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Cultural Values and Political Change: Cherry Gardening in Ancient Japan

Wybe Kuitert

Japan has a young and volcanic geology, also the erosion of slopes is always high, due to significant precipitation. This generates a dynamic and intricate topography that formed a setting for primary forests where differing patterns of vegetation evolved in isolated areas. One and the same cherry species could develop separate varieties in regions that were isolated, but actually not so far removed from each other. In its isolation, any cherry variety remained quite variable, and ready to hybridize whenever it was brought together again with another variety. With human occupation, the cherry became a follower of civilization. Specific cultural values became attached to flowering cherries as a desirable plant, and man started to transport them in ancient Japan. For political reasons, hitherto isolated varieties of *Prunus serrulata* Lindley were brought together, finally inducing hybridizations leading to cherished garden forms. In the early seventeenth century, collections of such cherries were assembled, forming the start of a second phase of cherry gardening on an even wider scale. Some ancient, singular garden forms circulate at present as narrowly defined clonal cultivars. This later history is not treated here.

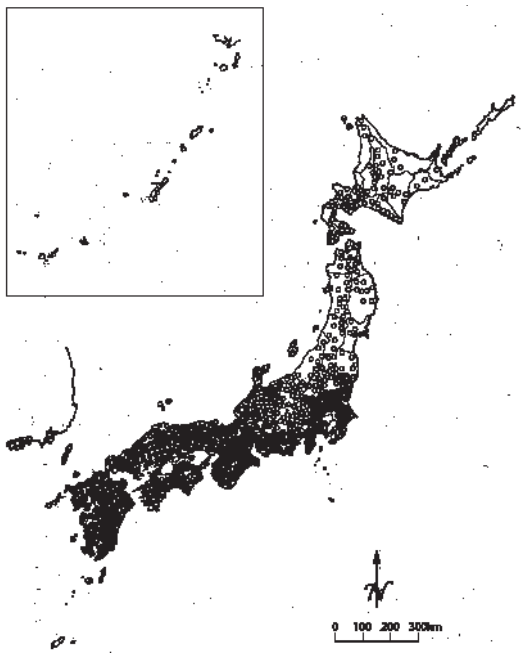
Records are not generous with facts when it comes to such details as gardening with cherry hybrids. Portraying circumstances this case study nevertheless intends to show how political change and cultural values provided foundations for hybridization and gardening with cherries in ancient Japan.

Varieties of Flowering Cherries

Three varieties of *Prunus serrulata* are introduced here as leading characters of the following pages.[1]

The Japanese Mountain Cherry (*P. serrulata* var. *spontanea* (Maximoxicz) Wilson), is found in the southern half of Japan. It is a tree of the more open forests of the foothills where it comes up with a rather ascending tree shape. It is quite variable: peculiar specimens of the Japanese Mountain Cherry can be found among its seedlings in the wild. Above all, the deep red coloring of young sprouts and all parts of the flower, except the white or pinkish petals, can be spectacular in the blossom season. Flowers are not, or just slightly, fragrant; double-flowered forms have been found (Fig. 1).

The Ōshima Cherry (*P. serrulata* var. *speciosa* (Koidzumi) Koehne) is found on the island Ōshima and neighboring islets and coasts of eastern Japan. Adapted to the young and volcanic geology of the region, it matches an easy germination of the seeds to an even greater variability than the variety above. It has a broad and spreading tree shape, adapting to the island forests. Typical are the bristled leaves and large, white flowers. In the wild, one may find double flowering forms, even with a pink shade. Flowers of the average Ōshima Cherry are fragrant.



1. Distribution of *Prunus sargentii* and *P. serrulata* var. *spontanea*. o= *P. sargentii*. ●= *P. serrulata* var. *spontanea*. Adapted from the Flower Association of Japan, *Manual of Japanese Flowering Cherries* (Tokyo: Nihon Hana no Kai, 1982).

A third cherry dealt with here is the Korean Mountain Cherry (*P. serrulata* var. *pubescens* (Nakai) Wilson). Westerners, knowing this cherry only from Korea, have given it this confusing English name. It is also native to a wide region of Japan. It typically has hairs on details like leaf and flower stalk; fall colors can be striking. The Korean Mountain Cherry shows variability in its native habitat; indeed, double-flowered forms may be found; flowers are not, or hardly, fragrant (Fig. 2).

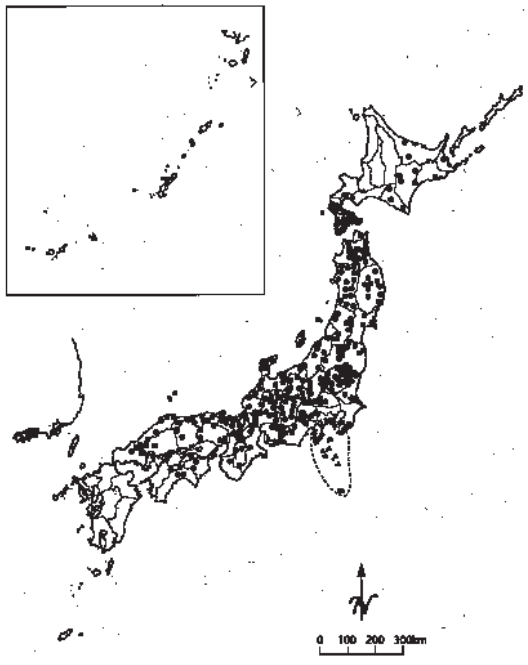
In untouched nature, flowering cherries, whatever species or variety, are trees from the open forest edge or from clearings. A clearing appears when an old, big tree falls, or when man comes in and starts felling trees. Japan's colonization by a fifth-century wave of immigrants from the continent went together with large-scale clearing of the shady primary forests, giving new opportunities for cherries. They increased in number inevitably as a follower of civilization.

Cherry Appreciation in the Nara Period (710-784)

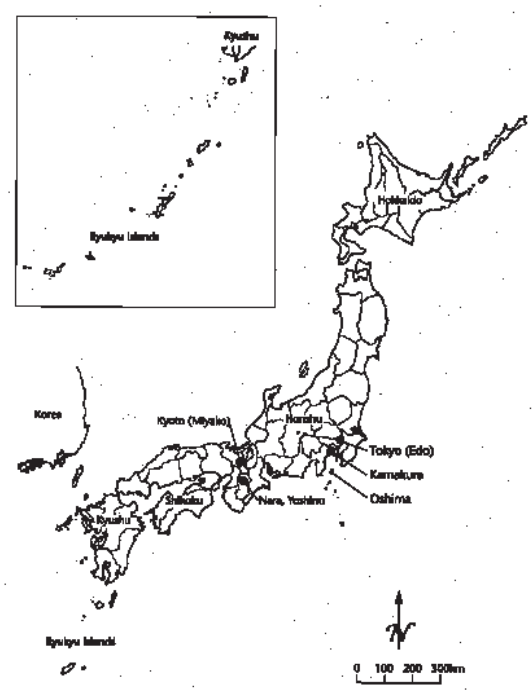
In the early eighth century, a stable political system led to the flourishing of the capital Heijōkyō, the modern city of Nara that gave its name to the Nara period (710-784) (Fig. 3). An urban society came to flourish around the imperial court that was set up after Chinese models. Court culture was steeped in the Chinese example, so that we find a continental vision of the cherry as well. Cherries, when combined with the willow, served to assure the coming of spring, seen in association with the firm ruling of an emperor. In fact, the spring show of pinkish cherries and fresh green willows was one of the pointers demonstrating the Chinese emperor's mandate of heaven to rule the empire.

But poetry of the Nara period, as can be seen in the Man'yōshū (a compilation of poetry done in ca. 770), gives a far more complex image of the cherry. The complexity arises from the free and whole-hearted approach of the Man'yōshū. It compiled basically everything from previous centuries that was considered poetry, taking folk songs alongside poems that are instant scribbles or serious compositions. In any case, the cherry is associated with brightness and cheerful beauty. Some poems describe the cherry in the landscape where it is seen from a distance in or at the hills, simply describing the landscape.[2] But in many a case such a serene landscape evokes memories of some beloved or beautiful person. Then the cherry comes to stand as a parallel, acting almost as a representative of the one beloved. An example is the poem by Harima no Otome. She is awaiting her lover, the minister of Ishikawa who after many years will return to the capital now. On the occasion she presented her poem; it is spring in the year 719 and cherries are in bloom on mount Tayuraki:

Tayuraki no yamano onohe no sakurabana
sakanu haruhe ha kimishi shinohanu
Cherries in bloom on mount Tayuraki,
Every spring they blossom, I think of you dearly in love.



2. Distribution of *P. sernulata* var. *pubescens* and *P. sernulata* var. *speciosa*. ● = *P. sernulata* var. *pubescens*. ▲ = *P. sernulata* var. *speciosa*. Adapted from the Flower Association of Japan, *Manual of Japanese Flowering Cherries* (Tokyo: Nihon Hana no Kai, 1982).

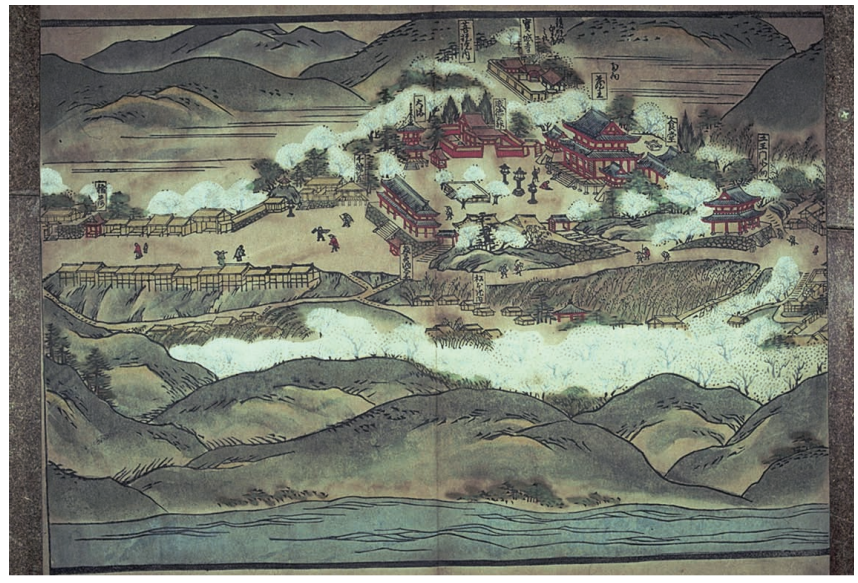


3. Map of Japan with selected cities and islands important in cherry ecology and history.

Other poems of the Man'yōshū follow similar imagery, matching the sight of cherries on a hillside to a memory of something beautiful, like a beloved.[3] In the landscape, a secondary forest had replaced the primeval forest, and the cherry was increasingly seen on the mountains surrounding a valley where humans lived. Together with the cry of the deer in autumn or other seasonal details it assured that the world was simply beautiful and right.[4]

We come across the cherry not only in poetry but also in plain records. There is clear evidence that a double-flowered cherry tree was presented several times to the temple Kōfuku-ji in Nara city. This simple fact is repeated in abundance in later history, where fact and fiction often interplay to form a most exciting legend. It tells of the historic emperor Shōmu (in power 724-749) who left the city in spring for an outing to nearby Mount Mikasa. In a valley at the side of a path, he was struck by the splendid beauty of a peculiar double-flowered cherry just in bloom. Having returned home he told his wife empress Kōmyō about it.[5] The emperor's account excited her and she let it be known that she wished to have a branch of the tree, so that she also could enjoy this unusual beauty. Servants were sent out to fetch a branch. But finding the tree, they dug it up, root and all, and brought it back, planted it in the palace garden to be a joy in spring for every year to come. But not for long. In the reign of Kōken (in power 749-758), daughter of Shōmu and Kōmyō, Nara culture was flourishing and the big temples, such as Kōfuku-ji, were indeed at the zenith of their power. Kōfuku-ji was the family temple of the Fujiwara clan, always entangled in intricate intrigues of power and political marriages with the imperial court. The priests of Kōfuku-ji, knowing that the court had taken a cherry from mount Mikasa, were not amused. They simply took it back and planted it in front of one of their temple halls, to become a famous cherry and the pride of the priests for years to come. Whether the story is true up to

the last detail is not so important at this point. It is at least the first time in history that cherry beauty was the object of jealousy and greed in circles of the highest power. We will return in detail to the double-flowered cherry from Nara later.



4. The cherry woods at Yoshino were kept up by continuous planting of cherry saplings by pilgrims. *Wazakura Yoshinoyama shōkeizu,* 1713. (Collection of Kyoto University).

Cherries for a Courtly Capital

After the Nara period had come to an end, the court was moved to a new city, about seventy kilometers to the north in 794 A.D. The new capital was known as Heiankyō, the modern city Kyoto, a name we will use here. Kyoto functioned as a capital for the almost four centuries of the Heian Period (794–1185). A stable political structure with tributary agricultural provinces again ensured a flourishing of urban culture.

The Nara Chinese models were slowly molded into highly refined, truly Japanese expressions; also the status of the cherry was elevated from straight poetic to an even stronger symbolic meaning. Somewhere between 834 and 848 A.D. the plum tree (*Prunus mume* Sieb. & Zucc.), traditionally planted together with a citrus tree in front of the main hall of the imperial palace, was replaced by a cherry. When the palace buildings were destroyed by fire in 960, the tree perished. At the rebuilding a new cherry was planted, this time clearly documented as a tree brought from the Yoshino mountains close to Nara.[6] Yoshino has a seminatural forest with dominant presence of the Japanese Mountain Cherry. Ever since the seventh century the trees were considered holy therefore forbidden to be cut. Apart from a few large-scale planting actions, pilgrims used to plant cherry saplings that were sold year in and year out by villagers. It made for a small-scale but steady management in keeping the cherry woods up (Fig. 4). There are no reasons to believe that the botanic identity of the present cherries differs from these early centuries. We can therefore safely assume that it was the same Japanese Mountain Cherry (*P. serrulata* var. *spontanea*) that entered the capital Kyoto after its founding.

The arrival of a Yoshino cherry to the imperial court went together with a growing appreciation: poems about the cherry increase in number. Memories of the glorious days of uncomplicated life in Nara became associated with the city's cherries, adding an air of nostalgia or even melancholy.[7] Although hardly scented, its fragrance entered the poetic mind to be enlarged as a nominator for glorious brilliance. The role of women inventing a native script that had the potential to express such subtle emotions is clear. Such a woman was Jōtō Mon'in Shōshi (988–1074), one of the emperor's wives. Concerned about the double-flowered cherry of the Nara period, Jōtō Mon'in took pity on the famed cherry, still in the uncertain hands of Kōfuku-ji's priests in the now deserted old capital Nara.[8] In private, a meeting was held with the official at court responsible for

5. 'Nara-no-yae-zakura' is a double form of *P. serrulata* var. *pubescens,* photo by author, cherry in author's collection Netherlands, 4/25/2004.

Kōfuku-ji, where it was decided that the cherry was to be moved to the imperial palace in Kyoto. Servants were sent out with an oxen-pulled cart to uproot and fetch the tree. They managed to root-ball and load it; but then priests and monks of Nara became alarmed and clamor and protest sprang up. Nothing else could be done than unload and replant the cherry to its old position in front of the Tōendō, a hall of Kōfuku-ji. When the report of this happening reached Jōtō Mon'in, her reaction was unexpected. Rather than being angry, she seemed happily surprised about the priests being so sincere in their love of the cherry.

Supported by other historic records we know that she decided to dispatch a yearly guardsmen service for the seven days that the tree was in flower, to protect it even better. As guardsmen she appointed the villagers of Yono (now in Ueno city, Mie prefecture), over the hills about twenty-five kilometers to the east of Nara. A strange move it seems at first, but Jōtō Mon'in must have been well informed: it was the villagers from Yono who had presented double-flowered cherries to the temple of Kōfuku-ji several times in the course of the Nara period. In 746 they even wanted to donate the double-flowered cherry to the emperor Shōmu himself. The village records state that the eighth-century emperor had rejected such a lowly present and returning home the villagers had just planted it at mount Mikasa.[9] It can hardly be a coincidence that the emperor "discovered" the cherry in the wild, so shortly after. Anyhow, three centuries later, in circles around Jōtō Mon'in, there was excitement about her strategic decision to appoint the villagers as guardsmen. A young woman named Ise-no-Taifu, in service of Jōtō Mon'in, was aspiring to a post as courtesan; for her approval, she wrote the following historic poem:

Inishieno Narano miyakono yahezakura
kefu kokonoheni nihohi nurukana
Old capital Nara's double cherry
Now in the court of Kyoto:
brilliantly it blossoms

Ise-no-Taifu's poem is a beautiful and rhythmical play of words employing such tensions as between "old" and "new," a beauty of language hard to show in an English translation.[10] The poem suggests that the double-flowered cherry had arrived in the capital. It is likely that the villagers of Yono had brought it once more to the palace, this time in Kyoto. In centuries to follow, more records and poems refer to this double-flowered cherry in the capital.

Speaking of botany, the double-flowering cherry of Nara is a form of the Korean Mountain Cherry, *P. serrulata* var. *pubescens*. In its native habitat indeed double-flowered specimens are found, and apparently these are so stable that the double-flowered form of *P. serrulata* var. *pubescens* is well established in the wild, close to, exactly, the village Yono in Mie Prefecture.

6. In the wild one may come across specimens of P. *serrulata* var. *sportarea* with particularily deep-red coloring of young sprouts, photo by Kense Kuitert, cherry in Kyoto, Japan, 4/1/1997.

There is hardly any doubt now that the villagers donated this double-flowered cherry. The stability in the wild backs up the history that we are dealing with the same form found in the eighth century. It has small flowers with about thirty deeply bifid petals tightly set together, giving a precisely regular fringe of the flower (Fig. 5). At least three clones have been identified that in their botanic details are hard to distinguish.[11] The flower season is rather short, and also two weeks later than the Japanese Mountain Cherry, making chances for a natural hybridization very small.

In centuries to follow, cherries became the object of a wider interest of court nobles such as, for example, Fujiwara Teika (1162-1241). He is known as a literary man, commissioned by the emperor to help in compiling an important poetry collection of the days. But his personal diary is of even more interest: it speaks of cherries in quite some detail. We find remarks on an early cherry that flowered even before the plums (*P. mume*), and another late-flowering, pink, double cherry. He records the planting of cherry trees, including double-flowered ones, in gardens of various noblemen. Notes on propagation are found in 1226 on the twenty-seventh day of the first month. The weather is fine and the diary gives a short remark on dividing with a knife or scissors a branch of a double flowering cherry from a small tree, apparently to propagate. The scene takes place in the garden in front of a main hall. The twenty-seventh day of the first month would be late February in our modern calendar. Buds would already be out of their winter rest, therefore too late for preparing a graft, but for propagation by layering, late February should work.[12]

Cherries are fully used as garden plant in fashionable circles of the court entering the fourteenth century. A comment from about 1330 states:

> . . . Trees to plant at the house are pine and cherry. As pine the five-needled one is preferred (*Pinus parviflora* Sieb. & Zucc.) and for cherries single-flowered ones. Originally, double cherries were only found in the city of Nara, but recently these are found everywhere. However, of old, the cherries from Yoshino and the cherry in front of the main hall of the Imperial Palace were all single-flowered. Double cherries are grotesque, badly misshapen and distorted. Therefore it is better not to plant them. They are late in flowering, present a disastrous sight, and because of the bugs they are not to be preferred . . .

Conservative on the point of its appreciation of double-flowered cherries, this comment nevertheless shows us that the triumph of the cherry as a garden plant had taken a start. Double cherries are to be understood in this quote as the one from Nara but it also points to other cherries. The one from Nara is not particularly attacked by bugs.[13]

Political Symbolism: Ōshima Cherries Enter Kyoto

Political winds were turning worse and worse for the emperor and his court in the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Warlords, already largely in control of the country for more than a century from their government seat in eastern Japan, occupied the capital in 1336. Led by the shogun, they asserted power by choosing their own emperor. The displaced emperor fled to Yoshino, a place seen as an original homeland full of wistful memories for the imperial family, dramatically felt when Yoshino's cherries were in bloom. Also the shogun was well aware of the cultural values of the cherry. Urged by the clergy of the new Zen buddhism he founded a temple at Arashiyama in 1339 to soothe the soul of the exiled emperor who died in that year. Again cherries were brought from Yoshino, the emperor's last place of living, to be added to cherries planted earlier as part of an imperial garden.[14] Arashiyama had held the palaces of important court nobles such as Fujiwara Teika and several emperors. Therefore, it is obvious that not only were souls soothed here but also a claim to power was asserted.

What about the cherries coming in? Cherries were brought from the Nara region, like the double flowered one from Yono; single cherries came from Nara's Yoshino mountains. There, the villagers must have selected particularly nice specimens for cherry orders from the capital. But because of transport problems, trees would have been young and could only show their beauty at a young age. A young plant of the Japanese Mountain Cherry starts to flower after several years at a size when it is already more difficult to transport. Therefore, in selecting young cherry plants, the villagers of Yoshino would have chosen nice foliage colors rather than finding a particular beauty in flowers.[15] Sprouts of specimens in the wild at Yoshino are mostly brownish, few have yellowish, green, or red tints. The red ones are rare, but conspicuous and can develop their color most spectacularly (Fig. 6). At present, the Arashiyama-area in Kyoto is known for its red-sprouted cherries. The area brought such garden cherries as 'Arashiyama' and 'Tagui-arashi'; these are single-flowered forms that show a remarkably red coloring of leaf sprouts, but also of bud scales, bracts, calyx and sepals. A semidouble form 'Hōrinji' from this area has the same deep coloring. All are clearly selections from the Japanese Mountain Cherry (*P. serrulata* var. *spontanea*), and not hybrids.[16] Whether red sprouts were required in the capital or, on the contrary, promoted by Yoshino, we do not know, but the spectacular contrast of white blossom and deep red sprouts became the beauty standard for single-flowered cherries.

The planting of Yoshino's cherries at Arashiyama was a clear statement of power. But an even more evident cherry planting came in 1357 when the warlords put their own cherry in front of the main hall of the imperial palace in Kyoto.[17] Enforcing the symbolism of the deed, this new imperial cherry was brought from their native land, Kamakura in the east. Off the coast at Kamakura lie the Ōshima Islands, the new cherry was in fact a form of the Ōshima Cherry (*P. serrulata* var. *speciosa*). It has been identified as the cherry 'Kirigaya.'[18] It comes so close to the native Ōshima Cherry that it is judged as just a superb selection from the wild. 'Kirigaya' is a healthy form with single flowers, fragrant, and quite large. They measure up to five centimeters in diameter or even more when well manured and maintained. Indeed, from this basic quality as a garden plant, it is highly valued over just any wild specimen of the Ōshima Cherry.

Overt testimony to the symbolism of the cherry comes about a century later. The mid-fifteenth century is a time of political unrest and small skirmishes, leading to the ten-year Ōnin Wars (1467-1477). Most precise accounts of historical fact that include cherries are now found in diaries of priests in Kyoto. They had their temples sponsored by the military rulers. At the time a cherry 'Fugenzō,' famous from a tree in a Kamakura temple, had arrived in Kyoto as recorded by a Buddhist priest

of the Zen sect, Ōsen Keisan (1429-1493). Keisan used to take his guests to the cherry when it was in flower. It stood close by his residence in the temple Shōkoku-ji, just north of the imperial palace. During the warfare he could not visit it, and when he returned to enjoy the spring show for the first time again, he felt as if ten-year-old buds were bursting into bloom. The intensity of the experience after a period of political stress made him rush to a remarkable conclusion. Although hardly an established nation when compared with neighboring China he noted:

> Our country is the country of the cherry (*sakura*). However, one rather simply says "the flowers" (*hana* in Japanese) rather than saying cherries. It has the same precious meaning as the Peony has for Chinese Loyang, or the Crab Apple for Szechuan in China.

Then he turns to 'Fugenzō':

> People say that there is a temple hall in Kamakura where the saint Fugen is enshrined, but there is also a cherry in the compound and it is called therefore 'Fugendō' (as the name of the hall (*dō*), for Fugen). Others call this cherry 'Fugenzō,' (meaning Fugen's elephant (*zō*), because the words for "flowers" and for "nose" in Japanese both have the same pronunciation (*hana* for both). The big and white flowers resemble the nose of the white elephant on which Fugen rides. Both explanations are correct. This cherry is now found in the west of Kyoto, and it really is an excellent flowering cherry.[19]

This Kamakura cherry is even more spectacular, having all the qualities of 'Kirigaya,' but on top of that, the flowers are double, and stay much longer on the tree. Also, for a double-flowered cherry the tree's height is impressive, reaching up to eighteen meters with proper care. Since the planting of 'Kirigaya' in the sacred palace grounds a second spectacular garden cherry 'Fugenzō' had arrived from the eastern provinces of Kamakura, about four hundred kilometers to the east of Kyoto. Cherries were therefore moved about the country over long distances. Hitherto isolated plant material of the highly variable Ōshima Cherry was brought to Kyoto, whereas Japanese Mountain Cherries had been brought to the city ever since the centuries of its founding. Cherry populations that had developed separate identities in the course of their evolution were brought together and could start to hybridize, a process that would lead to a number of distinctly different forms in the following centuries. Contrary to the double flowered cherry from Nara, which is a form of the Korean Mountain Cherry, the Ōshima Cherry and the Japanese Mountain Cherry flower at the same time, giving full and free play to the variabilities inherent to both. But before turning to the hybrids, it should be explained how the cherries were used in the gardens of the period. Named forms of the cherry can only be understood from the way they were discovered and enjoyed as garden plants.

Cherry Aesthetics in Garden Design

Cherries form a part of the garden world in literature of the time. Setting the tone is *The Tale of Genji*, written in the years around 1000 A.D., and a famous classic in courtly circles ever since. *The Tale* describes to us the fictional world of a courtly prince engaged in endless love affairs in a setting of palaces and gardens. One garden designed as an arrangement of lakes and hills is the stage for a boating party with music: " . . . the hills were high in the south-east quarter, where cherry trees were planted in large numbers. The pond was most attractively designed. Among the plantings in the forward parts of the garden were cinquefoil pine, red plum, cherry, wisteria, Kerria, and rock azalea, most of them trees and shrubs that are enjoyed in spring." Or in a later section: " . . . The branches caught in mists from either side were like a tapestry, and far away in

Murasaki's private gardens a willow trailed its branches in a deepening green and cherry blossoms were rich and sensuous . . ."[20]

The distinction between the forward planting and the background is described impressionistic and convincing. The forward part of the garden is in fact the open area just in front of the veranda of the main hall of a typical nobleman's mansion. The usual "forward garden" (*senzai*) could have solitary plants, including a cherry. The hills in the south-east are likely to be situated at the far end of the garden, these have cherries in large numbers as a background scenery to the pond that lies in front of it when seen from the main hall. The second quote has cherries and willows as background, a combination that heralds a virtuous ruler in the classic, Chinese manner. The cherries here were probably even standing outside in other gardens.

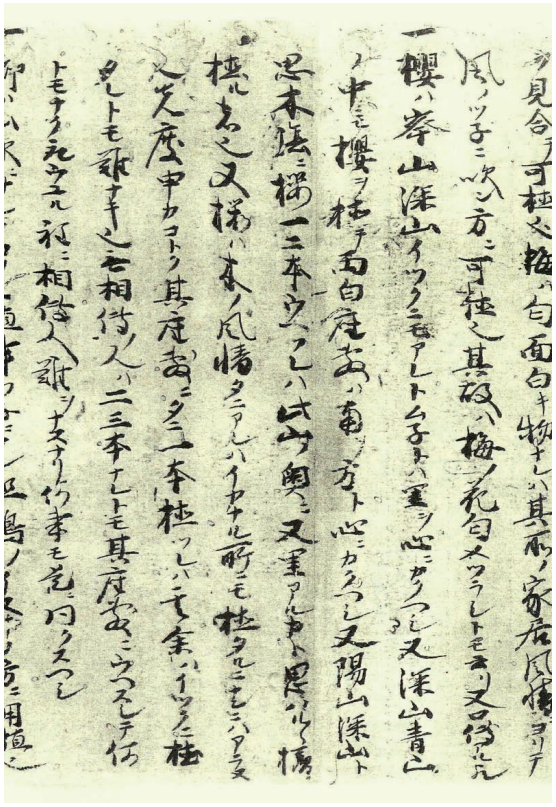
The Tale of Genji inspired many a courtly garden, even up to the design of cherry planting. For example, an emperor's residence known as Kameyama-dono was laid out on the site of Fujiwara Teika's retreat at Arashiyama. Work started in 1255. A spacious garden was made with a pond fed with water from the Oi River that runs between the hills of Arashiyama. In front of the hall of Kameyama-dono stood a cherry, the opening of its flower buds were the reason for an imperial visit in the spring of 1263, the sight was more beautiful than ever, as a source mentions. Outside the residence, large numbers of cherries brought from Yoshino were planted on the foothills of Arashiyama. Seen from the imperial pond garden, the cherries on the hillside opposite the estate formed a visual background beyond the garden.[21] In close-up, by contrast, it is the beauty of the botanical details of the budding blossom that forms the joy of the cherry in front of the residence itself. Cherries are employed in foreground and in background design.

Apart from such aesthetics, the cherry was also used in a more formal design. From records but also sources such as *The Tale of Genji* we know that a cherry was typically found in the small yard used for imperial football (*kemari*); it was either planted on one, or on all four corners of the field as a corner tree.[22]

Strikingly, the eleventh-century famous garden text *Sakuteiki* does not mention principles of cherry planting, although in poetry, fiction, and historic fact it is clearly part of the garden world. On the whole, the *Sakuteiki* is remarkably scarce on aesthetic principles of planting design, mentioning only twenty or so names. Hardly any of the woody plants in the above quotations from *The Tale of Genji* features in this garden text. Only when treating various styles of setting stones, or designing islands it gives some scattered comments on what kind of plant would associate best with certain rock styles; these are mostly perennial rather than woody plants. Only at the section on tree planting is there mention of "flowering trees," to be understood as cherries. These should be planted in the east, whereas trees with fall colors must be in the west. Referring to the classic zodiac the *Sakuteiki* actually repeats what is said in the orthodox Chinese theory of the Five Elements. It resembles the planting design in the four quarters of the football field. As such it is stating a fact, rather than giving advice or an idea on garden design.

The *Sakuteiki* was written by a nobleman to present a personal statement to his public. Given the overt indications and symbolism of plants in poetry and literature, it is obvious that advice on plant design could only repeat things that had been said already many times before. It would be so plain and blatant in a treatise specializing on gardens that it would turn the whole effort into just one banal demonstration of writing down what any noble knew already. So the reason for absence of advice on the design of planting is obvious; at one point the writer indeed condemns superficial garden wisdom.[23]

Centuries later a division in appreciating cherries in the fore- and background is found in a second treatise on gardens, this time by gardeners who were not very well versed in classic literature. Nevertheless, they were well aware of the proper



7. A detailed design strategy for cherry planting appeared in the fifteenth century handwritten manual *Sansui narabini yakeizu*. The rather unpolished text and writing betray the practical purpose of the text (reproduced from facsimile, *Sonkeikaku Sōkan,* Tokyo: Ikutokuzaidan, 1930).

aesthetic of cherries in the garden, and had even developed a design strategy to reproduce it as a man-made work of art. From olden times in Kyoto, gardeners are living above all in the north-western parts of the city. At the founding of the capital it was here that naturalized Koreans and Chinese settled. These men had come as civil engineers, architects, and craftsmen to help build the new capital. Civil engineering meant placing foundation rocks for buildings, arranging the water system, building ponds, or making gardens. In the course of time, a temple in the area, Ninna-ji, close to Arashiyama, became the center of professional gardening: it forms the origin of the fame that gardeners of this part of Kyoto still have. Ninna-ji itself was organized as a temple compound sponsored by the imperial court from the end of the ninth century onwards. In fact it was a residential area in which courtly residences were developed as small temples, all belonging to the Ninna-ji compound. From the end of the ninth century until the late twelfth, the area had about seventy of such courtly temple residences.[24] In the course of these centuries, the typical residence came to have one main hall (*shinden*), that was styled after the imperial palace itself. It faced a garden or yard to the south of it, and one may imagine that many a hall had its cherry as in the palace. Entering the fifteenth century, fashions in architecture changed. Instead of one main hall, a less rigid arrangement of smaller buildings had the most luxurious room to receive guests as the center piece of the temple residence. Again, this main room faced a garden south of it. The area around Ninna-ji remained upper-class residential and had still more than sixty temple residences at the outbreak of the Ōnin Wars in 1467.

The gardeners of Ninna-ji were well aware of the courtly appreciation of the cherry, which is clear from a text that stems from their circles. The manuscript *Sansui narabini yakeizu* (dated 1448 as well as 1466) is a manual, written and compiled by low-ranking priests of esoteric buddhism as it was practiced in Ninna-ji. The rather unpolished text must have served as an instruction manual, listing all possible information on the subject as an aid to the memory when teaching others that probably could not read. It holds a wealth of practical hints and technical ideas that makes this source into a veritable gold mine on medieval gardening. The manual's advice is quite detailed on the planting design of cherries, for which it gives a separate section (Fig. 7). Departing from the typical situation of the main room of a residence, facing south, it describes an advanced planting principle:

> Cherries may be found on peaks and deep in the mountains, but only if the countryside is beyond, and that is what you have to keep in mind. Thus, it is interesting to plant cherries in between the deep, dark green (garden) hills, keeping in mind that the main room (*zashiki*) has south as its direction. To give the impression of deep

> mountains to the garden hills at the south, you may plant one or two cherries in the shade of the trees, giving the illusion that beyond the mountains there is a countryside village. Also, the cherry has a poetic feeling as a tree, and can be planted just about anywhere without problems. As said above, at the main room you plant (only) one cherry, some others could be elsewhere, that it is no problem. Somebody who was not given instructions on the traditions would plant perhaps two, or three in front of the main room, certainly to be disapproved by someone who has received traditional instructions. In any case, you have to do it in the same way.[25]

Although perhaps a little cryptic at first reading, the idea is clear. It departs from the mental image of cherries in the landscape that everybody knew. In the natural landscape, cherries inevitably betrayed the secondary forest of a village in the countryside (*sato*). They were to be planted in between the garden hills at the far back of the garden, where they would stand in the shadow of higher trees at the back. With the sunlight shining through from the back, they would glow when in blossom. There, in the far background, high trees would suggest the deep and dark green hills; the cherries, planted in between the sloping lines of hillocks would suggest the entry of a mountain valley where a gentle countryside would be. Thus, the garden intended to recreate a reference to the domesticated landscape bordered by cherries where the primeval forest began.

In earlier and greater gardens, such as at Arashiyama, cherries functioned as a backdrop to man's cultured environment; there they were planted even outside the garden. Clouds of cherry blossom as a background to a village scenery must for the noblemen have been a nostalgic landscape imagery as found in the earlier poems where far cherries attracted the attention of the poet. The Ninna-ji manual makes clear that cherries recalled the homely countryside where man was comfortable with himself. On a smaller scale the archetype was recreated in the planting design of their private gardens as an indicator for the landscape under human control, psychologically a safe and friendly place to be.

The quote continues in the tradition of the main hall of the imperial palace facing south, where one cherry was to be planted close to the hall, providing a foreground. Also for the best room, two or three are too much, you should keep to one cherry. Here the best of its poetic qualities found in botanic details, such as budding, fragrance, or the shedding of its petals, could be appreciated at best.[26] Later in the manual, the cherry is mentioned once more where it is listed as one of the plants in design of deep mountains. At this point the manual speaks of *yama-zakura;* we can interpret this as Japanese Mountain Cherries (*P. serrulata* var. *spontanea*).

Without much doubt gardeners were growing cherries for their clients. Cherries are rather easily grown from seed, at that time likely collected at nearby Arashiyama or from garden trees. An even easier method is simply digging up young plants found as seedling. Seeds in a bird dropping easily germinate and such seedlings are often found under places where birds rest, like big trees or along a garden fence. The parentage of such cherry finds is not traceable: they could be wild or random hybrids, adding expectation and surprise to the joy of growing cherries in the nursery and pride to the owner of a unique specimen.[27]

Although the manual speaks of cherries, and later more precisely of Mountain Cherries, it does not prove the existence of garden hybrids at this point. But we may imagine that better seedling specimens were reserved for better clients. Gardeners must have planted them in the gardens of the upper-class living in the area around Ninna-ji, where the best cherry went to the best position in the garden, such as the solitary position at the veranda of the main room. The admonition to refrain from planting more than one could point to such an awareness of unique specimens. From the manual we must conclude that gardeners were well aware of the feelings that properly planted and maintained cherries could evoke in the garden. In these

days, 'Kirigaya' and 'Fugenzō' were clearly identified, not only as one peculiar garden tree but also as a garden form. Singular, proper names attached to cherries, came to identify in extension the propagated offspring as well. The role of gardeners is clear.

Later Cherry History of the Ninna-Ji Area

Several cherry gardens and collections still exist in the Ninna-ji area.[28] How do these relate to this earlier cherry history?

Ninna-ji, as well as the residences around it, were not spared from the Ōnin Wars with its disastrous fires that broke out shortly after the last date at the end of the manual. Many a cherry must have perished in the fires as well. After this period of serious trouble Ninna-ji was not rebuilt, although religious services continued in a nearby retreat. Only in the seventeenth century was it set up again. The role in cherry history of a neighboring temple compound Myōshin-ji has yet to be established. In the late fifteenth century, just after the Ōnin Wars were over, Myōshin-ji was made to flourish again by priest Sekkō Sōjin (1408-1486). At that time many cherries were planted on the "banks" of the temple, probably to be understood as a planting on the surrounding slopes after grading the site.[29] It is a guess that these cherries were planted by Ninna-ji gardeners, and that these were propagated or transplanted garden trees, previous cherry prides of courtly residences now destroyed.

Ninna-ji is found along a road that led to the center of the city. Along a similar route connecting Arashiyama and the inner city of Kyoto lies the Hirano Shrine of the Shinto religion, known at present for its splendid cherry garden. An early thirteenth-century record speaks of Ninna-ji gardeners working in this shrine. Anyhow, Hirano Shrine was also devastated in the Ōnin Wars; it became a place known for infestations of termites, and human bones lying around. Only in the early seventeenth century was its main hall rebuilt. The head of the shrine became a court noble Nishi-no-tōin Tokiyoshi (1552-1639). He was an aesthete and leading poet of the emperor's salon. In quite some detail he records the assembling and planting of cherries in his logbook; in 1629 and 1630 more than thirty trees are brought in. The planting starts only a few years after the rebuilding works had begun; trees must have been nursed for some years for preparation, showing that it was a well-planned project. Rather than speaking of "trees" in a general sense, the text speaks of "propagations," suggesting that one wanted to preserve existing specimens.[30] Indeed, some well-known garden forms are coming in: 'Kirigaya,' a name that relates to the cherry that had been planted in the imperial palace in 1357, comes to the Hirano Shrine in 1629. The cherry 'Fugenzō' is in full flower in 1638, suggesting that it was already a tree of quite some size. It had entered Kyoto in the mid-fifteenth century, so that it had survived about two centuries by now. This means several generations, for instance ten or so, of propagated trees. 'Fugenzō' is not fertile, having a completely deformed pistil and ovary, so vegetative propagation is indeed the only way of keeping it. No doubt the clone was preserved exactly because it had caught the attention of the literati and had appeared in the writings of well-known men.[31] Once the cherry garden was established, Tokiyoshi's logbook mentions that cherry twigs in flower were presented to the empress, for instance in spring 1637 and 1638.[32] The garden must have been of quite some standing and scale, clearly documented in his diary. Nevertheless, no mention of it is made in any of the official Kyoto chronicles until the mid-eighteenth century. The timing of court noble Tokiyoshi's activities to assemble an off-the-record collection seems significant in light of the political situation of the time.

Japan had since the early years of the seventeenth century entered a period of centralized rule under shogun Tokugawa's government now residing in Edo. For the first time in its long history, political power was drained from Kyoto completely, shifting cultural hegemony to Edo as well. The central government of the shogun took measures intended to curtail the power

and engage the loyalty of the imperial court, with the extended intention to consolidate control over Kyoto. From 1613 on, for instance, the shogunate began to require its approval in the old right that the imperial court could bestow ranks on the buddhist temple clergy. This affected not only the political power of the court, but in fact also its income, as the priesthood paid substantially for getting such titles. Even the emperor himself became involved in political intrigues. Against his will, emperor Go Mizunoo (1596-1680) was forced to marry a shogun's daughter Tokugawa Masako (1607-1678). The marriage took place in 1620, after which she became an official empress in 1624. The shogun was thus, in the traditional way, ensured of family ties with the court. Self-determined and probably already angered by the increasing pressure of the shogun's government, the emperor bestowed high clergy ranks on some priests of the temples Myōshin-ji and Daitoku-ji in 1627. These titles were immediately pronounced invalid by the shogunate. Some persons were exiled and emperor Go Mizunoo abdicated angrily in favor of his five-year-old daughter, first child of Masako. In 1629, this little girl became the first reigning female since the eighth century; this was the year in which the cherry planting in Hirano Shrine starts. Apart from the personal diary of the shrine's head, no records are found elsewhere of his planting of 'Kirigaya' and 'Fugenzō,' two cherries that had such an overt symbolic role in asserting the power of the shogun in centuries before. One gets the impression that the court wanted to secretly preserve a political and cultural heritage familiar to the cultured elite of Kyoto, but hardly known to the new shogun and his men.[33] At the same time, however, Tokiyoshi presented flowering twigs of these cherries not only to empress Masako, the shogun's daughter, but also to the shogun's deputy Itakura Shigemune (1586-1656), perhaps to mitigate the deed. Cherries entering Hirano Shrine could have been propagated from the collection that was standing in Myōshin-ji, now also victim of political intrigue. But Tokiyoshi's logbook gives only three names of garden forms: 'Kirigaya,' 'Fugenzō,' and 'Beni-zakura.' [34]

8. 'Kirigaya' became one of the standards in cherry botany after publication of Matsuoka Gentatsu's *Igansai Ōhin,* where it plays a major role as a bench mark in comparing cherries (1758, facs. reprint Tokyo: Bunkyūdō, 1891).

Ninna-ji only came to flourish again in the 1640s. Works were financed by the third Tokugawa shogun Iemitsu (1604-1651). He was the older brother of Masako, forcefully married to Go Mizunoo in 1620, giving him reasons for a shogunal donation of 1634. In the 1660s a large number of cherries, without a clear date, nor a documented origin of the planting material, were planted in Ninna-ji. It attracted the attention of several scribes from the 1680s on; they mention double-flowering cherries as well.[35]

There is no information on names of garden forms at Ninna-ji for the next century or so to come. We have to wait until 1793 for a first detailed list of names that gives: 'Kirigaya,' 'Edo,' 'Shiogama,' 'Roma,' 'Shibayama,' 'Akebono,' followed by an "et cetera." 'Goma-zakura' and a 'Shidare-ito-zakura' are standing at the main hall.[36] Interestingly, 'Kirigaya,' 'Roma,' and

'Akebono' have a relation with emperor Go Mizunoo. 'Roma,' according to one source, was grown by the emperor himself from a seed of 'Kirigaya.' These cherries must have been among the seven that the emperor had commemorated by imperial order. This imperial order has to be understood as the selecting and naming of new garden forms to be retained by propagation, for which the emperor clearly sets a pattern.[37] We can only wonder where the Ninna-ji cherries had come from, and guess that some of them were originally courtly plants, perhaps propagated from trees in Hirano Shrine. Anyhow, it is significant that with increasing stability and nationwide peace, cherished cherries could also come to the public and become named garden forms to be preserved and propagated. At present, 'Kirigaya' is still around, but most of the names of 1793 are no longer found.[38] (Fig. 8.)

One can not conclude that cherry hybrids in this area are all garden trees from previous gardens of the nobility. Later cherry collectors have been, and are still active in this area. But some spectacular forms in the collections at Ninna-ji and Hirano Shrine are still found only here, as a unique specimen with only some duplicates in modern research collections. Others that are wider spread as a clone are clearly traced to a parent tree in Hirano Shrine or Ninna-ji temple. These peculiar forms could be old, above all if they have a typical beauty or unique characteristic, and of course if they are not too difficult to grow. Hirano Shrine has quite a few of these, such as 'Tsukubane,' 'Imose,' 'Kinugasa,' or 'Nezame.'[39] Ninna-ji also has such peculiar forms, like its 'Kuruma-gaeshi' and 'Ariake.' Records from the late eighteenth century on Ninna-ji mention the yellow and greenish flowered forms 'Asagi,' 'Ukon,' and 'Kizakura,' all three still present in the temple's cherry garden.[40]

When it comes to the botany of these peculiar cherries in both gardens, it is mostly hybrids of the Japanese Mountain Cherry (*P. serrulata* var. *spontanea*) with a rather strong influence of the Ōshima Cherry (*P. serrulata* var. *speciosa*). But also Korean Mountain Cherry (*P. serrulata* var. *pubescens*) influence is seen in Hirano's 'Shibayama.'

Much still remains unclear and the only thing we can do is pose a hypothesis. The region of Ninna-ji and Hirano Shrine, in between the Mountain Cherries from Yoshino at Arashiyama and the center of the city, with its gardeners living close by, must have been an increasingly interesting cherry-hybrid area from the fourteenth century when Ōshima Cherries were planted in the imperial palace. The hybrids' parents were not simple wild plants, but were selected in their natural habitats, Yoshino and Kamakura, to serve a courtly taste and gain heavy cultural values in the capital. They were already of an extreme aesthetic quality, and most of them very fertile as well, easily leading to spectacular offspring. Hybrids enter the nearby Ninna-ji and Hirano Shrine from the seventeenth century to be preserved as named forms. They must have been found, selected or generated by gardeners working around Ninna-ji, catering to the tastes of a courtly and military elite. Indeed, they are spectacular garden plants that have stood the ages.

NOTES

[1.] On the botany and wider cultural context of Japan's cherries, see Wybe Kuitert, *Japanese Flowering Cherries* (Portland, Ore.: Timber Press, 1999) with bibliography and further references.

[2.] See, for example, *Man'yōshū,* 1872: *Miwataseba Kasuga no nohe ni kasumitachi sakinihoheru ha sakura bana kamo.* As far as the eye can see, the fields along Mount Kasuga are as in mist: can it be the brightly blossoming flowers of the cherry blossom? Transcriptions here follow Sadake Akihiro, et al. (ed.), *Man'yōshū honbunhen* (Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1993).

[3.] *Man'yōshū*,1776, with comment in Yamada Takamitsu and Nakajima Shintaro, *Man'yō shokubutsu jiten* (Tokyo: Hokuryūkan, 1995), 254–261.

[4.] For example *Man'yōshū,* 1047. In my previous *Japanese Flowering Cherries,* I have overstressed this assuring quality of the cherry, proposing that it was felt as a "protective belt"; rightly criticized by Robin D. Gill in a personal message.

[5.] Here the story follows *Nara meisho yae-zakura,* a source on local geography dated 1678, written by Ōkūbo Hidefusa and Motobayashi Koresachi, and illustrated by Hishigawa Moronobu; see Koshimizu Takuji, *Meizakura-Nara yaezakura* in *Sakura* (Kyōto: Kyōto Engei Kurabu, 1968), 27–29. Of olden times mount Mikasa is owned by the nearby Kasuga Shrine, and not by Kōfuku-ji; the story has fictional points.

[6.] Emperor Ninmei, had a cherry planted in front of the palace hall in stead of the usual plum in the Jōwa period (834–848). See: *Kojidan* (1212–1215), by Minamoto Akikane (1160–1215), quoted in Yamada Takao, *Oshi, chūko no maki,* in *Sakura,* no. 3. (Tokyo: Sakura-no-kwai, 1920), 30. According to Sato Taihei, *Sakura to Nihonminzoku* (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1937), 44–45, 121, and 123 a cherry was planted in stead of a plum already at the founding of the capital by emperor Kanmu in 794, pointing to a source *Hana-tachibana no ki,* written in 869 by a priest Shuntō.

[7.] Basic is a series of earlier *Man'yōshū* poems (1044–1049) that describe the desertion, overlooking the once so flourishing valley and city of Nara. These were perhaps written by persons that had to flee the city after political troubles, rather than after the 784 moving of the capital. See also: Niels Gülberg, "Japanische Kirschblüten duften nicht," (Bochum/Heidelberg: *Hefte für Ostasiatische Literatur,* 12, März 1992), 99–106, seeing a change of "paradigm" in the treatment of plum and cherry in poetry around the same time. I thank Ivo Smits for bringing this source to my attention.

[8.] Jōtō Mon'in Shōshi was a consort and later empress of emperor Ichijō. She was the eldest daughter of powerful politician Fujiwara Michinaga (966–1027). The story is given in *Shasekishū,* by Mujū Dōkyō compiled in 1279–1283. See: Watanabe Tsunaya, *Shasekishū,* (*Nihon koten bungaku taikei,* Vol. 85, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1966), 376–377.

[9.] See: *Mieken chimei daijiten,* (Tokyo: *Nihon chimei daijiten*, vol. 24 Kadogawa shoten, 1993) 1111–1112. See also: Koshimizu Takuji, *Meizakura-Nara yaezakura* in *Sakura,* (Kyōto: Kyōto Engei Kurabu, 1968), 27–29; the records of the village studied by Yoshizumi Kangen, a local historian, even give a name of an eighth-century village headman. The village temple dedicated to Kannon had a double-flowered cherry standing in front of it.

[10.] See Mukōgaku Tosho (ed.) *Hyakunin isshu no techō* (Tokyo: Shogakkan 1989) 122–123. The poem was published in: *Shikawakashū* (compiled 1151–1154) by Akisuke Fujiwara and became a classic. "Nihohi" (*nioi*) not to be translated as "fragrance" as Niels Gülberg rightly remarks, but rather as "brilliance," or "glory."

[11.] The clonal cultivar 'Nara-no-yae-zakura' from the temple Chisoku-in, Nara, was described as *Prunus antiqua* by Miyoshi Manabu in *Shokubutsugaku zasshi,* Vol. 36, 1922. It is given as *Prunus leveilleana* Koehne cv. Nara-zakura, in *Idenken no sakura* (Mishima: Kokuritsu Idengaku Kenkyūjo, 1995), 58; and as *Prunus verecunda* cv. Antiqua in Kawasaki Tetsuya, *Nihon no sakura* (Tokyo: Yama to keikokusha, 1993), 204. A selection with an excellent, erect tree shape, is known as the clone 'Yono-no-yae-zakura' classified as *Prunus leveilleana* Koehne cv. Nara-zakura in *Idenken no sakura*, 82 where a third clone and some history are shortly discussed as well.

[12.] The two Chinese characters that Teika uses for propagation are ZOKU and KEI. "ZOKU" also reads as *tsuzu(ku/keru),* and stands for the verb to continue (intr./tr.). "KEI," or *tsu(gu),* means: succeed to, inherit; follow; patch, join. The latter could be interpreted as grafting, close to the presently used character "SETSU," or *tsu(gu)* join; graft. Since "SETSU" had been used as the Chinese term for grafting from the eighth century (see communication by Georges Métailié in this volume) it should have been known by Teika, but he does not use it. It is very questionable that Teika speaks about grafting as is usually assumed, when reconstructing the time of the year. He must be speaking of propagation by layering, probably of a side branch sitting on the stem of a tree with moss as substrate, as I have seen farmers doing to preserve precious village cherries in Japan's countryside. It is a simple and sure method, hardly requiring the dexterity needed for grafting. The character "KEI" reads therefore rather as *tsugu* in *uetsugu:* to plant a propagation, and not as grafting. Teika's diary *Meigetsuki,* edition Hayakawa Junsarō, 1912. Later records like the one by Tachibana Narisue in his *Kokon chomonjū,* Vol. 19 are often taken as confirmation that Teika speaks of grafting, but again dates are too late for grafting, and perfect for layering.

[13.] Yoshida Kenkō in his scribbles of a literary man, *Tsurezure gusa,* the section translated here from the edition with annotations: Inamura Toku, *Tsurezure gusa yōkai,* (Tokyo: Yūseidō Shuppan, 1981). Sato Taihei, *Sakura to Nihonminzoku* (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1937), 207–208 mentions that Kenkō was a lover of cherries and selected garden trees himself. He built a small retreat (*mujōjo*) at Narabiga-oka, close to Ninna-ji, and planted a cherry next to it.

[14.] A thousand cherries from Yoshino were planted, adding a small shrine for Zaō Gongen, the cherry god of Yoshino. See Toyama Eisaku, *Muromachi jidai teienshi* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1934; reprint Kyōto: Shibunkaku, 1973), 403, referring to sources as *Niwatakeki.* See also note 21.

[15.] On the nursery, a young Japanese Mountain Cherry typically gives its first hesitating flowers one or two years later than the Oshima Cherry. Any young cherry's first flowers are few and not very well developed, because of strong growth. With slower growth on older trees, flowers develop better. Double-flowering specimens have the habit of showing more petals per flower with increasing age, up to a record in chrysanthemum-forms of 360 counted in flowers of an old 'Kenrokuen-kiku-zakura.'

[16.] At the time when Nagaoka-kyō (close to Kyoto) had served as capital from 784–794 A.D., cherries had also been brought from Yoshino and planted on Oshio-no-yama Mountain a few kilometers south of Arashiyama, to ban evil spirits. See Kayama Masuhiko, *Kyōto no Sakura, daiisshū* (Kyōto: Kyōto engei kurabu, 1938), 75–77, referring to local temple records. A cultivar 'Koshioyama' (written with the same characters as Oshio-no-yama but in a different

pronunciation) resembles 'Tagui-arashi' and can be understood as another good selection from the wild material at Oshio-no-yama. See Kawasaki Tetsuya, *Nihon no sakura,* (Tokyo: Yama to keikokusha, 1993), 222.

[17.] See *Entairyaku,* a logbook of historical records from 1308–1360, quoted in: Yamada Takao, *Ōshi,* (Tokyo: Sakura shobō, 1941), 121. The imperial palace was the Tsuchi-mikado-dono palace, largely at the site of the present imperial palace, see Hayashiya Tatsusaburō, ed., *Kyōto no rekishi* ((Kyōto: Kyōto-shihen, 1971, vol.2, and 3).

[18.] See Kayama Masuhiko, *Kyōto no Sakura, daiisshū* (Kyōto: Kyōto engei kurabu, 1938), 6, and 16. 'Kirigaya' reappears in fifteenth century records of priests; see Yamada Takao, *Oshi* (Tokyo: Sakura shobō, 1941), 122–123 with some quotes. The *Inryōken-nichiroku* a fifteenth-century log kept by priests of one of the subtemples of the monastery Shōkokuji gives 'Kirigaya' alongside 'Fugenzō,' and an otherwise unknown 'Shinshū-zakura'; see Hida Norio, *Nihon teien no shokusaishi* (Tokyo: *Randosuke-pu kenkyū,* 68/1, 44–51, 2004), 47. 'Mikuruma-gaeshi' is a synonym for 'Kirigaya.'

[19.] Osen Keisan's poem quoted in: Yamada Takao, *Ōshi* (Tokyo: Sakura shobō, 1941), 137. Osen Keisan could visit the cherry in the spring of 1474, about the date of his recording. His idea of the cherry as Japan's flower was taken up with the same comparisons with China in Matsuoka Gentatsu, *Igansai ōhin* (1758, facs. reprint Tokyo: Bunkyūdō, 1891), laying foundations for later nationalistic symbolism. Records in the *Hekizan-nichi-roku* by a fifteenth-century priest Taikyoku suggest the presence in Kyoto of 'Fugenzō' already in 1459.

[20.] *The Tale of Genji* was written by a courtly lady Murasaki Shikibu. She was in service of Jōtō Mon'in and is known to have associated with the poetess Ise-no-Taifu. The English quote largely follows Seidensticker, E.G. *Murasaki Shikibu, The Tale of Genji* (Tokyo: Rutland, 1982), 384, and 418–419; checked on Yamagishi Tokuhei, *Genji monogatari II* (*Nihon koten bungaku taikei,* Vol. 15, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1959), 322, and 396.

[21.] The cherry party of 1263 was held at Kameyama-dono, the palace of emperor Go Saga (1220–1272). The main hall of Kameyama-dono faced south, in front of it was a pond. Over the pond one could see the river in front of the north-east facing foothill of Arashiyama. A terrace (*sajiki*) was provided to overlook the garden and the landscape beyond. See Hisatsune Shūji, *Kyōto meienki gekan* (Tokyo: Seibundō Shinkōsha, 1969), 59, referring to *Masu-kagami,* a fourteenth-century compilation of historical records, and *Godai teiō monogatari,* a late fourteenth century history book. About eighty years after this cherry party, shogun Ashikaga Takauji would add his cherries on the same hill. A similar planting of one cherry in front of the main hall, and mass planting in the background was envisioned at Kitayama-dono (now Kinkaku-ji) Toyama Eisaku, *Muromachi jidai teienshi* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1934; reprint Kyōto: Shibunkaku, 1973), 508–511.

[22.] A football party under a shower of cherry petals shed in Kitayama-dono is described in Yamada Takao, *Oshi, chūko no maki,* in *Sakura,* no. 4. (Tokyo: Sakura-no-kwai, 1921), 44–45, with a quote from *Masu-kagami.* As a standard, a willow was planted in the south-east, a maple in the south-west, a pine tree in the north-west, and a cherry in the north-east corner of the field. See Yamada Takao, *Oshi, kinko no maki,* in *Sakura,* no. 4. (Tokyo: Sakura-no-kwai, 1921), 41–45.

[23.] See also my *Themes in the history of Japanese Garden Art,* 51, 52 on principles of design in this period. *Sakuteiki*'s author makes fun of people who want to judge the setting of stones according to a certain style. See Michel Vieillard-Baron , *De La Création Des Jardins—Traduction du Sakuteiki* (Tokyo: Maison Franco-Japonaise, 1997), 32; or Takei Jirō., and Marc Peter Keane, *Sakuteiki, Visions of the Japanese Garden* (Boston: Tuttle, 2001), 166, though mistakenly speaking of garden styles, whereas it only concerns the stones.

[24.] Murayama Shūichi. *Heiankyō, Kugekizoku no seikatsu to bunka* (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1957), 14-26. The descent of the gardeners living around Ninna-ji can be traced in the records to lineages and names found in the eleventh-century *Sakuteiki*. Other evidence shows that monks of this temple were engaged in garden works in the thirteenth century. See also Naka Takahiro, *Ninna-ji shinden teien*, in *Nihon teien kenkyū* (Kyōto: Nihon teien kenkyū senta-, 2002), 59–63. See also *Kyōtofu no chimei*, vol..26, *Nihon chimei daijiten* (Tokyo: Kadogawa shoten, 1991).

[25.] See the text edition Egami Yasushi. "*Dōji kudensho tsuki sansui narabini yakeizu—kōkan ge*" (Bijutsu kenkyū 250, 1967), 25. The English translation in David A. Slawson, *Secret Teachings in the Art of Japanese Gardens* (Tokyo, New York, London: Kodansha, 1987), unnumbered page 164, misses the point, unforgivably translating *zashiki* as "home site," suggesting the native habitat of the cherry. *Zashiki* is the best room of a residence, where guests were received, often with a garden in front. Slawson's translation does not catch the idea of depth of perspective, missing *mukō*, "beyond."

[26.] For example, the falling of petals of the cherry at the main hall was the highlight of a day with poetry and music at Kitayama-dono in 1259, see Toyama Eisaku, *Muromachi jidai teienshi* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1934; reprint Kyōto: Shibunkaku, 1973), 510–511 after *Shōka san'nen kitayama gyōkō waka* by Fujiwara Michiyoshi. A party was held at the budding of the same cherry in 1263, see Toyama Eisaku, *Muromachi jidai teienshi* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1934; reprint Kyōto: Shibunkaku, 1973), 390 after *Masu-kagami* Vol. 8 *Yama-no-momijiba.*

[27.] The forests surrounding Kyoto are still stripped from seedlings, not only cherries, for use as garden plant. Sano Tōeimon V, famous Kyoto cherry lover, having his nursery close to Ninna-ji, told me once that cherries should not be preserved as fixed cultivars under a given name: "cherries are not like that" (*sakura ha soiu mono ja nai*). Given the extreme variability and the unusually high chance to get an improved cherry from your random seedlings, his words show what the gardeners of Japan have done for centuries: just enjoy playing with the gorgeous and fickle genes of cherries.

[28.] Apart from cherry gardens at Ninna-ji and Hirano-jinja, one may find cherry collections at the nearby nursery Uetō of Sano Tōemon and at the Utano Hospital.

[29.] See Tsuneo Kajūji *Kyōto no sakura* in *Sakura*, no. 8. (Tokyo: Sakura-no-kwai, 1925). Cherry connoisseur Tsuneo Kajūji (1882–1936) was a prominent nobleman who prepared an illustrated cherry catalogue *Koto-meibokuki*, 1925. Such planting on banks is seen in Ninna-ji in later history, for example illustrated in *Miyako miyage* (1677); see Kayama Masuhiko, *Kyōto no Sakura, daiisshū* (Kyōto: Kyōto engei kurabu, 1938), 4–5, and 8.

[30.] See Kayama Masuhiko, *Hirano no sakura* (Kyōto: Hirano-jinja Samusho, 1933), 2 and 3, quoting Nishi-no-tōin Tokiyoshi's log *Tokiyoshi kyōki*, kept in the shrine. I thank Machida Kaori for helping me with reading the text. Again the character "KEI" is used for planting a propagation. It concerns duplicated plants, see also the way the character KEI is used in Kayama Masuhiko, *Hirano no sakura* (Kyōto: Hirano-jinja Samusho, 1933), 36 and 123. Neighboring Kitano Shrine is also known as a medieval center of gardeners.

[31.] A most complete treatment of the history of the cultivar 'Fugenzō' given in Kayama Masuhiko, *Kyōto no Sakura, daiisshū* (Kyōto: Kyōto engei kurabu, 1938), 122–148, leaving no doubt that the present cultivar 'Fugenzō' is the same as the fifteenth-century one on a clonal level.
[32.] Flowering twigs were presented to Masako (1607–1678), second wife of Emperor Go Mizunoo, daughter of second Tokugawa shogun Hidetada. Empress Meishō (1623–1696, r. 1629–1643) was the eldest daughter of Masako and Go Mizunoo.
[33.] See for similar cultural expressions, negating shogun culture, my *Themes in the history of Japanese Garden Art*, 166–168, 204.
[34.] Tokiyoshi gives 'Fugendō,' synonym for 'Fugenzō.' See on its deformed pistils my *Japanese Flowering Cherries*, 236–244, with photo 121. In 1639 the logbook mentions a *beni-zakura*, a name often used for the deep pink *P. sargentii*, but too vague here to draw conclusions.
[35.] Kurokawa Dōyū's *Yōshū fushi* (1682) mentions that large amounts of cherries had been planted in recent years in Ninna-ji, making it a cherry site comparable to some other famous sites, see Kayama Masuhiko, *Ōmuro no sakura* (Kyōto: Dai-honzan Ninnaji, 1931), 5 with other evidence that the planting must have taken place around the 1660s. In front of the temple a horse-racing course was laid out, decorated with cherries, planted on the earthen embankment on which the gate still stands.
[36.] Akisato Ritō, *Miyako kagetsu meisho* (1793) gives the list, quoted in Kayama Masuhiko, *Ōmuro no sakura* (Kyōto: Dai-honzan Ninnaji, 1931), 7.
[37.] Emperor Go Mizunoo grew 'Roma-zakura' from a seed of 'Kirigaya.' 'Roma' derives from the place where it was growing: the room (*ma*) of one of the pavilions (*ro*) in the garden of the palace for the retired emperor (Sento Gosho). It must have been one of the cherries he recommended by imperial order (*chokumei*), like the 'Akatsuki-zakura' (named 'Myōjō-zakura' by the emperor) with remarkably large, single flowers, over six centimeters in diameter; see on both cherries Matsuoka Gentatsu, *Igansai ōhin* (1758; Tokyo: Bunkyūdō, reprint 1891). 'Akebono-zakura,' originally in the imperial palace, was later a famous cherry in Kanga-an and was also recommended by Go Mizunoo (*Kokon Yōrankō* after *Rokuroku sakura shurui*). On Go Mizunoo recommending seven cherries: see Hirose Kain *Sanjuroku-ōfu* (1824). 'Edo-zakura' stood in Ninna-ji according to Matsuoka Gentatsu, *Igansai ōhin* (1758; Tokyo: Bunkyūdō, reprint 1891) an important source for cherry botany, written in 1711–1716, and published in 1758. See also Hiroe Minosuke, *Sakura to jinsei* (Tokyo: Meigen Shobo, 1976), 16, 56, 240, 241, 243.
[38.] 'Kirigaya' became one of the standards in Japanese cherry botany and was used as a benchmark for comparing other cherries in Matsuoka Gentatsu, *Igansai ōhin* (1758; Tokyo: Bunkyūdō, reprint 1891), and later sources. The plant that Carrière received and used as a type specimen to describe *Prunus lannesiana* (1872) was likely a potted 'Kirigaya'(syn. 'Mikuruma-gaeshi'); see my *Japanese Flowering Cherries*, 87, 88.
[39.] 'Imose' is a clone with its parent tree in Hirano Shrine. Other cherries in Hirano are now famous but known here under different names and also could have originated here. 'Shōgetsu' is found as 'Nadeshiko,' and a form that appears to be 'Kanzan' is called 'Okame' in Hirano Shrine.
[40.] 'Kuruma-gaeshi' and 'Ariake' (in Ninna-ji) are not very original names. The Ninna-ji collections are less convincingly preserved than at Hirano Shrine. But the green or cream-flowered cherries at Ninna-ji, such as 'Ukon,' 'Gyoikō,' and 'Asagi' appear in a description of Ninna-ji in Akisato Ritō, *Miyako meisho zue* (Takehara Shunchōsai, 1780). That there are three of such greenish/cream forms in the 1780s points to a rather long variability history already at that time.