“Pictured Landscapes: Kawara no in, Heian Gardens and Poetic Imagination”

Ivo Smits

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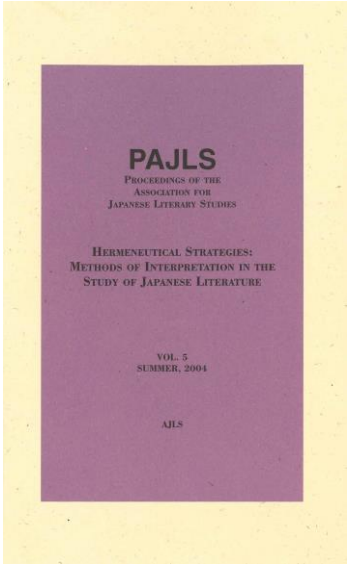

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PICTURED LANDSCAPES
KAWARA NO IN, HEIAN GARDENS AND POETIC IMAGINATION

Ivo Smits

This paper is the off-spin of a larger project that attempts to analyze the role of imagination in East Asian poetics. It deals with an idea that I have been sitting on for a good number of years and that—to keep with one obvious metaphor looming over these pages—hopefully is a seed that will one day find adequate words to flower. In the past I tried starting out with "big" questions ("What is the function of reality in traditional East Asian poetry?" "Can one define a poetics of cultural behavior in East Asia?") and then zoomed in on a few particular cases. That did not really yield satisfying results.

Here I will try the opposite strategy. I will start out with something very small, a *waka*, and expand from there by using as reference material a cultural history of one specific Heian garden, the Kawara no in, and occurrences that point to a similar—or perhaps even: the same—pattern, to see if from there I can fruitfully approach larger questions of cultural practice, all of which revolve around the role played by visual support in poetic composition and artistic imagination.

TŌRU'S GARDEN

In Japan's first imperial anthology *Kokinshū* 古今集 (Poems Ancient and Modern, 905), we find the following poem.

> Composed when, after the Kawara Minister of the Left had passed away, he went to that mansion and saw how he had constructed his garden to look like the place called Shiogama.

君まさで煙たえにししほがまのうらさびしくも見え渡るかな

kimi masade	Now that its lord is gone,
keburi taenishi	the smoke no longer rises
shiogama no	from Salt Cauldron
urasabishiku mo	Bay—such a sad and lonely
miewataru kana	sight it does present.[1]

[1] *Kokinshū* 16:852.

The poem on itself is perhaps not very stunning, although for centuries it was hailed as a finely crafted and moving composition. It expresses the poet's sadness (genuine or merely polite) at the realization that a great man has passed away. The place name Shiogama 塩釜, which literally translates as "salt cauldron" or "salt kiln," here functions as part of a so-called pivot-word (*kakekotoba*, or zeugma), connected as it is to "*ura*," which is used both in the meaning of "bay" (*ura*) and "sad and lonely" (*urasabishi*). In this poem the garden copy of Shiogama has become sad and lonely, because the owner of the estate is dead; in other words, when he was still alive, the garden had been a lively place.

The poem was composed by Ki no Tsurayuki 紀貫行 (872?-945), a minor court official who was one of the main compilers of *Kokinshū* and who wrote its Japanese preface. As a poet, he was particularly known for his screen poems (*byōbu uta* 屏風歌), poems that were meant to accompany, comment on and occasionally reinterpret, paintings on folding screens. *Byōbu uta* could also function as poems that were to result in such paintings. Here I will only stress that an important point in any discussion of screen poems is how a painted scene helps, or even forces, a poet to imagine him- or herself in another place. In this paper I will limit myself to gardens, which function in very much the same way.

The garden is also mentioned in a near-contemporary source, section 81 of *Tales of Ise* (*Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語, tenth century), as a garden that somehow recreates Shiogama.[2] The text does not specify how it is made to resemble Shiogama.

The Minister mentioned in the headnote to Tsurayuki's poem and the *Ise* section was Minamoto no Tōru 源融 (822-895). His sobriquet derived from the fact that his Kawara no in 河原院 mansion was situated on the west bank of Kamo River at Rokujō, in the capital of Heiankyō. He was reputedly a great lover of gardens, credited among others with building an estate at Uji that later would become known as Byōdō-in.[3] In his garden at his Kawara mansion at Rokujō he had recreated the bay of

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[2] *Ise monogatari* 81, p. 158. For a translation, see McCullough 1968, p. 124.

[3] This is mentioned, for instance in Ozaki Masayoshi's 尾崎雅嘉 (1755-1827) *Hyakunin isshu hitoyogatari*, vol. 1, pp. 140-41. It is repeated in Shimazu, 1973, p. 41. Uesugi 1998, p. 149, states that the Uji estate originally was one of Tōru's country villas that was inherited by Michinaga and then passed on to his son Yorimichi, who eventually turned it into Byōdō-in in 1052. The *locus classicus* for this theory seems to be *Kachō yosei* 花鳥余情 (1472), a *Genji* commentary by Ichijō Kanera 一条兼良 (or Kaneyoshi, 1402-1481). *Kachō yosei* 25, p. 313.

Shiogama, for which it was quite famous.[4] The three-dimensional reproduction of that place was, of course, a scale-model, but if we are to believe later commentaries, still quite sizable and large enough to wander around in.

The model's referent, Shiogama, lay in Matsushima Bay, in Michinoku Province in northern Japan, a place Tōru himself very likely had never seen. By the time Tsurayuki composed his poem, it was gingerly being molded into a "poetic place" (*utamakura* 歌枕), a toponym to be imbibed with literary potential and associated with sadness and loneliness. Contrary to what seems the general assumption, Shiogama was not a name that had early on established itself as part of the poetic repertoire. *Kokinshū* contains only two poems about the real Shiogama; with Tsurayuki's poem that adds up to a total of three. In fact, throughout the early- and mid-Heian period most *waka* on Shiogama bear a relation to the garden at Kawara no in. It is only in the late Heian period that the original Shiogama really seems to catch on as an independent *utamakura*.[5] It is far from obvious, then, that Tōru chose Shiogama because it was so famous: in ninth-century Japan it was not.

For the early Heian period it is possible to read Tōru's garden quite differently. Like any ostentatious construction, gardens have a dimension of power play to them. They are, among other things, also displays of wealth. Their very impracticality in economic terms makes them markers of an elite that could muster the resources to build them in the first place.[6] Shiogama may be seen as an ornament to an ornament: a trophy to underscore the range of other worlds that Tōru's could bring into his garden. In early ninth century Japan, Michinoku Province was a newly colonized area, won from the Emishi 蝦夷 after long and hard military

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[4] Actually, as Masuda Shigemi points out, we are not even sure that Tōru was the one to create the garden. Masuda 1986, p. 26.

[5] Nishimura 1990, pp. 248-52. See also Katagiri 1983, pp. 208-9.

[6] It is for this reason that Thomas Keirstead regards the study of gardens as "not merely an exercise in landscape aesthetics, but... also an examination of political power. For in these gardens we may read some of the devices by which elites claimed the authority and the power to determine the social and cultural order even as they shaped and tamed nature." Keirstead 1993, pp. 298-99. If, as Michael Marra suggests, *Tales of Ise* carries a political message, namely that its ideal of courtliness (*miyabi*) was a concept developed to create a realm where Fujiwara dominance in court politics was negated and where withdrawal from a Fujiwara court society could be aesthetically appreciated, then Tōru in tenth- and eleventh-century retrospect becomes a patron of that realm. His garden in turn becomes, if anything, a space that symbolizes thwarted political power. Marra 1991, pp. 48-53.

campaigns and regarded by those in the capital as a fresh source of tremendous riches.[7] Tōru, the son of an emperor (Saga), the first of a new line of royals-turned-Genji, may well have been intent on flaunting his ambition as a power player and his access to an as yet relatively unexplored region of the realm.[8] As such he would have resembled Emperor Daigo's son Minamoto no Takaakira 源高明 (914-983), who, before he was sent into exile to Dazaifu, Kyushu, in 969 after being charged with plotting against the Fujiwara, built a grandiose mansion in western Heiankyō, "with painted halls and vermilion doors, groves of bamboo and trees, rocks and fountains—a spot so superb it was like a different world."[9] This symbolic usurpation of Japan's distant north gives another flavor to the poem with which Tōru was included in the famous mini-anthology *Hyakunin isshu* 百人一首 (1235). It is a love declaration not *from* the north but *for* the north:

陸奥のしのぶもぢずり誰ゆへにみだれそめにし我ならなくに

michinoku no	Whose fault is it
shinobu mojizuri	that my feelings have begun to tangle
tare yue ni	like the tangle-patterned prints
midaresomenishi	of Shinobu from the distant north?
ware naranaku ni	Since it is not mine, it must be …[10]

All this not to deny the validity of the old image of the Heian nobility as hankering after a realm of quiet and serenity somewhere else and the idea that their gardens were one place where this longing was realized. After all, many gardens, especially of mansions-turned-monastery, were supposed to represent the Pure Land; precisely because of their artificiality the gardens were "not of this world."[11] In fact, the very first garden on record in Japanese history was a recreation in 612, by a craftsman from the Korean kingdom Paekche, of Mount Sumeru, the

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[7] For the campaigns, see Friday 1997.

[8] Masuda 1994, p. 34.

[9] *Chiteiki*, *Honchō monzui* 12:375, p. 418; tr. Watson 1975, p. 58.

[10] *Hyakunin isshu* 14; tr. Mostow 1996, p. 184. Compare *Kokinshū* 14.724 (with variant fourth line); and *Ise monogatari*, section 1, where the poem is not attributed.

[11] For this persisting image of Heian nobility, see, for example, Tanahashi 1988, p. 115. It is good to realize that the notion that gardens emulate some sort of mythical haven is not a uniqely Japanese phenomenon. Gardens in the European tradition, too, have always functioned as a sanctuary, often one that aimed to recreate paradise (both classical and biblical).

central axis of Buddhist cosmology, in the garden of Empress Suiko.[12] Indeed, a political reading of Kawara no in was certainly not how later poets saw things. The famous poet Fujiwara no Teika 藤原定家 (1162-1241), for example, claims that Ariwara no Narihira 在原業平 (825-880), the presumed hero of *Tales of Ise* and the epitome of courtly refinement (*miyabi*), was the very one to give Tōru the idea for a copy of Shiogama, purely for aesthetic reasons:

> The Kawara Minister of the Left Lord Tōru built a beautiful open pavilion on the grounds known as the Kawara no in, occupying the area south of Rokujō Bōmon and east of Made no Kōji and measuring eight blocks north to south and six blocks from west to east, and he installed a dam in Kamo River. Lord Narihira came by and said: "When I travelled to Michinoku I saw many famous places, but none could compare with Shiogama Bay." Tōru then copied (*utsushite*) this famous place.[13]

What Tōru's garden looked like in the ninth century, or even tenth century, we do not really know. That is not so strange; after all, garden art is one of the most perishable art forms. We only know what later poets thought Tōru's garden must have looked like. According to medieval commentaries to Tsurayuki's poem and the *Tales of Ise* section, the pond in Tōru's garden was filled with salt water, thirty *koku* 石 of which had to be transported from Naniwa (present-day Osaka) to the capital every month, and it was stocked with sea fish. Salt kilns were kept burning in

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[12] *Nihon shoki*, NKBT 68, pp. 198, 199. For a translation, see Aston 1896, vol. 2, p. 144. In 1902, such an early garden ornament– a stone fountain in the form of Mt. Sumeru– was found near Asuka-dera.

[13] *Kenchū mikkan* (aka *Kokin hichū shō*), p. 386. *Katei* 花亭 (lit. "flower pavilion") refers to an open pavilion, a roof supported by four pillars without walls. In *Tales of Ise* the protagonist, presumed to be Narihira, visits Michinoku Province in sections 14 and 15. The "humble old fellow" (*katai okina*) in section 81 of *Ise monogatari* is thought by some to be Narihira. The *Ise* section ends with the remark that "[a] traveler to Michinoku Province sees countless unusual and intriguing places. In all the sixty and more provinces of our country, there is nothing quite like Shiogama." *Ise monogatari* 81; tr. McCullough 1968, p. 124. The old man's poem in *Ise* section 81 was later anthologized in *Shoku goshūishū* 続後拾遺集 of 1326 (no. 15:975) as a poem by Ariwara no Narihira, with the headnote "Composed when he went to the house of the Kawara Minister of the Left and saw how he had built his garden in a way to resemble Shiogama."

Tōru's garden, as they were at Shiogama; and on occasion *ama* 海人 ("people of the sea:" fishermen, divers) boarded boats to fish for sea bream and sea bass.

The pattern is very much that the further removed in time from Tōru's garden, the more elaborate its descriptions become, growing increasingly detailed and adding new twists. The story about the thirty *koku* of sea water that were transported to the garden each month, for instance, pops up for the first time in *Konjaku monogatari shū* 今昔物語集 (Tales of Times Now Past, twelfth century),[14] and *Kokinshū chū* 古今集註 (Commentary to *Kokinshū*, ca. 1200s), composed by the Rokujō poet Kenshō 顯昭 (1130?-after 1209) some three centuries after Tsurayuki wrote his poem. The garden's description was in turn expanded by Teika some two decades later in his *Kenchū mikkan* 顯註密勘 (Secret Views on Kenshō's Commentary, 1221). Another twist was added in *Waka chikenshū* 和歌知顯集 (pre-1260), a Kamakura period commentary to *Ise monogatari* misleadingly attributed to Minamoto no Tsunenobu 源経信 (1016-1097). Not only do the texts create a certain confusion regarding the question whether the pond was filled with salt water or whether salt was added to ("sprinkled on," *makite*) the water of the pond, but where early Kamakura commentaries merely stress that Tōru kept sea fish in his pond, by the mid-thirteenth century we actually see specifications of the species kept in the waters of Kawara no in. All commentaries mention the "salt hut" (*shioya*) and some suggest that *ama* were employed to keep the fires brining, whereas most commentaries merely say that the hut is one "as used by *ama*" (*ama no shioya*).

> Tōru built a garden in the appearance of Shiogama Bay and always had smoke rise up from it. Boats were set afloat and he had fishermen (*kaijin*) fish from them. Each month he put two *koku* salt [water?] in he pond and had sea fish such as bream and bass released in it and kept them there. On the banks of the pond he scattered empty shells crushed by the sea and in this way it really was no different from Shiogama.[15]

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[14] *Konjaku monogatari shū* 24.46, NKBT 25, pp. 343-44.

[15] *Waka chikenshū* (Zoku Gunsho ruijū bon), p. 275. The text talks about two *koku* of *shio* しほ, a word that can mean both "salt" 塩 and "salt water" 潮. A variant text of *Waka chikenshū* has: "Each month he sprinkled three (thirty) *koku* salt in the pond." A copyist obviously assumed that the "three" must have been a mistake for "thirty," the number mentioned in earlier commentaries. However, the verb *maku* 撒く, "to sprinkle," suggests that salt, rather than seawater, is

Tenth-century sources also make it clear that Shiogama was not the only place recreated in the Kawara no in garden. Nearby Matsushima and Magaki-no-shima were also represented in the garden and functioned as a source for poetry.[16]

Eventually the garden became the ubiquitous enchanted dilapidated garden. In this light it is not surprising that medieval commentators to *The Tale of Genji* would identify Kawara no in with the garden of "a certain estate" (*nanigashi no in*) where Genji brings Yūgao:[17]

> The unkempt and deserted garden stretched out into the distance, its ancient groves towering in massive gloom. The near garden and shrubbery lacked any charm, the wider expanse resembled an autumn moor, and the lake was choked with weeds. The place was strangely disturbing and quite isolated, although there seemed to be an inhabited outbuilding some distance off.[18]

By the early fifteenth century the garden had become such an enchanted textual site that a wide audience could be expected to delight in it and that a whole *nō* play could be set in it, as was done with the play *Tōru* 融, ascribed to the playwright-actor Zeami 世阿弥 (1364?-1443?).[19]

In his study of *utamakura*, Edward Kamens demonstrates how the garden at the Kawara no in was perceived as the embodiment of fashionable taste (*fūryū* 風流).[20] Moreover, the garden was an artifice to be shared with others, an enchanted place that could whisk people to a lonely but dreamlike spot in northern Japan. Judging from stories about

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meant. If so, it might explain the amounts of two and three *koku* respectively. Even assuming that the legend of Tōru's garden contains some truth, one wonders if adding salt to the water would do the fish any good. See *Waka chikenshū* (Kunaichō Shoryōbu bon), p. 176.

[16] A problematic passage is in Kenshō's commentary to Tsurayuki's poem is: "In this lord's garden, close to the house, he had re-constructed all the famous places from the [more than] sixty provinces" (*kono kyō no niwasaki ni wa rokujū shū no meisho o mina tsukuritari*). Is Kenshō suggesting that Tōru had models built of each and every *meisho* in each and every province of the realm? This seems unlikely. *Kokinshū chū*, p. 190.

[17] See *Kakaishō* 河海抄 (early 1360s), p. 63, a commentary to *Genji monogatari* by Yotsutsuji Yoshinari 四辻善成 (1326-1402).

[18] *Genji monogatari*, NKBZ 12, p. 235; tr. Tyler 2001, p. 65.

[19] *Tōru*. For a translation, see Yasuda 1989, pp. 460-84.

[20] Kamens 1997, pp. 142-49.

the garden in such tale collections as *Ise monogatari* and *Konjaku monogatari shū*, one assumes that when Tōru and his friends watched the smoke rising, they thought appropriately sad thoughts of lonely distant shores and composed poems. As Kamens writes, Tōru's garden was

> a simulacrum of *and* a real Shiogama, or at least, a bona-fide surrogate brought close to hand for the delectation of aristocrat-aesthetes who might never had the opportunity to see it otherwise. It is precisely this dialectic of the artificial and the genuine, productive of so much elegant confusion, that is celebrated in all these poems about the garden, and this intentionally produced confusion is, perhaps, the very essence of Tōru's *fūryū*.[21]

By this time, as Kamens puts it, the long-lost garden of "the post-Tōru Kawara no in" mansion had become a firmly established "double *utamakura* site—a Shiogama that was and was not Shiogama, a place that had attained its special aesthetic status and appeal precisely by being neither entirely the one place nor entirely the other."[22] That place, one might add, could equally well be the past, which, as we know, also is another country.

For the past, too, was evoked at Kawara no in. Tsurayuki's poem is testimony to that; his "Now that its lord is gone" is not only a gesture towards that reconfiguration of northern territories, but a memento to happier days in Heiankyō as well. Tenth-century poems composed at Kawara no in play on "loneliness," but the reference is no longer to Shiogama as a standard item of the repertoire (or is Shiogama by now always implied?). By this time, Tōru's great-grandson Anpō 安法 (dates unknown; active second half tenth century) regularly invited fellow-poets to what was left of Kawara no in, where he was now living. The poetic evocation in the poems tends to be "a ramshackle hut" (*aretaru yado*). Perhaps there was some literal truth to that image, as a storm with accompanying floods in Tengen 2 (979) seems to have caused considerable damage to both mansion and garden. One of these visiting poets was Anpō's close friend Egyō 恵慶 (dates unknown, active second half tenth century):

> At Kawara no in, when people were made to compose on the concept that autumn comes to a ramshackle hut:

[21] Kamens 1997, p. 147. See also Tyler 1982, pp. 267-68.
[22] Kamens 1997, pp. 147-48.

八重葎しげれる宿のさびしきに人こそ見えぬ秋は来にけり

yae mugura In this loneliness
shigereru yado no of a hut where eightfold vines
sabishiki ni grow wild,
hito koso mienu unseen by anyone,
aki wa kinikeri the autumn wind comes by.[23]

Another, later visitor, the poet-monk Nōin 能因 (988-1058?), affirms the image:

At the Kawara no in, standing in for a young woman

ひとりふすあれたるやどのとこの上にあはれいく夜のねざめなるらん

hitori fusu On my bed
aretaru yado no in this ramshackle hut
toko no ue ni where I lie alone:
aware ikuyo no how many nights suffered so intensely
nezame naruran did I wake up like this?[24]

Here I should note that the few extant poems and poem prefaces in Chinese that deal with Kawara no in, also tend to represent the garden as a magical spot, but its allure is again of a somewhat different nature, There is never any mention of Shiogama, but Tōru's estate becomes an immortals' realm (*shisenkyō* 神仙境).[25] The view from the garden, and, as we shall see, the view *beyond* the garden allows a mental transportation to a different realm, full of Chinese markers. One tenth-century poet even envisages the fifth-century Chinese poet Xie Lingyun 謝霊運 (385-443) scaling a high top.[26] Xie was one of China's first nature poets, notorious as a literary celebrity who actually went out into the wilderness himself.

[23] *Shūishū* 3:140.
[24] *Nōin shū* 34. The woman in question was Anpō's daughter; see *Shinkokinshū* 13:1217.
[25] Tanaka 1986, pp. 130, 134.
[26] Fujiwara no Koreshige 藤原惟成 (953-989), in a poem preface entitled "On an Autumn day at Kawara no in, all on the same topic: 'An Autumn with Clear Hills Allows Many Views'" 秋日於河原院同賦山晴秋望多. *Honchō monzui* 8.228, pp. 385-88.

Although accompanied by hundreds of servants, he was considered a solitary figure, as servants do not count in poetry.

TOSHITSUNA'S GARDEN

There are indications that Tōru was indeed not alone in rebuilding *meisho* in one's garden. A model of Ama no hashidate, for instance, figured at the Rokujō mansion of Ōnakatomi no Sukechika 大中臣輔親 (954-1038).[27] However, if Tōru's garden was meant to draw the viewer's gaze in, into another realm, then this was done most effectively by explicitly naming that other place: Shiogama. It is ostensibly for such reasons that the late Heian gardening manual *Sakutei ki* 作庭記 (Record of Garden Design)[28] in its opening passage advises:

> Study carefully those places in the various provinces that are famed for their beauty, and familiarize yourself thoroughly with their most attractive features; then, by emulating one feature and another, you should be able to adapt the atmosphere of these places to your own garden.[29]

The point, I believe, is that one was supposed to *adapt* (*yawarage tatsu*) and in adaptation a certain explicitness may be lost. A garden might still take its inspiration from a *meisho*, without reducing itself to a copy. In that sense, Tōru's garden was perhaps an overstatement in garden architectural terms.

Precisely by the strength of their artificiality, all Heian gardens illustrate this principle of the explicit reference to "somewhere else." Perhaps this is especially true of temporary changes to gardens for rituals and poetry meetings. *Kyōkunshō* 教訓抄, a *gagaku* treatise from 1233, quotes "an old source" (*koki* 古記) explaining how, for a ceremonial rice-offering by the emperor (*daijōe* 大嘗会) in the Jōwa period (834-847), an ocean beach was created at the Buraku-in 豊楽院 in the centre of the imperial palace complex, with sand that was brought in and newly planted pine trees, artificial hills and scattered water plants.[30] In a way, this was

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[27] *Jikkinshō* 7:30, pp. 340-42. See also Mori 1986, p. 100.

[28] This text, also known as *Senzai hishō* 前栽秘抄 (Secret Notes on Gardens) used to be ascribed to Fujiwara no (Kujō) Yoshitsune 藤原 (九条) 良経 (1169-1206), the Kamakura regent and poet. However, based on internal evidence, the consensus at present holds that Toshitsuna was the original author.

[29] *Sakutei ki*, p. 224. See also Tanaka 1966, p. 17.

[30] *Kyōkunshō*, p. 125.

the standard *suhama* 州浜, the artificial miniature landscape of a beach that was always used at poetry contests (*utaawase*), but on a life-sized scale. Fixed seascapes were in fact a central feature of almost any Heian garden, for that was precisely what the main pond with its "island in the middle' (*nakajima*) and pines attempted to recreate.

These recreations took the form of stone groupings. After all, garden design was literally the business of "setting stones" (*ishi o tatsu*). The all-importance of stones and the ways to place them in a garden is also apparent from the existence in Heian Japan not just of garden architects but also of people specializing in the trade of "elegant specimens" of stones (*fūryū aru mono* 有風流者), that is, "bizarre rocks and strange stones" (*kigan kaiseki* 奇巌怪石).[31]

One of the best illustrations of the idea that adaptation rather than imitation was the rule is perhaps the garden designed by the author of *Sakuteiki*, Tachibana no Toshitsuna 橘俊綱 (1028-1094), whose country estate lay in Fushimi, just south of the capital. Born into the Fujiwara Regent House as a grandson to the illustrious Michinaga and adopted by the Tachibana, Toshitsuna figured prominently as a host to literary gatherings at his villa. His Fushimi-tei 伏見亭 was a lavish affair by all accounts. It ranked as one of the most beautiful country villas of Late Heian Japan and was a center of poetic activity. The *Imakagami* 今鏡 (Mirror of the Present) of 1170 contains the following conversation between the retired emperor Shirakawa 白河 (1053-1129) and Toshitsuna. The subject is country villas. The conversation is probably apocryphal, but nevertheless gives us a good idea of the emotional and aesthetic value attached to these estates.

> The Retired Emperor Shirakawa asked, "The most fascinating place, where would that be?" He was answered:
>
> "The first is of course the Ishida Palace."
>
> "And the next?," Shirakawa asked.
>
> "Certainly the Kaya Palace."
>
> "And third," Shirakawa said, "is the Toba Palace!"
>
> "It would be the Toba Palace since Your Highness had it built himself, but the grounds and the view are not much to speak of. Third is my own Fushimi Villa."

[31] *Gōdanshō* 3:24, pp. 80-81, 500

> It would be a difficult thing to say for anyone else other than Toshitsuna. Some say that it is not the Kaya Palace but the Byōdō Palace.[32]

Extrapolating from this conversation in *Imakagami*, Motonaka Makoto claims that late Heian assessments of gardens focused on two core concepts: the grounds, or the lay of the garden (*chikei* 地形), and the view (*chōbō* 眺望). With "view" Heian courtiers often referred to what was visible *beyond* the residence and the garden itself.[33] The villas mentioned in this conversation were typically examples of *shindenzukuri* lay-outs that incorporated the natural landscape into their general design. Although the term "borrowed landscape" (*shakkei* 借景) is of a much later date, this is obviously the principle at work in the designs. The Edo gazetteer *Sanshū meiseki shi* 山州名跡志 (Famous Remains in Yamashiro Province, preface dated 1702, printed 1711) specifies the view from the location of Toshitsuna's Fushimi villa in terms of the surrounding landscape.[34] The notion that the view beyond is all-important in gardens one sees reflected in Heian *kanshi* as well.[35] If the garden is to suggest another realm, then the view behind it enlarges that realm. The more expansive the encompassing view from one's mansion, the larger the other realm one commanded through imagination. Motonaka makes it clear that the view form Toshitsuna Fushimi villa was by far the most expansive.

There seems to be another pattern at work here as well, one that no one as yet has stressed: all three estates mentioned by Toshitsuna were in the possession of members the Regent House, to which Toshitsuna was related by blood. Toshitsuna may not have been talking merely about the natural landscape in sight but about the political landscape behind those views as well. The aesthetic message is that a view should extend beyond

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[32] *Imakagami* 4:3, p. 434. The Ishida Palace, built by Fujiwara no Yasunori 泰憲 in the middle of the eleventh century, was a country estate in Ōmi Province overlooking Lake Biwa and was eventually inherited by one of Fujiwara no Yorimichi's sons. The Kaya Palace, which lay just east of the Imperial Palace complex, was built as the mansion of Regent Fujiwara no Yorimichi. The Toba Palace was a villa complex south of the capital, on the north shore of Ogura no ike 巨椋池, built by Shirakawa after his abdication in 1086 and used by him as his country estate. The Byōdō-in was also owned by Yorimichi. See a.o. Uesugi 1998, pp. 148-49.

[33] Motonaka 1994, pp. 100-224, esp. p. 175. See also Mori 1962, pp. 30-31.

[34] *Sanshū meiseki shi* 13, *Shinshū Kyōto sōsho* 16, p. 8, entry for Shigetsu 指月, where the villa is thought to have stood.

[35] E.g., *Honchō mudaishi* 6:389, 437. See also Nishimura 1990, p. 247.

the grounds proper. The political message is that estates belonging Yorimichi and his descendants outshine those of the imperial family.

The passage just cited is where practically all discussions of this conversation stop quoting *Imakagami*. However, the following sentence is perhaps even more interesting:

> At Fushimi Tositsuna built a mountain road, and on the appropriate occasions he would dress people up as travelers and have them walk back and forth. Nothing was as fascinating as that.

By having people, his servants perhaps, walk through a designed "wilderness," Toshitsuna created a moving painted screen, a *tableau vivant* in motion. Toshitsuna hosted literary gatherings at which travel poetry was composed in a setting that was made to resemble the circumstances of a journey. Both the traveler's inn, Toshitsuna's villa, and the travel dress, the costume worn by those who were made to parade in view, were an approximation of the hardships of travel. These imagined hardships created the appropriate mood for travel poetry, a genre that was gaining in popularity.

RE-ENACTMENT AS CULTURAL BEHAVIOUR

If I suggest that poets regarded gardens as a stage where imagined scenes attained a level of reality, that is not to say that they lacked imagination. Rather, this apparent need for making fictitious situations "realistic" may be seen in the light of East Asian poetic codes. The imagination was in need of visual props, in order to secure a necessary level of "sincerity." To explicitly confess to the fictionality of one's endeavor would undermine its poetic quality.

The fundamental motto in ancient Chinese poetics was that a poem should express the sincere emotion (*qing* 情) in a given situation or scene before the poet (*jing* 境, or 景): the poem's statements were non-fictional and strictly true. This belief in the unity of emotion and situation was so strong that the description of a situation or a scene was at the same time a description of the emotions experienced. This idea was echoed in Japanese poetics, too; Tsurayuki's opening statement in the *Kokinshū* is testimony to that.[36]

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[36] "The seeds of Japanese poetry lie in the human heart and grow into leaves of ten thousand words. Many things happen to the people of this world, and all that they think and feel is given expression in description of things they see and hear." *Kokin wakashū*, NKBT 8, p. 93; tr. Rodd and Henkenius 1984, p. 35.

At the same time, the gardens show us the existence of many poems in Heian Japan that were composed to fictitious, or at least staged, situations. If Tōru's and Toshitsuna's gardens became stages on which courtiers had scenes acted out, or imagined them, there is a relation with the poems composed to these scenes. In his attempt to establish a development from screen poem to narratives such as *Tosa nikki* (A Tosa Journal) and *Tales of Ise*, Richard Bowring sees role-playing, the "willingness to become figure-in-the-painting" on a screen (or figure-in-the-garden, for that matter), as an essential step in the creation of "fully-fledged fiction."[37]

Are the *waka* on Shiogama and the travel poems composed at Fushimi a departure from the basic credo of East-Asian poetry? I do not believe that they necessarily are. In *waka*, as in later *renga* (linked poetry), certain topics had to be explored from more or less given angles. One had to know one's "poetic geography," as Steven Carter puts it.[38] Re-enactment and the inherent use of a mask, or persona, stock personalities designed for a particularly artistic purpose, were important parameters in classical poetry. The mask of classical and medieval actor-poets was part of a larger stage setting, but the idea supporting it all was, quite literally, make-believe. Like screen paintings, gardens could provide a domain where re-enactment, and poetry as its language, were true.

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[37] Bowring 1992, pp. 409-12.
[38] Carter 1987, pp. 100-4.

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