals remarked that, nevertheless, he still thought Nobunaga was a fool, Dōsan replied: 'If you are right, then that is really too bad. Because I fear that one day my children will have to tie their horses to the gate of this fool' (*Chronicle*, pp. 61-63).

The second *daimyō* who made inquiries about young Nobunaga was Takeda Shingen (1521-1573) of Kai, who would later become Nobunaga's most feared opponent. At some point in time, defined only as 'in those days', he pressured the Tendai monk Tentaku into telling him about Nobunaga. The monk told how Nobunaga rode his horse every morning, and had three teachers - one for the harquebus, one for archery, and one for military science and tactics. With the last, he continually went hawking. When Shingen asked about his pastimes, Tenkaku told about Nobunaga's predilection for *kōwakamai* ('ballad drama'); he sometimes performed himself, but only in the play called *Atsumori*, with the lines '"The human lifespan, fifty years, compared to that enjoyed by dwellers of the Lowest Heavens, is like a dream, a phantasm." He has learned to recite and dance this passage very well. Or he sings one of his favourite ditties.' 'Such as?' asked Shingen, and Tenkaku was made to imitate Nobunaga singing 'Death is certain. What can I do to be remembered by, to make certain someone recalls and tells my story?' Next, Tenkaku told about Nobunaga's hawking -- how he sent out spotters, which six attendants always accompanied him (one of the six is Gyūichi!), and how he stalked the birds behind a horse. 'Nobunaga,' Shingen concluded, 'really does know the art of war' (pp. 83-85).

A Grand Design?

Nobunaga emerged on the national stage in 1568, when he conquered Kyoto and installed Ashikaga Yoshiaki (1537-1597) as the successor of his brother Yoshiteru (1536-1565), who had been murdered three years previously. As Gyūichi tells the story, Yoshiaki, having been unable to obtain support for his cause for other sources, 'made known his earnest desire for Oda Kazusa no suke Nobunaga's help.' Nobunaga accepted, thinking 'that "although [he was] a person of little significance, he wanted to prove his loyalty to the realm, making light of his life."' Now, documents prove that Nobunaga had already offered his services to Yoshiaki in December 1565, half a year after Yoshiteru's demise. We may, therefore, assume that he had quickly recognised the opportunity Yoshiaki's quandary presented to him, but Gyūichi ignores such contacts (if he knew about them) and motives, and follows the official line: Yoshiaki, let down by the Sasaki and the Asakura, turned to Nobunaga, and Nobunaga did what any decent vassal would have done in his place (pp. 115-118).

Nobunaga and Yoshiaki met on the 25th of the 7th month (7/25) in a temple near Nobunaga's residence Gifu (Mino). Within two weeks, Nobunaga is on the warpath in Ōmi, and on 10/22 Yoshiaki is formally installed by the emperor as the new shogun. In a little less than three months Nobunaga, in a whirlwind campaign, had conquered Ōmi and brought to submission the five Central Provinces (Yamashiro, Yamato, Settsu, Kawachi, and Izumi). He has installed Yoshiaki in his new residence, where he 'presented Yoshiaki with a sword and a horse' and 'Yoshiaki graciously summoned [him] before him, and they drank according to the *sangon* ceremony, with Yoshiaki himself pouring the saké.' For his pains, Nobunaga received a sword, and 'enjoyed glory unparalleled in the Precincts of the Sun. He deserved to be honoured until the end of times, to be held as an example to his descendants' (pp. 118-124).

A similar negligence of what we would consider relevant motives we see in Gyūichi's description of the construction of Azuchi Castle. At the very end of the preceding chapter, which covers the year 1575, Nobunaga has handed the headship of the family to his eldest son, Oda Nobutada (1557-1582), together with the castle of Gifu, the provinces of Owari and Mino, and 'the great sword Hoshikiri.' 'What great joy for both the father and the son, what happiness! How auspicious!' is how Gyūichi concludes the year (pp. 246-247). In the first month of the next year, Nobunaga orders 'the construction work at Mount Azuchi' to begin and hands out plots of land to the members of his horse guard. After three months he turns over the supervision of the work in Azuchi to his son Nobutada and goes to Kyoto, where he is building yet another residence (this is Nijō-jō, which was finished in the autumn of 1577, and which he will turn over to the crown prince in 1579). Gyūichi mentions no reason for these moves.

In 1577, Nobunaga still held his New Year's reception in the Myōkakuji in Kyoto (p. 261), but in the following year 'Everybody who was anybody in the Home Provinces and in Wakasa, Echizen, Owari, Mino, Ōmi, Ise, and neighbouring provinces came to Azuchi. They all presented themselves before Nobunaga and paid their respects to him.' Gyūichi mentions how impressed everyone was with 'the multitude of masterpieces' that Nobunaga showed them in his private quarters.[8] 'His power and his glory were beyond measure.' When Nobunaga also treats everyone to a *zōni* and 'assorted continental sweetmeats,' '[i]t was the memory of a lifetime for these men, an experience to be related for generations to come. Words could not describe their gratitude' (pp. 278-279). From Gyūichi's description we can infer that this was the effect Nobunaga had aimed for with his interior design and entertainment, but Gyūichi does not phrase it that way.

8 For a description of these, see Carolyn Weelwright, 'A Visualization of Eitoku's Lost Paintings at Azuchi Castle,' *Warlords, Artisans, and Commoners*, pp. 87-111.

At this time the famous donjon was as yet unfinished. It would be 'inaugurated' only on the eleventh of the fifth month of 1579 (p. 314). Nevertheless, for reasons unclear, a full account of the donjon, all seven storeys of it, including measurements and numbers of pillars and the subject matter of the paintings, is given under the seventh month of 1576, together with a description of the view of and from the castle, and of the bustling town at its foot (pp. 254-258). This must be proleptic. Neither the town nor the keep could have been even close to being finished at that time.

In the years after 1578, Nobunaga's retainers were excused from presenting themselves in Azuchi; the reason given is that their presence was required at the Ozaka front. Not until the first month of 1582, when Ozaka (now Ōsaka) has surrendered, will everyone present himself again in Azuchi and again marvel at the sight of Nobunaga's chambers that were all gold. Nobunaga himself - a bizarre detail, this - deigned to collect an entrance fee of ten coins from every one of his visitors (pp. 421-423).

Though, in 1581, outsiders were excused from presenting themselves at New Year (p. 383), in this year Nobunaga hit upon a different way to make a conspicuous display of his power and glory. After a try-out in Azuchi (pp. 384-385), he ordered Akechi Mitsuhide (1528-1582) to organize a cavalcade (*umazoroe*) in Kyoto at the end of the second month. The show was intended 'for the personal viewing of His Imperial Majesty, the Sage and Virtuous King,' and the riding ground was laid out to the east of the palace. Participants were Nobunaga's warriors, but also a number of court nobles and high officers of the defunct Ashikaga *bakufu* paraded by. Then, preceded by his best horses, his four secretaries, and his sedan chair Nobunaga himself appeared, sitting on his horse Daikoku. Then follow two pages in which Gyūichi describes Nobunaga's attire. The spectators were overwhelmed. 'Nobunaga's elegant costume and ceremonious entry ... made all present feel within them the resonance of a god. The earthly manifestation of the Shining Deity of Sumiyoshi must be exactly like this, they thought' (pp. 386-391). The emperor made his compliments, and Nobunaga 'basked in pride and pleasure beyond all calculation.' A week later, at the request of the emperor, Nobunaga staged a repeat performance on a smaller scale.

Again, Gyūichi says nothing of Nobunaga's motives and only mentions the reactions of the public. At the first occasion, it takes the cavalcade as a sign that 'the realm was at peace. The common people prospered; they kept their hearths lit. ... They were grateful to be alive in such a blessed age.' At the second occasion, the spectators rejoice at the opportunity to see the emperor at close range, 'owing to Nobunaga's power and his glory.' They 'clasped their hands reverentially and expressed their awe' (p. 393). If we take Gyūichi at his word, there were no grand design to re-unify the realm and no rational calculation, but it was all a matter of honour and glory - *menboku* and *ikō* are the operative words in Japanese.

This does not mean that Nobunaga was acting at random. On the whole, as Gyūichi presents him, Nobunaga reacted to the actions of others, but when he acted he always made sure he had a legitimate reason to act. He enters Kyoto at the request of the shogun. The destruction of the Enryakuji was the fault of the monks themselves. Nobunaga had told them not to help his enemies the Azai and Asakura, and warned them that, otherwise, he would destroy the whole complex of temples and shrines on the Hiei-zan (pp. 155-156), but the monks defied him. Before describing the burning of the Enryakuji (1571/9/12), Gyūichi carefully recapitulates Nobunaga's offer and threat of the previous year and for good measure emphasizes the lewd and venal nature of the monks (pp. 164-166). As if to balance his account of the destruction of the Enryakuji, Gyūichi concludes this chapter with Nobunaga's rebuilding of the imperial palace and the houses of the court nobles, and with his abolishment of toll duties everywhere in his territories. As reasons for these actions, Gyūichi mentions Nobunaga's benevolence and

compassion; precisely because of these qualities 'his blessings and his good fortune surpass[ed] the ordinary.' The root cause, however, of all Nobunaga's actions was a 'desire to 'study the Way, rise in the world, and gain fame in future generations"' (pp. 166-167).

Legitimation

Legitimation was also sought for another of Nobunaga's vicious deeds, the extermination of the whole family of Araki Murashige (1579). Murashige occupied a key position in the siege of the Honganji of Ozaka, commanding a string of fortresses on the eastside of the perimeter. When the rumour that Murashige was contemplating treason reached his ears (1578/10/21), Nobunaga sent messengers to ask him what his grievances were and promised to do what he could to mend them. Murashige denied having any, but refused to send his mother as a hostage, whereupon Nobunaga concluded that, 'as things stand, I have no choice' (p. 296).

Twenty days after the rumours had reached him, Nobunaga was in Settsu, campaigning against the Araki. He pressured Padre Organtino SJ into persuading one of Murashige's captains, the Christian convert Takayama Ukon (1552-1615), to defect and hand over the castle of Takatsuki; Ukon received a suitable reward of twenty pieces of gold (pp. 298-300). Eight days later, a second castellan defected and handed over Ibaraki (p. 300). A third followed early in the twelfth month (pp. 301-302). In 1579, Nobunaga made visits to the front, where he spent most of his time hawking and did little fighting (pp. 309-311). Then he left his son Nobutada in charge, who kept up the pressure on the remaining Araki fortresses, especially that of Itami. Murashige held out in the hope of support from the Mōri (the *daimyō* who held sway in the western part of Honshu), but a relief force of the Mōri failed to appear, and Murashige began to feel the bite. On 9/2, he slipped out of Itami and fled to his castle in Amagasaki (p. 325). His flight precipitated new defections from the Araki camp (10/15), and a month later (11/19) the remaining Araki, to whom the command of Itami had devolved, concluded that their war was lost. They handed over the castle with all Araki women and children inside as hostages, and promised to go to Amagasaki and persuade Murashige to surrender himself (pp. 331-335). When Murashige did not, Nobunaga decided to kill all the hostages. Gyūichi mentions that 'Nobunaga felt pity. Nevertheless, he ... was intent on punishing them as an example to renegades' (p. 341).

In the course of the twelfth month, 122 women were crucified and 510 men, women, and children were burnt to death. The highest-ranking hostages (brothers and sisters, daughters, wives, and children of the Araki, some forty persons in all) were taken to the capital, driven through the city on open carts, and beheaded on the bank of the river Kamo. In concluding, Gyūichi calls it a 'horrendous punishment [that] had no precedent from antiquity to the present day,' but he lays the blame squarely on Araki Murashige (pp. 341-349). This is the last thing one hears of Murashige in *Shinchō-Kō Ki*, but the story goes on. After his whole family had been killed, Murashige sought asylum with the Mōri. Then he shaved his head, studied tea with Sen no Rikyū (1522-1591), and was employed by Hideyoshi as a tea master until his death, one presumes of natural causes, in 1586.

My point is not, that betrayal of Nobunaga's cause or rebellion against him were not a sufficient cause for punishment, but that the punishment itself was cruel, and out of proportion. It was, however, the standard *modus operandi*. No doubt, the Ikkō sectarians who had ensconced themselves in de delta area of Owari were a rough and unruly lot, and hardly a credit to their religion. As they did not subject themselves to Nobunaga, they had to be suppressed, but from there to burning to death twenty thousand Ikkō adherents, men, women, and children, cooped

up in the forts of Nakae and Yanagashima (fall of 1574; p. 216) is quite a step. Similar numbers of victims were made in Echizen, during the campaign Nobunaga waged there in 1575 against the adherents of the Ikkō Sect. The fighting was over in less than ten days, but all 12,250 prisoners who were brought to Nobunaga's camp between 8/15 and 8/19 were on his orders killed by his pages. An even greater number of captives was forcibly taken to other provinces (p. 237-238). Apparently, this was an acceptable way of making sure that the adherents of the Ikkō Sect would never again rise against him. One is reminded of Kaempfer's argument in the sixth appendix of his *History of Japan* (1727), to the effect that the Japanese 'must be governed with an iron rod,' and that 'it wanted most severe Laws, and as severe punishments, to refrain from tumults and seditions so stubborn and unruly a nation. ...' (op. cit., pp. 68-69).

Nobunaga was not the only one to resort to such Draconian punishments. When during the campaign against the Takeda in 1582 Nobutada found he had to punish the monks of the Erinji for hiding the son of one of his father's ancient foes, he made all the people living in the temple (the priests, 'the priests' child acolytes and boy lovers') climb to the first storey of the main temple gate. Then the staircases on both sides were set alight with bales of straw, and some 150 persons perished in the flames. Among the victims was the prelate Kaisen, who had the year before been appointed National Teacher (kokushi) (pp. 449-451).

Hideyoshi, too, acted in very much the same way, as the following example shows. At the beginning of his campaign in Harima, he laid siege to the castle of Kōzuki. On the seventh day, the defenders of the castle killed their commander and, bringing his head, asked for their lives to be spared. Hideyoshi accepted the head, but ordered everyone still inside the castle to be crucified on the nearby border between the provinces of Mimasaka and Bizen. Gyūichi does not mention this, but from other sources it is clear that the women and children, too, were crucified; only the very young were run through with spears (pp. 275-276).

Battles

Cruelty, however, will not win you a war. For that, you need other talents, which Nobunaga undoubtedly had. He was a gifted general, as he showed in the fights, battles, campaigns, and sieges that fill the pages of the book. Let us look at three. The Battle at Okehazama (mistakenly dated by Gyūichi to 1552 instead of 1560) was the key battle in his early career. Had he lost it, Nobunaga would have been swamped by the vastly superior force of Imagawa Yoshimoto (1519-1560) and would never have been heard of. As Gyūichi tells the story, the castellans of two of Nobunaga's castles in the east of Owari reported by nightfall that they were in imminent danger of attack by Yoshimoto's army. Nobunaga, however, only engaged in small talk that evening and at midnight sent his men home to have a good night's rest. The next morning, when the attacks had begun as predicted, Nobunaga had his armour brought to him and rushed to the scene of the fighting. At the front, he had less then two thousand men at his disposal against an army of forty-five thousand. To his men, who also could count, he pointed out that the enemy had been busy all night and fighting all morning; that now they were tired and resting, and not prepared to withstand a sudden, determined attack. Around noon, just as he launched his attack, a typical summer squall (we are on the 19th day of the 5th month, after all) with hail and strong gusts of wind arose behind him and blinded his opponents. The wind also felled a huge camphor tree, which lay on the ground, pointing towards the enemy. 'The Great Shining Deity of Atsuta was getting ready to join battle, people said, *lacking another explanation for*

the prodigy' (p. 89; italics mine. W.J.B.).[9] Yoshimoto's army disintegrated under the onslaught, and Nobunaga directed all his men toward Yoshimoto himself. After intense fighting with Yoshimoto's bodyguard of, initially, three hundred men, who tried to cover their lord's retreat, Nobunaga's men surrounded the palanquin and took Yoshimoto's head. After that, it was a matter of mopping up and killing stragglers. When they counted next morning, three thousand heads had been taken in all (p. 91). The only one head of real importance was, of course, the severed head of Yoshimoto, 'The sight of [which] gave him no little satisfaction' (p. 90).

Without being a specialist on the subject, I would say that, if an army of 45,000 is defeated by an army of 2,000 and disintegrates so quickly, it was not there to begin with. Gyūichi mentions a number of causes: the enemy soldiers were tired and resting, and the terrain was very difficult (telling details are provided). What he does not mention is that majority of Yoshimoto's army must have consisted of allies of dubious loyalty, who were unwilling to put up a real fight. On the other hand, Nobunaga's claim that the enemy soldiers were tired because they had been up all night and fighting all morning must be taken with a grain of salt. It would apply especially to the only ally mentioned by name, Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616). Ieyasu, however, was resting his men at Ōdaka, a place several miles away from the battlefield (p. 87).

The facts are as follows: Nobunaga mustered his men near a temple called the Zenshōji. There, two of his captains attacked Yoshimoto's 'light infantry,' but both captains were killed, while casualties amounted to fifty out of three hundred men. After this initial skirmish, Nobunaga apparently decided that the only chance he had of winning was to take out Yoshimoto himself. This was a strategically sound, but tactically very risky decision. His house elders, who only saw the tactical risks, could not agree and tried to stop him. Nobunaga pushed on regardlessly, with the God of Atsuta on his side, and the enemies' army vanished from the field. The only ones who put up a fight, were Yoshimoto's bodyguards (pp. 86-92).

Nagashino was another classic battle in Nobunaga's career. Again, we are in the middle of the fifth month, the middle of summer, this time in the east of Owari. The aim of the campaign, led by Nobunaga and Nobutada, was undertaken to relieve the Castle of Nagashino, which was besieged by Takeda Shingen's son Katsuyori (1546-1582). Gyūichi gives a meticulous description of the battlefield to be: the castle lay at the east end of a narrow valley (ca 3,250m across), with rivers flowing on its south and west sides. Nobunaga's army of 30,000 men entered the valley from the west and was put into position 'gradually, in such a way that the enemy could not observe them' (p. 222). The soldiers stopped well short of the river that flowed into the valley from the north (west of the castle) and erected a palisade intended to stop the enemy cavalry. Katsuyori, coming from the direction of the castle, crossed this river with his army of 15,000 men and deployed it at a distance of 2,200m from Nobunaga's lines. After nightfall, Nobunaga secretly sent a force of about 4,000 men across the river on his south. During the night they worked their way up along the river and climbed a mountain that overlooked the Castle of Nagashino. At about 8 o'clock in the morning they raised their battle cry, fired their harquebuses, and managed to scare the besieging force of the Takeda so much that it fled and disintegrated. Then they joined forces with the garrison of the castle and turned west, threatening Katsuyori's army from the rear. Perceiving that he had enemy soldiers both in front and behind, Katsuyori decided to attack the army in front of him. Five consecutive waves of cavalry he sent against Nobunaga's main force, but they were all decimated by fire of the harquebusiers who were hiding behind their palisades and shields. All this time, Nobunaga had maintained a strict discipline and forbidden his men to advance; losses on his side were nil.

9 This episode is reminiscent of Emperor Jinmu's final battle against Nagasunehiko. Jinmu was helped by a similar squall that blinded his enemies. Moreover, it was the sword he used at that occasion that was kept at the shrine in Atsuta. All we lack is a golden kite to sit on Nobunaga's bow.

Only when, after the last wave, Katsuyori began to withdraw, did Nobunaga's men emerge and pursue the demoralised, retreating enemy. Gyūichi mentions only a few of the important heads, but he puts the total number of casualties in the Takeda camp at over ten thousand. The battle gained Nobunaga (and Ieyasu) the provinces of Owari and Tōtōmi, and took out the Takeda as the major threat in the north-east (pp. 222-227).

Note that it was the cavalry that attacked in successive waves, and not, as the story is usually told, Nobunaga's harquebusiers who were shooting in three waves; that tactical innovation firmly remains in the hands of the Dutch Prince Maurits of Orange. The point is that the 'skilled horsemen' of the Kantō, whose 'tactic was to ride their horses straight into the enemy midst' (p. 225), no longer were a match for the firepower Nobunaga was able to muster and the discipline he was able to maintain.

Ships, too, make a frequent appearance in the pages of *The Chronicle*. They were especially important in the siege of Ozaka, because the Mōri supplied the Honganji by sea. In the first sea battle (1576/7/15), in which 800 'large vessels' of the Mōri clashed with Nobunaga's fleet of three hundred, Nobunaga's ships were unable to withstand 'the grenades and similar ordnance' (*hōroku hiya nado to iu mono*) that the enemy threw at them and they were ignobly annihilated (p. 253).

Apparently, Nobunaga had decided that this would not happen to him a second time. At an unspecified moment, he gave orders to his naval commanders Kuki Yoshitaka (1542-1600) and Takikawa Sakon (1525-1586) to build 'six great ships' and one ship, 'designed like a junk,' respectively. These ships were built in Ise and sailed round to Sakai at the end of the sixth month of 1578. Off the coast of Izumi, they were attacked by followers of the Honganji, but the ships immediately proved their worth by blasting them out of the water with their big guns. The ships were then stationed in the bay and effectively interrupted the provisioning of the Honganji (pp. 290-291). On 9/27, Nobunaga inspected the ships and gave generous rewards to Kuki, Takiyama, and their men (pp. 294-295). The final test was the sea battle that took place on 11/6 of the same year. An enemy fleet of 600 vessels appeared and attacked Kuki's ships. Employing the same tactics as at the earlier occasion, Yoshitaka first let the enemy ships come close and then blasted them with the 'many big guns (*ōdeppō*)' his six ships were equipped with. With a lucky shot he killed the admiral of the enemy fleet, upon which he managed to drive the ships into the estuary of the Kizu where, presumably, they were all destroyed (p. 297).

Gyūichi supplies brief accounts of only these two fights. In the first, Kuki's six ships plus Takikawa's junk were able to withstand 'countless small vessels ... [which] attacked from all side, shooting arrows and firing harquebuses' (p. 290), and at the second occasion, as we saw just now, Kuki's six ships were each worth one hundred enemy ships. Unfortunately, details about the ships (their size, their construction, their complement, the number and size of their guns, the nature of the gun emplacements, etc.) are completely lacking. It would have been of great interest to know more, because ships became a key issue in Hideyoshi's invasion of Korea a decade and a half later, and Kuki Yoshitaka was one of Hideyoshi's naval commanders, as well. One would really like to know, what technological innovations made the feats Gyūichi describes, possible.

Religion

Religion is another topic that surfaces frequently. One of the things one notices is that ever so often Nobunaga gave instructions to repair shrines. He also built a Zen temple in Azuchi, the Sōkenji, but Gyūichi's account does in no way countenance the stories about Nobunaga

enshrining balls of stone as the *honzon* or having himself worshipped in this temple. Nobunaga was not an irreligious freethinker, nor did he kill the bonzes to please the Jesuits. When he acted against religious institutions, he did this because they thwarted him; institutions that did obey him, could expect fair, even generous treatment. In the case of the Enryakuji, one might even say with some right that he posed as the champion of true Buddhism; as we saw, the monks had forfeited their right to live, not only because they gave shelter to his enemies, but also because their lifestyle had made a mockery of the Buddhist precepts. As a sideline, Nobunaga also waged a campaign of sorts against religious frauds and imposters. Examples are his execution of the priest Fuden of the Nichiren Sect (see underneath), and his hounding and eventual execution of the itinerant priest Muhen (pp. 358-360).

Only once, however, did Nobunaga interfere directly in a Buddhological dispute. This event is known as the *Azuchi shūron* ('the religious dispute of Azuchi'), which took place in the second half of fifth month of 1579. It began as a row between a prelate of the Pure Land Sect, Reiyo, who had come to Azuchi to preach his doctrine and a few adherents of the Nichiren Sect, who mocked him. Reiyo refused to answer their slurs, but said he was willing to hold a disputation with properly trained priests of their sect, if they could find them. Within a few days, several of them appeared from Kyoto.

Nobunaga became involved because he realised that 'among his personal retainers there were many Lotus adherents' (p. 315). He told both parties that he would decide the matter himself, and that they should keep quite. The Lotus priests defied him and insisted that a disputation should be held. Nobunaga then appointed a former abbot of the Nanzenji, Keishū Tessō, to preside over, and report on the disputation. The contenders were five monks of the Nichiren Sect against two monks of the Pure Land Sect. Both sides kept their own notes, but Gyūichi, too, noted down the questions and answers, which before long ended in the defeat of the Lotus party. The Nichiren priests were ridiculed and beaten up by the audience, while Reiyo did a little dance to show his joy. The disputation had been held early in the morning. Already at noon, Nobunaga came down from the castle and was distributing praise and blame to the participants. The two Jōdo priests received fans and praise, while the two Lotus adherents who had originally started the quarrel were decapitated, together with one of priests, Fuden. Then Nobunaga forced the Nichiren priests to sign an oath in which they admitted having lost the disputation (pp. 314-321).

It is a long account, which fact in itself shows that such a dispute held an intrinsic interest for Gyūichi. It is interesting to see that Nobunaga involved himself because he feared unrest among his retainers, but then accepts that the Nichiren priests lose and goes out of his way to humiliate them. Perhaps, in the end, he decided to use the occasion to make clear to his retainers that they had better think twice about following this dubious sect? It is clear from the story that Nobunaga had previous knowledge of the sect and had heard gossip about Fuden, and did not approve of either. From the wording, it is quite clear that Gyūichi, too, did not approve.

Supernatural Agency

Gyūichi lived in a universe where events could be explained by supernatural causation. We have already come across the god of Atsuta, who might have given a hand during the Battle of Okehazama. Another deity who was rumoured to have involved himself on Nobunaga's side was the deity of the Kasuga Shrine in Nara. The occasion was the night of the 10th of the 10th month, 1577, when forces under the command of Nobutada stormed Matsunaga Hisahide's castle on Mt. Shigi. Hisahide had turned coats once too often, and was now going to be punished

for his sins. These included the treacherous killing of Shogun Ashikaga Yoshiteru, but this sin is not mentioned by Gyūichi. What he does mention is that ten years earlier, Hisahide had set fire to the Great Buddha Hall in Nara. This also happened on the 10th of the 10th month. 'So it was manifest retribution beyond question,' that Nobutada took the castle so easily and that Hisahide ended his life in the flames of his burning castle. During the attack, Nobutada wore a helmet decorated with deer antlers, and the deer is the animal of the god of the Kasuga Jinja, as anyone knows who has once visited Nara. To crown all, some ten days ago, on 9/29, a comet had appeared. The comet, the date, the antlers - this was too much to be a coincidence. 'People were dumbfounded. The Shining Deity of Kasuga has wrought it, they were convinced' (pp. 272-273).

The agency that Gyūichi mentions most often however, is Tentō, the Way of Heaven. Tentō has the capacity to bless and punish, and supposedly does so in retribution of the earlier behaviour of the individual. One of the first occurrences in *The Chronicle* is the following paragraph: 'Rather than cultivate the relationship that is proper between lord and vassal, Lord Buei plotted an ignoble treachery. Deprived of the protection of the Buddha's and heavenly beings, he met a wretched, miserable, and pitiful end. He brought about his own destruction, and yet his fate showed how terrible is the Way of Heaven' (p. 69). It is, of course, a fact of life that not all miscreants are punished, and not all good men thrive, but Gyūichi does not explore the theological niceties that this observation entails. The translators, however, do discuss the subject at some length in the Introduction (pp. 43-47). As a deity, Tentō is even more shadowy than the Greek Tychè *c.q.* the Roman Fortuna. There are no images made of Tentō, and there is no ritual of worship. The concept rather symbolizes the conviction that in this world things are ordered in such a way that in the end, somewhere along the line, everyone will get his just deserts.

In the end, Nobunaga, too, met his nemesis in the person of his commander Akechi Mitsuhide. It would be interesting to go through the whole of *The Chronicle* and see, whether Gyūichi slanted his references to Mitsuhide in some way in order to work up to the final scene of the attack on the Honnōji. After all, Gyūichi knew how the story would end. I have not done so systematically, but one of the scenes that struck me in this connection was the following: on 1579/4/15 Mitsuhide sends Nobunaga a horse as a present, 'but Nobunaga immediately sent it back, saying that [Mitsuhide] should keep it as a gift from him.' Two days, later the otherwise unknown Tagaya Shuri no suke, a gentleman of Hitachi, also sent a horse to Nobunaga. It was 'a star-spotted bay dun horse ... seven-year-old ... a massive and strong steed, one that had the endurance ... to do thirty leagues by road and back. Nobunaga was absolutely delighted with it' (p. 310). Gyūichi does not spell it out, but the juxtaposition of these two entries suggests that Mitsuhide was snubbed at this occasion for presenting an inferior horse.

Gyūichi himself does not attempt to explain Mitsuhide's revolt in psychological terms. Mitsuhide's aim, he says, was 'to become the master of the realm' (tenka no nushi to narubeki) (p. 468), after which he proceeds to describe the last fights and honourable deaths of Nobunaga and Nobutada. The book ends with Nobunaga's women being evacuated from Azuchi, and Tokugawa Ieyasu fleeing by sea from Sakai to Atsuta. Hideyoshi's revenge on Mitsuhide is not mentioned. That, properly, would be the opening sequence of the chronicle of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, which Gyūichi may also envisioned writing (p. 27).

In Conclusion

Much more cold be told. I have left out all the references to falconry and the tea ceremony, and not quoted any of the *tanka* that stud parts of the text. The whole point of this review is to seduce the readers into reading *The Chronicle* for themselves and to experience the same fascination that I experienced when I read it. As I said, it is a window on a different age.

One of the things the reader must adjust to is that Gyūichi tells his story within the conventions of the annalistic genre. Beginning with the year 1568, when Nobunaga burst into national prominence, the story proceeds at a rate of one chapter (*kan*) for each remaining year - fifteen in all. Events that happened before 1568 are relegated to the *Shukan* ("Initial Chapter"), where the chronology is less reliable than in the chapters that follow, and where there is more room for anecdotes that tell something about Nobunaga's personality.

Both in the *Shukan* and in the annalistic chapters, Gyūichi is reporting facts in the order in which they happened, and from the point of view of Nobunaga. What did he know, do, command, and what was done in his name - these are the criteria for selection. Only rarely does Gyūichi connect the dots. He does not follow through one chain of events, saving things that happened in between for another chapter, nor does he engage in psychological explanations. Our idea, deriving from the classical rhetorical tradition, that the historian should project a consistent and convincing image of his characters, was unknown to Gyūichi. Occasionally, however, he breaks the conventions and goes overboard with lengthy, literary descriptions, *e.g.*, in the case of the execution of the Araki women or of Nobunaga's attire at the occasion of the grand cavalcade. Sometimes, he also quotes documents in full, while the convention would have him extract the essentials and weave those into the text. This, of course, is all for the best. These occasional lapses from decorum make *The Chronicle of Lord Nobunaga* a much livelier, truer book, and a more important historiographical source than it would otherwise have been.

W.J. Boot

Prof. Dr W.J. Boot studied Japanese, Korean, and East-Asian history in Leiden and Kyoto. In 1985 he was appointed professor of the Languages and Cultures of Japan at the University of Leiden, where he has since been working. He is specialized in the intellectual history of early-modern Japan.

Het werd april

Mijn beurt kwam
mijn naam werd afgeroepen, ik stond op, maar
hoe ik het zeggen moest, wat ik moest zeggen
wist ik niet, ik zweeg en zo
(al zwijgend) stond ik met gebogen hoofd.

Dat duurde eventjes en toen
werd ik van achteren aangestoten.
Mijn lichaam, aangestoten, helde over en
een ogenblik leek ik te zullen vallen, maar
maakte mijn lichaam hard als steen
en stond, al helde ik ook over.

(De locker voor de schoonmaakspullen in
de hoek van het lokaal, de bezem daarin helde ook.)

De leraar zei: ‘ga zitten.’

De jongen die achter mij zat stond op.

Ik stak mijn handen in mijn lessenaar
en ervoor zorgend dat het geen geluid zou maken
bladerde ik het vandaag net uitgedeelde lesboek
bladzij na bladzij door.
Het onzichtbare lesboek
bladerde ik door.

De stemmen van mijn klasgenoten werden verder
werden verder en van ver klonken de verre stemmen.
Ik keek door het raam naar buiten.

Van de rekstok aan de rand van het (stille)
schoolplein waar niemand was bungelde
(schitterend) oplichtend een witte handdoek.

Het was de mijne niet, maar
‘laat ik die straks maar gaan halen’
dacht ik (bij mijzelf) en intussen
bladerde ik het onzichtbare lesboek.

Iemand
liet het licht op zijn onderlegger kaatsen en
de weerschijn spelen over het plafond.

Toen die ene begon
deden wat anderen dat direct na.

Op het plafond dansten,ik weet niet hoeveel, lichtjes.

En ik, ik bladerde het lesboek terug.

De lichtjes staakten hun gedans.

Mijn rij was de laatste.

De leraar, met de presentielijst,
was de klas uitgegaan.

Een nieuw schooljaar, een nieuw semester
de allereerste orientatie.

Een dag in de lente.

De tijd was nabij
nabij het middaguur.

Tanaka Atsusuke

四月になると

　順番がきて
名前を呼ばれて立ちあがったけれど
なんて言えばいいのか、なにを言えばいいのか
わからなくって、ぼくはだまったまま
（だまったまま）うつむいて立っていた。

しばらくすると
後ろから突っつかれた。
突っつかれたぼくの身体は傾いて
一瞬、倒れそうになったのだけれど
身体を石のように硬くして（かた、くして）
傾き（かたむき）ながらも立っていた。

（教室の隅にある清掃用具入れの
　　ロッカー、そのなかのホーキも傾いているよ。）

先生が、すわりなさいとおっしゃった。

後ろの席の子が立ちあがった。

ぼくは机のなかに手を入れて
音がしないように用心しながら
きょう、配られたばかりの教科書を
一ページずつ繰っていった。
見えない教科書を
繰っていった。

……級友たちの声が遠ざかってゆく
遠ざかってゆく、遠くからの、遠い声がして、
ぼくは窓の外に目をやった。

だれもいない（しずかな）校庭の
端にある鉄棒に（きらきらと）輝く
　一枚の白いタオルがぶら下がっていた。

ぼくのじゃなかったけれど
あとでとりに行こうと
（ひそかに）思いながら
見えない教科書を繰っていった。

だれかが
下敷きに光をあてて
天井にいたずらし出した。

ひとりがはじめると
何人かが、すぐに真似をした。

天井に いくつもの光が 踊っていた。

ぼくは、教科書を逆さに繰っていった。

光が踊るのをやめた。

ぼくの列が最後だった。

先生が出席簿を持って
出て行かれた。

新学年、新学期
はじめてのホームルーム。

春の一日。

まひるに近い
近い時間だった。

田中宏輔

Het bovenstaande gedicht is, evenals de voor de twee vorige nummers vertaalde, afkomstig uit het internettijdschrift *Bungaku Gokudo* (Litteraire Gangsters; http://bungoku.jp/) en wel uit het nummer van april 2011. Ook dit gedicht werd door de redactie geplaatst in de rubriek excellente gedichten. De oorspronkelijke tekst ervan is te vinden op:
http://bungoku.jp/monthly/?date=201104

Over de dichter, Tanaka Atsusuke, was wat meer te vinden dan over de twee vorige. In 1961 geboren te Kyoto, studeerde hij industriële chemie aan de Dōshisha Universiteit. Hij is werkzaam als wiskundeleraar. Daarnaast publiceerde hij een aantal dichtbundels zoals *Pastiche* (1993) en *The Wasteless Land* (1999), de laatste gevolgd door *The Wasteless Land II t/m V* (2007-2010). (gegevens ontleend aan de website van amazon.co.jp)

Frans B. Verwayen

Frans B. Verwayen studeerde achtereenvolgens Rechten en Japans aan de Universiteit Leiden. Van 1984 tot 2004 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).*