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Ryūanji temple in autumn, Minoo 2010 (photograph by Aafke van Ewijk).

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Preface

W.J. Boot

The present issue of *The Netherlands-Japan Journal* contains two articles that, from different angles, address the historiography of Japan, i.e., the way in which Japan's history is conceptualized, researched, and written. Dr Curtis Gayle, a former post-doctoral researcher at Leiden University who now teaches at Japan Women's University (Tokyo), introduces the subject of 'small histories.' This term, 'small histories,' refers to an initiative, implemented on a national scale immediately after World War II, to encourage ordinary people to write their own history. It was an initiative of Marxist historians, who saw this as a means to get at 'the real story' of what happened in the years before and during the war, both at home and abroad. Gayle places his description of 'small histories' in the context of the present debate about Japan's war record, which has been going on by now for some fifteen years. Both politicians and ideologues can never for long resist the temptation to use history in order to further their own causes. In the case of Japan, 'regressive' and 'revisionist' historians, supported by a number of politicians, are at present attempting to deny or to minimize Japan's war crimes. When 'small histories' get in their way, they ignore them, or try to fit them to their purposes. Dr Gayle has researched the issue of 'small histories' for many years, and his findings throw a refreshing light on the state and practice of history in Japan.

The second article, which is by my hand, discusses the concept of Japan's modernisation. No one will deny that Japan is a modern country, whatever that means exactly, but within historiography 'Modernisation' is the hallmark of a special school, which has adopted this concept in preference to Marxist schemes of universal historical evolution. In the article, I express my doubts about both universalist approaches. The expectation that 'the world is on its way to become like us,' as the Modernizers seem to think, is as unfounded as the expectation that after a slave society, a feudalist, and a bourgeois phase, and a terrible revolution, the communist paradise will manifest itself alike in all countries. To me, these are varieties of eschatology, not of history.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Japan was an East-Asian country and part of the Chinese cultural sphere. Its elite was Confucian by training. Understanding the values of European culture with which it was so suddenly confronted, and, even more difficult, coming

to terms with them, presented this elite with a formidable challenge. The 'Modernizers' ignore that their Modernisation was in reality one huge experiment in enforced acculturation, which was bound to create havoc, and did.

This issue also presents the third and final chapter of Mrs Titia van der Eb-Brongersma article about the Japanese garden in Clingendael. In this instalment she investigates the original planting of the garden. It shows again, how interesting an experiment in cross-cultural negotiation the garden really was. It also shows, that a garden is a living entity, and not a finished artefact. Baroness Van Brienen had been in Japan, so presumably she knew what Japanese gardens looked like. Yet, what she built in Clingendael was not a purely Japanese garden, but a garden of Japanese inspiration that owed much to contemporary European taste and design. Many decades later, after Mrs Van Brienen's death, others decided that it was a Japanese (tea-)garden, and introduced elements that in those years were regarded as typical of such a garden, but that were not part of the original design.

Mrs Van der Eb's article is lavishly illustrated and contains an important appendix giving the original plant list. With the three meticulously researched articles that she has contributed to various issues of this journal, Mrs Van der Eb has written what must be considered, for the time being, as the definite word on the garden.

Arthur Witteveen has contributed three calligraphies that illustrate the various styles in which characters can be written. In the accompanying essay he gives his authoritative comments on the differences between the various types of script and on the purposes for which each is used.

Professor Matthi Forrer discusses the interrelation between guidebooks for travellers and the famous series of woodblock prints depicting one or other 'road.' The question is: did Hokusai or Hiroshige 'do' the Tōkaidō etc. themselves, making sketches along the way, and use these as the basis of their series? The answer is: evidently, not. They based themselves (often? mostly?) on illustrations in the guidebooks, having such generic titles as *Meishoki* or *Meishō zue*. In this article 'Armchair travel,' Professor Forrer draws attention to, and illustrates the striking resemblance between Hiroshige's triptych of a snow-covered landscape, entitled 'Kisoji no yamakawa' ('Mountains and rivers along the Kiso Road') and an illustration in the *Kisoji meisho zue* (1805) by Nishimura Chūwa. He also raises the interesting question, how the sudden fashion of books and prints illustrating the landscape in one or other place of the country is to be explained.

About the future of this journal

Our readers will have noticed that this issue of *The Netherlands-Japan Journal* is published about eight months too late. The reason was lack of funds. Finally, thanks to a special and one-time donation of the Netherlands-Japan Association, we have been able to publish the present issue, but the future is in doubt.

Initially, we had hoped that it would be possible to fund the journal through individual subscriptions, but the number of subscribers has not increased as quickly as we hoped, and we are still very, very far removed from the one thousand subscribers we would need in order to fund the journal properly. We have, therefore, decided to attempt a different approach, which is, that we open the journal to all interested readers. There is no subscription fee any longer; all you will have to do in future is to register as a reader, and you will have access to all former and future issues. We hope that in this way the number of readers will materially increase, which in turn would make the journal interesting for advertisers and sponsors.

Any reader who wishes this journal to continue, is cordially invited to bring its existence to the attention of all possibly interested parties, and anyone who wants to sponsor the journal, advertise in it, or make a donation, should approach the editors.

In Defence of 'Small Histories'

The Hidden Side of Historical Revisionism in Japan Today

Curtis Anderson Gayle

History denied

In 2011, current Japanese Prime Minister Noda Yoshihiko asserted that Japan's World War II Class A War Criminals were not legally criminals in his view. Looking more broadly, the penchant for the former ruling party—the Liberal Democratic Party—to deny the historical past is nothing short of legendary. For example, previous governments have been quite comfortable to deny official involvement in things such as the Comfort Women system of forced prostitution in Asia, which included some Indonesian and Dutch women during World War II. The majority of Comfort Women were, however, Korean and Chinese, and they began to raise their voices in public from the late 1980s, as the generation was getting on in age and the Cold War coming to an end. When the Japanese government could no longer deny the history staring it in the face, it attempted to dodge the issue and in 1995 set up a private organization—The Asian Women's Fund—to gather contributions from ordinary citizens and disperse these to former Comfort Women in places like Korea. Japanese citizens of conscience refused to contribute precisely because the government was once again denying history and saying, in effect, that all of its past accounts had been cleared in 1965 when Japan and South Korea established diplomatic relations.

This is history denied. There are countless examples that can be found in all parts of the globe, among various cultures, strata of society, and even political persuasions. The denial of history in such glaring terms needs to be brought forward not only on moral grounds—and these are indeed considerable—but also on historical grounds. It is imperative to challenge interpretations of history that deny the systematic raping of women in Asia by the Japanese army. Yet, there is also damage being done on the terrain of history-writing and historical methodology. This kind of damage is less well known because it stands in the shadow of huge moral questions and objections to historical denials, as it should. Moral and social arguments about why it is wrong to deny history should take precedence because they

speak to the wider field of human endeavour, social life, and historical memory. It is also true, however, that revisionist rejections of historical narratives that do not serve their cause seek to take history back to a time when small histories were only recognized if they supported grand narratives and political objectives. This is the issue to which I would like to draw the reader's attention.

Denials of history are not the result of a mere random array of historical picking and choosing to suit some ideological or political goals. It is important to consider how revisionism is really attempting to squeeze and contort history-writing and historical narratives into what can be called "big histories." The case of post-war Japan and historical revisionism illustrates this principle quite well and shows us not just the moral and social problems associated with historical denial, but as well how progress in seeing and rendering history has been challenged by voices seeking to re-write history in grand narratives that gloss over the role of smaller histories. Historical revisionism in Japan today challenges not only mainstream interpretations and accounts of the past, but also the historiographical methods that have become part of historical practice and the historical profession in post-war Japan. This article will draw attention to this more hidden, or less obvious, side of revisionism in contemporary Japan.

The historical trajectory of post-war Japan: etchings and new beginnings

One aspect of the post-war era in Japan has been what might be called the 'devolution' of history and history-writing from trained, professional historians to ordinary people in everyday life. It is the historical fruits of this progression that are being threatened by historical revisionism and all grand narratives speaking for the nation-state and those who hold power in society. Along with the outburst of citizen groups and social resistance during the early post-war years, history writing and historical methodologies were also growing, diversifying and seeking to provide an outlet to those who were looking to change their own lives, communities, and societies in which they lived their everyday lives. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the sphere of everyday life, especially in the decade or so after World War II, was crucial for historians and those interested in writing history.

The historical field in Japan after World War II had to come to terms with everyday life and how ordinary people had been co-opted into the state/war machinery in the past. Looking from the early post-war present, it also had to help support the conditions under which ordinary people could become a productive part of post-war Japanese society. Gone were the statist histories of the pre-war years and the imperial myths that sought to glorify the emperor. In place of these, Marxist history came to occupy perhaps the most important place in historical discourse between the late 1940s and mid-1950s, a critical period in post-war reconstruction. Marxist versions of history, which had existed during the pre-war era (much as had liberal versions), were best represented by

historians such as Inoue Kiyoshi, Eguchi Bokurō, and Ishimoda Shō. Of course, liberal historians such as Maruyama Masao and Ōtsuka Hisao were also important figures on the early post-war historical landscape. Although there were major theoretical differences between these two groups, there were also some important similarities. These included scepticism toward the imperial house, criticism of the Meiji Restoration and pre-war society, belief in modernization and mass participation in social resistance, as well a desire to better internationalize Japanese historical narratives during an age of reconstruction. I should also add that most figures in these two groups were men educated at institutions like The University of Tokyo and Kyoto University.

The post-war emergence of progressive histories was, quite simply, directed at trying to locate the mistakes of the past in order to make a better present and future. Such historians and intellectuals had, on the whole, not been part of the wartime machine and their post-war emergence focused on the need to start afresh on a new path. This is why some have referred to these figures as seeking to 'diagnose the bad past' in favour of a new present.[1] Marxists, in particular, took the 1949 establishment of the People's Republic of China as a key indicator that Marxism could take hold on Asia soil and become part of a new, revolutionary state that was independent of both the United States and the USSR. In Japan, they sought to create a national revolution of the working-class, focusing on what they called "national liberation" (*minzoku kaihō*). The Japanese nation was now, in their eyes, finding itself in the same position as wartime China *vis-à-vis* Japan, with the United States as the oppressor this time around. Thus, the narrative and movement for national liberation in Japan seemed to make sense at the time, even though—historically speaking—Japan had previously colonized China and the latter had just itself been liberated from Japanese rule. Such were the necessary historical ironies in a Japan seeking to finds its way once again.

The irony of Marxist history's success in early post-war Japan

Marxist historians like Inoue, Eguchi, and Ishimoda were central to the development of historical narratives that challenged both the pre-war past, and the idea that the United States was the best model for post-war Japan. This is in itself significant, but the methodological groundwork set in place by Marxists is perhaps even more noteworthy within the overall scheme of things. Through various movements and history-writing campaigns such as the People's History Movement (*Kokuminteki Rekishigaku Undō)*, Marxist historians sought to invest ordinary people—women, farmers, students,

1 Carol Gluck, 'Sengo-shi no Metahisutori', *Rekishi Ishiki no Genzai*, vol. 1 *Nihontsūshi*, Iwanami Shoten 1995.

outcastes—with the power to write history in their own separate voices.[2] Of course, no one could literally invest people with such power, but their objective was to encourage and support a wide array of disparate voices that had not been heard in the pre-war years. What could be more indicative of progress than having the raw voices of truly ordinary people speak up on a daily basis? In real terms, the early post-war efforts of Marxists were sincere and successful: hundreds of small circles, history-writing groups and other culturally-focused activity groups appeared during the late 1940s and early 1950s. This was in no small part owing to the work of historians such as Ishimoda, Inoue, and Eguchi to raise and organize grass-roots activism.

The advent of small histories had seemingly begun. There was, however, one catch. Marxists—true to their faith in the progress of dialectical reason and historical materialism—saw history in terms of grand narratives and overarching goals like national revolution. This meant that little parts of the puzzle were indeed significant, but only insofar as they helped to fill in the outlines and shapes of the larger image. By the mid-1950s, some Marxist historians actually recanted their faith in small histories and declared their own approaches to have been a failure for going too far in devolving and popularizing the writing of history. The irony here is that although there was no revolution, and therefore no success in terms of a change in the mode of production or the state, Marxists had been wildly successful in convincing many people that history-writing was an important way to sharpen one's own self-consciousness and to join forces in order to improve everyday life and the treatment of the weak in society. This was a goal that did not explicitly need revolution for it to be successful or influential.

The rise of small histories in context

Although the explosion of circle groups and other kinds of local movements took place from the late 1940s as Marxist history and its radical approaches were becoming widely read, it is of course possible to say that small histories would have come about on their own, without prodding from intellectuals in educational institutions like The University of Tokyo and historical organizations such as the Japan Historical Science Society (*Rekishigaku Kenkyūkai*). At the same time, nevertheless, it is also true that Marxists were very much influential in seizing and utilizing mass suspicion of the Japanese state which had led them into disaster, as well as the post-war occupation. We can trace several developments in small histories arising on a landscape that was early on dominated by big histories. As seen in circle movements and within the People's History Movement itself, local

2 See for example, Curtis Anderson Gayle, *Marxist History and Postwar Japanese Nationalism*, Routledge, 2002.

history had become an important source of original and unfettered activity. *Jibun-shi*, or historical self-writing, had already been around since the late 1940s,[3] and by the mid-1950s there were history-writing groups less concerned with intellectuals in Tokyo or Kyoto and more concerned with their own locales, such as Matsuyama in Ehime Prefecture. There were attempts by some to write local histories that did not fit into the groove of larger histories focused on national themes and macro level change. Instead, some local histories sought to take Marxists at their word and truly write their own histories on the margins of society without considering the larger narrative of post-war Japan.

This was not *chihō-shi*, or the institutionalized form of local history written by professionally trained historians (usually men) and serving the larger purposes of the national whole, but was instead the kind of history being written, for example, by the Ehime Women's History Circle (*Ehime Josei-shi Sākuru*), founded in 1956. Through its handwritten journal, *Mugi,* as well as through local activism and the writing of one's own history, this group became the de facto pioneer of what would late become *chi'iki josei-shi*, or local women's history. Although personally acquainted with Marxist historians, the group sought to write its own kind of history, focusing on life in Matsuyama and its environs. Women in this group worked in local education and unions, and were involved already in various forms of activism even before they began writing history. This group is still in existence today and many of its founding members are still involved with the group.[4]

By the early 1960s, likewise, other forms of small history, such as social history (*shakai-shi*) were coming around. In fact, one of Ishimoda Shō's most illustrious pupils, Amino Yoshihiko, is often heralded as the founder of social history in modern Japan. Inaugurated by Amino in 1960, this new approach helped pave the way for other genres of history writing such as cultural history (*bunka-shi*) and lifestyle history (*seikatsu-shi*). Other young historians originally trained in Marxist approaches, such as Kano Masanao, Irokawa Daikichi, and Yasumaru Yoshio, went on to develop what they called people's histories (*minshū-shi*). This approach sought distance from political history and the history of systems or societies as structurally integrated entities. In its place, the focus now turned to everyday events, customs, ceremonies, and lifestyles. In fact, both social history and people's history took specific aim at Marxist approaches precisely because the latter focused on systematic problems, classes, and social structures that were seen by some as divorced from the workings of everyday life. In rejecting what it saw as Marxist theory, the new field of social history articulated its new conception of 'the people' (*minshū*) as something that could not be adequately rendered within the parameters of Marxist historical praxis.[5]

3 See for example Gerald Figal, 'How to *jibunshi*: Making and Marketing Self-Histories of Shōwa among the Masses in Postwar Japan', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 55, No. 4, pp. 902-933.

4 For an investigation of three such groups during the 1950s, see Curtis Anderson Gayle, *Women's History and Local Community in Postwar Japan*, Routledge, 2010.

5 Readers who are interested in the development of such small histories are referred to Nagahara Keiji, *20-Seiki Nihon no Rekishigaku*, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2003.

By distancing themselves from Marxist approaches of the 1950s, young historians were able to gain the space they needed from their mentors and redefine the terrain of history from below in ways quite different from the 1950s. Memory, commemoration, repetition, and the everyday now came to replace the grand narratives of 'Japan', the nation, and revolution. These new approaches also deconstructed and dissected the concept of society so as to turn the gaze of history towards the multiplicity and simultaneity of different spaces and temporalities. The realm of experience and consciousness had not vanished; it had, instead, mutated to domains and arenas that could no longer be framed in the unitary terms of class, nation, and historical mission guided by the stage theory of history.

Revisionist revivals and historical regression

As has been well documented, the recent post-Cold War period in Japan has seen a rapid and somewhat alarming rise of historical reinterpretation. Organizations such as the Liberal School of History (*Jiyūshugi Shikan*) and the Society for Textbook Reform (*Atarashii Kyōkasho o Tsukuru Kai*) have since the late 1990s been involved in various kinds of activities, including publishing their own textbooks[6] and promoting these in local schools. There are many excellent articles/books in both Japanese and English on the problems and issues raised by these movements. What I want to discuss here is the inherently regressive character of contemporary attempts to rewrite history in Japan. Here, the word "regressive" refers not only to the desire to go back and rewrite history so that it 'accurately' captures the events, places and people of certain key moments in the past, but it also refers to the specific intention to make all history fit into prescribed spaces, shapes and narratives.

This historical reinterpretation—what might be called 'revisionism'—is dangerous because it not only rewrites history to suit its own purposes, but it also denies the methodological relevance of local histories and small histories, which do not necessarily refer to the national centre or national categories. Revisionism is all about the nation; the post-Cold War years have seen the rise of a frenetic form of globalization, coupled with attempts by intellectuals and the state to revive national pride through public fields of knowledge such as history. Revisionist histories have tried to show that the Allied Occupation of Japan and the Tokyo Trials of 1946 stripped away an 'authentic' Japanese national history and historical pride. These approaches have more than a pinch of romanticism and nostalgia toward the Edo Period (the start of Japanese-style modernization) and the Meiji Period (when Japan became a strong regional, and indeed world power). By denying the advent and development of social history and people's history, to name just a few examples, revisionists are able to declare in one fell

6 E.g. Fujioka Nobukatsu, *Atarashii Rekishi Kyōkasho*, Fusōsha, 2005.

swoop that all of the histories written with a progressive edge to them are invalid. The small histories of the post-war period thus come into question, whether directly or by logical extension. This is a pivotal point that deserves more discussion and consideration.

Put differently, historical revisionism in Japan during the past two decades has sought to deny not just the history of the pre-World War II past, but as well much of the most important historiography of the post-war years. Revisionist authors such as Nishio Kanji in his *Kokumin no Rekishi* (Tokyo: Fuji Sankei, 1999) and Kobayashi Yoshinori in his *Shin Gōmanizumu Special: Sensōron* (Gentōsha, 1998) deny the Nanking Massacre and the Japanese invasion of Asia. Kobayashi's now infamous series of conservative *manga* about World War II and thereafter, *Gomanizumu*,[7] is perhaps the most accessible and well-known example of critiques that summarily reject historical methods of the early post-war years designed in response to the mistakes in Japan's past. In essence, they are seeking to tear down the role of progressive histories in helping to change Japanese society and to give voice to those who had no voices after 1945. Nishio and Kobayashi, as well as their supporters, are not in principle opposed to giving voices to ordinary people, but only when this suits the larger purpose of re-grounding national pride and national romanticism through a collective voice. Thus, even though revisionists such as Fujioka, Nishio, and Kobayashi do not often mention social history, people's history, or local women's history, their attempts to delegitimize the history writing of Marxists and liberals in the early post-war years are in effect attempts to euthanize histories and historical methods focusing on small histories and the unfettered voices of ordinary people. Their rejection of progressive history includes not only Marxist and liberal interpretations, but also many kinds of small histories, which have helped to enrich and diversify the post-war historical landscape in Japan, such as social history, cultural history and lifestyle history.

Conclusion: history beyond meta-narratives

The careful reader will have already noticed that my critique of contemporary historical revisionism in Japan can, at least in theory, be applied to Marxists as well. Marxists of the early post-war years thought they could somehow stop the process which they had begun in mass history-writing movements. Those advocating and writing about national-campaigns for social change were not so eager to have their approaches and voices eclipsed by smaller histories when the latter did not serve the purposes of the former. Although Marxists were successful in organizing sweeping history-writing

7 *Gomanizumu* refers to a 'new sense of pride' in Japanese history and in being Japanese. The word has newly been coined by Kobayashi. It derives from the Japanese word *gōman* ('haughty, arrogant') and the English suffix '-ism.'

campaigns and a nation-wide, grass roots movement, when things got out of control they thought they could somehow slow down these movements in the push toward a return to Marxist meta-narratives. The creation of social history, people's history, and local women's history, to just name a few, was hardly planned or even anticipated by Marxists historians during the 1950s. To their credit, when these small histories did appear, Marxists more or less sought to embrace them without trying to hi-jack them. Historical revisionism in Japan has, however, sought to stimulate and organize the small histories of ordinary people so that they can fill-out and support larger narratives of a 'lost history' that is only now being recovered.

Perhaps the most obvious example of this link can be found in the publications and exhibitions of revisionist organizations. In addition to discussing why they think things like the occupation, post-war educational system, mass media, and public memory have over the years hoodwinked the Japanese people, some revisionists actively seek out voices of those who suffered during the war. An organization known as The Archives and Exhibition for Peace (*Heiwa Kinen Tenji Shiryōkan*), which was established in Tokyo in 2000, devotes much of its work to programs and exhibitions discussing the suffering of Japanese soldiers at the war's end and suffering amongst ordinary Japanese citizens. In one sense, the message here to Japanese young people is that wars must be avoided. In another sense, however, there is also a strong message of the Japanese people as uniquely unappreciated and unspoken victims of the war. There is no mention of Asians as having any subjectivity or true existence, although there is ample attention to how western powers sought to destroy and declaw Japan for trying to modernize and become an advanced industrial power. The implications of this position are not only that post-war Japanese history must be re-written, but that all forms of history in Japan since 1945 should be subject to reinterpretation, particularly those which have supported progressive ideals. Little has been said about what this disturbing project might mean and how revisionist history in Japan, and elsewhere, would like to undo much of the progress made during the past half-century or so. In thinking that their "lost history" must somehow take on an organic shape which brings into relief a collective and sustained voice, revisionist history is far more a political programme than it is an accurate account of the past. This bears grave consequences not only for public memory of World War II, but as well for all the historical richness, dissonance, and diversity that has developed over the past six decades on the Japanese landscape.

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The Three Styles of Japanese Kanji Calligraphy

Arthur Witteveen

The two characters in the first example read *asagiri*, 'morning mists'. They are Chinese characters with a Japanese pronunciation, written in the type of script called *kaisho* (Chin. *kaishu*), 'standard script'.

For historical reasons the Japanese language is generally, although not necessarily, written in a mixture of two kinds of script: *kanji* and *kana*. *Kanji* (Chin. *hanzi*) are originally Chinese characters. As the Japanese did not possess a writing system of their own, Chinese characters began to be introduced in Japan by the early fifth century. While in the beginning probably only classical Chinese was written with those characters, they were, after a period of familiarization, also used to write Japanese, in which case they were sometimes employed semantically, on the basis of their meaning, and sometimes employed phonetically, for their sound.

Because of the great differences between the Japanese and the Chinese language, additional phonetic signs were needed for a correct rendering of the first. Two Japanese syllabaries (alphabets), *hiragana* en *katakana*, were developed for the purpose. *Kana* means 'borrowed signs'; the 48 signs of each of the syllabaries are derived from Chinese script forms. *Hiragana* signs are derived from an extremely fluently written type of script called *sōsho* (Chin. *caoshu)*, 'cursive script', while *katakana* signs are derived elements of characters written in *kaisho*, 'standard script.'

The field of Japanese calligraphy knows both *kanji* and *kana* calligraphy. The latter consists in many cases of a mixture of *hiragana* and *sōsho*. That form might be said to be the most typically Japanese form of calligraphy. Its main characteristics are a great simplicity and a very subtle use of ink-tones.

Notwithstanding the introduction of computerized writing, the practice of hand-written calligraphy continues to be a living tradition in Japan; it is taught to children at primary school, and it is practised in many calligraphy associations. Annual writing contests are held nation-wide, especially at the occasion of the New Year.

In the history of Chinese writing many script types developed over thousands of years. By the time of its introduction in Japan, the so-called 'three modern scripts' that are nowadays still in common use had already been developed: *kaisho* or 'standard script', *gyōsho* or 'running script', and *sōsho* or 'cursive script.' These three script types are used in the writing of *kanji* calligraphy, to which I shall restrict myself in the remainder of these few remarks.

In writing in each of these script types as well as in looking at the finished calligraphic work, it is important to keep three elements in mind: the stroke, the inner structure of each character, and the interaction between the characters in the overall calligraphy.

Kaisho, 'standard script', on the basis of which character-types for printing are developed, has over the last one and a half millennium been used for official purposes, such as the writing of the decrees and documents of the government, but also for solemn undertakings in the realm of religion, e.g. the writing of sutras in the practice of Buddhism. Apart from a certain measure of formality, easy and correct readability was of paramount importance. *Kaisho c*haracters are therefore written within imaginary squares of uniform size, forming independent units. The lines and dots composing the character have to be formed by brushstrokes drawn with great attention and preciseness. Straight and curved lines, with precise beginnings and endings, narrow or broad, sometimes veering upwards, sometimes downwards; hooks, square or round, bending to the left or to the right, and simple or complicated dots, they all involve different operations of the brush. This lack of freedom makes it necessary to pay particular attention to the liveliness of the strokes themselves, which should have an inner tension.

The construction of the character as a whole also requires more precise handling than in the other scripts. The lines and dots should remain separate, not touching each other in any significant way, as this would impair readability, though this certainly makes it more difficult to divide black and white in the inner space in such a way that the right tension in the character as a whole is maintained or even heightened. Because of these requirements *kaisho* is, contrary to common belief, a more difficult form of writing than the two other scripts. It is easy to fall into the trap of simple lifeless copying, in which case the individual lines and dots will lack interest. They will be without vitality and lack the quality to raise curiosity and excitement in a person looking at the calligraphy.

It should be kept in mind in this connection that, when one inspects it closely, a piece of calligraphy is not viewed as a finished work. The person looking at it will rather be induced to follow the movement of the brush as executed by the writer at the time of writing. Viewing is thus a kind of repetition of the original creation. In that sense calligraphy is a performing art. It is not for nothing that its inspiration has often been claimed to come from dance.

The three examples illustrating my remarks all consist of the same two characters for *asagiri*, 'morning mists.' The first, as indicated above, is in *kaisho*, 'standard script.' When one compares it with the second example, which is in *gyōsho*, 'running script,' the difference with standard script immediately becomes clear.

Running script – again contrary to what is generally thought – is actually the script type that knows the greatest freedom of the three modern scripts. It is the script used in daily life for letter writing and the expression of personal views. More important than strict readability is the freedom to write in a personal and natural way. Because personality is reflected in the writing, there are no really strict rules for its execution. As that execution is swifter than in the case of *kaisho*, the strokes are generally of less variation, of more even width. There is a tendency to simplify within the boundaries of readability and lines and dots are sometimes connected within the inner structure of the character. Moreover, the ending of the final lines or dots of a character may clearly point into the direction of the beginning of the next character.

The composition of the character as a whole knows great freedom; this has led to an astonishing number of personal styles of writing in the running script type. Many interesting examples are to be found in the writings of Zen masters, especially in so-called 'death verses' of famous abbots. On their deathbed they laid down their views and instructions for the future in an often outspoken style, untrammelled, free from the regular constrictions of normal life. It is generally accepted that especially running script writing most clearly shows the personality of the writer.

The above-sketched traits of course are best demonstrated in substantial calligraphies consisting of a considerable number of characters, both complicated ones, composed of many strokes, and simple ones, with a few or even only one stroke. For reasons of clarity in the reproduction of calligraphy – a reproduction that in itself already takes away a considerable measure of the impact of the original – it is not possible to provide such more substantial examples.

The third and last example shown here is written in *sōsho*, 'cursive script.' It illustrates to what extent simplification may be practised in calligraphic writing. At the same time this extreme simplification carries with it the necessity of strict adherence to form-requirements; otherwise the writing will become completely unintelligible. One look at the left side of the first character in this example will make clear, that such simplifications may quickly lead to a complete lack of understanding of texts written in this type of script. As a matter of fact, the same is also true for right half of the first character. Readability is threatened still more if strokes and dots, or whole characters, are linked together.

One aspect, which cannot be gleaned from these examples, is, finally, the traditional arrangement of characters in vertical rows, to be read from top to bottom and from right to left. While in standard script each character is placed in its imaginary square, resulting in neat rows, with characters at the same

height in adjoining rows, this is already less the case in running script, and not at all in cursive. In this last type there may be enormous variations both in height and in width, which are in addition sometimes executed in what is called 'one-line-writing.' These aspects make the cursive script particularly fit for artistic purposes, for which it is indeed particularly appreciated.

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

Part III: Baroness Van Brienen and the planting of her Japanese-style garden

Titia van der Eb-Brongersma

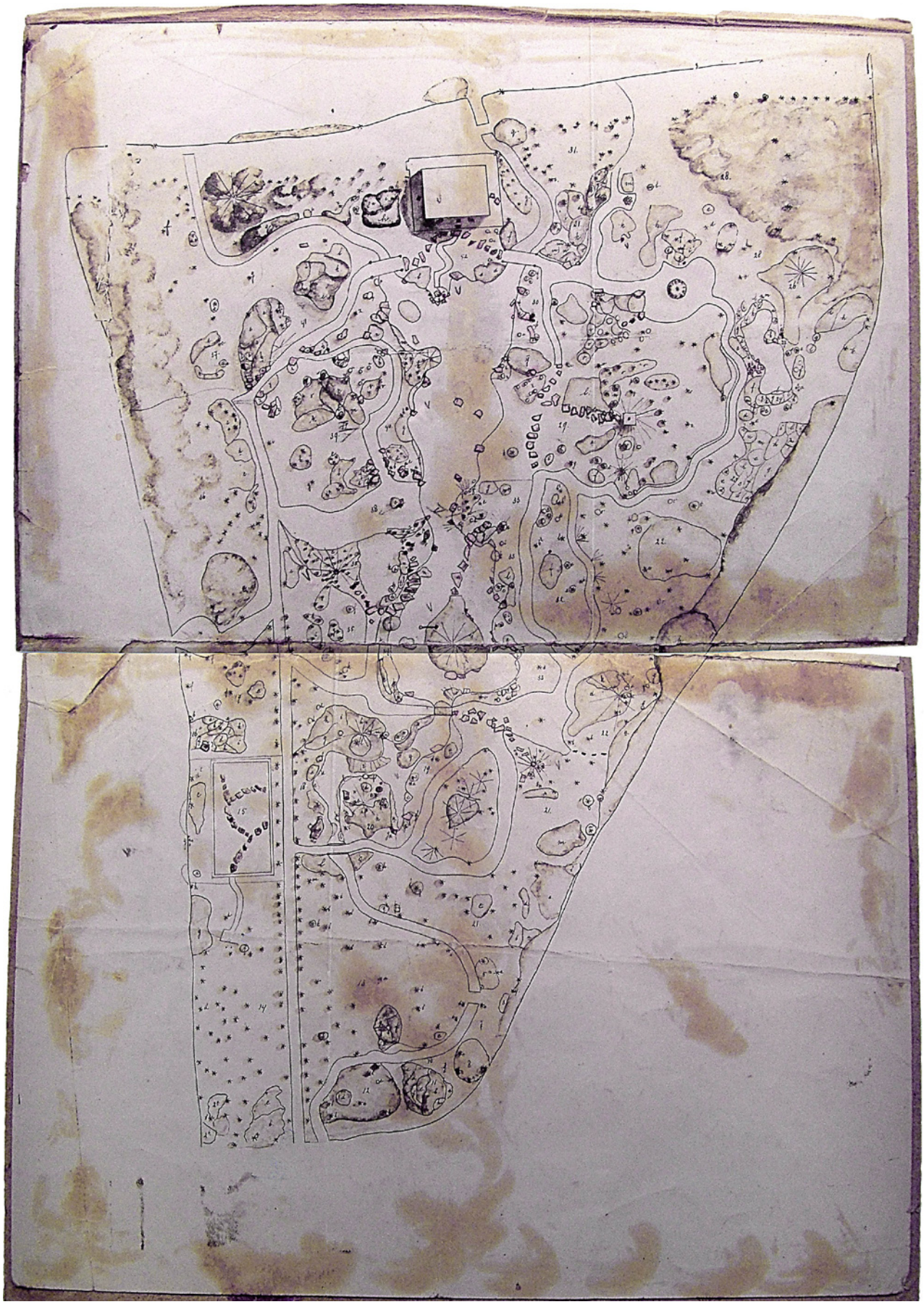
Introduction

In Part I of this series, entitled 'Mrs Van Brienen's journey to Japan,' I gave an extensive description of Mrs Van Brienen's travels in Japan that was based on the photograph album that exists of this trip (*The Netherlands-Japan Review* 2, no. 1 (2011). In Part II, entitled 'Baroness Van Brienen's Japanese garden, the development of a flowery Japonaiserie into a subdued moss garden,' I described the background of Mrs Van Brienen's garden design and analyzed the Japanese and Western elements in the layout of her Japanese-style garden (*The Netherlands-Japan Review* 2, no. 3 (2011). In the third article of this series of three, I will focus on the planting of the garden and describe what is known of the original planting and how this changed over time during the nearly one hundred years of the garden's existence.

The initial data of the planting of the Japanese garden in the Hague are contained in an old, undated plant list of the garden, which corresponds with an old undated map (fig. 1; see also Part II, p. 13). It shows a striking contrast with the situation today. It also reflects the difference in the *view* on garden planting in Japan and in the West around the beginning of the twentieth century.

Garden planting in Japan at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century

Remarkable to Western eyes is the limited choice of flowers and garden plants in the gardens in Japan, especially when one realizes that Japan is blessed with a rich native flora. The reason for this sober planting is that, over the centuries, in traditional gardens in Japan, the choice of garden plants was restricted to a number of selected species. When, during her travels through Japan in April and May



1. old undated map with numbers and letters indicated

2. shiny leaves of Aucuba japonica [Aoki]

3. Hinoki cypress, Chamaecyparis obtusa [Hinoki] underside of the scale-like leaflets with characteristic white 'Y'

1911, Mrs Van Brienen visited several landscaped strolling gardens (see Part I), she must have noticed that these gardens hardly showed any other flowers than Japanese plum (Ume, *Prunus Mume*), Japanese cherries, wisteria, and irises, and were, in fact, amazingly green.

This preference for predominantly monochromatic gardens in shades of green had its origin in the development in the late sixteenth century (Azuchi-Momoyama Period [1574-1600]) of the rustic tea garden with its restrained aesthetics (*wabicha*). In the tea gardens, colourful flowers were regarded as distracting from the atmosphere of purity and tranquillity that the walk through the teagarden should evoke, and were considered bad taste. In the subsequent decennia, this idea of mainly 'greenery' in gardens was adopted in all types of garden; and this remained the principal style during the following centuries. Mrs Van Brienen can only have had a very faint idea of the historical and spiritual roots of the Japanese gardens she saw, for at the time very little was published in western literature about the underlying principles of this art.

Most of the trees and shrubs used in the strolling gardens she visited were broadleaved, often shiny leaved, evergreens like camellia, Japanese aucuba (Aoki, *Aucuba japonica*), and such conifers as Japanese red pine (Aka-matsu, *Pinus densiflora*), Japanese white pine (Gōjo-matsu, *Pinus pentaphylla*), Japanese black pine (Kuro-matsu, *Pinus thunbergii*), Japanese cypress (Hinoki, *Chamaecyparis obtusa*), and yew podocarp (Inu-maki, *Podocarpus macrophyllus*). (fig. 2, fig. 3) Azaleas, often sheared before flowering, were also common. Because of their bare and cheerless aspect in winter, deciduous trees were less popular.[1] Exceptions were made, however, for deciduous trees that through their blossoms or striking autumn colours emphasized the change of the seasons.

Flowering herbaceous plants were used only sparingly; favourite species included irises, planted along the edge of a stream, as can be seen on a photograph that shows Mrs Van Brienen walking along the stream in Ritsurin Park (see Part I p. 20), and another one that was taken at the Byakko Pond behind the Heian Shrine (see Part I p.29).[2]

1 Conder 1964, p. 107-108.

2 An extensive list of evergreens, deciduous trees, shrubs, flowering plants, bamboos

4. Tree peony Paeonia suffruticosa [Botan]

5. Chrysanthemums on display in Kameido shrine, Tokyo

The fact that only a few flowering herbaceous plants were used in Japanese gardens was somewhat surprising by the western standards of the beginning of the twentieth century, as the Japanese were known for their passionate love of flowers. The point is that, even though the breeding and cultivation of horticultural products was highly valued by people of culture during the Edo period (1600-1867), such precious cultivars were not planted in the garden, but displayed in separated flowerbeds or in pots near homes and temples. Many cultivated varieties of tree peonies (Botan, *Paeonia suffruticosa*) (fig. 4) and Chrysanthemums (Kiku, *Chrysanthemum* spp.) were used in this way (fig. 5).

Rare and exotic flowers were *certainly not* considered desirable material for gardens.[3] The proportion of exotic (non-native) species in traditional Japanese gardens is extremely small. On the other hand, several of the frequently used 'Japanese' plants were in fact early introductions from Korea and China. In the Nara (710-794) and Heian (794-1192) Periods, Japanese envoys sent to the Sui (581-618) and Tang (618-907) Dynasties as well as monks who had gone to China to study, brought back to Japan such plants as Ume (Ume, *Prunus Mume*), tree peony (Botan, *Paeonia suffruticosa*, chrysanthemum (Kiku, *Chrysanthemum* spp.), the tea plant (Cha, *Camellia sinensis*), and the lotus (Hasu, *Nelumbo nucifera*). From even further west came the *Narcissus tazetta* (Suisen) (fig. 6) now locally naturalized in Japan, and the *Chrysanthemum coronarium* (Shun-giku), the leaves of which are used in Japanese cooking. Both originated from Southern Europe, came to China by way of the Silk Road, and from there crossed the sea to Japan. In the Edo Period, more Chinese species found their way into Japan, e.g. 'Japanese' mahonia, (Hiiragi-nanten, *Mahonia japonica*); refugee monks and scholars brought them along from China.[4] In the same period, other exotic plants were imported by the VOC (Dutch East India Company). One example is kale (Habotan, *Brassica olearea*), which was first imported as a vegetable for the employees of the Dutch trading post at Deshima, and later on became the object of a craze

and other grasses, used Japanese gardens in the nineteenth century, can be found in Conder 1964, pp. 110-122.

3 Conder 1964, p. 123.

4 See Levy-Yamamori and Taaffe 2004, p. 19.

6. Narcissus tazetta [Suisen] Zuizenji, Kamakura, early March

of cultivating ornamental kale in different shapes and colours. Nowadays Japanese and western plant breeders collaborate in developing new cultivars of Japanese plants such as Hydrangea (e.g. Hydrangea 'Green shadow,' a new Dutch–Japanese cultivar of the year 2000) and Hosta.

During her trip in 1911, Mrs Van Brienen must have experienced the quiet atmosphere of the Japanese gardens, and most likely she will also have seen the displays of flowering potted plants, though her album does not contain any photographs of the latter. We will discuss later to what extent she used Japanese plants for her garden.

Garden planting in the West at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century

In the West the development of garden history and garden planting over the centuries, has been completely different from that in Japan. This had everything to do with a fundamental difference in the view of nature. While in Japan nature was not experienced as hostile, in the West nature was regarded as inhospitable, and a garden was supposed to be a refuge, an idyllic spot, well fenced off from the evil outside and the dangers of wild nature. A place also that had to be improved by the work of men.

There were also geographical factors at work. In contrast to Japan, where the choice of native plants was almost unlimited, North-Western Europe is not blessed with many indigenous trees and plants. Under the devastations of the last ice ages, which lasted from approx. 110 000 to 10 000 years ago, the assortment of flowering trees, shrubs and conifers was minimized. Trees like Magnolia, Ginkgo (Ichō, *Ginkgo biloba*) and Japanese Umbrella Pine (Kōya-maki, *Sciadopytis verticillata*) (fig. 7), which were common indeed in the area of the Netherlands before the ice ages, did not survive the cold and the dearth of insects it caused. In soil excavations near Tegelen, in the south-eastern part of The Netherlands, the remains of these plants, which still are widespread in China and Japan, were found as fossils.

7. Japanese Umbrella pine, Sciadopytis verticillata [Kōya-maki]. (Ph.F. von Siebold: Flora japonica)

It is not surprising, therefore, that the import of plants from other parts of the world created excitement and had an enormous influence on European garden art. Due to the exploration of the ever-widening world in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, Europeans came into contact with other regions and other continents with different vegetation. Through travelling, and through the trading and colonization policies of European powers like Portugal, Spain, Holland and England, a vivid interest in exotic plants had arisen already in the sixteenth century. Such new plants were warmly welcomed in Europe, but, as the early explorations mainly covered zones with a warm climate, many of these introductions failed, the majority not being winter hardy. From the seventeenth century onwards Chiefs and Governors of the Dutch trading posts abroad and surgeons and apothecaries on the merchant fleets of the VOC were instructed to collect and bring home unusual and bizarre plants from all over the world.[5] As a result, the VOC exerted a considerable influence on the introduction of new plant species in Europe [6]. In the second half of the seventeenth and the eighteenth century, medical doctors stationed at the Dutch trading post on Deshima (Nagasaki), such as Andreas Cleyer (1634-1698), Willem ten Rhijne (1647-1700), Engelbert Kaempfer (1651-1716), and Carl Peter Thunberg (1743-1828), described various Japanese plants and sent live plants to The Netherlands. In the second half of the nineteenth century, just in the period when Europe took an interest in Japanese garden art and oversees transport of plants became more successful, a fascinating wave of unknown trees, shrubs, plants, and bulbs reached Europe. Many came from the more temperate regions in East Asia, in particular from Japan. These entirely new and hitherto unknown plants, especially the many flowering shrubs, were enthusiastically received and they were a welcome addition to European horticulture.

A pioneering botanist was Philipp Franz Balthasar von Siebold (1796-1866), a medical doctor stationed in Nagasaki, who sent plants back as early as 1829, when Japan was still a closed country. He was responsible for the introduction of many East Asian plants into Europe. Fourteen of the original plants, Von Siebold send to The Netherlands, can still be seen flourishing in the Botanical Garden of the Leiden University. In total, Von Siebold sent about 730 different living plant species and over 400 seeds to the Netherlands, as well as some twelve thousand dried specimens (of ca twenty-two hundred species) [7] that are now carefully preserved for study in the National Herbarium of the Netherlands in

5 Tjon Sie Fat and Van Vliet 1990, p. 44-45; Baas 2002, p.124.
6 Baas 2002, p. 125.
7 Tjon Sie Fat 1990, p.45.

Leiden. Most of these plants were new to Europe. Until Von Siebold and his colleague, the German botanist Joseph Gerhard Zuccarini (1797-1848), published their *Flora Japonica* in 1835, only thirty-four woody species from Japan and China had been described. Together they described more than ninety new species [8].

After the opening of China (1842) and Japan (1854), the English plant hunters John Gould Veitch (1839-1870) and Robert Fortune (1812-1880) also collected many interesting and valuable garden plants. The nineteenth century plant collectors all benefitted from an invention, made in England around 1829 by Dr. Nathaniel Bagshaw Ward (1791-1868), which made it possible for more plants to survive the long sea voyages. Until then, many of the live plants did not survive, because the bulbs were eaten by the ships rats and the plants often fell victim to the carelessness of the sailors, who, when fresh water was scarce, sprayed them with seawater. Dr. Ward's invention was a sealed self-sustainable wooden container with a glass roof, named after him 'the Wardian case,' which was placed on the ship's deck. In this way, the plants got light and were protected against the salty air; watering the plants was not necessary anymore as they got their water from the condensed moisture inside the box. (fig. 8) Japanese umbrella pine (Kōya-maki, *Sciadopytis verticillata*) was one of the plants that were successful introduced in this way.

Nowadays, in the Netherlands, over seventy per cent of the trees, shrubs, and plants in our parks and gardens is of East-Asian origin. At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, when all these plants from foreign parts were becoming available, European garden art was ready for a new departure and garden owners were delighted to incorporate these plants into their gardens.

8. Wardian case, Leiden Botanical Garden, Leiden University.

8 Tjon Sie Fat 1987, p.18; Tjon Sie Fat and Van Vliet 1990, p.46.

Garden symbolism in East and West

Since antiquity and throughout history, gardens and flowers, both in East and West, have been imbued with symbolic meaning, generally through religious associations. In Japan, too, symbolism played and still plays an important role in garden design. Invited to a friend's garden, a Japanese visitor would instantly recognize and understand the meaning of the symbols that the designer had in mind when he created the garden. A single rock would symbolise mountain Hōrai, one of the mythical islands of Blest and home to the immortals, and an island in the form of a turtle (*Kamejima*) would also symbolize these isles, because a turtle, too, was one of the emblems of longevity.

Not only symbolism in the design of the garden, also plant symbolism has always been common in Japan. It played an important role in the choice of garden plants. The old symbol of the three auspicious friends of winter (the evergreen pine, the flexible evergreen bamboo, and the early flowering plum), were used as symbols of perseverance and permanence, not only in New Years decorations but also in gardens and as motifs in paintings and on chinaware. Many plants also were chosen because they were known from poetry or classical novels, e.g. *Man'yōshū*, compiled in the middle of the eighth century, or *Genji monogatari* ("The Tale of Genji"), written in the early eleventh century. Often these plants were symbols of the changing of the seasons; one example is bush clover (Hagi, *Lespedza sp.*), which was one of the seven autumn flowers that mark the end of the summer season.

In Europe, over the centuries, garden symbolism lost much of its inner meaning. In mediaeval times, religious plant symbols were manifold. Many can still be discovered in paintings, e.g. white Madonna lily symbolizing purity and the three leaves of the strawberry alluding to the Trinity. In the famous Dutch oil paintings of flower bouquets, vanity symbols and plant symbols needed no explanation for the interested art lover. Plant symbolism still flourished in pictorial art of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Often these paintings showed newly introduced, celebrated flowers and fruits, e.g., tulips or citrus. From the sixteenth century onward, however, reason became uppermost in man's mind, and the interest in the scientific study of nature increased. Religious garden and flower symbolism was gradually forgotten. At the end of the nineteenth century, it had degraded and gardens entirely lost their symbolic meaning. Symbolism became purely a folkloristic language of flowers, and gardens became exclusively decorative. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the vogue of Japanese-inspired use of flowers as decorative motifs greatly influenced applied art and crafts. Irises, lilies, peonies, and bamboo became topics in the Art Nouveau movement. They were, however, devoid of their original symbolic meanings.

Mrs Van Brienen can only have had a superficial idea of Japanese garden symbolism. As already discussed in Part II, around 1900 authentic Japanese garden symbolism was poorly understood in the West, as literature about the philosophical background of Japanese gardening was scarce. Nevertheless it would be interesting to know if she ever saw a Japanese-style garden in the United Kingdom that

demonstrated garden symbolism, such as the Japanese garden in Tully (Ireland), laid out by Japanese craftsmen for Colonel William Hall-Walker in 1906-1910, or Ella Christie's Japanese garden at Cowden castle (Scotland), laid out in 1908. The latter garden was not too far distant from the residence of her travel companions Sir Edmonstone and his wife. It was known for the many Japanese symbolic features that were incorporated in the garden by her Japanese gardeners. In the Japanese-style garden that Mrs Van Brienen laid out after her trip through Japan in 1911 it may be possible to recognize some symbolic Japanese elements in its design, but it is unlikely that this also applied to her choice of Japanese plants.

The favourable location of Mrs Van Brienen's Japanese style garden

In 1912/13, when Mrs Van Brienen was back in the Netherlands, she had a garden in Japanese style laid out on her premises. The site of the estate happened to be particularly well suited for a Japanese garden, the soil being humid, but well drained and semi-acid. The name of her estate in The Hague, Clingendael, is emblematic in this context. 'Cling' is Old Dutch for hill or dune, and 'dael' is another word for valley, so the name indicates that Clingendael is situated in a valley between the dunes. These dunes and valleys were formed between 2300 and 1000 BC as one of the old shorelines on which the western parts of the Netherlands built up. As it was a shoreline, originally the sand was drenched with salt from the sea and lime from the remnants of marine shells. Over the centuries, rain slowly washed away the salt, and the lime dissolved, mainly under the influence of the ever-increasing levels of humic acids formed by plant roots and decaying leaves. This development made the soil well suited for moss vegetation, as is borne out by the other estates located along this old shoreline.

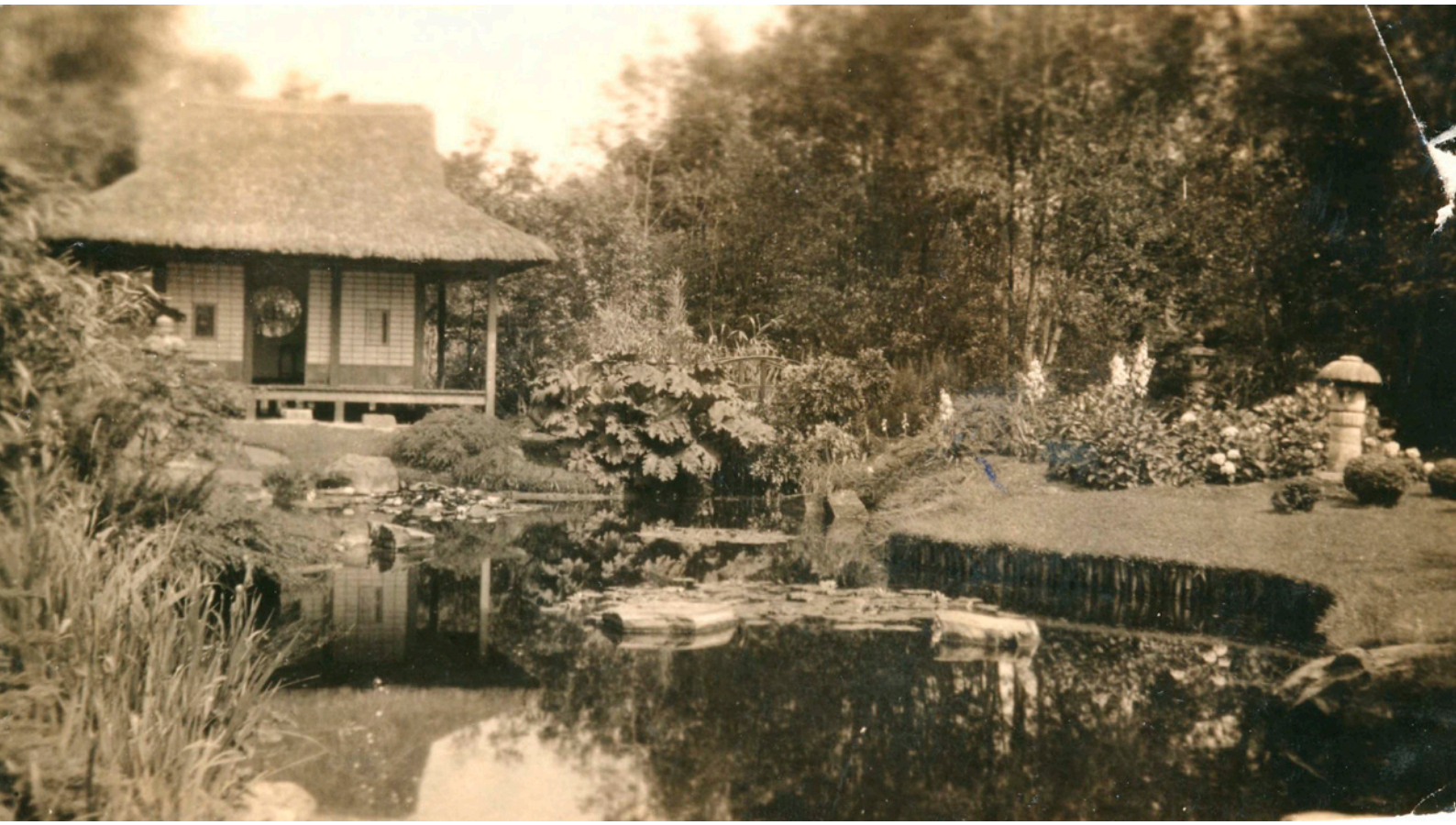
The cover of the shady forest that eventually developed in this area also helped the growth of moss. At the time the map and the plant list (see below) were made, stumps of alder (*Alnus,* Dutch: Els), ash (*Fraxinus*, Dutch: Es), maple (*Acer*, Dutch: Esdoorn), rowan (*Sorbus,* Dutch: lijsterbes), and birch (*Betula,* Dutch: Berk) were still present, indicating that this area formerly had been a varied coppice forest.

A garden with fashionable Japanese and trendy non-Japanese plants

Mrs Van Brienen's garden was not a serene, subdued, 'authentic' Japanese garden with undergrowth of moss and planted in various shades of green. Her Japanese garden radiated a very different atmosphere.

9. Gunnera sp.

10. Yucca sp.



11. Old photograph. Note Gunnera with big leaves in front of the pavilion at the water edge; white flowering Yucca spikes behind bush on the right; flowering Hydrangea and Buxus shrubs pruned spherical; irises along the water edge on the left; water lilies and several rocks in the pond.

Although from the onset moss will have been present in this location, since it is a natural ground cover in this area of inner dunes, it may not have been an intentionally cherished feature of the early garden. In Japonaiserie gardens it was not a subject of interest.

Although Cremer mentions that Mrs Van Brienen had been instructed 'by Japanese' to use only Japanese plants,[9] from the surviving plant list we get a very different picture. Studying this list, we do find many imported Japanese species that were favoured in Western Japanese-style gardens in the nineteenth century because of the much sought-after romantic 'Japanese' effect and feeling they evoked. But a further look at the list also reveals many *non-Japanese* species. These are in the first place exotic plants like Gunnera (fig. 9) and Yucca (fig. 10), which were trendy in western gardens in the last decades of the nineteenth century and which, because of their unusually large and striking foliage and/or conspicuous flowers, were thought to enhance even more the desired romantic, exotic effect (fig. 11). In the second place, the list includes less extravagant herbaceous plants that fitted perfectly into an entirely new, upcoming trend in the early twentieth century in the west: that of the natural herbaceous flower border.

Without this undated plant list and without the few old photographs that show the garden in the early days, we would have no idea that the planting of Mrs Van Brienen's original 'Japanese-style' garden was that of an exuberant, romantic garden, full of exotic and eye-catching plants, in a style that closely resembled the Edwardian gardens in the United Kingdom, which she must have known so well from her frequent stays in England (see also Part II, p. 16). Today all the exotic plants and most of the herbaceous border plants are gone. Nothing in the garden reminds one of the exotic planting that used to be there.

The undated plant list and the corresponding map

Together with the map of the garden, the plant list offers a most interesting view of the planting in the early days of the garden's existence. Unfortunately, both are undated, so we can only guess when the survey on which the list and the map are based, was made. The plant list is typewritten and obviously a copy, as it contains many unmistakable typing errors. The map is also a copy. The original, which was a drawing in watercolour, pen and ink, was saved from destruction in 1968 (see Part II p.21, footnote 59). It was lost again in subsequent years, fortunately after some copies had been made.

On the map numerous tiny numbers, letters and asterisks are placed. Each number corresponds to a certain section of the garden; in combination with the accompanying letters, it refers to the names

9 Thacker 1979, p. 78; Part II, p. 13.

12. Detail of the old map. Note the flower bed,marked 16, near the water edge to the left of the straight path, above the rectangle marked 15. Planting is specified in the Table of Plants No 16 a-l .

of plants that appear on the list (e.g. 1a, 1b; 2a, 2b; etc.). In various areas on the map, plants are grouped into distinct flowerbeds (e.g. in section no. 11, 16, 23, 24-25, 31). (see fig. 1 and fig. 12). In addition to the numbers and letters also many asterisks show on the plan. Some are accompanied by letters, others are not. Possibly 'plain' asterisks represent indigenous vegetation, which was not essential to the planting scheme, but this cannot be verified. It is remarkable, though, that on the map it looks as if the two long rows of oaks that today line the straight path, might be indicated by asterisks. Since these asterisks are not accompanied by any letters, however, and hence are not included in the plant list, there is no conclusive evidence. If these asterisks really indicate the oak trees, then already a few of the trees were gone by the time the map was drawn, as the row of asterisks shows a few openings. Why the two rows of oaks should be only indicated by plain asterisks and not by asterisks with letters, whereas tree stumps of alder and birch, pines, and other indigenous oaks are indicated by asterisks with letters and are, therefore, included in the list, is unclear.

It is not known who made the list or when it was compiled. It should be noted, however, that many of the plant names in the list are old and were already obsolete by the first quarter of the twentieth century. Already in 1908, in a survey of woody plants in parks and gardens made by Hartog Heys van Zouteveen, these names were no longer in use.[10] To give a few examples, nowadays Cydonia is named Chaenomeles (fig. 13), Dimorphantus is now Aralia, and Funkia has become Hosta.[11]

13. Chaenomeles japonica [Kusa-boke] in today's garden.

Kuitert suggests that the compiler of the list must be a connoisseur who had received his training in the nineteenth century, and he points to Dinn.[12] The same, however, is true for Leonard Springer, who was also educated in the nineteenth century. As I suggested in Part II, I think that Springer may have helped Mrs Van Brienen with the design of the garden, but he is less likely to be the compiler of the plant list. Springer was an accurate man, and fussy about names and the varieties of the trees and shrubs he used, and he was not interested in the choice of cultivars of herbaceous plants; usually he left that to the nurseries involved.[13] It is more likely, therefore, that the author of the plant list was Theodoor Dinn, the head gardener and steward, who worked for Mrs Van Brienen since 1905. He was an ardent plants man and a promoter of herbaceous flower borders, keen on making elegant compositions of plants of various heights and colours. The fact that many of the herbaceous plants are recorded by their cultivar name, along with data about height and colour, points to Dinn. If Dinn was the author of the plant inventory, it is likely that this was done before Dinn resigned in 1920, perhaps even in that year. This is not unlikely, as the garden in 1920 was seven or eight years old and had by that time developed into a fully grown garden, which corresponds to the many species names in the list of plants and from the dense planting shown on the accompanying map. Maybe Mrs Van Brienen asked Dinn, before he retired, to walk through the garden and take notes of the planting. This would explain why the list shows a somewhat messy picture of a mix of ordinary and scientific names. It certainly is not a list of planting drafted at the start of the garden construction.

Another aspect of the list that should be noted is that, apart from obvious spelling mistakes, several annoying errors have crept in. One of the obvious errors in the list is the addition 'Overeynderi' in the cultivar named *Dimorphantus mandschuricus 'Overeynderi.'* Of this tree, now known as *Aralia*

10 Hartog Heys van Zouteveen. *Bomen en Heesters in Parken en Tuinen* ("Trees and Shrubs in Parks and Gardens"), 1908.

11 The complete plant list can be found in the appendix of this article. To make it easier for the reader to consult the list, I have added modern scientific names to the now obsolete ones, and I have corrected obvious spelling errors. When I use plant names in the text, I use modern nomenclature.

12 Kuitert 2002, p. 22.

13 Moes 2002, p. 237.

elata, never a cultivar 'Overeynderi' was bred. It is possible, however, that the 'low' Taxus in the list was in fact *Taxus baccata 'Overeynderi,'* as this is a wide burgeoning bush named after C.G. Overeynder, a nurseryman from a Dutch nursery in Boskoop (Netherlands), who raised this Taxus cultivar in 1860. Another questionable name in the list is *Thuja occidentalis 'Vervaeneanum.'* One of the features of the cultivar *'Vervaeneanum'* is that the leaflets are light green to light yellow. The addition "blue" to this name in the list, does not match this species and points more towards *Thuja occidentalis 'Wareana,'* a cultivar known for its blue-grey scales (leaflets).

It is not feasible within the scope of this article to describe all the plants mentioned in the list. From the many interesting Japanese as well as western plant species shown on the list, I will discuss only a few of the most remarkable plant species that grew in Mrs Van Brienen's garden

Japanese plants in Mrs Van Brienen's garden

Nowadays, apart from some oaks, indigenous pine trees, and two old yews, very little is left of the original planting in the garden that Mrs Van Brienen once cherished, but from the plant list we can get a fair impression of what the garden looked like and how it changed over the seasons. The first thing we note is that the majority of the oriental plants that Mrs Van Brienen had in her garden, was available at the time from Dutch nurseries. The introduction in the nineteenth century of East-Asian plants by plant collectors like Von Siebold, Veitch, Fortune and others had led to the establishment of new nurseries all over Western Europe. In the Netherlands, Von Siebold had started his own nursery of Japanese plants already in 1842 in the outskirts of Leiden, and soon he was followed by nurserymen in Boskoop who, after some initial hesitation, took up the new challenge and began to specialize in Japanese plants and even to breed them into more hardy varieties. Boskoop, with its peaty soil, proved to be an extremely good environment for cultivating Rhododendron, Hydrangea, Japanese maples and a variety of conifers. Japanese lilies were mainly cultivated in Belgium. Because of the Belgian secession of 1830, many plants that Von Siebold had planted temporarily in the botanical garden in Gent on his return to the Netherlands in 1830 remained there, which was the beginning of a flourishing lily culture.

Famous English nurseries were the nursery of the Veitch family at Coombe Wood (Kingston, Surrey), founded in the early nineteenth century, the nursery of V.M. Gauntlett & Co, Japanese Nurseries, in Chiddingfold (Surrey), founded around 1890, and the Yokohama Nursery Company, founded in 1890. The latter two offered not only Japanese plants, but also Japanese garden ornaments. Around 1912, two nurseries in Boskoop, The Netherlands, the Hollandia Nurseries owned by the firm Koster & Co

14. Hosta [Gibōshi] with Acer palmatum 'Dissectum' in the background in today's garden.

15. Japanese garden at Gunnersbury (Jackson, East meets West).

and the nursery of William Messman and Sons, had an extensive collection and a good reputation. In this way, many species and varieties of Japanese trees, shrubs, plants, and also of Japanese bulbs quickly became available and soon found their way, not only into the two gardens of Japanese inspiration that at the time existed in the Netherlands, but also into the ordinary Dutch gardens.

The favourite East-Asian plants in Japanese-style gardens in the West, which we also encounter in the plant list of the Japanese garden in Clingendael, were cherries, wisteria, Japanese azalea's, Hydrangea, Japanese maples, bamboo, conifers, and several herbaceous plants such as Japanese anemones, *Hosta* (fig. 14), and, last but not least, irises and lilies. Compared to the species and varieties mentioned in the plant list of the Japanese garden in Gunnersbury,[14] laid out by Leopold de Rothschild in 1901 in London, the list of the Japanese plants in the Clingendael garden is fairly limited and less detailed. The luxuriant, exotic Japonaiserie garden of Gunnersbury was described by contemporaries as: "The most strictly true and magnificent gardens (*sic*) of Japanese design and composition to be found anywhere in the Kingdom."[15] In fact, of course, just like most other Japanese gardens in the West, it was a western interpretation of what a Japanese garden should look like. The illustration shows what Gunnersbury looked like in its heyday. (fig. 15)

When Mrs Van Brienen visited Japan in April and May 1911, it was cherry blossom time; later in May, it became azalea flowering season; and in the end, the beginning of June, irises were just beginning to bloom. To get an impression what the garden looked like the year round, I will now describe her garden following the same order of the seasons.

In early spring, the most fascinating sight in Mrs Van Brienen's Japanese garden in Clingendael was the blossoming of over twenty cherry trees. It must be noted, however, that 'her' cherries were not the showy, abundantly flowering 'Japanese' Cherries that she had seen in Japan and with which we are familiar today, but *Prunus pseudo-cerasus (Prunus pseudo-cerasus Lindley),* a species originating from China. It is a species that has bright pink buds that open into single flowers, white with a touch of

14 Hudson 1907, p. 1-10.
15 Jackson 2004, Internet article, quoting *The Journal of Horticulture and Cottage Gardener* 1901; see also Part II, p. 12, footnote 24.

16. Prunus serrulata 'Kanzan' [Sakura] in today's garden.

17. Prunus serrulata 'Kanzan'

pink, and in the end bear sour, small, black cherries.[16] Nowadays, *Prunus pseudo-cerasus* is not used anymore in western gardens.

In Japan, the flowering of cherry trees had filled the Japanese with awe and emotion since ancient times, but in the west cherries were primarily valued as fruit trees. Appreciation and use of ornamental Japanese cherries in gardens came only in the 1920-1930s. Around 1923, there were only a few ornamental cherries in England. Partly this was due to the propagation problems growers were confronted with in the beginning. [17] The now ubiquitous, *Prunus serrulata 'Kanzan,'* a Japanese cherry with large, showy, double, purplish-pink flowers introduced by Von Siebold in 1866, which today is a common ornamental tree in the streets in the Netherlands, was not on sale before 1920/30 (fig. 16, fig. 17). This explains why in the Japanese garden in Gunnersbury, *Prunus pseudo-cerasus* was the only cherry that was listed. Similarly, in 1912 in the garden of the Peace Palace in The Hague, only western, fruit bearing cherries were used, and the Dutch garden architect and dendrologist Leonard Springer mentions *Prunus-cerasus*, but no ornamental Japanese cherries before 1920.[18]

On one of the photographs in her photo album, Mrs Van Brienen is shown holding a bunch of small flowering Azalea's (see photograph Part I, p.17). From the plant list we learn that Mrs Van Brienen had in her garden, among others, some very special small flowering Azalea's, nowadays named Rhodendrons: '*Azalea Hinodegiri*' and '*Azalea Hinomayo.*' These rhododendrons, which in May are covered with a profusion of small bright crimson and soft pink flowers, respectively, belong to the group of the so-called Kurume azaleas. Kurume azaleas are named after the town Kurume in Northern Kyushu, where these semi-deciduous rhododendrons have been hybridised and cultivated for centuries by Japanese experts. The English plant collector Ernest Henry Wilson, who saw Kurume-azaleas for the first time during a stay in Tokyo in 1914, in 1918 visited the nursery of Akashi Kijiri in Kurume. Here, together with Mr. H. Suzuki, who at that time was head of Yokohama Nursery Co. in Yokohama, he

16 Collingwood 1948, p.61, p. 123-124
17 Collingwood 1948, p. 56-60; Kuitert 1999, p.74-79, p.92
18 Moes 2002, p. 294, 295;

18. Rhododendron 'Hinodegiri' (a bright-red flowering Kurume azalea) in today's garden.

19. Rhododendron 'Hinomayo' (a pink flowering Kurume azalea) in today's garden.

20. Rhododendron 'Amoenum' in today's garden.

selected fifty of the best Kurume azaleas and sent those to the Arnold Arboretum in the United States, where they arrived April 24, 1919. These became known as the 'Wilson's Fifties.' After their introduction at the flower show of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society in spring 1920, they became very popular. *Azalea Hinodegiri*' was one of them.[19]

At first sight, it is somewhat surprising to find these plants on Mrs Van Brienen's garden list, as it is generally believed that in Europe they were not for sale before 1922. This would be difficult to reconcile with the assumption that Dinn made the list before his departure from Clingendael in 1920. It turns out, however, that already *before* Wilson sent his choice of Kurume's to the Arnold Arboretum in the United States, several of these azalea's, including the bright red flowering *A. Hinodegiri* (fig. 18), were available in the Netherlands. They had been imported into Belgium in 1901, by Dutch bulb merchants, and in 1910 the nursery C.B. Van Nes & Sons (Boskoop) received from the Imperial gardens in Tokyo among others the soft pink flowering *A. Hinomayo*.[20] Unlike most of the Kurume's, A. *Hinodegiri* and *A. Hinomayo* (fig. 19) are winter hardy. In 1912, the Dutch nursery Koster and Sons, too, had these azalea's in its assortment. No catalogues have survived of this nursery, but I came across this information in the sales receipts of the plants this nursery provided for the garden of the Peace Palace.[21] The London garden architect Thomas A. Mason laid out this garden in 1912-1913, i.e., in the same year that the Japanese garden at Clingendael was created. For the garden of the Peace Palace also are listed *A. Amoenum, A. Hatsugiri*, and *A. Yodogawa*. Although not the original plants, *Azalea Hinodegiri* and *A. Hinemayo*, as well as another Kurume azalea, *A. amoenum* (fig. 20), can still be admired in the Japanese garden in Clingendael.

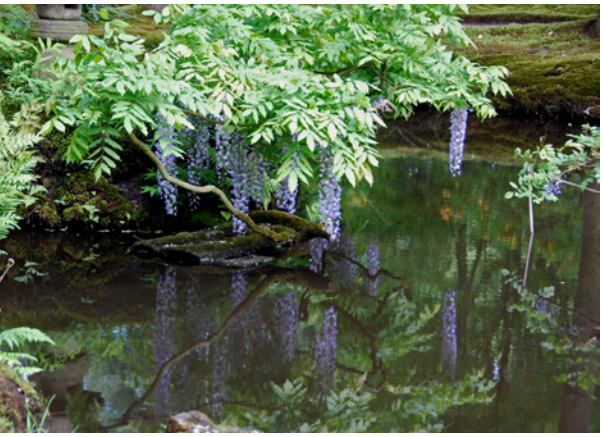
In May, at the same time as the azaleas were blooming, also the wisteria (Fuji, *Wisteria sp.*, Dutch: 'blue rain') flowered in the garden. Wisteria is a climber that was introduced from the East in the early nineteenth century. In Japan it was lead along trellises so the drooping flowers could be admired. Images of the wisteria were immortalised on folding screens (e.g. the wisteria on a pair of six-panelled folding screens by Maruyama Ōkyo, painted in 1776, in ink and colour on gold leaf paper), on woodblock prints (e.g. Hiroshige's 'Wisteria at Kameido shrine,' 1856), and in more modern times on photographs (see Part I, p. 13), and in water colours made by visitors.[22] Also in the west it became one of the most popular garden plants, and not only in Japanese style gardens. Mrs Van Brienen trained wisteria on trellises (the list says: sticks) above the water in order to enjoy the reflection of its elegant, pale blue racemes, just as she had seen when visiting the Kameido Shrine in Tokyo. She planted Wisteria in not less

19 Grootendorst 1954, p. 93-97.

20 Grootendorst 1954, p.93, 94; Huisman 2002. In 1920, C.B. Van Nes & Sons imported almost all of the Wilson's fifties.

21 I am indebted to Mr. D. Van Eendenburg, head gardener of the Peace Palace, who gave me the opportunity to study the records of this garden.

22 Du Cane 1908, following p. 148. See also: Part II, p. 9.



21. Wisteria floribunda [Fuji], reflecting in the water in today's garden.

22. Water lilies floating in front of the red arched bridge in today's garden.

than ten different places, of which five were 'reflection plantings,' as is clearly indicated on the map (e.g. numbers 18r, 33f, 33w) (fig. 21). Fortunately, a picture of the wisteria plants in the Japanese garden has still survived. It is a photograph taken by Van Bommel in 1930, which shows wisteria bushes,[23] the snow-viewing lantern (*yukimi-dōrō*) with its hexagonal roof, and the steppingstones at the waterside. In the present garden, it is still found in the same setting (see Part II, p. 27 and fig 14b). The wisteria, a snow-viewing lantern, and stepping-stones leading to the water are also depicted in several of the watercolour illustrations in Du Cane.[24]

In June, Japanese irises, planted in the water along the banks of the pond, began to bloom. The soil in which they were planted was held together by square blocks of stone, as can be seen on one of the old photographs (see also fig 23, Part II, p. 35). Mrs Van Brienen had seen flowering irises in the Ritsurin Park, near Takamatsu (see Part I, p. 20-21), and along the banks of the lakes in the gardens behind the Heian Shrine in Kyoto (e.g. the Byakko Pond in the west garden; see Part I, p. 29). In the plant list two species of irises are mentioned: *Iris japonica* and the yellow flag (Ki shōbu, *Iris pseudacoris,* Dutch: gele lis), which is native to The Netherlands. As the Japanese irises travelled from east to west in the nineteenth century, this European iris travelled in the opposite direction, from west to east, and was introduced into Japan in 1896, where it is now widely seen.[25]

As is shown on several old photographs (e.g. Part II fig 23), in summer the round flat sheets of water lilies in the pond added to the romantic atmosphere. Mrs Van Brienen had the common, indigenous white water lily *(Nymphaea alba),* which was the only hardy species available in the early nineteenth century, but according to Van Bommel, in addition to white, also red and pink water lilies floated in the pond in front of the arched bridges,[26] just as in Claude Monet's famous painting 'Les Nymphéas.' In the plant list they are listed as *Nymphaea x 'Robinsoniana*,' which is the same name as the water lilies Monet had in his garden in Giverny. These special, coloured water lilies had been cultivated at the end

23 Van Bommel 1930, p. 470. Contrary to what I stated in Part II, p. 37, that there is *no* old photograph of this lantern available, but on this photograph taken by Van Bommel in 1930, it is clearly visible.
24 Du Cane 1908, following p. 4.
25 Levy-Yamamori and Taaffe 2004, p. 330.
26 Van Bommel 1930, p. 469-473.

of the nineteenth century in the nursery of Latour-Marliac (France), and were a sensation at the World exhibition in Paris in 1889. Soon these novelties, which were winter hardy and available in colours ranging from yellow to purple, became a much-wanted item in romantic Japonaiserie gardens, as they did in any other type of water garden.(fig. 22) In Japan, water lilies have always been highly esteemed, and one sees several indigenous species of water lily, as well as the sacred lotus *(Nelumbo nucifera),* a revered symbolic plant in Buddhism, planted in ponds. The Lotus can not be grown in north-western Europe, since it is not hardy; unlike water lilies, the Lotus has leafstalks and flowers that stand high above the water.

At the height of the summer, several groups of Hydrangea (Ajisai, *Hydrangea macrophylla*) came into full bloom. These shrubs, with their pink, blue or white spherical flower heads, were favourites in western Japanese-style gardens as well as in the romantic, exotic gardens of the Edwardian period in England. In the list of plants of the Japanese garden at Gunnersbury, seven different species of Hydrangea are mentioned, six originating from East Asia and one, from the US. In Mrs Van Brienen's garden, two species of Hydrangea were present: five groups of a *Hortensia macrophylla* type, listed under the name Hortensia, and identified in 1930 by Van Bommel as '*H. hortensis*,'[27] and one specimen, more accurately described as *Hydrangea* '*Grandiflora*,' which has its flowers in panicles and was introduced into the Netherlands by Von Siebold in 1860. (fig. 23)

In August, Japanese lilies added an exotic mood to the garden (fig. 24). In Japan lilies were not really considered a genuine garden plant, but they were grown as favourites in special designated areas. Because of their magnificent appearance, lilies were a must in a Japonaiserie garden. The list of Clingendael includes the *Lilium auratum* (yamayuri; Dutch: goudlelie), a lily with very big, fragrant flowers in racemes of up to ten white and carmine tinted, speckled flowers with a golden yellow centre stripe on each petal, which grows over 1.50 m high; the *Lilium henryi*, from China, with up to 40

23. An old photograph. Early spring in the original garden. Note the lily sprouts on the foreground to the right, and the Hydrangea bushes and Buxus, clipped spherical.

27 Van Bommel 1930, p. 471.

24. Lilies added an exotic mood to the original garden.

25. Japanese maple, Acer japonicum 'Aconitifolium' in today's garden.

orange speckled flowers in racemes; *Lilium speciosum*, with white to carmine flowers; and 'Tiger lilies' (probably: *L. tigrinum,* Dutch: tijgerlelies). All are nineteenth century imports from East Asia. The same lilies were also present in the Japanese garden at Gunnersbury; the list specifies, e.g., four different cultivars of *L. speciosum*. In an old photograph taken in spring in Mrs Van Brienen's garden, a group of lily sprouts can be seen along the flight of steps leading up to the shrine (see fig. 23).

As summer slowly drew to an end and fall came with cooler temperatures, the foliage of the Japanese maples (Momiji, *Acer*) turned into a gorgeous blaze of red, contrasting with the dark foliage of the conifers. Because of their beautiful autumn colours, these maples were one of the exiting new shrubs that became popular in Japanese-style gardens, and in ordinary gardens, as well. In Japan 'cherry blossom viewing' in spring and 'maple viewing' in fall still are the favourite outings. Although only a few of the maples are listed by their scientific names, the words "Acer red," and "Japanese Acer, and "Acer leaves deeply divided" etc., suggest Japanese maples. One species that is more precisely defined is *Acer filicifolia* (*A. japonicum var. filicifolium*). This maple was introduced in England *only in 1898* and is now known as *A. japonicum 'Aconitifolium'*. It can still be found in the garden today, although in a different location from the one shown on the map. (fig. 25) Fortunately, P.J. van Bommel, who was completely captivated by the beauty of the Japanese maples when he visited Mrs Van Brienen's garden in 1930, names several of the Japanese maples he encounters, such as *Acer palmatum 'Dissectum Atropurpureum*,' a 'lace-leaf' cultivar with purple, finely divided leaves, which Van Bommel describes 'as cut from fine paper,' and also *Acer palmatum 'Roseo Marginatum'* and *Acer japonicum 'Aureum*,' a yellow leaved variety.[28]

When winter came and most of the plants, as in all western gardens, withered away, their foliage changing into greys and browns, in Mrs Van Brienen's garden one could still enjoy the evergreen bamboo and conifers. Bamboo is one of the plant species that, ever since its introduction in the early nineteenth century, has filled everybody in the West with great awe. It is a grass, but a grass that grows in one season to the bizarre height of four metres or more. In Japan, where the invasive properties of bamboo roots are only too well known, in gardens bamboo was used with restraint, although the

28 Van Bommel 1930, p. 469-473.

26. Black bamboo, Phyllostachys nigra [Kuro-chiku] with its ebony-black canes.

stems are unmistakably present in the gardens, used in fences, gates and as water pipes. Under the influence of the gardening fashion of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, in which unusual planting was cherished, bamboo became a much desired plant in the West. The writings of Freeman Mitford,[29] e.g. his *The Bamboo garden* (1896), certainly have contributed to its popularity. The owner of the Gunnersbury estate was so impressed by bamboo, that already in 1899 he started a collection; in the plant list of his Japanese garden eighteen different species of bamboo are mentioned. In Mrs Van Brienen's garden only two species of bamboo were present: one stand of black bamboo (Kuro-chiku, *Phyllostachys nigra*) (fig. 26) with its characteristic ebony black canes that can reach to a height of five meters, and nine stands of the slightly smaller but also impressive Arrow bamboo (yadake, *Pseudosasa japonica*), with its arrow-straight culms.

Not only brightly flowering trees and bushes, shrubs with foliage in stunning autumn colours, and the rustle of the evergreen bamboo were part of Mrs Van Brienen's garden, also the conifers were of importance. Conifers were another important contribution to European horticulture in the nineteenth century. Today, no one stops in amazement at seeing a conifer in a garden or in a neighbourhood park, yet we should realise that these year-round green trees were *one of the big* surprises in horticulture and garden art in the nineteenth century in the west, especially in the Netherlands, where we count only three indigenous conifer species: a yew (*Taxus baccata*), a Juniper (*Juniperus communis*), and one pine tree (*Pinus silvestris*). Before the introduction of the newly imported evergreens, our winter sky showed mainly bare branches. In Japan, hundreds of conifers in all shapes and shades of green, from rich dark green to light green, from bronze to glaucous, give colour in winter to gardens and the landscape. Amazing and new for western gardeners were also the many imported cultivars of conifers with a neatly dwarfed growth, which made these shrubs particularly valuable for an evergreen touch in flower gardens. Their small size made them perfect for rockeries, and rockeries or 'alpines' were in vogue in the nineteenth century and were often part of Japanese gardens in the west. Mrs Van Brienen, too, had small rockeries in her Japanese garden, the remains of one of which can still be seen today (see map fig 1, no 34).

As we go through the plant list, we not only come across Japanese cedar (Sugi, *Cryptomeria*

29 Freeman-Mitford 1896

japonica), the big trees Mrs van Brienen had seen along the avenues in Nikkō (see Part I, p.15), but also we find spruces *(Picea sp.),* pines *(Pinus),* yews *(Taxus sp.*), and arborvitae (*Thuja sp.*). Many of the conifers listed were small, often evergreen *dwarf* shrubs, used as ground cover or in combination with rocks to add texture and colour to the garden. Examples are forms of low, horizontally growing juniper *(Juniper procumbens)*, and juvenile forms of Japanese cedar *(Cryptomeria elegans)* and Japanese cypress (Sawara, *Chamaecyparis pisifera*), the latter listed under the old, now obsolete name '*Retinospora*.' Because the appearance of these juvenile forms is quite distinct from those of the mature trees, it was not understood in the early days of the introduction of conifers that some of the dwarf plants were actually juvenile forms; this is why juvenile specimens of Chamaecyparis pisifera were given a separate name: Retinospora. When grafted, these forms keep their aberrant appearance. Examples of the juvenile form of Japanese cypress are included in the list under the name '*Retinospora pisifera plumosa aurea*' *(nowadays: Chamaecyparis pisifera* '*Plumosa Aurea*'). This tree, with its fine golden and green foliage, was planted in various locations in the garden.

Most spruces, pines, yews, and arborvitae in the list are not included with their full scientific names. Exceptions are *Picea Maxwellii*, *Pinus densiflora* '*Tanyōshō*' and *Thuja occidentalis* '*Vervaeneanum*.' *Picea Maxwellii* and *Thuja occidentalis* are from American stock, but *Pinus densiflora* '*Tanyōshō*,' a variety of Japanese red pine with an umbrella shaped crown, is Japanese. Kuitert suggests that Pinus *densiflora* '*Tanyōshō*' may well have been an import from a Japanese nursery. He also notes that some of the conifers in the Japanese garden could well be outgrown *bonsai*. Unfortunately, he does not specify which ones.[30] Van Bommel mentions dwarfed conifers that had grown too big for indoors, which could also point to not too well maintained *bonsai*.[31] On the photograph of the performance of a duet song from Giacomo Puccini's opera 'Madame Butterfly' (August 1918), a *bonsai* in a pot decorates the veranda of the pavilion (see Part II, fig 6). In the list no special mention is made of pruning trees and shrubs in the Japanese way, although all four yews *(Taxus sp.)* have the caption 'low or pruned low.' Three juniper shrubs were pruned in a spherical shape, as are the twenty-four or so Boxwood bushes *(Buxus sp.)*, though the latter is not a conifer, but a wintergreen shrub, and most probably a western variety that has been used since classical times for ornamental topiary.

The above description is not exhaustive. Readers who are interested in knowing which other East-Asian plants were planted in Mrs Van Brienen's Japanese-style garden are referred to the list itself (Appendix I).

30 Kuitert 2002, p. 17.

31 Van Bommel 1930, p. 472.

Eye-catching, mainly non-Japanese, exotic plants that were part of Mrs Van Brienen's garden

What makes the plant list so interesting is that, apart from the unmistakably Japanese and East-Asian plants, also many non-Japanese plants are listed. As mentioned before, without this list and without the few surviving photographs, we would not have known that the garden in it heyday was such an exotic, romantic pleasure garden. In this section the focus will be on the impact of these exotic plants.

As I have already mentioned in Part II, in the nineteenth century garden art in Europe had come to an artistic standstill. Around 1870, in England William Robinson (1839-1935), cited in Part II, p.16 as one of the apostles of a much-needed change in garden art, advocated the use of bold and daring planting to break with the prevailing atrophied garden fashion. One possible innovation Robinson suggested, was the use of hardy herbaceous plants with striking foliage to create new and interesting effects.[32] His favourites were, among others, huge pampas grass, giant reeds, spear-leaved yucca lilies, and broad-leaved plants such as Gunnera and ornamental rhubarb (fig. 27). In Mrs Van Brienen's garden, these exiting, conspicuous novelties, the majority of which did not come from Japan, were plentiful. Of the greatly valued and trendy Gunnera *(Gunnera spec.)*, a nineteenth-century import from South America with large leaves of one to two meters, Mrs Van Brienen had no fewer than *seven*. On one of the photographs it can be seen at the waterside in front of the pavilion (see fig 11). Today you will search in vain for this plant inside the garden, but one specimen can be seen outside, planted along the waterfront near the mansion (see fig 9). Gunnera was also present in the exotic Gunnersbury garden and in the Japanese-style garden laid out in Driebergen-Rijsenburg in 1908.

27. Ornamental Rhubarb, Rheum sp.

28. Ornamental hogweed, Heracleum mantegazzianum or Reuzenberenklauw

32 Bisgrove 1990, p. 192, 193.

Another newly imported, broad-leaved plant, of which according to the plant list Mrs Van Brienen had four specimens in her garden, was giant hogweed *(Heracleum mantegazzianum, Dutch Reuzenberenklauw)* (fig. 28). It had been imported in the nineteenth century from the Caucasus. With its big leaves and extremely wide flower umbels it is quite an eye-catcher. Today this plant is often seen in summer along roadsides in the Netherlands; it has come to be regarded as a notorious weed, for the sap can give severe skin rashes. *Macleaya cordata* and ornamental rhubarb, both imported from Asia already in the eighteenth century, fitted perfectly into this predilection for exotic design. A showpiece, widely admired in these gardens, was Yucca, a woody lily that originally came from North America. It was admired because of its sharp pointed leaves and striking spires of creamy-white flowers, reaching almost two meters high. There were several groups of Yucca *(Yucca filamentosa*) in Mrs Van Brienen's garden, as can be seen on old photographs (see fig 11). In today's garden one Yucca still stands in an original spot (see map 18a). The brilliant orange red torch lilies, also called red-hot pokerplants (*Kniphofia uvaria*; Dutch: vuurpijl), was another trendy plant; it camer from South Africa. Both Yucca and torch lilies were old garden favourites and had been imported already in the seventeenth century.

Last but not least, two eye-catching ornamental grasses support the idea that in those days Mrs Van Brienen's garden was not merely a garden in Japanese style, planted with Japanese plants, but a flamboyant, exotic garden. One of the huge grasses was the showy Pampas grass (*Cortaderia selloana*) with its silvery white plumes on two metre high flower stalks, imported from South America (fig. 29), and the other, just as large, was ornamental Zebra grass (*Miscanthus sinensis cv. 'Zebrinus'*), an introduction from China. Zebra grass derives its name from its striking, yellow-striated leaves. Unfortunately, neither of these grasses is shown in the old photographs. After a long interval, both species of grasses are back in fashion again. In an attempt to make the garden look more authentic, a sod of pampas grass has been replanted recently. To what extent these exotic plants should be replanted is subject of debate; I will come back to this below.

29. Silvery white plumes of Pampas grass (Cortaderia selloana).

Not only huge exotic plants contributed to the romance of gardens around 1900, the extravagant, elegant mood of the period was also reflected in the admiration for the delicious fragrance of flowers. The lightly scented Wisteria *chinensis*, which I already mentioned because of the enjoyment its hanging flower clusters afforded the viewer, is one example (fig. 30). Another example is the sweet-smelling honeysuckles, which together with climbing roses and vines grew up into trees or along poles placed here and there as a support. At the occasion of his visit to the garden in 1930, Van Bommel identified the honeysuckles as indigenous honeysuckle (*Lonicera caprifolium*; Dutch: kamperfoelie). In the plant list,

however, also a highly esteemed Japanese species is mentioned (*Lonicera japonica* '*Aureoreticulata*') growing in two places; it can be distinguished from the native Dutch species by its golden-yellow, netted leaves, as is also suggested by the name of this cultivar. The list further mentions a Rosa multiflora (fig. 31), a semi-evergreen, climbing shrub rose, indigenous to Japan and Korea, with showers of small flowers, and a group 'Baby Ramblers,' which are not ramblers (climbers), but Polyantha hybrids, i.e., very fragrant small roses, with masses of flowers.[33] In Edwardian times climbing roses were popular plants for use over pergolas; a vast diversity of cultivars was available. The ornamental climbing vine (Yama-budō, *Vitis coignetiae*) was an introduction from Japan. It is particularly known for its beautiful crimson autumn colours.

30. Wisteria sinensis [Fuji] by the side of a red arched bridge.

31. Rosa multiflora in in today's garden.

The final touch: flower borders

The bold and eye-catching plants were not the only trend in contemporary Western garden art that gave an extra dimension to Mrs Van Brienen's Japanese-style garden. If we check the plant list again, we also find many herbaceous 'border plants,' mostly of western origin. In order to get a complete impression of her garden, we have to pay attention also to those colourful and hardy garden plants, which in the early twentieth century made many a gardener's heart quicken.

33 Dinn,Th. J. 1929 p.126, p. 156. Polyantha Hybrids also called Baby ramblers.

In the beginning of the twentieth century, garden art in the Netherlands was dominated by two trends. The first was the English landscape style of the late nineteenth-century, which was advocated by the renowned Dutch landscape architect Leonard Springer (1855-1940). Meandering paths and streamlets, planted with a wide variety of trees and shrubs, was characteristic of this style.

The second trend was the completely new and upcoming fashion of the herbaceous flower border. The herbaceous flower border also had its origin in England. William Robinson, already mentioned as the promoter of bold and exotic plants, also came out in favour of wild and herbaceous plants. In this, he was inspired by the wildflowers that bordered the country roads.[34] This soon started a revolution in garden design, in which an important role was played by Gertrude Jekyll (1843-1932). She was originally a painter, and developed Robinson's ideas into subtle designs of hardy flower borders.[35] As is often the case with new ideas in the Netherlands, initially the new fashion was received with some reserve. E.Th. Witte, the Curator (Hortulanus) of the Botanical Garden in Leiden, was one of the first to write about the English vogue of informal flower drifts (1906). The choice of winter-hardy, herbaceous plants he recommended for use in these gardens was still very limited, as can be concluded from his list of useful perennial garden plants in his book *Practisch Handboek voor Tuinliefhebbers* ("Practical Handbook for Gardeners").[36] The plants are mostly indicated by genus or species name only; no cultivar names are mentioned as yet, and broad-leaved plants like Gunnera, ornamental Rhubarb, Yucca, Pampas grass, and Miscanthus still strongly dominate the list. Another development that contributed to the popularity of herbaceous plants in the Netherlands was the rise of interest in the indigenous flora and fauna, encouraged by Jac. P. Thijsse, a teacher and field biologist. He was the author of a series of very successful picture books, the 'Verkade' Albums (so called because they were commissioned by the biscuit manufacturer Verkade), of which over 100,000 copies were sold from 1906 onwards.[37]

In the years that followed, the assortment of herbaceous plants boomed. Nurseries began to specialize in hardy perennials, and in no time a wide variety of cultivars became available with flowers in a range of colours. Moerheim's nursery, in Dedemsvaart, became the most notable nursery of perennials in Europe in the first half of the twentieth century. A friend of Gertrude Jekyll, Bonne Ruys, had founded the nursery in 1888. It is not known whether Mrs Van Brienen bought any plants from him (in fact, it is not known at all where she bought her plants), but Moerheim did supply the perennials for the garden of the Peace Palace in The Hague in 1913. Today the nursery and the model gardens with perennial borders in the style of landscape and garden architect Mien Ruys, daughter of the founder, can still

34 Robinson William. *The Wild Garden*, Timber Press, 1870. Bisgrove 1990, p.193 e.v.

35 Jekyll, Gertrude, *Colour in the flower garden*, 1908. id., *Colour Schemes for the Flower Garden*, 4th edn, 1919.

36 Witte E.Th. 1906, p. 221-226. The book is a translated and adapted version for Dutch gardeners of Max Hesdörffer's *Practisches Taschenbuch für Gartenfreunde*.

37 See also Blok, E. and Birgit Lang 2008, p. 21.

32a. Helenium autumnale x superbum (The Garden 55, 1899)

32b. A favourite perennial flower Helenium Riverton Gem.

be visited. Soon the upcoming trend gained popularity also in the Netherlands. In 1913, the year Mrs Van Brienen had her Japanese garden laid out, A.J. van Laren, Hortulanus of the Botanical garden in Amsterdam, published a book with thirty-nine examples of *designs* of flower borders, accompanied with a long list of species and cultivars, giving colours and heights. In 1920 almost every garden owner had a flower border in his or her garden. Mrs Van Brienen and her steward Theodoor Dinn, who had had part of his training in England, must have been aware of these new developments in garden fashion at an early stage. They were familiar with the romantic Edwardian gardens in England, where exotic and natural were combined and flower borders became immensely popular, and, secondly, they will have read the many garden periodicals, in English as well as in Dutch, that paid attention to this charming embellishment of garden design.[38]

Mrs Van Brienen incorporated ornamental flower groups in her Japanese garden, as can be seen on the map, which shows several demarcated areas for that purpose. (map no 11, 16, 23, 24-25, 31). Unfortunately, these combinations do not show on any of the surviving photographs, but the plant list shows that they were typically (end of the) summer borders, with richly flowering Michaelmas daisies and other asters, as well as Ligularia, Helenium, Senecio, Rudbeckia, and Chrysanthemums etc., bringing a vivid colour to the garden from the end of the summer into early fall. (figs 32a, 32b) Almost all of these plants were winter-hardy. Though most chrysanthemums were still greenhouse-grown around 1900, only a few hardy chrysanthemum cultivars from Asian stock were available. Although smartly arranged in height and colour, these ornamental flower groups cannot properly be called '*borders*,' for they did not run alongside the paths. Neither, though easily visible from afar, did they add much

38 In the United Kingdom these were, e.g., *The Gardener's Magazine*, *The Gardeners' Chronicle*, and *The Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society*. A Dutch journal was *Het Tuinbouw Weekblad: "Onze Tuinen"*, edited by A.J. van Laren.

to the composition of the garden. These groups rather look like an early exercise in the new fashion. It may have been one of the early designs of Theodoor Dinn, who was an enthusiastic plants man. Around 1918 a landscaping department under Dinn's supervision was added to the nursery in Clingendael. It is said that from 1918 onward the catalogues of this nursery included perennials, rockery plants, bulbs, and indoor plants.[39]

Apparently, it was not felt as a problem that a garden with so many flowers did not have much in common with the restrained, traditional Japanese gardens Mrs Van Brienen had seen in Japan; it could still be seen as a 'Japanese' garden.[40] The typical image people in the West had of faraway and romantic Japan was that of a flowery country. This image was strongly enhanced by the writings of Lafcadio Hearn[41] (Koizumi Yakumo, 1850-1904) and by the writings and subtle drawings of Sir Francis Taylor Piggott[42] (1852-1925), as well as by the many columns in newspapers and magazines. Among such publications, the delicate flowery watercolours of Ella Du Cane[43] certainly have been an inspiration for Mrs. Van Brienen's garden. Mrs Van Brienen's Japanese garden became an elaborate and flamboyant example of an early twentieth century Japonaiserie garden. More than that, it became a combination of a Japanese-style garden, planted with beautiful Japanese plants and deciduous and evergreen trees, supplemented with showy non-Japanese exotics and, as final touch, with herbaceous flower groups, that were added in an attempt to keep up with the trend of the day. In its heyday it was and exuberant, romantic garden, comparable to the Edwardian gardens in England.

Changes: The development of the Japanese garden in Clingendael until now.

No written records exist that provide information about the development of Mrs Van Brienen's Japanese garden over the years, and apart from the notes Van Bommel made in 1930 about shrubs and plants he had seen in the garden, no additional information exists about changes in planting in the subsequent years. The first documented changes date from after World War II.

In Mrs Van Brienen's garden, and this applies especially to the plants in the perennial borders that tend to get out of control easily, constant renewal and replanting must have been necessary.

39 Wijnands 1981, p. 448.

40 I am indebted to Dr. Jill Raggett, Writtle College, England, for discussing this topic and allowing me to read chapters of her dissertation.

41 Hearn. *In a Japanese garden*. 1892.

42 Piggott. *The garden of Japan, a Year's dairy of its flowers*. 1896.

43 Du Cane. *The flowers and gardens of Japan*. 1908.

33. Orange-yellow Rhododendron molle over a green carpet of moss in today's garden.

Moreover, Mrs Van Brienen, as all western garden lovers, may have felt the challenge to add plants, new or improved varieties that became available from nurseries. So from the beginning the garden will have changed. Furthermore, the habitat in the garden changed over the years. This, too, will have affected both the natural vegetation and the ornamental planting. The increasing shade, caused by the expansion of the canopy, not only contributed to the development of a beautiful moss carpet, but, at the same time, it will have been an impediment for the sun-loving, herbaceous, ornamental flowerbeds. After some time, therefore, the perennial flowers will have faded away. Perhaps these borders were gone already in 1930, which would explain why Van Bommel does not mention them. (fig. 33)

Garden fashions also changed. After World War I the hype of 'things Japanese' was over, and in the United Kingdom many a Japanese garden fell into disarray. The fact that the Japanese Garden in Clingendael continued to exist until World War II and even long after, shows that during her lifetime Mrs Van Brienen continued to cherish her precious 'Japanese style' treasure. A catalogue of a Japanese nursery, which was part of her legacy, shows her continued interest in Japanese gardens. Mrs Van Brienen passed away in 1939, and as she had no descendants, the details and history of the garden were lost with her death.

In 1954, the Clingendael estate including the Japanese garden was taken over by the Municipality of The Hague (see Part II p. 20). In the intervening years, maintenance of the garden had continued. S.G.A. Doorenbos (1891-1980), director of the Parks Department of The Hague, Axel F. Hartman, who studied Landscape Architecture and Planning in Wageningen, and J.L. Mol, a municipal official, were aware of the uniqueness of this newly acquired gem. Doorenbos, who had an extensive knowledge of East-Asian trees,[44] retired in 1957. From 1959 till 1961, Axel Hartman, after a study trip to the Japanese garden of Albert Kahn in Paris, made a thorough study of the Japanese garden in Clingendael and subsequently wrote an extensive report[45] on Japanese garden architecture, which included an interpretation of the

44 As director of the Parks Department, Doorenbos also took the initiative to plant trees from different parts of the world in the Zuiderpark ('Southern Park') in the Hague.

45 A.F. Hartman 1961a: an unpublished report, 100 pp, which includes a plant list and two maps. One map shows the present planting of the garden, and the other, a coloured one, shows the structures and stone elements.

Japanese garden at Clingendael and a commentary on the vegetation as it was at the time, including a list of plants present. His conclusions, based on the book of Josiah Conder and two books about Japanese tea ceremony, one by Fukukita and the other the then just published reprint of Sadler's detailed work *Cha-no-yu*,[46] convinced him that the Japanese garden in Clingendael should be considered an *authentic Japanese teagarden*. This contrasts with what he had learned from an interview with Mrs Irene Strutt, one of Mrs Van Brienen's sisters. She told him, that Marguérite van Brienen definitely had not had the intention to build a Japanese tea-garden, and that never a Japanese tea ceremony had been performed in it.[47]

Another person who took a serious interest in Clingendael's Japanese garden was J.L. Mol (1917-1994). He was acquainted with Hartman and like him had acquired his knowledge from a number of books about Japanese gardens, among others the book by Conder.[48] As Conder's book focuses on examples of typical Japanese garden objects such as stone lanterns, steppingstones, water vessels, bridges, pavilions, and waiting benches, both Hartman and Mol had immediately thought they recognized elements of Mrs Van Brienen's garden. Especially the water basin and the covered bench, which they believed to be a waiting bench or *machiai* as required for the tea ceremony, confirmed their opinion that the garden should be interpreted as a Japanese teahouse garden (see Part II, p 28, 29 and fig 15a).[49]

Mol wrote several recommendations for the municipality about the Japanese garden, as well as a brochure for the public, which for years was the authoritative guide for the interested public and was revised and reprinted several times. The text is laced with symbolic interpretations, based on the books he had read.[50] To this day, brochures and articles in journals and newspapers are influenced by his ideas.[51] It is not surprising that Hartman and Mol did not realize that Mrs Van Brienen's garden had originally been a joyful, romantic, flower garden in a setting of Japanese elements, for by their time most of the exotic plants and colourful flower borders that had adorned the original garden were gone, with the possible exception of a Yucca and *Senecio tanguticus*, which is an invasive, perennial plant that must have felt at home in this environment. Interest in, and a knowledge of, this type of 'Japonaiserie' gardens only came in the nineties of the twentieth century. The term 'Japonaiserie' was introduced not until 1997.[52]

46 Conder, Josiah. *Landscape Gardening in Japan, with supplement of 40 plates*, repr. ed., New York: Dover Publ., 1964 (1st ed. 1893, reprint 1912). Fukukita, Yasunosuke, *Tea cult of Japan. An Aesthetic Pastime*. Tourist Library I, Tokyo, 1935; Sadler, A.L. *Cha-no-yu,* 1933. This was the earliest book on tea ceremony in English; it was reprinted for the first time in 1962.

47 Hartman 1961a, chapter *Geschiedenis Japanse tuin Clingendael den Haag*; Gieskes 2005, p. 29.

48 According to Gieskes, in a note dated 2000, Jan Mol owned several books about Japanese gardens. These included Joshiah Conder's book (edn of 1964); Tatsui 1935; Harada 1928; Engel 1959; Kuck (edn of 1968); Tatsui 1968.

49 Hartman 1961a; 1961b. Mol 1969.

50 Mol 1977a; 1977b;1982, p. 18-21.

51 See, e.g, Boeters 2000, and several brochures of Gemeente Den Haag, 1984-2009 (the titles are mentioned in the Bibliography).

52 Kuitert 2003, footnote p. 235: Philippe Nys proposed the term at the Internatonal Symposium 'Les Jardin Japonais d'Europe', held at the Albert Kahn Museum in Paris. Mrs C.M. Cremers used the word 'Japonaiserie' in the same year in her

It is important to recognize the appreciable difference between Mrs Van Brienen 's view of Japanese-style gardens on one side, and that of Hartman and Mol, on the other. All three consulted Conder as their main source, but they were conditioned by the fashions and feelings of the times in which they lived, and each distilled different ideas from Conder's information. Around 1900, Mrs Van Brienen was searching for the romance of the fairy tale that Japan was supposed to be, and which so well fitted the romantic extravagance of the Edwardian period. Hartman and Mol, living after the Second World War in a completely different world of functionalism and pragmatism, were attracted to the philosophy of Zen Buddhism and were sensitive to the mystical philosophy of the tea ceremony.

Hartman, in 1959-1961, and Mol, in 1969, appear not to have been familiar with the original plant list, though earlier Doorenbos had made notes on this list indicating which species of trees and shrubs were of East-Asian origin. In a note in his planting proposal for the Japanese garden, Hartman observes that it would have been helpful to have at his disposal planting data from the time of the construction of the garden, but that unfortunately 'these data are not available.'[53] Neither were Hartman and Mol familiar at that time with the old photographs depicting Mrs Van Brienen's original garden,[54] which show several of the exotic plants like Gunnera and Yucca (see fig 11). Both were convinced that the garden was a typical Japanese garden, and that all *non*-East-Asian plants that were present in the garden at that time, had been added later. They declared that, in order to bring back the old lustre of the garden, these non-East-Asian plants should be removed as soon as possible and be replaced by plants of East-Asian origin.[55] Mol specifically recommended that the Yucca should be removed, as being non-Japanese. As a visit to the garden will show, this has not happened till this day, (fig. 34) but as a result of Hartman's and Mol's views, a number of major changes were introduced, primarily in the planting. Later, during the years from 1970 till 1979, the Municipality of The Hague decided to add extra stone lanterns and an additional stone water vessel (see Part II. p. 44).

Already before 1959-1961, probably at the behest of Doorenbos, more Japanese plants had been included in the garden. This is shown in the inventory of trees, shrubs and plants, made by Hartman.[56] A comparison of this list with the original 'Van Brienen' plant list shows various 'new' East-Asian tree species, which, given the specified height of only about one meter, can only be recent plantings. Examples are two specimens of Japanese Umbrella Pine (Kōya-maki, *Sciadopytis verticillata*), each one meter in height (see fig 7), and two specimens of *Thujopsis dolabrata* (Asunaro) (fig. 35), also one meter high,

translation of Christopher Thacker, *The History of Gardens* (1979). The Dutch edition is entitled *Tuinen door de eeuwen heen*, 1979; for Japonaiserie, see p 241, 242.

53 Hartman 1961b.

54 Hartman acquired these photographs only much later. Nowadays these photographs are in the archives of his brother E.B. Hartman (see part I p. 8).

55 Mol 1969.

56 Hartman 1961a. The plant list unfortunately shows a few mistakes in nomenclature. Also a few plant names are missing from the list, which are indicated on the map.

which are specifically Japanese trees, and two specimens of *Magnolia liliiflora* (Mokuren), of two and three meters high respectively, which is a species of Chinese origin.

From this list we also learn that several 'new' Japanese shrubs were present in the garden in 1961, e.g. Pieris japonica (Asebi), *Callicarpa japonica* (Murasaki-shikibu),[57] and *Chaenomeles japonica* (Kusa boke). Also listed are many Asian lilies (four species, different from those in Mrs Van Brienen's original garden), four species of water lilies (also different cultivars compared to Mrs Van Brienens garden), a lot of *Hemerocallis* (Kanzō), *Hosta* species (Gibōshi) and lots of *Primula japonica* (Kurinsō) (fig. 36). Most striking however is the abundance of Azalea's: 150 (!) specimens of *Rhododendron molle* and thirty specimens of a related species. Except for Rh. Molle, which could well be seedlings from originals, these shrubs and plants must be recent plantings, for these plants are not long-lived.

Of the original vegetation, only a few trees can be identified as having belonged to the original garden of Mrs Van Brienen. In the first place the many oaks, according to the list now twelve meters high, some indigenous pine trees (*Pinus Sylvester*, Dutch: Grove Den), also twelve meters high, a Beech (*Fagus sylvaticus*, Dutch: beuk) of eight meters high, an Ash tree (*Fraxinus excelsior*, Dutch: Es) of ten meters high, a Japanese Cedar (Sugi, *Cryptomeria japonica*) of five meters high, a *Chamaecyparis* (Sawara) listed as then meters high and may be one or two Taxus (Ichii) and some Junipers. These are all tough trees. Unfortunately, it cannot be verified, whether the twenty-five unspecified Prunus, Japanese Maples, Hydrangea etc. in the list of 1961 were remnants of

34. A surviving Yucca flaccida in today's garden.

35. Thujopsis dolabrata [Asunaro] in today's garden. Note the underside of the scale-like leaflets with characteristic white marking.

36. Primula japonica [kurinsō] in today's garden.

57 *Callicarpa japonica*. The Japanese name, Murasaki Shikibu, of this shrub with lively purple berries (*murasaki* means purple in Japanese) refers to the author of the famous *Tale of Genji*.

the original garden, for scientific names and cultivar names are lacking and/or do not match the original Van Brienen list of around 1920. Some may be later additions or replacements.

In the list of 1961, special mention is made of the names of three different types of mosses: *Polytricum commune* (Dutch: Gewoon Haarmos), *Leucobryum glaucum*, (Dutch: Kussentjes Mos) and *Dicranum scoparium*, (Dutch: Gaffeltandmos); of all three it is indicated that they were abundant. Already in 1954, when the garden came into the hands of the Municipality of The Hague, a widespread moss carpet existed.[58] In connection with their tea garden ideas, both Hartman and Mol emphasized the importance of the moss and recommend an active development of the moss layer. Which is why moss has become one of the striking features of the today's garden.

In 1983 and again in 1985, Schoenmakers made an extensive inventory of the different species of moss, liverwort and lichens that were found in the Japanese garden. The outcome was surprising: forty-five different species of moss were recorded![59] In 2002, on October 2 and October 25, the recognized mycologist Mrs H.D.M. Bakker twice made an inventory of the fungi (mushrooms) present in the garden. Her report shows that the soil has a very rich diversity of fungi that live in symbiosis with the roots of the present trees and plants. Disturbance of the soil should be avoided as much as possible, for the balance is a delicate one.[60] For most of these species the moist, calcium-poor soil, and the cool and shady ambiance is their favoured environment. Yet, constant and meticulous care is needed to keep this precious moss vegetation in prime condition.[61] Regular, painstaking removal of grasses that spring up, and elimination of the invading weeds and young saplings of azalea, as well as sweeping the leaf litter to prevent the moss from rotting are of great importance. Weeding this treasured moss carpet is a specialized and time-consuming job; grasses have to be pulled out manually, for which purpose, in Japan, mostly a small pincer is used.

In 1992 an additional section was added to the garden, put together from materials obtained from the Japanese garden display at the decennary horticultural show 'Floriade' that had been held that year. They included an entrance porch, a stone lantern, a fine rock, and several plants, e.g. Azalea shrubs. (fig. 37) The entrance porch, according to the Floriade management designed by Isawa Satoru, now serves as the main entrance to the garden.

In 2001, almost forty years after the inventory of 1961, the Greenery Department of the City of The Hague, fortunately still very much aware of the importance of this unique garden,[62] commissioned

58 Hartman 1961a. Mol 1969.

59 Schoenmakers 1985 p. 6, 7; Schoenmakers 1986, p. 30-32.

60 Bakker, *Paddenstoelen-inventarisatie Japanse tuin te Clingendael* ("Inventory of Fungi in the Japanese garden at Clingendael"), unpublished, 2002.

61 See also Kuitert and Rammeloo 1989.

62 The other garden with Japanese elements, which also dated from beginning of the twentieth, century was laid out in 1908 at the country estate of Jhr Neervoort van de Poll in Driebergen-Rijsenburg. It changed ownership in 1929 and was redesigned by the new owner, Prof. Dr. R. Josselin de Jongh (see also Part II p. 10).

37. New part of the garden added in 1992
Rocks, Kasuga lantern, Rhododendron sp., Rhododendron 'Hatsugiri' and Camellia

Ir. Theo Janson to investigate the trees, shrubs, and plants present in the garden. Ir. Janson, a fine plants man, was able to determine the species and cultivar names of almost all the trees, shrubs, and plants and compiled an extensive list.[63] The Janson's list of 2001 shows that the tendency to 'Japanise' the garden by planting East-Asian plants had continued to be the theme, as is illustrated by the following examples. Compared to the list of 1961, more varieties of Rhododendrons are recorded. Among others the Kurume azalea's, *Rhododendron 'Hatsugiri'* and *Rh. 'Hinomayo,'* are well represented in 2001. These were not specified in the 1961 list, but we discovered these charming small flowering and small leaved semi-deciduous azaleas already in the original garden of Mrs Van Brienen (see above). A newcomer in the list is *Rhododendron luteum*, a species with very fragrant, yellow flowers, which is recorded for twenty-eight locations. (fig. 38) In fact this is not an Asian rhododendron, but an introduction from Asia Minor or the Caucasus. Not all the specimens of this species will have been planted deliberately; this species tends to spread rapidly, because it easily germinates in the thick, moist moss layer. This may also be the explanation for the abundance of the above-mentioned Rhododendron molle in 1961.

38. The fragrant Rhododendron luteum is abundant the garden today

Other lovely Japanese shrubs, e.g. *Enkianthus campanulatus* (Sarasa-dōdan) and Japanese Holly *Ilex crenata* (Inu-tsuge), the first deciduous but displaying a beautiful autumn colour, the latter an evergreen shrub, were added to the garden on various locations and still remain. Others, e.g. *Callicarpa japonica* (Murasaki-shikibu), are gone. It hardly comes as a surprise that no lilies are mentioned in the list of 2001: the many gorgeous lilies that were present in 1961 could not possibly have survived for forty years. It is, however, remarkable that two arum species are both mentioned in the list of 1961 and still present in the 2001. These are Lysichiton americanus from Northwest America, with its eye-catching golden yellow spathe of flowers, and the somewhat smaller East-Asian variety, the white Lysichiton camtschatcensis

63 Janson 2001 (8 pp. with location map).

(Mizu bashō), which is native in bogs in Japan. (fig. 39, fig. 40) Mol, apparently, was not that fussy about the use of 'only' Japanese plants, as in a brochure of 1977 he makes special mention of the American arum. Neither species was part of Mrs Van Brienen's original garden, but it cannot be denied that they add something of an exotic look to today's garden.

39. Lysichiton americanus
The American arum is an eye-catcher in the garden today

40. Lysichiton camtschatcensis [Mizu bashō] near the pebble beach

I will stop here, for it is obviously impossible to discuss all the plant species mentioned in the lists. I will also refrain from discussing the spreading indigenous plants, though I make one final exception for the delightful royal fern, Osmunda regalis, known from all over the world, which, with its elegant young foliage, is growing along the edge of the water stream and is one of the features of the garden today. (Ferns were not specified in Mrs Van Brienen's list).

From the above it has become clear that Mrs Van Brienen's Japanese-style garden, laid out in 1912/13, has changed over the years. Most of the joyous Japonaiserie atmosphere is lost; the extravagant, exotic, broad-leaved plants such as Gunnera are gone; the herbaceous borders have died out; the magnificent lilies are gone; the Chinese cherries have been replaced by various species of Japanese cherries; and the indigenous oaks and pine trees as well as some conifers now have grown sky high, with the result that over the years the carpet of moss has become thicker and thicker. Azaleas (Rhododendrons) and a variety of Japanese maples today dominate the garden.

Before World War II, several books were published about Japanese gardens and Japanese garden architecture in addition to the books that Mol had on his shelves, such as the very informative book by Samuel Newsom, *Japanese Garden Construction*. This book, however, was published in July 1939,

so it will not have had any great influence on Mrs Van Brienen's ideas about gardening, as she died in November of the same year. She might have been acquainted with A.L. Sadler's book *Cha-no-yu, the Japanese Tea Ceremony* (London, 1933), but this cannot be established with certainty. Since the 1960s, interest in Japanese culture increased again. Zen Buddhism became more and more popular,[64] and in 1994 The Urasenke School of Tea in The Netherlands was founded. Around this time, interest in Japanese gardens, too, flourished again. Many books, often beautifully illustrated, were published in western languages that not only extolled the beauty of gardens *in* Japan, but also contained instructions, how to create your own Japanese garden at home, outside Japan. At the same time in England, there was renewed interest in the almost forgotten Japanese-style gardens of the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. They became the object of research,[65] and this eventually resulted in the repair and renovation or restoration of several of these gardens.[66] In 1977 in Vienna, Mrs Yamada Kie, daughter of the chairman of The Japanese Garden Society, Mr Harada Eishin, discovered the ruins of a Japanese garden on the grounds of the Schönbrunn Palace. It turned out that this garden had been laid-out in 1912/13, the same year as the Japanese garden in Clingendael. The garden was designed by Anton Hefka, the director of the Schönbrunn Palace gardens in 1912, who had never visited Japan,[67] and was restored in 1996, on the basis of an old description.

Restoration, however, is never an easy task, because one rarely has reliable historical sources and written data. This is also true for information regarding the original planting of those gardens, which was mostly lacking. The plant list of the Japanese garden in Gunnersbury is one of the few exceptions (see also Part III p. 9). Every now and then a rare old photograph is available, that can give an impression of what the gardens looked like in the early days.[68] As regards the original Japanese garden in Clingendael, fortunately, not only an accurate map has survived, but also an extensive plant list. It does not contain many details regarding species and cultivar names, but at least we have a list. We also have a few old photographs, on which we can identify a number of the plants. Though the data are still limited, one could, on this basis,

64 Stimulated by e.g. Jan Willem van de Wetering (1973), *Het dagende niets* ("The Dawning of Nothingness") and *De lege Spiegel* ("The Empty Mirror"), and also by F. Vos and E. Zürcher (1964), *Spel zonder snaren: enige beschouwingen over Zen* ("The Lute without Strings: Reflections about Zen").

65 Herries 2001; Raggett 2006, p.6-9; Raggett, Jill, *The Japanese-style Garden in the British Isles, 1850-1950*, now in press.

66 Tatton Park was renovated in 2000/2001; part of the gardens of the Japan-British exhibition was rebuild in 2010, although on a smaller scale, but have again fallen into disrepair.

67 In 1911, Count Von Lützow, one of the travel companions of Mrs Van Brienen on her journey to Japan, had settled down in Vienna. I have not yet been able to verify, whether there is a link between the gardens of Schönbrunn and Clingendael. Judging by his memoirs, Von Lützow was not a gardener.

68 Photographs of Japanese style gardens in the United Kingdom can be found on the internet and also in Herries, 2001. They are Sir Frank Crisps garden of 1906 in Friar Park in Henley-on-Thames; the Gardens of Japan-British exhibition of 1910 near London; Tatton Park, laid out by Allen de Tatton in 1911; the Edwardian-Japanese garden of the Earl of Sandwich, laid out in 1907 in Hinchingbrooke (Huntingdon, Cambridgeshire), photographed in 1929.

41. The original pavilion, albeit with new shoji where visitors enjoy the view on the pond. To the left an dark Japanese maple Acer palmatum 'Atropurpureum'

42. To the left the newly laid out pebble beach Left on the photograph part of the turtle island

entertain the idea of restoring the garden to its original state. An extra reason for doing this would be that the garden, as part of the Clingendael estate, has been designated a National Monument on 7 July 2003 (see also Part II p. 7).

As I discussed already in Part II, from the year 2000 onward incremental changes and renovations have taken place in the Japanese garden in Clingendael. Among others, a new granite slab bridge replaced a broken one, and earthen bridges were installed over a small stream in the back of the garden. On the island, a copy of the very unusual 'lost' Japonaiserie lantern was installed, while at the same time the eroded banks of the island were restored revealing that the original bank was lined with old Dutch roof tiles in the Dutch fashion. Moreover new sliding panels (*shōji*) have been installed in the pavilion according to an old photograph (see Part II p. 33). (fig. 41). Also more drastic alterations were made: the main entrance to the shrine was shifted 90°, steppingstones were added here and there, and a smooth pebble beach replaced the open sandy area at the bank of the lake (fig. 42). Decorative rocks and replica bamboo plumbing were added to the two water vessels, in a construction for a *tsukubai* arrangement (see Part II fig 15b, 22a).

Kuitert criticizes these changes, especially the construction of the *tsukubai* arrangements.[69] He states that, first and for all, a ceremonial teagarden never was part of Japonaiserie gardens, so "all the references to Japanese tea ceremony should be omitted." Furthermore, "that all post-war changes were done tastelessly and with cheap garden centre materials, affronting the original high quality of the design." In this connexion he also proposes that the garden should get "a legally protected status as monument to prevent further irresponsible renovations." This was settled in July 2003.

In view of the fact that the original garden was a Japonaiserie garden and never was intended to be a teagarden proper, it is quite true that the construction of a *tsukubai* arrangement is incorrect. The

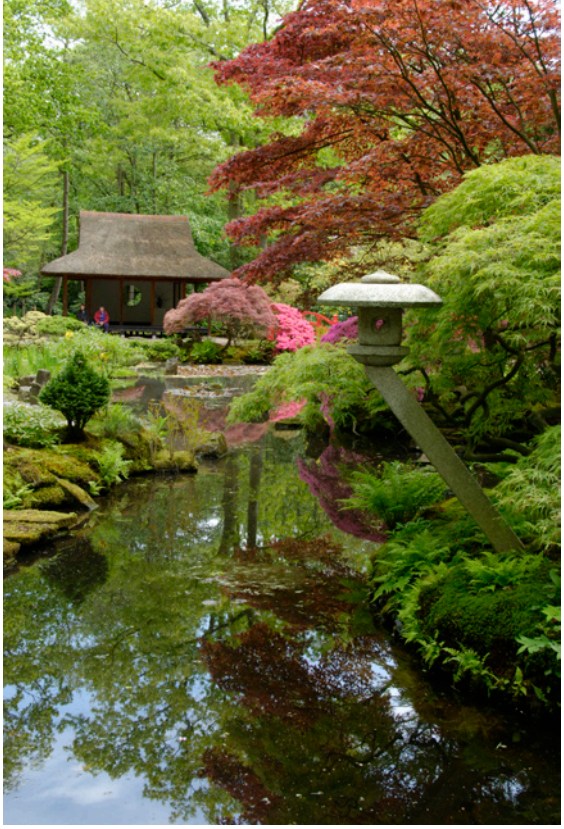
69 Kuitert 2002, p. 11, 12, 14, 18; Kuitert 2003, p. 235, p. 238 footnote no 35; Kuitert in later Internet version of Kuitert 2003 gives an abbreviated and adapted version of footnote 37.

same applies to the pebble beach, which is not original, and to stone lanterns and the extra water basin that were added later on. It is also true that it would be historically correct to restore the garden true to the spirit of the original, to the extent that that would be possible with the limited information we have. From a researcher's point of view, this would certainly be a most fascinating challenge. It must be understood, however, that the removal of today's planting in favour of the original planting would mean a serious sacrifice of the current planting and above all to the beautiful moss layer. There are other problems. Not all plants and varieties can be deducted from Mrs Van Brienen's original list and, what is more, many are not available anymore today. Moreover, the modern visitor of the garden will not be looking through the eyes of Mrs Van Brienen or anyone else of the early twentieth century.[70] He or she will not experience the spirit of the garden, and the immense delight at seeing big exotics like Gunnera, Yucca, Bamboo, Heracleum (the now detested hogweed) and the first flower borders, the chrysanthemums, and other herbaceous plants that today for us are all too common. Besides, as Kuitert emphasizes, too, because of the changes of the habitat over the years, the garden has reached a new splendour and the moss carpet has come to be of considerable importance.

Not only the changed habitat, but also the artefacts determine the appearance and the uniqueness of today's garden. Removal of all the stone elements that have been added over the last forty years, since 1970, and that certainly would have to be removed in case one were to restore the original garden of Mrs Van Brienen, would also be a loss and, moreover, show a lack of respect for all those who for many years have cared for garden to the best of their knowledge. I agree, though, that the setting of the rocks around the water vessels and the restored original of the Kiku-gata ("chrysanthemum") lanterns should be examined by Japanese experts. (fig. 43) Although some of the later elements are of lesser quality, they do add character of today's garden.

Some authorities proposed to bring back only part of the Japonaiserie in the design. Kuitert suggested planting elegant tiny flowers,[71] as a memory of the small flowers, probably daisies, that grew in the grassy area in front of the pavilion; others suggested planting a clump of Miscanthus grass and Japanese anemones in that area as a homage to Mrs Van Brienen. The latter proposal has recently been carried out, together with the planting, in another part of the garden, of an aberrant variety of *Cryptomeria*. This *Cryptomeria japonica 'Cristata,'* a cultivar with unsightly fasciations, shaped like cockscombs, never was part of Mrs Van Brienen's list. Personally I think that these attempts to catch the old extravagant atmosphere of the garden by planting some random additions will undermine the spirit of today's garden. The modern visitor does not seek the extravagance of Edwardian times or of la Belle Époque. Today's visitors, who have a greater access to information about Japanese garden art and who

70 I am indebted to Dr. Jill Raggett, Writtle College (England), for pointing this out to me.
71 Kuitert 2002, p.17.



43. Chrysantemum lantern [Kiku gata] in front of an azalea bush

44. View towards the pavilion with a replica of the original lantern with the straight shaft

have an increased interest in Japan's traditional culture, will perceive the garden differently from those of one hundred years ago. They will seek the peace that emanates from the tranquillity and serenity evoked by the velvet green moss.

Today, there are two distinct historical periods that characterize the garden. Firstly, there is the exotic Japonaiserie garden, dating from the beginning of the twentieth century, with its red, high, arched bridges, the pavilion with its charming circular window, the shrine, the resting arbour, the typical original stone elements, the granite bridges and the lanterns, and, moreover, with the weeping willow, the wisteria, the irises, the water lilies in the pond, and the colourful azaleas and the Japanese maples with their finely divided leaves. (fig. 44) Secondly, we have the post-war garden, which is based on the mistaken teagarden interpretation, with its artefacts and the symbolism that accompanies them, which have by now become an integral part of the garden.

An expert Japanese garden architect, Mr Sone Masao,[72] who is also responsible for the maintenance of several large gardens in Kyoto such as that of the Tenryūji, and who has a fine sensitivity for the preservation of the western influences in Japanese gardens, has been invited to give advice for the stone arrangements and the pruning of the trees that have grown too high. Recently he visited the garden in the company of Mr. Tatsui Takanosuke, chairman of the Japanese Garden Society in Japan. Both were very impressed by the power and the beauty of the garden, and recommended that the garden be preserved as it is now. (fig. 45) In the final analysis, a garden is a living thing. The original layout of the Japanese garden in Clingendael has over the years remained almost unaffected. There will be

72 Sone Masao, is director of Sone Zōen Co. Ltd (Kitaku, Kyoto).

changes, however, in the future, as here have been in the past: wood will weather, rocks and stone elements will get a veiled patina, and plants come and go. It would be good if the history of the garden could be documented in the brochure for the public.

45. Entrance gate to the original garden with the straight path. In the background the Azumaya is visible and the most beautiful moss is everywhere

Epilogue

In 2013 the 'Japanese' garden in Clingendael will be one hundred years old. After her trip to Japan in 1911, Mrs Marguérite Mary Baroness Van Brienen van de Groote Lindt, descendant of a prominent aristocratic family, had a garden in Japanese style laid out at her residence, the family estate Clingendael in The Hague. It is a small, Japanese-style strolling garden with a path around a pond, a pavilion, a shrine, stone lanterns *et cetara*. Because of continued good maintenance, the historical structure, i.e. the layout of the garden, its paths and its meandering stream, is almost unchanged, while the original pavilion and several stone lanterns and other stone elements are still authentic. This garden is the only 'Japanese style' garden from the beginning of the twentieth century in the Netherlands. It is unique, and of great historical and cultural value. It belongs to our national heritage; fortunately, as part of the estate

Clingendael, it is listed as National Monument (National Treasure).

Originally it was a Japonaiserie garden in the eclectic Edwardian style. Next to Japanese plants, it also contained exotic plants from all over the world as well as early twentieth-century examples of herbaceous borders. Today the garden's atmosphere is very different from that of the early days. This is not only the result of the changed planting and the added decorative stone elements, but, above all, of the exceptional moss layer. It would not be realistic to restore the garden to a Japonaiserie copy of the state it was in at the beginning of the twentieth century. The two distinct ideas underlying the garden, i.e., the Japonaiserie garden dating from before World War I, and the teagarden dating from after World War II, have both left their imprint on the garden.

As several historical factors have contributed to the creation of the present Japanese garden, I would like to recommended that a supervisory committee, consisting of experts in both Japanese and western garden art as well as an expert in the field of preservation of green monuments be installed. Together with the owner of the garden, the municipality of The Hague, this committee could develop a vision of the future of the Japanese garden.

Nowadays this exceptionally beautiful garden is an oasis in a busy world. Known at home and abroad, it can strengthen the ancient ties and serve as a new bridge between two cultures, the Netherlands and Japan.

Acknowledgments

First and foremost I am indebted to Carla Teune, former Curator of the Botanical Garden of Leiden University, for her continued interest in this subject and for sharing her outstanding and detailed knowledge of East–Asian plants with me.

Furthermore I would like to express my thanks to Mr. Ishii Tetsuya, former Minister of the Embassy of Japan in The Netherlands, for his interest in the Japanese garden in Clingendael and the enjoyable discussions we had.

Dr Raggett, Writtle College, Essex, UK, I would like to thank for sharing with me her interest in Japanese-style gardens in the West and for her informative and comprehensive correspondence.

Drs Carla S. Oldenburger-Ebbers, specialist in history of parks and gardens in the Netherlands, I want to thank for sharing her knowledge of historical gardens and the restoration of our green cultural heritage.

Ray Hendy, Japanese Garden Society, England, I would like to thank for the stimulating talks we had during his visit to The Netherlands and the valuable correspondence.

I would like to thank Hans Busker and Maria Veerman, Johan Feijen and Namie Keiko for their help, and last but not least Joost Gieskes for his much valued comments.

I am extremely grateful to all those unnamed people who keep the “Japanese Garden” in Clingendael in such an excellent condition.

Mr and Mrs E.B. Hartman I must thank again for letting me use the old photographs of the garden and A.F. Hartman’s original writings.

Special thanks are due to Alex van der Eb for critically reading the manuscript and making many photographs.

Finally, I could not have completed these articles without the encouragement, the patience and help of Prof. W.J. Boot.

Justification of the illustrations

Fig. 01	Collection J.S.H. Gieskes
Fig. 07	Von Siebold Flora Japonica
Fig. 08	Hortus Botanicus, Leiden University
Fig. 11, 23	Collection E.B. Hartman
Fig. 15	Gunnersbury postcard (copied from Jackson, *East meets West*)
Fig. 32a,b	*The Garden* Vol 55 (1899)

All other photographs are made by A.J. Van der Eb.

Table of plants in the original Japanese Garden at Clingendael the appendix on page 90.

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.

Reader's reactions to the earlier articles

of

Titia van der Eb-Brongersma

Following my previous articles I report some additions and answer comments from readers:

1. Map Part II, p. 23

In Part II, p. 23, I suggested that the long straight path in the Japanese garden could have been an already existing path that was incorporated into the design in 1912/13. In footnote 61, I concluded that the map shown in fig 10, p. 23, should be studied more closely.

Further research in the archives revealed that this map is not an ordinary map drawn on paper but a 'calque,' a tracing on transfer paper. The almost invisible soft pencil lines along the ink-lines in the drawing support this view. While the date on the map unmistakably shows the year 1969, I would suggest that 1969 is the year in which this calque was made as a copy of an older map that has since disappeared. The idea that this is based on an older map is also supported by two other facts: the design of the 'Hollandsche tuin' (Dutch style garden) which can be seen in the top left corner of the map, and the continuous long straight lane, parallel to the main canal. Both design elements were not present in 1969, more precisely; they must date at least from before 1915.

The design of the 'Hollandsche tuin' as depicted on this map differs significantly from the layout that has existed since ca 1915.[1] (fig 1) It shows *two* identical squares, separated by a path, whereas from ca 1915 up till today, the garden is divided into *four* parts, separated by a cross of paths. Around 1915 Mrs Van Brienen herself designed the ornamental Dutch style garden on this plot.[2] An old photograph, which was taken around 1915, shows her design.[3] (fig 2). It *has the same layout as* can be seen on a modern aerial photograph. (fig 3)

1 Collection Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel erfgoed, obj. nr BT 033761.
2 Gieskes 2005, p. 25.
3 Beeldbank Gemeente Archief Den Haag no. 605907

Thus, as the design of the 'Hollandsche tuin' copied on a calque in 1969 must represent the garden as it was before 1915, the idea springs to mind that it might be an old design made by Leonard A. Springer (1855-1940). This, however, cannot be ascertained. Springer worked as garden architect for Mrs Van Brienen's father at the end of the nineteenth century, and he is known to have designed the monumental double stairs leading to the 'Hollandsche tuin.' These stairs still exist and have been renovated recently. It is said that Springer also designed a flower garden in front of these stairs.[4] It is uncertain, however, whether this garden was ever built, and up till now, no design for this garden by Springer is known.

The straight path that runs parallel to the main canal is another feature of the map of 1969 that might indicate that this map is based on an older one, dating from before 1912/13. In Part II, p. 22-23, I suggested that this long, ongoing, straight path may have existed before the Japanese garden was constructed, but that part of the path and the bridge crossing the transverse canal were removed in 1912/13 in connection with the construction of the Japanese garden. This idea is supported by a map of the city of The Hague, dated 1930, which shows a conspicuous black line, indicating a dead-end path in the triangle section adjacent to the Japanese garden (fig 4).[5] On the map of 1930 this path runs almost in line with the straight path within the Japanese garden. This dead-end path also appears on another map of The Hague, dating from 1935.[6]

It must be noted, however, that compared to the location of the straight path in the Japanese garden today, the path in the calque is a slightly shifted.

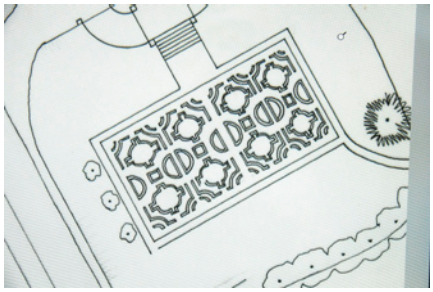


Fig. 1 Detail of the lay-out of the 'Hollandsche tuin' as shown on the calque dated 1969.

Fig. 2. Photograph of the 'Hollandsche tuin,' seen from the double stairs, designed by Mrs Van Brienen ca 1915.

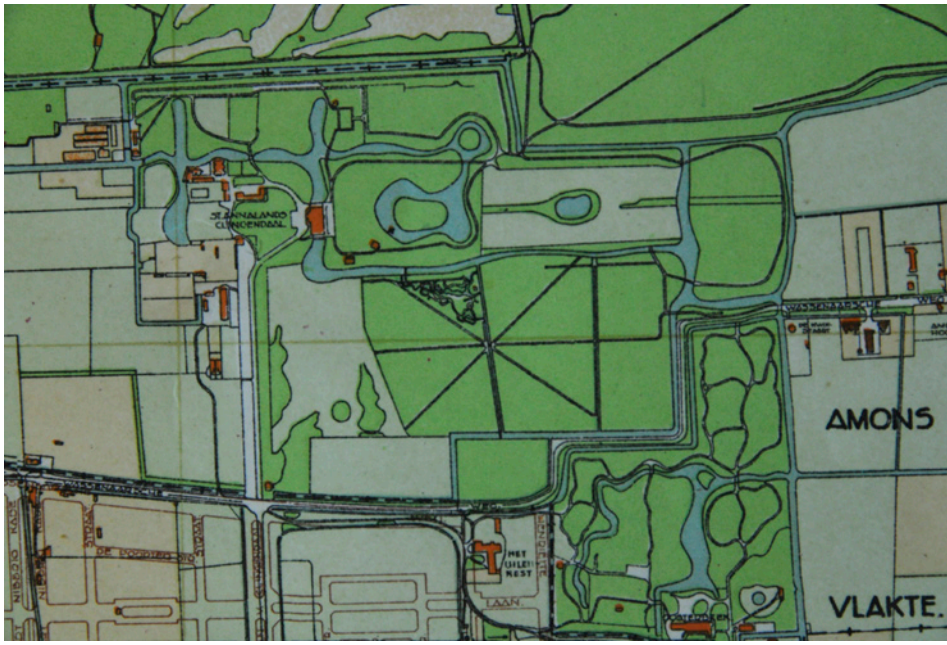
4 Van Doorn 1982, p. 56.

5 Map: Gemeente 's-Gravenhage en naaste omgeving, Den Haag: J. Smulders & Co, 1930; scale 1:12500. University Library Leiden, collection Maps COLLBN 009-14-022.

6 Map: Kompas van 's-Gravenhage. Den Haag: Uitgave Kompas, ca 1951; schaal 1:12500. University Library Leiden, collection Maps COLLBN 008-14-031. I am indebted to Drs M. Storms, Curator Maps and Atlases, University Library Leiden, for his kind help.

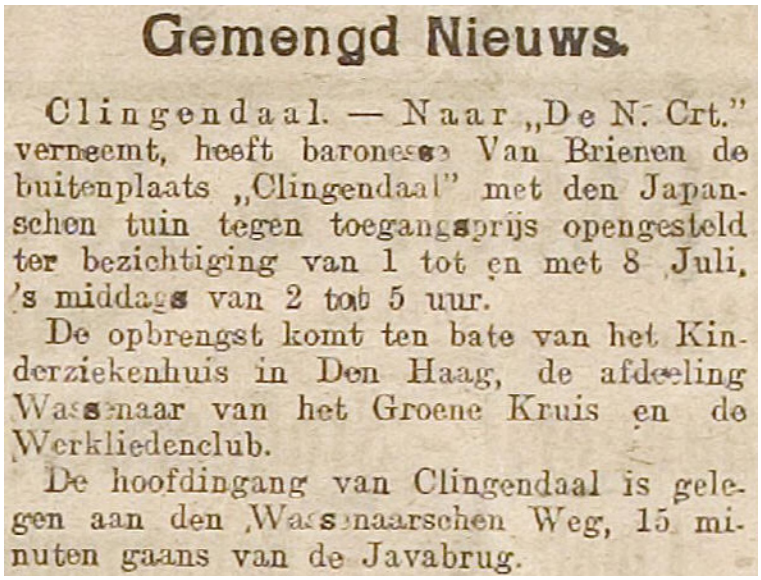
Fig 3. Modern satellite photograph of the 'Hollandsche tuin' today; at the top the double stairs.

Fig 4. In a triangle of the star wood the Japanese garden is depicted with paths, ponds and stream. In the adjacent triangle a dead-end path is visible pointing in the direction of and almost in line with the straight lane in the Japanese garden. Detail of Map: Municipality of The Hague and surroundings 1930 (Gemeente 's-Gravenhage en naaste omgeving, Den Haag: J. Smulders & Co, 1930).



2. Stone stele

Correction: Mr J.S.H. Gieskes informed me that the decoration, now lost, on top of the stele was not an ornament made of wood, as I claimed in Part II, p. 42, but was made of granite parts.



Gemengd Nieuws.

Clingendaal. — Naar „De N. Crt." vernoemt, heeft baroness Van Brienen de buitenplaats „Clingendaal" met den Japanschen tuin tegen toegangsprijs opengesteld ter bezichtiging van 1 tot en met 8 Juli, 's middags van 2 tot 5 uur.

De opbrengst komt ten bate van het Kinderziekenhuis in Den Haag, de afdeeling Wassenaar van het Groene Kruis en de Werkliedenclub.

De hoofdingang van Clingendaal is gelegen aan den Wassenaarschen Weg, 15 minuten gaans van de Javabrug.

3. Jan Holwerda, garden historian, 'Bureau Groen Verleden,' in Elst, sent me a clipping from the newspaper *Leidsch Dagblad*, 1st of July 1914, in which the opening of the Japanese garden in Clingendael is announced for the week of July 1-8, 1914 . The garden was then one year old.

4. Drs Hans Meijeraan sent me an interesting picture of an advertisement showing the beautiful De La Haye automobile of Baronesse Van Brienen, mother of Mrs Van Brienen, with four passengers, one of whom may be Mrs van Brienen.

Armchair Traveling in Edo-Period Japan

Matthi Forrer

In an earlier contribution, I already asked attention for the fact – at least I believe it is a fact, and, in this respect, many agree with me – that Utagawa Hiroshige (1797-1858, act. 1818--) never bothered to travel the Tōkaidō Road for more than a week or so, at best to get the flavor of what it meant to be traveling along the road. This, it seems, gave him sufficient inspiration to make a reputation as the successful designer of the great Hoeidō-series of the Fifty-three Stations of the Eastern Sea Road, not only in Japan, but soon also in Europe and the United States. It must be admitted that he was not the first to design illustrations to the fifty-three stations without ever having made the journey. Even before, in the early 1800s, and probably shortly after there was an apparent interest in such illustrations following the immediate success of Jippensha Ikku's (1765-1831) novel *Tōkaidōchū hizakurige* (published in instalments from 1802 onwards), Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849, act. 1779--) designed no less than seven complete series of illustrations to the fifty-three stations, not really bothering to ever make the journey himself until much later. However, concentrating on innocent depictions of travellers on the road in rather generalized landscape settings, or of travelers enjoying a cup of tea or some incidental local specialty for which he could refer to the *Tōkaidō meisho zue* of 1797 or even to Ikku's novel, he made sure that he could not be accused of the kind of 'borrowing' or even 'plagiarism' to which Hiroshige would later victimize himself. Unlike Hiroshige, he cleverly stayed away from copying the plates in the most obvious Tōkaidō guide-book, *Tōkaidō meisho zue* (6 vols., 1797).

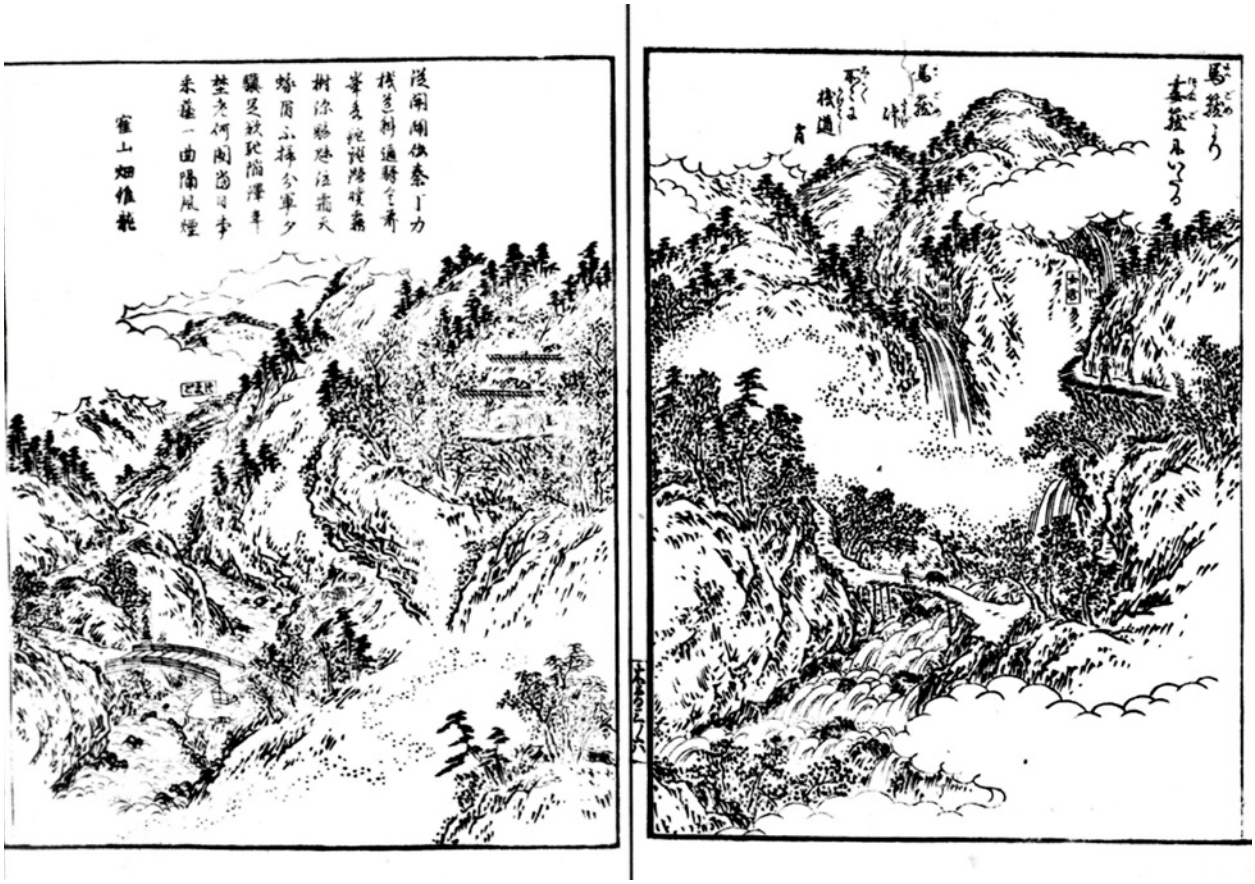
However, many years later, when he must have been enjoying his success as the designer of the series of Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji, *Fugaku sanjūrokkei* of 1830-34, and expanding on this success in series such as The Round of the Famous Waterfalls in All Provinces, *Shokoku takimeguri* of around 1832, and Strange Views of the Famous Bridges in All Provinces, *Shokoku meikyō kiran* of around 1834, Hokusai too recognized the advantages of known published guide-books. For his plate

of the Ono Waterfall on Kisokaidō Road from the latter series, he obviously used the rather simple line illustration by Nishimura Chūwa in the *Kisoji meisho zue* of 1805 – the same source that would prove so valuable to Keisai Eisen (1791-1848, act. 1811--) as well as to Hiroshige when designing the plates to their co-production, the series of The Sixty-nine Stations of the Kisokaidō, *Kisokaidō rokujūkutsugi* of circa 1834-42.

Recently, working on this series, and checking all their prints with the illustrations in the Kisokaidō guidebook, I not only came to realize how much both Eisen and Hiroshige were indebted to the rather simple black-and-white line illustrations in the *Kisoji meisho zue*, I also realized that this book had also served Hokusai very well. Until then, I had always imagined that Hokusai's plate in his series of Waterfalls had been the inspiration for both Hiroshige in his illustration to the station of Agematsu in the Kisokaidō series (ca. 1838-42 in the case of Hiroshige) and Eisen's plate in his series of waterfalls of ca. 1835-36. Now I could no longer ignore the immediate indebtedness of Hokusai to the Kisokaidō guidebook as the starting point of this sequence of copy after copy: Chūwa – Hokusai – Eisen - Hiroshige.

Of course, I had already realized that Hokusai was often inspired by works of others. Most notably, probably, is Shiba Kōkan's 1796 painting of a view of the coast at Enoshima which would first inspire him to make an adaptation of the painting in a plate in the 1797 kyōka album *Yanagi no ito*, and then, always taking up certain themes again in an effort to improve on them, he would in 1830 end up with that iconic image of the Great Wave. Rather amateurish designs illustrating a Chinese treatise on the Ryūkyū Kingdom would in the 1830s inspire Hokusai to make his series of the *Ryūkyū hakkei*, one of his most impressive series of landscapes. And, indeed, many more examples could be cited. Yet, in the case of Hiroshige, the proportion of his works that can be directly identified with plates in various such guidebooks is considerably larger than in the case of Hokusai. However, although I used to tend to take to heart the wise advices of the late Suzuki Jūzō – who concluded that it would only attest to Hiroshige's genius if he had created these great prints from such primitive sources – it will still take me some to overcome the shock to find that even one of my most beloved Hiroshige designs comes down to a reworking of a guidebook-plate. Towards the end of his life, Hiroshige designed a series of triptych compositions on the classical theme of 'Snow, Moon, and Flowers', *Setsugekka*. The Moon-scene is set at Kanazawa (1857/VII), the Flowers are, quite playfully, to be seen in the whirlpools at Awa (1857/IV). As for the Snow-scene, this is set at the Kiso Gorge (1857/VIII), indeed along the Kisokaidō Road. Here too, I had to conclude that Hiroshige simply reworked a plate, or possibly even combined two plates from the *Kisoji meisho zue*. And yet, it is a majestic plate, and

probably we have to start researching seriously how and why the genre of landscape prints became so successful from the beginning of the nineteenth century. Anyway, the common present view – at least in writings on Japanese prints – that this had to do with the circumstance that restrictions for traveling were then lifted should certainly be adjusted. Maybe it was nothing more than an upcoming vogue for armchair travelling, first inspired by Ikku's novel. Maybe, the people at the time were just happy to enjoy unknown landscapes and pictures of travelers in the rain, in the snow and in early morning mist as a projection not very different from the drive of others to buy pictures of courtesans of the Yoshiwara or portraits of actors of the kabuki theatre – both undoubtedly catering to a much wider audience than the real number of visitors to these places. Seen in this way, we should possibly also rank landscape prints among the 'pictures of the floating world', *ukiyoe*.



Nishimura Chūwa, illustration of the Kiso Gorge in the *Kisoji meisho zue*, 1805

Utagawa Hiroshige, Mountains and Rivers on the Kiso Road (Kisoji no yamakawa)
Published by Okasawaya Taheiji, 1857/VIII

Prof. Dr Matthi Forrer is Curator at the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden.

De modernisering van Japan

W.J. Boot

Summary

Japan's history since 1868 is generally regarded as an (the?) example of successful modernization, albeit with some reservations in regard to the colonial episodes and World War II. In the present article it is argued that this interpretation underestimates the magnitude of the adjustments that were required of Japan after the opening of the country in 1854, and ignores the importance of elements of Chinese culture in Japan's heritage.

Inleiding: Cultuur en Taal

Toen in 1854 'de poorten open gingen,' bleek dat de Japanners in de voorafgaande twee, drie eeuwen hun uiterste best hadden gedaan om de verkeerde taal te leren. Zij hadden zich op de studie van het Chinees geworpen, en in hun beheersing van de klassieke Chinese schrijftaal hadden zij een niveau van virtuositeit bereikt dat nauwelijks meer voor dat van de echte Chinezen onderdeed. Tot hun grote schrik en ontzetting moesten zij echter vaststellen, dat de wereld die na de opening van het land nieuw voor hen open ging, Engels sprak. Dat was een grote tragedie, en de naweeën van de schok is men nog steeds niet helemaal te boven.

De tragedie gaat het niveau van persoonlijke irritatie over verloren tijd die spreekt uit de bekende anekdote van Fukuzawa Yukichi (1834-1901) -- tien jaar lang had hij Nederlands gestudeerd, en nu hij liep door Yokohama en kon nog geen woord lezen, want alles was in het Engels -- verre te boven. Fukuzawa's klacht was triviaal; hij had het Engels al snel onder de knie, dankzij het Nederlands dat hij in Osaka geleerd had, en zo kon hij al snel beginnen aan zijn carrière als stichter van de Keiō Universiteit, journalist, en hervormer.

Het probleem is natuurlijk niet de taal als zodanig, en ook niet in het schrift. Een taal is in betrekkelijk korte tijd te leren, en voor het westerse schrift draaide je als Japanners al helemaal je hand

niet om. Wat zijn zesentwintig tekentjes, na de vele duizenden karakters die elke zichzelf respecterende intellectueel al had moeten leren? Het echte probleem is, dat een taal meer is dan grammatica en basisvocabulaire. Talen worden niet in vacuo gesproken, maar in een bepaalde gemeenschap, en een gemeenschap wordt gekenmerkt, niet alleen door een gemeenschappelijke taal, maar ook door een gedeelde geschiedenis, en door gemeenschappelijke waarden die in de loop van die geschiedenis zijn ontstaan en zich hebben ontwikkeld. Een taal maakt onderdeel uit van een cultuur. Hoe je iets zegt, en wat je kunt zeggen, ligt tot op zeer grote hoogte vast, en is cultureel bepaald. Elke taal heeft haar eigen zegswijzen, redewendingen, stijlniveaus, repertoire van dingen die men wel, en dingen die men niet kan zeggen -- haar eigen taalconventies, en die zijn een functie van de cultuur waarbinnen de taal geschreven en gesproken wordt. Een cultuur heeft haar eigen 'waarden.' Deze waarden worden geacht in de 'klassieken' van die cultuur te zijn vastgelegd, en deze 'klassieken' hebben niet alleen gezag op het gebied van de moraal, maar ook op dat van de taal. Omgekeerd: elke taal heeft haar eigen 'klassieken,' teksten die normatief zijn voor het correcte taalgebruik. Vaak vallen die samen met de 'klassieken' waarin de waarden van een cultuur geacht worden tot uitdrukking te zijn gebracht. Men denke aan het ijzeren corpus van Bijbel, Homerus en Vergilius in Europa, of aan de Chinese klassieken, of aan de Koran.

Een taal beheersen, wil dus zeggen dat men zich niet alleen de grammatica en het basisvocabulaire heeft eigen gemaakt, maar ook de gehele culturele context, en dat kost heel wat tijd en inspanning. Men zal veel moeten lezen, uit het hoofd leren, en oefenen met wat men geleerd heeft, wil men een taal echt in de vingers krijgen. Deze problemen zijn aanzienlijk groter, wanneer een taal tot een andere cultuursfeer behoort, dan wanneer zij (zoals Engels of Frans voor Nederlanders) tot de eigen cultuursfeer behoort.

China versus Europa: de cultuurschok

Japan was onderdeel van de Chinese cultuursfeer. Het was dat geweest sinds het einde van de prehistorische periode, dus vanaf de zesde eeuw. Vanaf die tijd was het Chinees de taal voor intellectuelen, de taal van de overheid, en de cultische taal van het Boeddhisme. Het klassieke Chinees werd onderwezen in hofkringen en in de tempels, en gezanten en monniken reisden naar China. Bij gevolg zijn in de loop der eeuwen talloze elementen van de Chinese cultuur overgenomen. De grote doorbraak kwam echter in de Edo-periode, dat wil zeggen, tussen 1600 en 1868. Nooit zijn er zoveel scholen en schooltjes geweest waar men Chinees kon leren, en nooit zijn er zoveel mensen geweest die Chinees hadden geleerd, als juist in deze periode. Het is zonder meer vergelijkbaar met Latijn en Grieks in Europa vanaf de Renaissance tot het midden van de twintigste eeuw. Zoals elk welopgevoed mens in de Europese landen Latijn en Grieks kende, kende zijn Japanse tegenhanger Chinees. In het maatschappelijke verkeer werd er zonder meer van uitgegaan, dat men verwijzingen

naar het klassieke corpus zou kunnen begrijpen. ‘In deze gewesten pleegt men nu eenmaal veel aan Mercurius, en niets aan Pallas te offeren,’ is alleen begrijpelijk voor wie zijn mythologische who-is-who kent. De situatie was in het Verre Oosten niet anders.

Wanneer ik zeg, dat de Japanners de verkeerde taal geleerd hebben, bedoel ik dus te zeggen, dat de Japanse intellectuelen opgeleid waren in het Chinese corpus. Zij hadden de Chinese klassieken uit het hoofd geleerd had en hadden zich aangeleerd deze voor waar en verheffend te houden. Zij hadden geleerd Chinese gedichten te schrijven en te appreciëren. Zij hadden geleerd te denken in Chinese categorieën, voorbeelden, beelden en referenties. Zij vonden Chinese denkers diepzinnig, en waren ervan overtuigd, dat het Chinese recht snelstens in Japan moest worden geïntroduceerd.

In deze context verscheen de Amerikaanse commodore Perry met zijn vlooteskader, en eiste de openstelling van het land. Vergun mij een kleine vergelijking om duidelijk te maken, wat dit impliceerde. Men stelle zich een arcadisch Nederland voor, waarin wij vrolijk haring kakend en jenever drinkend voortleefden onder het bewind van de graven van Holland en Limburg Stirum, de hertogen van Brabant en Gelre, de bisschop van Utrecht, en nog een handjevol heren, vanzelfsprekend onder de algehele supervisie van een Prins van Oranje, en dat er dan ineens voor Scheveningen een Arabisch flottielje zou verschijnen dat mededeelde: ‘Niet dat we jullie nu meteen al willen bezetten of zo, maar als jullie verder mee willen blijven doen, kun je maar beter moslim worden. Dus: weg met die jenever en alle andere drank. Haring? Bah, rauwe vis; probeer een schapenoog. Jullie religie? Een duivels bijgeloof. Jullie schrift: zo lelijk als de nacht, en bovendien schrijven jullie het de verkeerde kant op. Erfelijke heren en Prinsen van Oranje? Een volstrekt achterhaald idee; de macht komt van Allah, niet van een stamboom. Weg met de Bijbel, Homerus, Vergilius -- lees de Koran; ruil de dominee in voor een imam, en doe jullie vrouwen een sluier om. En natuurlijk: Arabisch leren.’

Dit is, *mutatis mutandis*, wat Japan in 1854 overkwam. De resultaten laten zich raden: uiterste verwarring, en grote frustratie. Het moge duidelijk zijn, dat zoiets in het beste geval het startschot is van een complex en langdurig acculturatieproces. Toch wordt hier in de westerse literatuur nogal luchtig over gedaan. Het westen is de norm, en elke andere cultuur zal zich daaraan aan moeten passen - zal zich moeten ‘moderniseren,’ zoals we dat noemen. Voor het gemak werd ‘modernisering’ meteen maar opgevat, niet als het resultaat van een grote krachtinspanning, maar als een universeel historisch proces dat, omdat het universeel is, zich ook in Japan zou moeten en kunnen realiseren.

De Modernisatie-theorie

Als jonge student heb ik ooit meegewerkt aan de voorbereiding van een Studium Generale waar Japan als voorbeeld van de succesvolle modernisering van een Aziatisch land moest worden opgevoerd -- als

succesvol voorbeeld van modernisering überhaupt. Deze benadering was toen (eind jaren zestig) nieuw, en had een historisch bepaalde achtergrond. Onder Japanse historici was in die tijd het Marxistische vooruitgangs- en ontwikkelingsmodel maatgevend, maar dit Marxisme beviel de Amerikanen niet zo goed. In een poging de Marxistische benadering van de Japanse geschiedenis te vervangen door iets beters, was door een groep Amerikaanse historici een alternatief model van de moderne Japanse geschiedenis ontwikkeld, dat het 'modernisatiemodel' werd genoemd. Net als in het Marxistische model werd ook in dit model de wereld steeds beter, maar nu niet via zulke akelige dingen als klassenstrijd, revolutie, en de *Verelendung* van het proletariaat, maar door mooie dingen als vrijheid, democratie, en internationale handel -- het geheel te meten in de groei van het bruto nationale product.

Japan scoorde redelijk goed op deze criteria, wat verklaarde, hoe het kwam dat het land zich had kunnen ontwikkelen van 'a remote agrarian kingdom into the world's third or fourth largest industrial power.' Dit zijn de woorden van de inleider van het in 1965 gepubliceerde, tweede deel in de reeks 'Studies in the Modernization of Japan,' die in de zestiger jaren door deze groep van Amerikaanse historici werd uitgebracht.[1]

Japans moderne geschiedenis werd dus neergezet als een *success story*: ruw wakker geschud uit de zijn feodale dromen had het land binnen enkele decennia een efficiënt, gecentraliseerd politiek bestel in het leven geroepen, met een grondwet en een volksvertegenwoordiging; het had een nationaal onderwijsbestel met universele leerplicht ingericht; het had de nationale dienstplicht ingevoerd; het was zich aan het industrialiseren; het had zich als een verantwoordelijk lid van de internationale gemeenschap doen kennen door een tweetal oorlogen (tegen China in 1894-95, en tegen Rusland in 1904-05) op faire wijze van deze vermolmde grootmachten te winnen, en door met een fatsoenlijk land als Groot-Brittannië een bondgenootschap te sluiten. De annexatie van Korea in 1910 was misschien niet helemaal gelukkig geweest, maar werd in elk geval gecompenseerd door Japans deelname aan geallieerde zijde aan de Eerste Wereldoorlog. Kortom, tot 1931 ging het goed met Japan.

Daarna ging het even mis: het Japanse leger bezette op eigen houtje Mantsjoerije, het land stapte uit de Volkenbond, begon een oorlog in China, sloot zich aan bij de Axis, viel Pearl Harbor en Nederlands-Indië aan -- kortom, vijftien donkere jaren, maar aan het einde van de tunnel stonden gelukkig de Verenigde Staten klaar om het teveel aan nationalisme, *étatisme* en militarisme dat tot het echec had geleid, weg te vijlen. Het herrezen Japan had een nieuwe constitutie, geen leger meer, en een volledige democratie; alles gaat nu weer goed.

Dit is, enigszins gechargeerd, de opvatting die achter de modernisatietheorie schuilgaat. Dit schema overlapt op vele punten de idee van de Japanse geschiedenis die door de, laat ik maar zeggen 'officiële Japanse geschiedschrijving' wordt geprojecteerd. Die begint in 1868 met het hartverwarmende

1 Lockwood, Wiliam W., ed., *The State and Economic Enterprise in Japan*, Princeton UP, 1965.

schouwspel van een natie die zich als een man achter haar keizer schaart. Er wordt een einde gemaakt aan de anomale situatie dat een ondergeschikte militair bevelhebber, een *shōgun*, de dienst uitmaakt; de keizer zelf gaat weer regeren, bijgestaan door zijn civiele en militaire beambten. Er wordt een einde gemaakt aan feodale standsverschillen; iedereen wordt weer gelijkelijk 's keizers onderdaan. Er worden een nationale leerplicht en een nationale dienstplicht ingevoerd. Genadiglijk geeft de keizer zijn volk een grondwet, opdat ook het volk in het belang van het keizerrijk zijn waardevolle mening kenbaar kan maken. Door het verstandige beleid van de keizerlijke regering en de ijver van het naarstige volk wordt het land steeds rijker en sterker. Zo rijk en sterk zelfs, dat het zich, ter verbetering van zijn defensie en ter verzekering van grondstoffen en afzetmarkten, een paar koloniën kan verwerven: Taiwan en Korea. Elke grootmacht deed dat. De erkenning van Japans nieuwe status krijgt haar beslag in het bondgenootschap dat het in 1902 sluit met de wereldmacht Engeland. Japan neemt aan de zijde van de Geallieerden deel aan de Eerste Wereldoorlog, en dan blijkt opeens, dat de Verenigde Staten Japan niet als gelijke wensen te accepteren. Kennelijk willen zij Japan klein houden. Het lijkt er zelfs op, dat de Verenigde Staten de in internationale verdragen vastgelegde, rechtmatige uitbreidingen van Japans grondgebied en koloniën wil terugdraaien. Het leger reageert hier, hoewel bezield van de beste bedoelingen, onbeheerst en onverstandig op, met het gevolg dat het keizerrijk in een oorlog verzeild raakt die het onmogelijk kan winnen. Gelukkig wordt uit de puinhopen van een smadelijke nederlaag het keizershuis gered, en hoewel er op de nieuwe, Japan opgedrongen grondwet veel is aan te merken, heeft hij één gelukkige kant, en die is, dat het leger, dat zo kennelijk gefaald had, voorlopig buiten spel is gezet. Thans krijgen wij, civiele bureaucraten en verstandige politici, een kans om op onze manier Japan op te stoten in de vaart der volkeren. Wat, door ons verstandige beleid en de ijver der bevolking, ook heel redelijk is gelukt.

De eerste keer dat ik een gevoel kreeg dat er iets niet klopte in dit relaas, was, toen ik, rond diezelfde tijd dat ik meewerkte aan het Studium Generale en boeken las van de modernisatieschool, ook een boek las van William McLaren, *A political history of Japan during the Meiji Era*. Dat boek was gepubliceerd in 1916 en behandelde de geschiedenis van 1867 tot 1912. Ik kan me nog herinneren, hoe choquerend ik het vond in dat boek Japan behandeld te zien als een soort van bananenrepubliek, waar onduidelijke facties en politici elkaar voordurend pootje trachtten te lichten, waar de corruptie welig tierde, en waar je vandaag niet wist, wie morgen de macht zou grijpen.

Het interessante van dit boek was, dat de auteur nog niet wist hoe het af zou lopen. Hij beschreef de recente Japanse geschiedenis niet vanuit het standpunt van 1971, maar vanuit dat van 1916, en dat leverde niet zozeer nieuwe feiten op, als wel een geheel ander perspectief op bekende feiten.

De nadagen van de *Bakufu*: interne oppositie

Indien men tot een beter begrip van de moderne Japanse geschiedenis wil komen, is de eerste vraag die men zich moet stellen, in welke de toestand het land verkeerde, toen in 1854 het Amerikaanse flottielje de opening van Japan afdwong. Het eerste wat we moeten vaststellen, is, dat het gezag van de Tokugawa *shōgun* en de *bakufu* enigermate was geërodeerd. Bij twee belangrijke groepen, nl. bij de feodale heren (de *daimyō*), en bij de intellectuelen, heerste er onvrede over de wijze waarop de bakufu was georganiseerd en het land bestuurde. Bij de feodale heren werd de onvrede vooral ingegeven door pogingen van de bakufu om zijn macht ten koste van de hunne te versterken, laatstelijk nog bij de Tenpō-hervormingen van 1841 tot 1843. *Bakufu* en *daimyō* keken elk op een andere manier tegen de werkelijkheid aan. De *daimyō* zagen zich als oude, eerbiedwaardige geslachten van feodale heren, die van aver op aver hun eigen leen hadden bestuurd. Dat leen was van hen, en bij het bestuur ervan hadden zij geen bemoeials nodig. Wat zij wilden, was autonomie in hun eigen leen, en als dat kon, inspraak in het bestuur van het rijk als geheel.

De *bakufu* daarentegen beschouwde de feodale heren als subalterne bevelhebbers, die elk door de *shōgun* een gebied toegewezen hadden gekregen om daar de orde te handhaven met hun staande leger, maar die vanzelfsprekend ondergeschikt waren aan de *shōgun*, hun generalissimo. Ze moesten, als brave militairen, gehoorzamen aan de *shōgun*, en met het bestuur van het rijk hadden zij niets te maken; daartoe ontbeerden zij eenvoudig het overzicht.

De opvattingen van de *daimyō* hadden vooral een negatief effect. Zij zorgden voor tweedracht binnen de heersende macht en maakten sommige *daimyō* gevoelig voor opstandige influisteringen van hun ondergeschikten, maar in positieve zin hebben zij weinig opgeleverd. Tussen 1854 en 1868, in de nadagen van de *bakufu*, circuleerden er enkele meer of minder goed begrepen voorstellen tot de instelling van een 'parlement' -- een delibererend orgaan waarin de *daimyō*, desnoods onder voorzitterschap van een Tokugawa, allen zitting zouden hebben en mee zouden kunnen beslissen over het beleid. Een echo hiervan is te vinden in een van de vijf artikelen van de eed die de Meiji-keizer aflegde in Meiji 1 (1868) en die door alle *daimyō* ondertekend werd: 'In alle kwesties zal op basis van algemene discussie een beslissing worden genomen' (*banki kōgi nite kessubeshi*).[2] Daar bleef het echter bij. De ideeën waren niet opportuun, en de *daimyō* bleken te eenvoudig als machtsfactor uitgeschakeld te kunnen worden.

De oppositie van de intellectuelen was van geheel andere aard. De intellectuelen waren van alle Japanners het diepst in de Chinese cultuur ondergedompeld. Zij hadden zich derhalve al eeuwenlang geërgerd aan twee dingen: dat het bewind van de Tokugawa militair (*bu*) was, en dat het bestuur dat zij uitoefenden een allegaartje was van *ad hoc* uitgevaardigde maatregelen en

2 Zie over deze z.g. Charter Oath John Breen, "The Imperial Oath of April 1868. Ritual, Politics, and Power in the Restoration," *Monumenta Nipponica* 51, 4 (1996), pp. 407-429.

ad hoc ingestelde ambten en bureaus. Dat was allebei fout, zoals het Chinese voorbeeld hun zo overduidelijk leerde. De klassieke uitdrukking was 'civielen links, militairen rechts' (*bun wo hidari ni shite, bu wo migi ni su*); het civiele element in de bureaucratie moet dus de voorrang hebben op het militaire element. Zo stond het in artikel 1 van de *Buke shohatto*, [3] en zo hoorde het. Waar we het in Nederland hebben over het primaat van de politiek, is de default situatie in het Verre Oosten al millennia lang het primaat van de civiele ambtenaar.

Het tweede punt -- *ad hoc* arrangementen versus een gesystematiseerd geheel -- hangt hiermee samen. Elke goede bureaucraat wil graag heldere regels en procedures. Militairen hakken bij voorkeur Gordiaanse knopen door, maar zulk handwerk is elke rechtgeaarde bureaucraat een gruwel. Natuurlijk had ook de *bakufu* in de loop van zijn bestaan een bureaucratie opgebouwd en had zich daar een bureaucratische routine gevormd, maar die liet toch nog veel te wensen over, zeker als men die vergeleek met de Chinese bureaucratieën die de Japanse intellectuelen kenden uit de grote wetcodices van Ming en Qing, of met het oude, keizerlijke bureaucratie van Japan zelf. Die keizerlijke bureaucratie bestond overigens in naam nog steeds, en vele krijgers tooiden zich nog steeds met titels en rangen uit deze bureaucratie, zij het ook, dat die geen enkele inhoud meer hadden. [4] Zowel het Chinese als het oude Japanse recht werden in de loop der Edo-periode meer en meer bestudeerd, wat tot een steeds dieper inzicht leidde in de tekortkomingen van het bestel van de *bakufu*.

Een van de dingen die daarbij naar voren kwamen -- een conclusie die ook door historisch onderzoek werd ondersteund, m.n. van de Mito-school --- was, dat de positie van de Japanse keizer anomaal en abnormaal was. In de standaard ideologie, die ook in de wetboeken weerspiegeld werd, was de keizer het centrum en de spil van de staat. Hij werd ook geacht zich actief met het regeren bezig te houden; dat was zijn taak. In China deden de meeste keizers dat ook, maar in Japan had de keizer al zijn regeringstaken gedelegeerd aan de *shōgun*. Dat hoorde niet. In deze analyse werden de intellectuelen van Confucianistische huize hartstochtelijk bijgevallen door degenen die zich in Japanse studiën hadden gespecialiseerd, de z.g. *Kokugakusha*.

Nog op een vierde manier had de heersende orde van de *bakufu* de intellectuelen van zich vervreemd. Dat was, dat aanstellingen in de bureaucratie vrijwel zonder uitzondering gedaan werden op grond van afkomst, niet op grond van genoten opleiding of gebleken verdienste. De intellectuelen vonden dat maar niets. Zij spiegelden zich aan China, waar als sinds eeuwen de getrapte, vergelijkende

3 De *Buke shohatto* ('Verordeningen voor de krijgerklasse') waren een soort van grondwet voor de Tokugawa *bakufu*, waarin de belangrijkste punten van de relatie tussen *bakufu* en *daimyō* waren vastgelegd. De eerste versie werd uitgevaardigd in 1615. Daarna werden zij, in meerdere of mindere mate herschreven, door alle *shōgun* behalve Ietsugu (1709-1713-1716) en Yoshinobu (1837-1866-1867-1913), aan het begin van hun regering opnieuw uitgevaardigd. De zin 'Links civiel, rechts militair; dit is van oudsher de wet' staat in de toelichting op art. 1 in de versie van 1635.

4 Op deze gewoonte van krijgers om zich met loze bureaucratische titels te tooien werd felle kritiek geleverd door Yamagata Daini (1725-1767) in het eerste hoofdstuk van zijn *Ryū-shi shinron* ('Een nieuw betoog van Meester Wilg').

staatsexamen werden gehouden om personeel te selecteren voor de ambtelijke dienst. Iets dat zelfs maar in de verste verte daarmee vergeleken kon worden, bestond in Japan niet, en aangezien de meeste intellectuelen tot de lage *samurai* behoorden, en zij als brave Confucianisten graag een positie van politieke verantwoordelijkheid wilden hebben, zat hun dit niet lekker.

Kortom, aan de vooravond van de komst van commodore Perry's flottielje heerste er onvrede in Japan. Voor een goed begrip van wat gaat volgen, is het van belang vast te houden, dat de onvrede onder de intellectuelen was geïnspireerd door *Chinese* ideeën, een ideologie van *Chinese* makelij. Deze onvrede concentreerde zich op de volgende punten: de feodale organisatie van de maatschappij, het gebrek aan ruimte voor, en aan invloed van talent, en de positie van de keizer. Het Confucianisme maakte het mogelijk deze klachten en gevoelens van onvrede op zodanige wijze te verwoorden, dat zij werden uitgetild boven het niveau van individueel onbehagen. Wie zich tegen de *bakufu* en zijn beleid verzette, voelde, dat hij opkwam voor waarheid en recht en het algemene belang.

Historici zijn geneigd om 'ideeën' te zien als één aspect van een veel bredere trend, of als een functie van 'het belang' (economisch of politiek gedefinieerd) van een bepaalde groep of klasse; het Marxistische model is wel de bekendste van dergelijke benaderingen. Al dergelijke pogingen om 'de werkelijke oorzaken' van de Meiji-restauratie te achterhalen, zijn echter stukgelopen op het feit, dat er niet een enkele groep of klasse, of een specifiek economisch belang was. De Confucianistische ideologie werd breed gedragen door alle intellectuelen en door iedereen die een 'hogere' opleiding had genoten. Dat maakte de steun echter ook zeer diffuus.

Ik moge dit illustreren aan de hand van een passage die ik aantrof in een artikel van mijn hoogleraar aan de Universiteit van Kyoto, Motoyama Yukihiko:

What strengthened the rural merchants' resolve to act in the Bakumatsu and Restoration epoch was above all their political self-awareness. This was not a general or an inevitable sensibility, nor one formed by their affiliation with a class and connected to their concern for its interests. It arose only among those people who were in some form able to identify the Bakumatsu crisis from the perspective of the Confucianism and Kokugaku they had studied as children of a class with money to spare.[5]

5 Motoyama Yukihiko, *Proliferating talent* (Honolulu University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), p. 32.

Harde actie

Toen na het vertrek van Perry interne onenigheden de kop op staken, kozen de tegenstanders van de *bakufu* voor een hard actiemodel; het bestond uit rellen, knokpartijen, moord en oorlog. We hebben bij voorbeeld de Tenchūgumi (1863: *samurai* uit Tosa e.d. die de Kansai binnenvielen en een militaire opstand begonnen), de Tengugumi (1864: *samurai* uit Mito die naar Kyoto trokken om de laatste *shōgun*, Tokugawa Yoshinobu, te spreken); we hebben voortdurende vechtpartijen in Kyoto tussen pro-keizerlijke *samurai* en de *bakufu*-getrouwe Shinsengumi. Zelfs belangrijke lieden als de latere staatsman Itō Hirobumi bezondigden zich aan sluipmoord.[6] Verder hebben de strafexpeditie van de *bakufu* tegen het opstandige leen Chōshū (1864), de veldslagen tussen het keizerlijk leger en de *bakufu* bij Fushimi en Toba (1868), et cetera.

De militaire vormgeving van de acties was Japans, en werd in de hand gewerkt door het feit dat vele Japanse intellectuelen van *samurai*-huize waren. De overtuiging *dat* men actie mocht voeren, en met inzet van alle beschikbare middelen, was echter Chinees. Het is eigenlijk een oeroud actiemodel, dat teruggaat tot de grote studentendemonstraties die in de tweede eeuw van onze jaartelling plaatsvonden in de Chinese hoofdstad en bijna de Tweede Han-dynastie ten val brachten. Sindsdien bestaat in Oost-Azië de idee dat de studenten bij uitstek de taak hebben waarheid en zuiverheid te beschermen tegen een corrupte overheid. Hun zekerheid en hun recht tot actie ontlenen zij aan de 'oprechtheid' (*sei, makoto*) van hun intenties. Dit hangt weer samen met het begrippenpaar *kō* en *shi*. Alles wat in het 'algemene belang' (*kō*) is, is goed, en alles wat geïnspireerd wordt door eigen- of groepsbelang (*shi*), is fout, egoïstisch.

Als iemand tot de oprechte overtuiging gekomen was, dat wat hij deed, in het algemene belang was, dan had hij de plicht alle middelen gebruiken om te trachten dat doel te verwezenlijken. Faalde hij, dan stierf hij tenminste een heldendood. Democratisch neuzen tellen is dan niet meer nodig; als ik zeker weet dat ik gelijk heb, zal ik mij daar niet door een meerderheid vanaf laten brengen.

Dit actiemodel komt later nog herhaaldelijk terug: bij de jonge officieren in de jaren dertig, bij de zengakuren in de jaren vijftig en bij de *daigaku funsō* eind jaren zestig, begin jaren zeventig. Het is een actiemodel dat bedoeld is voor een groep van jonge vrijgestelden, die nog geen verantwoordelijkheid dragen voor hun familie, en die derhalve op kunnen komen voor hun intellectuele overtuiging.

6 In 1862 was hij betrokken bij de moord op Hanawa Tadaomi, die er abusievelijk van verdacht werd dat hij op last van de *bakufu* bezig was om historische precedenten bij elkaar te zoeken voor het afzetten van de keizer.

Modernisering?

Na veertien jaar van interne strubbelingen, en van grote dislocaties op sociaal en economisch terrein, vond in 1868 de Meiji-restauratie plaats. Toen begon de modernisering, zeggen wij. Maar kijk eens goed naar de maatregelen die genomen worden. Die stonden allemaal op het oude, Confucianistische verlanglijstje: de feodale structuur werd ontmanteld, de standen werden afgeschaft, de *daimyō* werden ontslagen, de feodale lenen werden afgeschaft en nieuwe prefecturen werden ingesteld; er werd een gecentraliseerd bestuur opgezet, met de keizer aan het hoofd; er werd systematische wetgeving geïntroduceerd; er kwam een leerplicht met een landelijk scholennet; er kwam een nationale dienstplicht, en er kwamen examens voor de toelating tot de ambtelijke dienst.

Een voor een waren dit maatregelen die kwamen uit de Confucianistische doos, en die men kende van precedenten uit het dynastieke China. Dat wil niet zeggen, dat zij onomstreden waren. Het afzetten van de *daimyō* werd her en der door de bevolking betreurd ('wat komt zo'n snoeshaan uit Tokyo hier doen?'), en de diensplicht stuitte op veel verzet ('voor vechten hadden we toch de *samurai*?'), maar dat verzet kwam vooral voort uit het feit dat de bevolking in het algemeen minder van Confucianistische waarden was doordrongen dan de intellectuelen, en minder goed op de hoogte was van de toonaangevende literatuur.

Parlement en politieke partijen

Alleen voor politieke partijen en een parlement bestonden geen precedenten in de Oost-Aziatische traditie. Een centrale aanname in de ideologie was, dat de regering er was voor het volk, en dat het de taak was van de regering 'het volk rust, en het rijk vrede te geven.' De regering moest luisteren naar wat het volk dacht, maar een systematische poging om het volk naar zijn weloverwogen mening te vragen, is nooit ondernomen. Men kende in Oost-Azië wel een lange traditie van locaal zelfbestuur in dorpen en stadsdelen, en van betrokkenheid van de bevolking bij bestuur en de belastinginning, maar dat waren uitvoerende taken, die werden aangestuurd door de overheid. Verantwoordelijkheid voor de uitvoering werd gedelegeerd, maar inspraak in het beleid werd het volk niet gegund.

Dit veranderde, toen er in Japan vanaf ca 1875 politieke partijen ontstonden. Dat was een interessant en uniek experiment, dat daarna herhaald werd in China en Korea. In Japan begon het als een voortzetting van de factiestrijd met andere middelen. Binnen de regerende alliantie [7] was onenigheid ontstaan over de te volgen koers tegenover Korea. Als gevolg van

7 Deze bestond uit de overwinnaars in de strijd tegen de *bakufu*, dus *samurai* uit de lenen Chōshū, Satsuma, Tosa, en Saga, en een aantal hofedelen.

de machtsstrijd die daaruit resulteerde, werd een aantal leden van de regering gewipt, en een van hen, Itagaki Taisuke (1837-1919), stichtte de Aikoku Kōtō, de 'Chauvinistische Partij,' om als platform te dienen voor zijn acties tegen de regering.

Kōtō is een interessant woord. *Tō* betekende 'factie,' en facties waren in Oost-Azië altijd verdoemd als egoïstische clubjes van intriganten die hun eigen particuliere belangen najoegen; zij waren duidelijk *shi* ('egoïstisch'). Om deze associatie te onderdrukken, plaatste Itagaki het woord *kō* ('in het algemene belang') voor *tō*, maar de desinfecterende werking van het voorvoegsel was gering. Voor velen bleef de Aikoku Kōtō, later omgedoopt tot Jiyūtō ('Partij voor de Vrijheid,' 'Liberale Partij'), een factie in de oude zin des woords, ondanks het beroep dat Itagaki deed op de eerder geciteerde frase uit de keizerlijke eed.

De parlementaire democratie had geen basis in de Oost-Aziatische traditie, en zij heeft het dan ook moeilijk gehad. Eerst wilde de regering er niet aan. Daarna realiseerde de regering zich, dat zij er in zou moeten berusten, niet alleen vanwege het buitenland, maar ook, omdat de acties van de Jiyūtō, die het oude actiemodel volgden, hoog waren opgelopen. Er kwamen dus een grondwet en een parlement met politieke partijen, maar toen die er eenmaal waren, wist eigenlijk niemand, wat hij er mee aan moest. Het was en bleef een probleem te aanvaarden, dat rationele mensen van mening konden verschillen zonder dat daarbij een van de partijen corrupt of dom was, en dat het in zulke gevallen beter was neuzen te tellen dan koppen te snellen. Sommige van de kersverse politici, bij voorbeeld Nakae Chōmin (1847-1901), wilden het parlement tot een actieplatform tegen de regering maken, en toen hem dat niet lukte, stapte Nakae eruit met een donderspeech waarin hij zijn collegae uitmaakte voor 'witbloedige lafbekken' (*hakketchū no koshinukeme*).

De regering probeerde het parlement van de weeromstuit te onderdrukken, door middel van politiegeweld en omkoping. Na een paar jaar vestigde zich een zekere routine: de parlementariërs behartigden in eerste instantie hun eigenbelang en dat van hun achterban, zonder zich al te veel om zoiets abstracts als het landsbelang te bekommeren; waar het de partijen vooral om ging, was periodiek uit de regeringsruif mee te mogen eten. Beschuldigingen van corruptie waren niet van de lucht, en zelden ongegrond. Intellectuelen, die de waarheid in pacht meenden te hebben, wendden zich vol walging van de politiek af en zochten hun toevlucht tot buitenparlementaire oppositie en soms tot terreur. Toch zijn er, als men de kleine vijftig jaar van 1890 tot 1937 overziet, wel een paar trends zichtbaar die 'hoop gaven.' De teneur van de parlementaire besluitvorming was anti-militaristisch en democratisch, in die zin dat het parlement, als het aan de afgevaardigden werd overgelaten, geneigd was budgetten voor leger en marine te korten en de census te verlagen. Algemeen mannenkiesrecht werd in Japan ingevoerd in 1925.

Een liberale economie

Een ander onderdeel van de hervormingen dat geen precedent had in de Oost-Aziatische traditie, was het liberale economische bestel dat Japan na 1854 was opgedrongen: vrije nering, internationale vrijhandel, en een onzichtbare hand die het alles bestuurt. Deze klassieke liberale ideologie -- *in concreto*, de gedachte dat het welbegrepen eigenbelang van de bakker ervoor zou zorgen, dat hij goed brood bakte -- werd niet geaccepteerd. Zoals Ronald Dore het zo treffend formuleert, ging elke Oost-Aziaat er voetstoots van uit, dat een bakker voortdurend in zijn oren getoeterd moet worden dat het zijn taak was voor volk en vaderland goed brood te bakken, omdat hij anders vast met de vreselijkste misbaksels zou komen.[8]

Het probleem blijkt duidelijk in de bestseller *Binbō monogatari* ('Het Verhaal van Armoede') van Kawakami Hajime (1879-1946). Hij was een degelijke, in Engeland gevormde econoom, die in 1898 aangesteld werd als hoogleraar bij de nieuw-geopende Universiteit van Kyoto. *Binbō monogatari* verscheen aanvankelijk als een serie artikelen in de *Osaka Asahi Shinbun*, en daarna, in 1917, in boekvorm. Het boekje toont levendig aan, hoe moeilijk het zelfs voor een geschoolde econoom was de liberale economische theorie te accepteren.

Armoede, vond Kawakami, was een kwaad, dus rees de vraag, of armoede kon worden uitgebannen. Kawakami geeft de volgende casus, die hij ontleent aan de Engelse schoenenindustrie: door de invoering van nieuwe machines neemt de productiecapaciteit toe, maar omdat de fabrikanten hun prijs niet al te ver kunnen laten zakken, neemt de afzet niet toe, want de gegoeden kunnen niet meer schoenen kopen dan ze al doen, en voor de armen blijven ze te duur. Gevolg: arbeiders in schoenfabrieken worden ontslagen. Kawakami's conclusie luidt: 'Het is niet te verwachten dat de armoede ooit uitgebannen zal worden, zolang (1) zij door het huidige economische bestel in stand wordt gehouden, (2) zolang er in de maatschappij een groot onderscheid tussen arm en rijk blijft bestaan, en (3) zolang de rijken het surplus dat zij hebben, blijven gebruiken om weeldeartikelen en luxe producten te kopen en zo de vraag daarnaar in stand houden.'

Met die woorden, 'weeldeartikelen en luxe producten' (*shashi zeitakuhin*) zijn we weer helemaal thuis. Van het begin der tijden was in Oost-Azië verkondigd, dat de zucht naar luxe de oorsprong van alle ellende was en leidde tot de ondergang van dynastieën. Altijd en overal was zuinigheid, spaarzaamheid, en eenvoud aangeprezen; zelfs Ieyasu heeft herhaaldelijk over dat chapiter gesproken. In de tweede helft van zijn boek vervalt Kawakami weer helemaal in het oude denkpatroon, preekt hij tegen gewetenloze rijken, en verwacht hij dat de bestrijding van het

8 Zie Ronald Dore, *Taking Japan Seriously: A Confucian Perspective on Leading Economic Issues* (London: Athlone Press, 1987), p. 181. See also *op. cit.*, pp. vii-vii, 169-170.

egoïsme zal leiden tot een vermindering van de armoede.

Dit was niet, omdat hij de andere ideeën niet kende. Hij citeert Mandeville's *The Fable of the Bees*, met de beroemde slagzin 'Private vices, public benefits' (*shiyoku kōeki*), en trekt drie hoofdstukken uit om Adam Smith's ideeën te beschrijven, maar hij gelooft er niet in. Smith's eerste fout was, dat hij de rijkdom van het land wilde vergroten, zijn tweede, dat hij meende dat de rijkdom van het land ook het levenspeil van alle individuen zou verhogen, en zijn derde, dat hij 'irrationeel' was omdat hij economische prioriteiten door de markt wilde laten bepalen.

Kawakami zocht zijn heil bij andere goden. Eerst nog bij de Engelse politicus Lloyd George, maar later bij Marx en Lenin. Het is dan ook slecht met hem afgelopen. In de jaren twintig vertaalde hij *Das Kapital* en schreef hij boeken en artikelen ter introductie van de Marxistische economie. In 1928 werd hij 'vanwege linkse neigingen' als hoogleraar ontslagen. In 1932 werd hij lid van de Communistische Partij, en het jaar daarop werd hij van zijn bed gelicht en in de gevangenis gestopt, waar hij tot 1937 verbleef. Na zijn ontslag uit de gevangenis leidde hij een teruggetrokken leven in Kyoto, en kortte hij de tijd met normale activiteiten van een heer in ruste: het schrijven van Chinese en Japanse gedichten, kalligrafie, en het snijden van zegels. Kawakami is een goed voorbeeld de persistentie van de oude waarden. Zijn Marxisme is niets anders dan de oude Oost-Aziatische ideologie, gestoken in een nieuw, westers jasje.

Buitenlandse relaties

Er zijn meer terreinen, naast de economie, waar deze tegenstelling tussen oude waarden en westerse ideeën kan worden aangewezen, bij voorbeeld internationale relaties. De Japanse opvattingen op dit gebied vormden de achtergrond voor Japan's confrontatie met de westerse wereld in de Tweede Wereldoorlog. De kern is, dat de Confucianistische ideologie niet het bestaan van gelijkwaardige, soevereine staten erkent, of liever: kent. De gehele ideologie, en bijgevolg de Oost-Aziatische maatschappijen, zijn doortrokken van een hiërarchisch ideaal. A en B zijn nooit gelijk; altijd is de een hoger dan de ander, en die ongelijkheid vertaalt zich in gedrag en taalgebruik. De ideologie kende één hoogste staat, China, met daaromheen een aantal barbaarse rijkjes en stammen. Als China relaties aanknoopte met de hem omringende barbaarse rijken, dan was dat altijd een asymmetrische relatie, waarbij het barbaarse rijk zich aan de Chinese keizer onderwierp.

Het paradigma dat ons idee van gelijkwaardige, soevereine staten nog het dichts benadert, is dat van de 'strijdende staten.' Dat is een periode in de Chinese geschiedenis geweest (van 453 tot 221 v.C.) waarin een aantal *de facto* onafhankelijke staten onderling streden om de macht in het rijk. Deze staten

onderhielden diplomatieke relaties met elkaar, sloten verbonden, vochten, enz., net als echte staten. Het verschil met ons concept lag daarin, dat er nog steeds een idee bestond van een verenigd rijk, tot 253 v.C. belichaamd in de koning van Zhou, waar alle staten toe behoorden. Het verklaarde einddoel van de strijd tussen de staten was het rijk weer onder een eenhoofdig bestuur te brengen. Van een volgende periodes van dynastieke verdeeldheid, na de val van de Tweede Han-dynastie (25-220), kan hetzelfde worden gezegd. Het naast elkaar bestaan van zelfstandige rijkjes was een anomalie; de standaard situatie was een verenigd keizerrijk. Dezelfde ervaring deed Japan ook in eigen land op, toen na een periode van volstrekte anarchie (1467 tot 1570) de eenheid van het rijk weer met geweld van wapenen werd hersteld.

De gebeurtenissen uit deze periodes waren algemeen bekend. De Chinese en Japanse historische werken behoorden tot de standaard opvoeding, en de gebeurtenissen na de val van de Han-dynastie zijn beschreven in een van de populairste Chinese romans, de *Sanguozhi yanyi*, die ook in Japan door de opgroeiende jeugd met rode koontjes gelezen werd.[9]

Dit paradigma stond haaks op het westerse model. Sinds de vrede van Munster (1648) kent onze internationale wereld geen eenheidrijk meer dat hersteld moest worden. Er was dus ook geen 'algemeen belang,' dat alles wat men deed om dit doel te bereiken, kon heiligen. Wat restte, was vulgair eigenbelang. Hoewel wij Nederlanders al vroeg, hier in Leiden, ons best gedaan hebben om de Japanners duidelijk te maken wat natuurrecht en volkerenrecht inhielden, beklijfde die kennis niet.[10] De internationale verhoudingen bleven in Japanse ogen een 'dog eat dog' competitie, waarin uiteindelijk alleen het recht van de sterkste gold. Een andere morele norm die internationaal optreden kon rechtvaardigen, dan het landsbelang bestond niet.[11]

Daar komt nog het volgende bij. Japan had zich, na een kort experiment in die richting in de vijftiende eeuw, ook in de premoderne periode nooit aan China willen onderwerpen. Het accepteerde wel het Chinese model van een asymmetrische internationale orde, maar weigerde daar zelf toe toe te treden. Eigenlijk wilde Japan zelf de positie van China overnemen. Een poging daartoe, in de 1590-er jaren door Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598) ondernomen, was op een mislukking uitgelopen; daarna had Japan zich uit de Chinese diplomatieke wereldorde teruggetrokken en een eigen hiërarchie ontwikkeld met Japan in het centrum en een paar barbaarse staatjes zoals Nederland, Korea, en het koninkrijk Okinawa als vazallen om zich heen. Het was, zoals Jurgis Elisonas het zo treffend uitdrukt, ermee tevreden de '*prima in vacuo*' te zijn.[12]

9 Deze roman is verfilmd als 'Red Cliff,' en zal ongetwijfeld ook als computerspel verkrijgbaar zijn.

10 See Ōkubo Takeharu, 'Encounters with Dutch Jurisprudence at the Dawn of Modern Japan, ' *TNJR* 2 (2), pp. 76-84.

11 Zie over deze Japanse percepties ook Owada Hisashi, *The Encounter of Japan with the Community of Civilized Nations* (Inaugural Lecture, Leiden, 3-7-2006).

12 Elisonas, Jurgis, 'The Inseparable Trinity: Japan's Relations with China and Korea,' (Hall, John Whitney & James L. McClain, eds, *The Cambridge History of Japan, Vol. 4: Early Modern Japan*, Cambridge University Press, 1991, pp. 235-300), p. 300.

Hoezeer men in Japan ook dweepte met de Chinese cultuur, van enige gevoel van lotsverbondenheid met China was geen sprake, wat vooral opvalt in de 1830-er en 1840-er jaren, toen China in de Opiumoorlog (1840-1842) en de Arrow War (1856-1860) door westerse mogendheden werd aangevallen. Geen Japanner die opstond en riep, 'Laten we onze Chinese broeders gaan helpen.' Na de Meiji-restauratie gebeurde dat overigens wel, maar dat was op het individuele vlak; landsbeleid is het nooit geworden.

Tegen de achtergrond van een dergelijke ideologie behoeft het niet te verwonderen, dat Japan solistisch opereerde, bondgenootschappen en verdragen vanuit een puur opportunistisch optiek bekeek, en toen het meende een kans van slagen te hebben, in China aan het veroveren sloeg. Zelfs de voor westerlingen zo irriterende en onbegrijpelijke retoriek van 'de hele wereld verenigd onder Japanse opperheerschappij' (*hakkō ichiu*) valt op haar plaats. Een dergelijk streven naar een verenigde wereld, was inderdaad de enige moreel acceptabele rechtvaardiging van Japans optreden.

Conclusies

Het waren dus, samenvattend, de oude waarden van de Chinese cultuursfeer, die bepaalden, welke onderdelen van de westerse cultuur Japan wel, en welke het niet kon aanvaarden. Mijns inziens komt men tot een beter begrip van het moderne Japan, wanneer men het Japanse beleid vanaf de Meiji-periode tot ten minste de Tweede Wereldoorlog bekijkt als een realisering en actualisering van reeds bestaande, Japanse, *casu quo* Chinees-Confucianistische waarden, dan wanneer men denkt in termen van een gedeeltelijk mislukte overname van elementen van de westerse cultuur.

Waar wij van overname spreken, gaat het vrijwel altijd om elementen die toevallig in beide cultuursferen aanwezig waren, zoals de ontkenning van standen, het belang van een gecentraliseerd, burgerlijk bestuur, van leerplicht en opvoeding, et cetera. Als je goed kijkt, zie je echter, dat die elementen in de beide cultuursferen toch in een andere configuratie tot elkaar staan. Wat verklaart, waarom tot onze grote irritatie in Japan dingen anders gaan dan wij willen. Slechts in enkele gevallen, bij voorbeeld de parlementaire democratie, is inderdaad een wezensvreemd element overgeplant. Dat element heeft het dan ook wel geweten.

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The present article is an adaptation of a Studium Generale lecture, given in Leiden on May 9, 2000.

Appendix to *Historical notes on the Japanese garden at Clingendael, The Hague, Holland* by Titia van der Eb-Brongersma

Table of plants in the original Japanese Garden at Clingendael

According to the old list

Numbers, quantities, names, colours and height as recorded in the old list.

Regular printing: the original list.

Italic printing: additional information of modern scientific names; information about the origin and introduction of the plant, or about the origin of the cultivar; comments. The additional information has been carefully compiled but is not exhaustive.

Data from: Boom, 1975 (Herbaceous plants) and De Koning et all, 2000 (Trees and shrubs)

Abbreviations

Gr - group

St - stool - coppice regrowth (Dutch: stoof)

sp/subsp. – species /subspecies

cv, cult –cultivar/ Cult- in Culture

Indigenous- indigenous or probably indigenous

N-Hem – Northern Hemisphere

E- England

Eur- Europe

Eur-medit –Europe Mediterranean

F- France

Him- Himalayans

Kauk-Caucasus

N- Netherlands

NE-Am – Northeast America

Pyr –Pyrenees

R- Russia

S- Sweden

Sach- Sakhalin

S-Afr –South Africa

S-Am – South America

Sieb – Siebold

No orig. list		**Original name in the list + English name**	***Modern scientific name***	**Colour list**	**Height list in cm**		***Origin***	***Year of introduction or cultivar***	***Remarks + some English/Dutch names***
1		Acer ginnala	*Acer tataricum subsp. ginnala*		400		*E-Asia*	*1860-R*	*Ornamental shrub Autumn colour*
2 a 2 b		Solidago virga-aurea	*Solidago virgaurea*	yellow	150		*N-Hem*	*1594-N*	*Border plant*
3	Gr	Ligustrum ovalifolium fol. var.	*Ligustrum ovalifolium 'Aureum' or 'Argenteum' ?*					*Aur. 1860-N Sieb Arg. cult. 1914 –E*	*Privet/ Haagliguster*
4	1	Spar/Fir	*Picea sp.*						*Evergreen tree Indigenous*
5a	1	Taxus, low	*Taxus sp.*				*Eur*		*Evergreen tree Indigenous Taxus baccata 'Overeynderi' ? Still present in 2012*
5b		Heracleum mantegazzianum	*Heracleum mantegazzianum*	white	200		*Kauk*	*1890-R*	*Giant Hogweed/ Reuzenberenklauw, Solitary plant now invasive*
5c	1	Es/Ash	*Fraxinus sp.*						*Indigenous tree*
6	1	Eik/Oak	*Quercus sp.*						*Indigenous tree*
7	1	Gunnera	*Gunnera sp.*				*S-Am*	*19th century-B*	*Broad-leaved Solitary plant*
8	4	Eiken/Oaks+ undergrowth of Mahonia	*Quercus sp. Mahonia sp.*						*Indigenous trees + Wintergreen shrub*
9	1	Ligustrum ovalifolium	*Ligustrum ovalifolium*				*Japan*	*1834-N Sieb*	*Privet/Haagliguster*
10	1	Polygonum polystachyum	*Polygonum polystachyum*	white	125		*Him*		*Himalayan knotweed Border plant, invasive*
11a	1	Polygonum sachalinense	*Fallopia sachalinensis*		300		*Japan/ Sach*	*1863-E*	*Giant knotweed Border plant, invasive*
11b	Gr	Helenium autumnale superbum	*Helenium autumnale x superbum*	yellow	200		*N-Am*	*1635-F cult*	*Border plant*
11c	Gr	Autum flowering Aster, small group	*Aster novi-belgii hybrids*	lilac-white	125		*E-N Am*	*1686-F cult*	*Border plant*
11d	Gr	Epilobium angustifolium album	*Chamaenerion angustifolium 'Album'*	white	125			*1700-F cult*	*Border plant*
11e	Gr	Autum flowering aster, low	*Aster novi-belgii hybrids*	pink-purple	75		*E-N Am*	*1686-F cult*	*Border plant*
11f	Gr	Bocconia cordata	*Macleaya cordata*	brown	150		*China/ Japan*	*1795-E*	*Border plant*
11g	Gr	Senecio Wilsonianus	*Ligularia wilsoniana*	yellow	150		*China*	*1905-E*	*Border plant*
11h	Gr	Senecio tanghuticus	*Senecio tanguticus*	orange-yellow	125		*W-China*	*1901-E*	*Border plant*
12a	1	Es/Ash	*Fraxinus sp.*						*Indigenous tree*
12b	5	Eiken/Oaks	*Quercus sp.*						*Indigenous trees*
12c	1	Spar/ Fir	*Picea sp.*						*Evergreen tree Indigenous*
12d	1	Taxus, pruned low and wide 125 cm	*Taxus sp.*		60		*Eur*		*Evergreen tree Indigenous pruned wide 125 Taxus baccata 'Overeynderi' ?*
13a	1	Es/Ash	*Fraxinus sp.*						*Indigenous tree*
13b		Eiken/Oaks	*Quercus sp.*						*Indigenous trees*
13c	3	Mahonia	*Mahonia sp.*						*Wintergreen shrub*
13d	1	Gunnera	*Gunnera sp.*				*S-Am*	*19th century-B*	*Broad-leaved*

13d	1	Gunnera	*Gunnera sp.*				*S-Am*	*19th century-B*	*Broad-leaved Solitary plant*
13e		Saxifraga + Senecio		white	80				
13f		Polygonum and Buphtalmum	*Polygonum sp. Telekia speciosa*		80/ 125				*Border plants*
13g		Salomonszegel	*Polygonatum sp.*	white	60				
13h	1	Funkia Sieboldii	*Hosta sieboldiana*	blue-grey	40		*Japan*	*1830-N*	*Border plant*
13i		Berberis stenophylla	*Berberis x stenophylla*				*Chili*	*1860- E cult*	*Wintergreen shrub*
13j	-								
13k	1	Ligustrum ovalifolium	*Ligustrum ovalifolium*				*Japan*	*1834-N Sieb*	*Privet/haagliguster*
13l	Gr	Bambusa Metake	*Pseudosasa japonica*				*Japan*	*1850-Eur*	*Ornamental grass*
13m	1	Larix europea	*Larix decidua*				*Eur*	*1629-E*	*Indigenous tree*
14a	1	Acer pseudoplatanus	*Acer pseudo-platanus*				*Eur*	*Long time Cult.*	*Indigenous tree*
14b	Gr	Cornus sibirica	*Cornus alba 'Sibirica'*				*O-Eur/ N-Asia*	*1830-E cult*	*Ornamental shrub, twigs in winter bright red*
14c		Ribes sanguineum	*Ribes sanguineum*				*NW-US*	*1826-E*	*Shrub*
14d	2	Wilgen/Willows	*Salix sp.*						*Ornamental tree*
14e		Eiken/oaks and some shrubs							*Indigenous trees + some shrubs*
14f	3	Hyacinthus candicans	*Galtonia candicans*		30		*S-Afr*	*1870-E*	*Late summer flowering lily, fragrant Border plant*
14g	Gr	Solidago	*S. virgaurea*	yellow	150		*N-Hem*	*1594-N*	*Border plant*
14h	St	Essen/Ash, stools	*Fraxinus sp.*						*Indigenous trees*
15a		Heracleum mantegazzianum	*Heracleum mantegazzianum*	white	200		*Kauk*	*1890-R*	*Giant Hogweed/ Reuzenberenklauw, Solitary plant now invasive*
15b	St	Esdoorn/ Maple, stool	*Acer sp.*						*Indigenous tree*
15c	Gr	Mahonia	*Mahonia sp.*						*Wintergreen shrub*
15d		Wilg/Willow	*Salix sp.*						*Tree*
16a		Helenium autumnale superbum	*Helenium autumnale x superbum*				*NE-Am*	*1635-F*	*Border plant*
16b		Helenium autumnale Riverton Gem	*Helenium autumnale 'Riverton Gem'*				*NE-Am*	*1635-F*	*Orange with yellow tips cone brown Border plant*
16c		Senecio Wilsonianus	*Ligularia wilsoniana*	yellow	150		*China*	*1905-E*	*Border plant*
16 d		Aster cordifolius	*Symphyotrichum cordifolium*	white	125		*N-Am*	*1637-F*	*Border plant*
16e		-							
16f		Aster acris	*Aster sedifolius*	blue violet	80		*Eur*		*Border plant*
16g		Artisjok/Artichoke	*Cynara scolymus*				*Z-Eur*		*ornamental vegetable*
16h		Aster Thomsoni	*Aster thomsonii*	Laven-der blue	50		*Him*	*1686 F ± 1887-D*	*Border plant*
16i		Aster vimineus perfection	*Aster vimineus 'Perfection' ?*		75		*E-NE Am*	*1800-D*	*Border plant*
16j		-							
16k		Berberis stenophylla	*Berberis x stenophylla*				*Chili*	*1860-E cult*	*Wintergreen shrub*
16l		Rudbeckia	*Rudbeckia sp.*	red brown	125		*E- US*	*1692-E*	*Border plant. R. purpurea –syn. Echinacaea purpurea?*
17a		Gunnera					*S-Am*	*19th century-B*	*broad-leaved Solitary plant*
17b	St	Es/Ash, stool							*Indigenous tree*
17c	1	Weigelia	*Weigelia sp.*				*E-Asia*		*Ornamental shrub*
17d	2	Philadelphus	*Philadelphus sp.*						*Ornamental shrub Jasmine/ Jasmijn Fragrant*
17e	1	Spiraea van Houttei	*Spiraea x vanhoutii*				*E-Asia*	*1862-F cult*	*Ornamental shrub*
17f		Eiken/Oaks							*Indigenous trees*

18b	Gr	Berberis dulcis	*B. buxifolia*				*Chili*	*1826-E*	*Wintergreen shrub*
18c	Gr	Cyperus							*Sedge*
18d		Hypericum	*Hypericum sp.*						
18e		Polygonum spectabile	*Polygonum cuspidatum 'Spectabile'*				*Japan*	*1906-F cult*	*Border plant*
18f		Erica	*Erica sp.*				*Eur*		*Heather/ dopheide Indigenous*
18g	Gr	Mahonia and Amerikaanse eiken/ Red Oaks	*Mahonia sp. and Quercus rubra*						*Wintergreen shrub+ Trees, autumn colour*
18h	Gr	Hortensia's several groups	*Hydrangea macrophylla*				*Japan*	*1788-E*	*Van Bommel 1930 H. Hortensis*
18i	3	Glycine chinensis	*Wisteria sinensis*				*China*	*1816-E*	*Climbing shrub*
18j		-							
18k	1	Thuya Vervanianum, low	*Thuja occidentalis 'Vervaeneana'*	blue	75				*Evergreen tree foliage yellow/light green Thuja occidentalis ' Wareana' ? – bluish foliage*
18l	1	Retinospora plumosa aurea, tall	*Chamaecyparis pisifera 'Plumosa Aurea'*		300		*Japan*	*1867-F cult*	*Evergreen tree, soft golden later green foliage*
18m	Gr	Baby Ramblers							*Not climbers but small Polyantha hybrid roses*
18n	1	Astilbe Davidiana	*A. chinensis var. davidii*				*China*	*1901-E*	*Border plant*
18o	2	Magnolia							*Ornamental tree*
18p	Gr	Scirpus, Spiraea ulmaria Iris pseudacorus	*Scirpus sp.* *Filipendula ulmaria* *Iris pseudacorus*				*Eur*		*Indigenous* *Indigenous, border plant* *Indigenous*
18q		Nympaea Robinsoniana	*Nympaea Robinsoniana*					*F-19th century cult*	*Marliac ornamental waterlilies*
18r	Gr	Glycine/Wisteria on sticks protruding over the water	*Wisteria sp.*				*China*	*1816-E*	*Climbing shrub*
18s	1	Es/Ash	*Fraxinus sp.*						*Indigenous tree*
18t		Eiken/ Oaks	*Quercus sp.*						*Indigenous trees*
19a	Gr	Bambusa Metake	*Pseudosasa japonica*				*Japan*	*1850-Eur*	*Ornamental grass*
19b	1	Spiraea gigantea	*Filipendula kamtschatica*				*E-Asia*	*1852*	*Border plant*
19c	Gr	Azalea mollis, several groups	*Rhododendron molle*				*China*		*Ornamental shrubs*
19d	1	Pine, big, with variegated Lonicera	*Pinus sp.* *Lonicera sp.*						*Evergreen tree* *Indigenous + Climber*
19e		Carex	*Carex sp.*						*Sedge*
19f		Juniperus chinensis procumbens	*Juniperus chinensis 'Plumosa'*				*China*	*1860-N Sieb*	*Evergreen shrub*
19g	1	Spiraea ulmaria	*Filipendula ulmaria*				*Eur*		*Indigenous*
20a		Iris pseudacorus	*Iris pseudacorus*				*Eur*		*Indigenous*
20b	1	Buxus sempervirens	*Buxus sempervirens*				*Eur-medit*	*Long time Cult.*	*Wintergreen shrub*
20c	2	Rhus typhina	*Rhus typhina*				*C-E N-Am*	*1622-F*	*Autumn colour*
20d	Gr	Azalea mollis, small group	*Rhododendron molle*						*Ornamental shrubs*
20e	1	Pinus densiflora	*Pinus densiflora*		60		*Japan*	*1852-N Sieb*	*Japanese Red Pine*
20f	1	Glycine/ Wisteria protruding over water	*Wisteria sp.*						*Climbing shrub*
20g	1	Juniperus virginiana, wide growing	*Juniperus virginiana*				*E-N Am*	*1648-E*	*Evergreen shrub, wide growing*
20h	Gr	Hortensia	*Hydrangea macrophylla*				*Japan*	*1788-E*	*Van Bommel 1930 H. Hortensis*
20i	4	Prunus pseudocerasus	*Prunus pseudo-cerasus*				*China*		*Ornamental tree*
20k		Ferns							
20l	2 Gr	Iris pseudacorus	*Iris pseudacorus*				*Eur*		*Indigenous*

21a		Polygonum sachalinense	*Fallopia sachalinensis*		300		*Japan/ Sach*	*1863-E*	*Giant knotweed Border plant, invasive*
21b		Polygonum amplexicaule	*Persicaria amplexicaulis*				*Him*	*1835-E*	*Border plant*
21c	Gr	Ligustrum, small group	*Ligustrum sp.*	white					*Ornamental shrub*
21d	Gr	Mahonia, small group	*Mahonia sp.*						*Wintergreen shrub*
21e	Gr	Amerikaanse eiken, small group	*Quercus rubra*				*Am*	*1724-Eng*	*Tree Autumn colour*
21f	1	Gunnera	*Gunnera sp.*				*S-Am*	*19th century*	*Broad-leaved solitary plant*
21g	1	Retinospora plumosa aurea	*Chamaecyparis pisifera 'Plumosa Aurea'*				*Japan*	*1867-F cult*	*Evergreen tree, soft golden later green foliage*
21h	1	Retinospora plumosa argentea	*Chamaecyparis pisifera 'Squarrosa' ?*				*Japan*		*Evergreen shrub, soft frizzy foliage, silver-gray green*
21i	Gr	Spiraea, small groups							
21k	3	Megasea cordifolia	*Bergenia cordifolia*				*Altai*	*1750 -S*	*Border plant*
21l	Gr	Rosa multiflora	*Rosa multiflora*				*Japan/ Korea*	*1804-E*	*Ornamental shrub*
21m	Gr	Tritoma Macowani	*Kniphofia uvaria cv 'Grandiflora'*				*S-Afr*	*1687*	*Border plant*
21n		Retinospora pisifera plumose, tall tree	*Chamaecyparis pisifera ' Plumosa'*		300		*Japan*	*1861-E*	*Evergreen tree Soft feathery foliage*
21o		Retinospora pisifera plumosa aurea	*Chamaecyparis pisifera 'Plumosa Aurea'*		250		*Japan*	*1867-F cult*	*Evergreen tree, soft golden later green foliage*
21p		Anemone japonica	*Anemona hupehensis cv*	white			*China*	*1844-E*	*Border plant ? A. hup. (x) hybrida 'Honorine Jobert'*
21q	1	Pinus, tall	*Pinus sp.*						*Evergreen tall tree, Indigenous*
21r	1	Haagbeuk/Hornbeam	*Carpinus sp.*				*Eur*		*Indigenous tree*
21s	1	Thuya	*Thuja sp.*						*Evergreen tree*
21t	1	Taxus, low	*Taxus sp.*		60		*Eur*	*1860-N cult?*	*Evergreen tree Indigenous Taxus baccata 'Overeynderi' ?*
21u	1	Buxus, low	*Buxus sp.*		50				*Wintergreen shrub*
21v	1	Blauwe regen/Wisteria	*Wisteria sp.*				*China/ Japan*		*Climbing shrub*
21w	1	Heracleum	*Heracleum sp.*						*Solitary plant*
22a		Rosa multiflora	*Rosa multiflora*				*Japan/ Korea*		*Ornamental shrub*
22b	2	Pinus	*Pinus sp.*						*Evergreen tree Indigenous*
22c	3	Acers	*Acer sp.*						
22d		Hortensia's	*Hydrangea macrophylla*				*Japan*	*1788-E*	*Van Bommel 1930 H. Hortensis*
22e	2	Buphthalmum	*Telekia speciosa*				*Kauk*	*1739-E*	*Border plant*
22f	2	Heracleum	*Heracleum sp.*						*Solitary plant*
22g		Pioenen	*Peony sp.*						*Border plant*
22h		Cornus	*Cornus sp.*						
22i	1	Pinus	*Pinus sp.*						*Evergreen tree Indigenous*
22j		-							
22k	4	Mahonia	*Mahonia sp.*						*Wintergreen shrub*
22l	1	Maagdenpalm, variegated	*Vinca sp.*				*Eur*		*Wintergreen Ground cover*
22m	1	Mahonia	*Mahonia sp.*						*Wintergreen shrub*
22n	1	Retinospora pisifera squarrosa arg.	*Chamaecyparis pisifera 'Squarrosa'*				*Japan*	*1843-Sieb*	*Evergreen shrub, soft frizzy foliage, silver-gray green*
22o	3	Maagdenpalm, variegated	*Vinca sp.*						*Wintergreen Ground cover*

22p	1	Buxus	*Buxus sp.*						*Wintergreen shrub*
22q	1	Thuya	*Thuja sp.*						*Evergreen*
22r	Gr	Amerikaanse Eiken/Red Oaks	*Quercus rubra*				*N-Am*	*1724-E*	*Trees* *Autumn colour*
22s	1	Beech, branching	*Fagus sp.*						*Indigenous tree*
22t	1	Retinospora plumosa aurea	*Chamaecyparis pisifera 'Plumosa Aurea'*				*Japan*	*1867-F cult*	*Evergreen tree,* *soft golden later green foliage*
22u	1	Pinus	*Pinus sp.*						*Evergreen tree* *Indigenous*
23a		Polygonum sachalinense	*Fallopia sachalinensis*		300		*Japan/ Sach*	*1863-E*	*Giant knotweed* *Border plant, invasive*
23b		Polygonum polystachyum	*Polygonum polystachyum*	white	125		*Him*		*Himalayan knotweed* *Border plant, invasive*
23c		Aster Robert Parker	*?*		200				*Border plant*
23d	2	Bonte Maagdenpalm Vinca variegated	*Vinca sp.*						*Wintergreen* *Ground cover*
23e		Senecio ?							
23f		Senecio Wilsonianum	*Ligularia wilsoniana*	yellow	150		*China*	*1905-E*	*Border plant*
23g		Helenium	*Helenium sp.*				*US*		*Border plant*
23h		Epilobium angustifolium fl. albo	*Chamaenerion angustifolium 'Album'*						*Border plant*
23i		Buphthalmum	*Telekia speciosa*				*Kauk*	*1739-E*	*Border plant*
23k		Bambusa Metake	*Pseudosasa japonica*				*Japan*	*1850-Eur*	*Ornamental grass*
23l		Clematis	*Clematis sp.*						*Climber*
23m	Gr	Aster acris	*Aster sedifolius*	blue - violet	80		*Eur*	*1686-F*	*Border plant*
23n		Lilies	*Lilium sp.*						
24a	St	Birch, stool	*Betula sp.*						*Indigenous tree*
24b	1	Deutzia	*Deutzia sp.*				*China/ Japan*		*Ornamental shrub*
24c	1	Gunnera	*Gunnera sp.*				*S-Am*	*19th century-B*	*Broad-leaved solitary plant*
24d		Cimicifuga racemosa	*Cimicifuga racemosa*				*NE Am*		*Border plant*
24e		Birch	*Betula sp.*						*Indigenous tree*
24f		Polygonum amplexicaule	*Persicaria amplexicaulis*				*Him*	*1835-E*	*Border plant*
24g		Hemerocallis	*Hemerocallis sp.*				*E-Asia*		*Border plant*
24h	1	Funkia, variegated	*Hosta sp.*				*Japan*		*Border plant*
24i	1	Funkia, green	*Hosta sp.*				*Japan*		*Border plant*
24j		-							
24k	1	Saxifraga	*Saxifraga sp.*						
24l		Ivy	*Hedera sp.*						*Indigenous shrub, climber*
24m		Megasea cordifolia	*Bergenia cordifolia*				*Altai*	*1750-S*	*Border plant*
24n		Artisjok/Artichoke	*Cynara scolymus*				*Z-Eur*		*Ornamental vegetable*
25a	1	Pinus strobus	*Pinus strobus*				*Am*	*16th century - F*	*Evergreen tree*
25b	Gr	Rotsplantjes/ rockery plants							*Rockery plants*
25c		Funkia's green + variegated	*Hosta sp.*				*China/ Japan*		*Border plant*
25d		Hemerocallis	*Hemerocallis sp.*				*E-Asia*		*Borderplant*
25c		Funkia undulata var.	*Hosta undulata cv*				*Japan*		*Border plant*
25d		Hemerocallis	*Hemerocallis sp.*				*E-Asia*		*Border plant*
25e		Megasea	*Bergenia sp.*						*Border plant*
25f		Funkia undulata var.	*Hosta undulata ' cv*				*Japan*		*Border plant* *Van Bommel:1930* *Funkia japonica undulata*
25g		Polygonum brunonis [+ forget-me-not]	*Polygonum affine*				*Him*	*1845-E*	*Rockery plant*
25h	1	Lijsterbes/Rowan	*Sorbus sp.*						*Indigenous tree*
25i	3	Anchusa myosotidiflora	*Brunnera macrophylla*				*Kauk.*		*Border plant*

25j		-							
25k		Hoe langer hoe liever/Saxifraga	*Saxifraga x geum*				*Alps, Pyr,*	*1768-E*	*Rockery plant*
25l	6	Yucca filamentosa					*E-US*	*1675-E*	*Solitary plant*
25m	1	Berk/Birch	*Betula sp.*						*Indigenous*
26		Groep varens met Prunus/ Ferns + prunus							
27a		Klimop/ Ivy	*Hedera sp.*						*Shrub/climber Indigenous*
27b		Cotoneaster horizontalis + Polypodium vulgare	*Cotoneaster horizontalis Polypodium vulgare*				*China Eur*	*1877-F*	*Low growing shrub, Autumn colour; Indigenous fern*
27c	St	Els/Alder, stool	*Alnus sp.*						*Indigenous tree*
27d		Bambusa nigra	*Phyllostachys nigra*				*China*	*1823-Eur*	*Ornamental grass*
27e	2	Cryptomeria elegans	*Cryptomeria japonica 'Elegans'*				*Japan*	*1854-E*	*Evergreen shrub, bronze in winter*
27f		Polygonum spectabile	*Fallopia japonica*					*Fr?*	*Japanese knotweed Border plant*
27g		Rheum					*Asia*		*Solitary/ border plant*
27h	Gr	Rudbeckia							*Border plant*
27i	Gr	Senecio Wilsonianus	*Ligularia. wilsoniana*				*China*	*1905-E*	*Border plant*
27j		-							
27k	Gr	Rhododendrons							
27l	Gr	Buphthalmum	*Telekia speciosa*				*Kauk*	*1739-E*	*Border plant*
28a	1	Kamperfoelie aan stokken, Lonicera growing on sticks	*Lonicera sp.*						*Climber*
28b	St	Lijsterbes/Rowan, stool	*Sorbus sp.*						*Indigenous tree*
28c	3	Weigelia					*E-Asia*		*Ornamental shrub*
28d	1	Amerikaanse eik/Red Oak	*Quercus rubra*				*N-Am*	*1724-E*	*Tree Autumn colour*
28e	1	Spiraea opulifolia	*Physocarpus opulifolius*				*N-AM*	*1690-N*	*Ornamental shrub*
28f	St	Berk, Els en Lijsterbes Birch/ Alder/Rowan, stools	*Betula sp., Alnus sp., Sorbus sp.*						*Indigenous trees*
28g	2	Mahonia	*Mahonia sp.*						*Wintergreen shrub*
28h	Gr	Buphthalmum	*Telekia speciosa*				*Kauk*	*1739-E*	*Border plant*
28i		Japanse anemonen/ Japanese anemone	*Anemona hupehensis cv.*						*Border plant*
28j		-							
28k	Gr	Chrysanthen	*Chrysanthemum sp.*						*Border plant*
28l		Retinospora pisifera plumose aurea	*Chamaecyparis pisifera 'Plumosa Aurea'*				*Japan*	*1867-F*	*Evergreen tree, soft golden / green foliage*
28m	Gr	Chrysanthen	*Chrysanthemum sp.*						*Border plant*
29a		Funkia, small leaves variegated	*Hosta sp.*						*Border plant*
29b		Berk/Birch							*Indigenous tree*
29c	Gr	Weigelia en Deutzia crenata fl.pl.	*Weigelia sp. Deutzia scabra*				*Japan/ Japan*	*1833-E*	*Ornamental shrubs*
29d		Spar/Fir	*Picea sp.*						*Evergreen tree Indigenous*
29e		Acer negundo fraxinifolia fol. var.	*Acer negundo cult*				*N-Am*	*1688-E*	*Ornamental tree*
29f		Kamperfoelie/honeysuckle	*Lonicera sp.*						*Climber*
29g	St	Els/ Alder stool + Vitis coignetiae	*Alnus sp.+ Vitis coigenetiae*						*Indigenous tree + Japanese climber*
29h	1	Gynerium met stok , with stick, kamperfoelie	*Cortaderia selloana, Lonicera*				*S-Am*	*1848-E*	*Pampas grass Solitary plant*
29i	Gr	Japanse anemonen	*Anemona hupehensis cv.*						*Border plant*
29j		-							
29k	1	Retinospora squarrosa glauca	*Chamaecyparis pisifera 'Squarrosa'*				*Japan*	*1843-Sieb*	*Evergreen shrub, soft frizzy foliage, silver-gray green*

29l	Gr	Tijgerlelies	*Lilium tigrinum*				*E-Asia*	*1804-E*	
29m		Rotsplantjes/Rockery plants							*Rockery plants*
29n	3	Cryptomeria	*Cryptomeria japonica*				*China/ Japan*	*1842-E*	*Evergreen tree*
29o	5	Prunus pseudocerasus	*Prunus pseudo-cerasus*				*China*		*Ornamental tree*
29p	1	Retinospora plumosa aurea	*Chamaecyparis pisifera 'Plumosa Aurea'*				*Japan*	*1867-F cult*	*Evergreen tree, soft golden/ green foliage*
29q	1	zware Eik/ big oak	*Quercus sp.*						*Indigenous tree*
29r	1	Larix	*Larix sp.*						
29s	1	Acer pseudoplatanus fol. var.	*Acer pseudoplatanus sp.*				*Eur*		*Indigenous tree*
29t	St	Berken + Lijsterbes Birches/Rowan, stools	*Betula/Sorbus*						*Indigenous trees*
29u	St	Lijsterbes/Rowan stool	*Sorbus*						*Indigenous tree*
29v	Gr 4	Bambusa Metake	*Pseudosasa japonica*				*Japan*	*1850-Eur*	*Ornamental grass*
29w	St	Lijsterbes/Rowan, stool	*Sorbus*						*Indigenous tree*
29x	7	Buxus	*Buxus*						*Wintergreen, pruned spherical*
29ij		Hortensia's	*Hydrangea macrophylla*				*Japan*	*1788-E*	*Van Bommel 1930 H. Hortensis*
29z	3	Cotoneaster microphylla	*Cotoneaster microphyllus*				*Him*	*1825-E*	*Wintergreen Low growing shrub*
30a	3	Yucca's	*Yucca sp.*				*E-US*	*1675-E*	*Solitary plant*
30b		Sedum purpureum							*Rockery plant /border plant*
30c		Cotoneaster microphylla + 2 Yucca's	*Cotoneaster microphyllus +Yucca sp.*				*Him. E-US*	*1825-E 1675-E*	*Wintergreen Low growing shrub + Solitary plants*
30d	1	Juniperus procumbens	*Juniperus procumbens*				*Japan*	*1843-N Sieb*	*Evergreen Ground cover*
30e	Gr	Hyacinthus candidans	*Galtonia candicans*				*S-Afr*	*1870-E*	*Late summer flowering lily, fragrant Border plant*
30f	1	Blauwe regen/Wisteria	*Wisteria sp.*				*China/ Japan*		*Climbing shrub*
31a	1	Taxus, pruned low	*Taxus sp.*				*Eur*		*Evergreen tree Indigenous Still present 2012*
31b		Buphthalmum	*Telekia speciosa*				*Kauk*	*1739-E*	*Border plant*
31c		Chrysanthen	*Chrysanthemum sp.*						*Border plant*
31d	St	Berk/Birch, stool	*Betula sp.*						*Indigenous tree*
31e		Helenium Herbstsonne	*H. 'Gartensonne'?*						*Border plant*
31f		Herfstasters							*Border plant*
31g		Chrysanthemum maximum	*Chrysanthemum maximum*				*Pyr*		*Marguerite/ Margriet Border plant*
31h		Aster							*Border plant*
31i		Lijsterbes	*Sorbus sp.*						*Indigenous tree*
31k	4	Cotoneaster Simonsi	*Cotoneaster simonsii*				*Him*	*1860-E cult*	*Semi- wintergreens Shrub*
31l	St	Berk/Birch, stool	*Betula sp.*						*Indigenous tree*
31m		Solidago	*Solidago sp.*						*Border plant*
31n	Gr	Asters							*Border plant*
31o		Azalea rustica fl.pl.							
31p	1	Prunus pseudocerasus	*Prunus pseudo- cerasus*				*China*		*Ornamental tree*
31q		Rhododendrons							*Ornamental shrubs*
31r	1	Wilg/Willow	*Salix sp.*						*Tree*
32a	1	Den/Pine	*Pinus sp.*						*Evergreen tree Indigenous*
32b		Eiken/Oaks	*Quercus sp.*						*Indigenous trees*
32b2		Eik/Oak + Lonicera flexuosa aurea reticulata	*Quercus sp. + Lonicera japonica*				*E-Asia*	*1806-E*	*Indigenous tree + Japanese climber*

			'Aureoreticulata'						
32b3	2	Eiken+ klimroos and Vitis coignetiae Oaks+ rambler rose and Vitis cognetiae	*Quercus sp.* *Rosa sp.* *Vitis coignetiae*					.. .. *1875-F*	*Indigenous trees+ climber and Japanese climber*
32c	3	Juniperus japonica aurea pruned spherical	*Juniperus chinensis 'Plumosa Aurea'*				*China*	*1887-N cult*	*Evergreen shrub yellow green/bronze in winter*
32d	2	Buxus pruned spherical	*Buxus sp.*						*Wintergreen shrub Pruned spherical*
32e	2	Retinospora pisifera plumose argentea	*Chamaecyparis pisifera 'Squarrosa' ?*				*Japan*		*Evergreen shrub, soft frizzy foliage, silver-gray green*
32f		Lilium Henryi + Asters + Spiraea gigantean	*Lilium Henryi+ Aster+ Filipendula kamtschatica*						*Lilies /border plants*
33a	1	Blauwe regen /Wisteria, shrub	*Wisteria sp.*				*China/ Japan*		*Climbing shrub*
33b	3	Azalea mollis	*Rhododendron molle*						*Ornamental shrub*
33c	1	Amerikaanse eik/Red oak	*Quercus rubra*				*N-Am*	*1724-E*	*Tree Autumn colour*
33d	5	Acer negundo fraxinifolia fol.var.	*Acer negundo cult*				*N-Am*	*1688-E*	*ornamental tree*
33e	1	Retinospora pisifera plumosa aurea, big tree	*Chamaecyparis pisifera ' Plumosa Aurea'*				*Japan*	*1867-F cult*	*Evergreen tree, soft golden later green foliage*
33f		Blauwe regen/ Wisteria pruned over water	*Wisteria sp.*				*China/ Japan*		*Climbing shrub*
33g	Gr	Rode Acers							*Japanese maples*
33h		Sedum spectabile	*Sedum spectabile*				*E-Asia*	*1868-E*	*Rockery plant / border plant*
33i	2	Spiraea ulmaria					*Eur/ N-Asia*		*Border plant /wildflower*
33j		-							
33k		Iris							
33l		Azalea mollis	*Rhododendron molle*						*Ornamental shrubs*
33m	1	Cotoneaster horizontalis	*Cotoneaster horizontalis*				*China*	*1877-F*	*Low growing shrub Autumn colour*
33n		Lelies							
33o	1	Polygonum	*Polygonum sp.*						
33p		Picea Maxwelli	*Picea abies 'Maxwellii'?*				*Eur*		*Evergreen dwarf shrub?*
33q	Gr	Spiraea bumalda	*Spiraea japonica 'Anthony Waterer'*				*Japan*	*1875-E cult*	*Low growing ornamental shrub*
33r	2 Gr	Japanse irissen, Japanese iris							*Japanese irises*
33s		Treurwilg, Weeping willow	*Salix x sepulcralis*					*Long in Cult*	*Ornamental tree*
33t	2	Juniperus chinensis aurea	*Juniperus chinensis 'Plumosa Aurea'*				*China*	*1887-N cult*	*Evergreen shrub, yellow green, bronze in winter*
33u	2	Juniperus procumbens aurea	*Juniperus procumbens 'Aurea'*				*Japan*		*Evergreen shrub Ground cover*
33v	1	Retinospora pisifera plumose aurea	*Chamaecyparis pisifera 'Plumosa Aurea'*				*Japan*	*1867-F cult*	*Evergreen tree, soft golden later green foliage*
33w		Blauwe regen /Wisteria pruned over water	*Wisteria sp.*				*China/ Japan*		*Pruned over water*
34a	Gr	Bambusa Metake	*Pseudosasa japonica*				*Japan*	*1850-Eur*	*Ornamental grass*
34b		Spiraea gigantean	*Filipendula kamtschatica*				*Eur/ N-Asia*		*Border plant*
34c		Japanse Acers, Rood/red							*Japanese maples*
34d		Polygonum spectabile	*Polygonum cuspidatum 'Spectabile'*					*1906- F*	*Japanese knotweed Border plant, invasive*
34e		Waterlelies/waterlilies	*Nymphaea sp.*						
34f		Cotoneaster horizontalis +	*Cotoneaster horizontalis*				*China*	*1877-F +*	*Low growing shrub*

		Spiraea	*Spiraea sp?*					..	*Autumn colour + ?*
34g		Rotspartij/Rockery							*Rockery*
34h	1	Pinus densiflora Tanyōshō	*Pinus densiflora* Tanyōshō				*Japan*		*Japanese Red Pine var.*
34i	Gr	Santolina chamaecyparissus	*Santolina chamaecyparissus*				*S-Eur*	*1573-E*	*Border plant*
34j		-							
34k	2	Retinospora plumosa aurea	*Chamaecyparis pisifera 'Plumosa Aurea'*				*Japan*	*1867-F*	*Evergreen tree, soft golden later green foliage*
34l	1	Cotoneaster horizontalis	*Cotoneaster horizontalis*				*China*	*1877-F*	*Low growing shrub/ Autumn colour*
34m		Acer, fijnbladerig/Japanese maple fine cut leaves	*Acer sp.*						*Japanese maples*
34n		Blauwe regen/ Wisteria pruned over the water	*Wisteria sp.*				*China/ Japan*		*Climbing shrub*
34o		Retinospora pisifera aurea	*Chamaecyparis pisifera ' Plumosa Aurea'*				*Japan*	*1867-F*	*Evergreen tree, soft golden later green foliage*
34p		Juniperus chinensis procumbens	*Juniperus chinensis 'Plumosa'*				*China*	*1860-N*	*Evergreen shrub Ground cover*
34q		Eik + Kamperfoelie/Oak + Honeysuckle	*Quercus sp. + Lonicera sp.*						*Indigenous tree + climber*
34q1		Eik/Oak	*Quercus sp.*						*Indigenous tree*
34r	6/7	Buxus, pruned spherical	*Buxus sp.*						*Wintergreen shrub*
35a	Gr	Pinus, Pinus densiflora Pinus densiflora Tanyōshō	*Pinus sp.* *Pinus densiflora Pinus densiflora Tanyōshō*				*Japan*		*Evergreen tree, Indigenous Japanese Red Pine Japanese Red pine var.*
35b		Eik/Oak	*Quercus sp.*						*Indigenous tree*
35c		Kamperfoelie/ Honeysuckle	*Lonicera sp.*						*Climber*
35d	9	Buxus, pruned spherical	*Buxus sp.*						*Wintergreen shrub*
35e	4	Cotoneaster Simonsi	*Cotoneaster Simonsii*				*Him*	*1860-E*	*Shrub*
35f		Berberis dulcis	*Berberis buxifolia*				*Chili*	*1826-E*	*Wintergreen shrub*
35g		Daphne fioniana	*Daphne hybrida odora x collina*					*1820-?*	*Ornamental fragrant shrub*
35h	3	Pinus	*Pinus sp.*						*Evergreen tree Indigenous*
35i	3	Dimorphantus mandschuricus Overeynderi	*Aralia elata*				*E-Asia*	*1859-R*	*Not: cult 'Overeynderi' Ornamental*
35j		-							
35k	1	Blauwe regen/Wisteria	*Wisteria sp.*				*China/ Japan*		*Climbing shrub*
36a		Cornus	*Cornus sp.*						
36b		Weigelia	*Weigelia sp.*						*Ornamental shrub*
36c		Spiraea van Houttei	*Spiraea vanhouttei*				*E-Asia*	*1862 –F cult*	*Ornamental shrub*
36d		Deutzia crenata	*Deutzia scabra*				*Japan*	*1833-E*	*Ornamental shrub*
36e		Enkele sneeuwbal /single flowering Viburnum	*Viburnum sp.*						*Ornamental shrub*
37a		Senecio wilsonianum	*L. wilsoniana*				*China*	*1905-E*	*Border plant*
37b		Asters							*Border plant*
37c	2	Berberis stenophylla	*Berberis x stenophylla*				*Chili*	*1860- E cult*	*Wintergreen shrub*
37d		Asters							*Border plant*
37e		Liquidambar styraciflua	*Liquidambar styraciflua*				*US*	*1640-E*	*Tree Autumn colour*
37f	1	Prunus Pissardi, big	*Prunus ceracifera 'Pisardii'*				*Asia minor*	*1875-F*	*Ornamental tree*
38a	1	Cotoneaster horizontalis	*Cotoneaster horizontalis*				*China*	*1877-Fr*	*Low growing shrub/ Autumn colour*
39a	2	Cryptomeria	*Cryptomeria japonica*				*China/*	*1842-E*	*Evergreen tree*

39a	2	Cryptomeria	*Cryptomeria japonica*				*China/ Japan*	*1842-E*	*Evergreen tree*
39b	Gr	Mahonia	*Mahonia sp.*						*Wintergreen shrub*
39c	St	Berk/Birch, stool	*Betula sp.*						*Indigenous tree*
39d	Gr	Acer japonicum	*Acer japonicum cult.*	yellow			*Japan*	*1844-N Sieb*	*Japanese maple*
39e		Salvia argea	*Salvia argentea*				*S-Eur*		*Border plant*
39f		Cydonia japonica + Acer japonica	*Chaenomeles jap.+ Acer japonicum*				*Japan Japan*	*1869-E 1844-N Sieb*	*Low shrub Japanese maple*
39g	Gr	Vogelkers/Bird Cherry	*Prunus padus*				*Eur*		*Indigenous tall shrub*
39h	3	Buxus	*Buxus sp.*						*Wintergreen shrub*
39i	1	Prunus pseudocerasus	*Prunus pseudo-cerasus*				*China*		*Ornamental tree*
39k	Gr	Aster acris	*Aster sedifolius*				*Eur*	*1686 F*	*Border plant*
39l	1	Eulalia japonica zebrine	*Miscanthus sinensis 'Zebrinus'*						*Solitary plant*
39m		Anemone japonica	*Anemona hupehensis cv*	white					*Border plant ? A. hup. (x) hybrida 'Honorine Jobert'?*
39n		Lilium speciosum					*Japan*	*1829-B*	
39o		Cornus sibirica	*Cornus alba 'Sibirica'*						*Ornamental shrub, twigs in winter bright red*
39p	St	Berk/Birch	*Betula sp.*						*Indigenous tree*
39q		Retinospora pisifera plumose aurea	*Chamaecyparis pisifera ' Plumosa Aurea'*				*Japan*	*1867-F cult*	*Evergreen tree, soft golden later green foliage*
39r	St	Berk/Birch, stool	*Betula sp.*						*Indigenous tree*
39s	Gr	Vogelkers/ Bird Cherry	*Prunus padus*				*Eur / E-Asia*		*Tall shrub*
39t		Juniperus procumbens aurea	*Juniperus procumbens 'Aurea'*						*Evergreen shrub Ground cover*
39u	6	Hybiscus syriacus	*Hibiscus syriacus*				*China/ India*	*1596-E*	*Ornamental shrub*
39v	3	Azalea mollis	*Rhododendron molle*				*China*		*Ornamental shrub*
39w	2	Prunus pseudoceracus	*Prunus pseudo-cerasus*				*China*		*Ornamental tree*
39x	1	Juniperus procumbens	*Juniperus procumbens*				*Japan*	*1843-Sieb*	*Evergreen shrub Ground cover*
39ij	Gr	Bambusa Metake	*Pseudosasa japonica*				*Japan*	*1850-Eur*	*Ornamental grass*
39z	Gr 2	Juniperus Sabina	*Juniperus sabina*				*Eur*		*Evergreen shrub*
40a		Juniperus weeping	*Juniperus sp.*				*N-Hem*		*Evergreen shrub Juniperus communis 'Oblonga Pendula' ?*
40b	1	Juniperus Sabina	*Juniperus sabina*				*Eur*		*Evergreen shrub*
40c	1	Lijsterbes/Rowan	*Sorbus sp.*						*Indigenous tree*
40d	Gr	Acer	*Acer sp.*						
40e	Gr	Cydonia japonica	*Chaenomeles japonica*				*Japan*	*1869-E*	*Ornamental low growing shrub*
40f		Iris japonica	*Iris japonica*				*China/ Japan*	*1800-F*	*Japanese iris*
40g		Bambusa Metake	*Pseudosasa japonica*				*Japan*	*1850-Eur*	*Ornamental grass*
40h	1	Acer filicifolia	*Acer japonicum 'Aconitifolium'*				*Japan*	*1898-E*	*Japanese maple*
40i	Gr	Juniperus sabina + Cotoneaster horizontalis	Juniperus sabina + Cotoneaster horizontalis				*Eur China*	.. *1877-F*	*Evergreen shrub + low growing shrub/ Autumn colour*
40j		-							
40k	Gr	Acer japonica	*Acer japonicum*				*Japan*	*1844-N Sieb*	*Japanese maple*
40l	2 1	Juniperus chinensis en Juniperus aurea	*Juniperus chinensis and Juniperus 'Plumosa Aurea'*				*China*	*1767- S cult 1887-N cult*	*Evergreen shrubs*
40m		Japanse iris/Japanese iris	*Iris japonica*				*China/ Japan*	*1800-F*	*Ornamental*
40n		Picea Maxwelli	*Picea abies 'Maxwelli' ?*						*Evergreen dwarf shrub?*
40o		Rotsplantjes/ rockery							*Rockery plants*

40p		Retinospora pisifera squarrosa, weeping	*Chamaecyparis pisifera ' Squarrosa'*				*Japan*	*1843-Siebold*	*Evergreen shrub, soft frizzy foliage, silver-gray green*
40q		Sedum spectabile atropurpureum							*Rockery plant/border plant*
40r		Treurwilg Weeping willow	*Salix x sepulcralis*					*Long in Cult*	*Ornamental tree*
40s	4	Azalea mollis	*Rhododendron molle*				*China*		*Ornamental shrub*
40t	Gr	Azalea Hinemayo	*Rhododendron 'Hinemayo'*						*Kurume azalea Ornamental shrub*
40u	1	Cotoneaster	*Cotoneaster sp.*						*shrub*
41a		Azalea Hinodegiri	*Rhododendron 'Hinodegiri'*						*Kurume azalea Ornamental shrub*
41b		Tritoma Macowani	*Kniphofia uvaria*				*S-Afr*	*1687*	*Border plant*
41c		Tritoma grandiflora	*Kniphofia uvaria cv 'Grandiflora'*						*Border plant*
41d	3	Prunus pseudocerasus	*Prunus pseudo-cerasus*				*China*		*Ornamental tree*
41e		Bambusa Metake	*Pseudosasa japonica*				*Japan*	*1850-Eur*	*Ornamental grass*
41f	2	Retinospora pisifera plumose aurea	*Chamaecyparis 'Plumosa Aurea'*				*Japan*	*1867-F cult*	*Evergreen tree, Soft golden later green foliage*
41g	St	Lijsterbes/Rowan, stool	*Sorbus sp.*						*Indigenous tree*
41h		Juniperus Sabina	*Juniperus sabina*				*Eur*		*Evergreen shrub*
41i		Acer japonica	*Acer japonicum*				*Japan*		*Japanese maple*
41k		Azalea Hinodegiri	*Rhododendron 'Hinodegiri'*				*Japan*	*1901-N*	*Kurume azalea*
41l		Hydrangea paniculata grandiflora	*Hydrangea paniculata 'Grandiflora'*				*Japan*	*1856-N Sieb*	*Ornamental shrub*
42a	Gr	Rotsplantjes/rockery plants							
42b	Gr	Hortensia's, small group	*Hydrangea macrophylla*				*Japan*	*1788-E*	*Van Bommel 1930 H. Hortensis*
42c		Cotoneaster	*Cotoneaster sp.*				*China/ Eur*		*Shrub*
42d		Gunnera	*Gunnera sp.*				*S-Am*	*19th century-B*	*Broad-leaved Solitary plant*
42e	4	Lilium auratum					*Japan*	*1860-E*	
42f		Bambusa Metake	*Pseudosasa japonica*				*Japan*	*1850-Eur*	*Ornamental grass*
42g		Amerikaanse eiken/Red Oaks	*Quercus rubra*				*N-Am*	*1724-E*	*Tree Autumn colour*
42h	Gr	Asters							*Border plant*
42i	4	Dimorphantus mandschuricus Overeynderi	*Aralia elata*				*E-Asia*	*1859-R*	*Ornamental tree Not: cult 'Overeynderi'*
42j		-							
42k	2	Dimorphantus mandschuricus (taller)	*Aralia elata*				*E-Asia*	*1859-R*	*Ornamental tree*
42l		Acer negundo fol.var.	*Acer negundo cult.*				*N-Am*	*1688-E*	*Ornamental tree*
42m		Treurwilg/ Weeping willow	*Salix x sepulcralis*					*Long in Cult*	*Ornamental tree*
42n	1	Thuya	*Thuja sp.*						*Evergreen*
42o	3	Prunus pseudocerasus	*Prunus pseudo-cerasus*				*China*		*Ornamental tree*
42p		Gunnera	*Gunnera sp.*				*S-Am*	*19th century-B*	*Broad-leaved Solitary plant*
42q		Streep Cornus/ Striped Cornus	*Cornus sp.*						