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Mountain, Temple, and the Design of Movement: Thirteenth-Century Japanese Zen Buddhist Landscapes

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The archaic temple landscapes of Japan remain a deeply affecting interrelationship of religion and nature—religion and nature often meet, embrace, in the garden. In particular, consider the design of several Rinzai Zen Buddhist temple garden landscapes: *Zuisen-ji* (Temple of the Abundant Flowing Spring) in Kamakura and *Saihō-ji* (Temple of the Western Fragrance) in Kyōtō. The design and layout of each temple garden landscape are associated with Musō Kokushi (1275–1357), a still-venerated Rinzai Zen Buddhist priest (Fig. 1).¹

Musō considered the movements of people as a vital aspect of the design and layout of each temple complex. Conventionally, the movements of people within garden landscapes by design are relatively horizontal movements. For Musō though, mountains were a vital aspect of a religious landscape. As such, the ascent of and descent from a mountain continue as necessary to the experience of the religious landscapes associated with Musō Kokushi. By design, the inclined, often nearly vertical movements of people still are required to experience *Zuisen-ji* and *Saihō-ji* in their entirety.

Temple of the Abundant Flowing Spring

The Temple of the Abundant Flowing Spring (*Zuisen-ji*), with Musō Kokushi as the initial abbot, was constructed from 1327 to 1332 as the family temple of the Kamakura

¹ Musō Soseki was honored three times as a *kokushi* (national teacher), receiving the title from Emperors Go-Daigo (1318–1339), Kōgen (1313–1364), and Kōmyō (1321–1380). On Musō Kokushi, see esp. Thomas Cleary, *Dream Conversations, on Buddhism and Zen: Musō Kokushi* (Boston and London: Shambhala, 1996); Martin Collcutt, *Five Mountains: The Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1981), 151–65; idem, “Musō Soseki,” *The Origins of Japan’s Medieval World: Courtiers, Clerics, Warriors, and Peasants in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Jeffrey P. Mass (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1997), 261–94; Masao Hayakawa, *The Garden Art of Japan* (New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1984), 62–69; Teiji Itoh, *Space and Illusion in the Japanese Garden* (New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1983), 82–83, 103–7; Kenneth Kraft, “Musō Kokushi’s Dialogues in a Dream: Selections,” *The Eastern Buddhist* 14 (1981): 76; W. S. Merwin and Sōiku Shigematsu, *Sun at Midnight: Poems and Sermons by Musō Kokushi* (San Francisco: North Point Press, 1989); Takeji Tamamura, *Musō Kokushi* (Kyōtō: Heirakuji Shoten, 1958). Musō gave his seal of succession to 52 pupils and over his lifetime instructed 13,145 monks.



1. *Mutō Shūi*, Musō Kokushi (from Tsutomu Minakami and Seki Bokuō, eds., Koji Junrei Kyōtō, no. 4, Tenryū-ji no Reikishi to Zen [Kyoto: Tankosha, 1976], 17)

shogunate (*bakufu*). *Zuisen-ji* was an important temple, a place where acolytes petitioned to study Zen Buddhism with Musō.²

The Temple of the Abundant Flowing Spring is relatively small with only a few temple buildings sprinkled amid the rockery and dense foliage of the mountains of north Kamakura (Fig. 2). The largest building in the complex is the Abbot's Quarters of the Temple (*Dai Hōjō*; Fig. 3), the rear of which faces a small pond (*chōsei-chi*; Fig. 4), as well as a cave (*zazen do-okutsu*) carved into the mountain within which, according to legend, successive priests of the temple sat in full-lotus seated meditation (*zazen*). A small shelter on top of the mountain is accessed only by a steep ascent/descent on steps cut from the rock and earth of the mountain. Thus principal buildings are sited both on upper and lower levels of the temple.³

² On *Zuisen-ji*, see my "Temple of the Abundant Flowing Spring," *Kyoto Diary* 5, no. 2 (1999): 1–6; "Buddhism and the Architected Ethical Environment: Zuisen Temple and Garden, Kamakura, Japan," in *Tradition and Ideology in Building: Temples and Rituals* (Berkeley: Center for Environmental Design Research, University of California, 1995), 1–31; "Buddhist Ethics, Environment, and Behavior: Musō Kokushi and the Cave in Zuisen Temple, Kamakura, Japan," in *Environmental Ethics: Discourses and Cultural Traditions*, ed. Rana P. B. Singh (Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh: National Geographical Society of India, 1994), 123–40; "Zen Buddhist Landscapes and the Idea of Temple: Musō Kokushi and Zuisen-ji, Kamakura, Japan," *Architecture and Behavior* 9, no. 2 (1993): 213–26; "Zuisen Temple and Garden, Kamakura, Japan: Design Form and Phylogenetic Meaning," *Journal of Garden History* 10 (1991): 214–36. See also Imtraud Schaarschmidt-Richter and Osamu Mori, *Japanese Gardens*, trans. Janet Seligman (New York: Morrow, 1979), 185–86.

³ This essay is a suggested methodology for the study of garden landscapes. Its phenomenology is situated within an anthropological emphasis on participant observation—not only being present within the situation being researched but, where possible, participating in it (i.e., temple landscapes). The anthropological



2. Zuisen-ji: Aerial view (photo: temple archives)



3. Zuisen-ji: The Abbot's Quarters

Forests and Mountain Fastness

To the left of the pond, a passageway to an escarpment near the top of the mountain is terraced from earth and stone. The rock-cut steps up the passageway are narrow, and the passageway remains steep, at times nearly vertical, and physically difficult in ascent/descent (Figs. 5–8). At times along the way, a glance downwards reveals the garden pond appearing almost directly below. The design of the passageway “does not let one see where it leads; it gives subtly to the scenery, increases its ramifications, creates a sense of seclusion and depth, and prevents the visitor from taking in everything at one glance.”⁴ In the middle of the climb, the Abbot’s Quarters below disappear into surrounding foliage, while the summit plateau of the mountain is yet to be seen. There is only the passage itself. The passageway generates *yūgen*—an awareness of deep unseen significance within the shadows, pregnant

emphasis on participation and observation often includes first-person narratives of personal experiences as a component of final published accounts; see Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973) and *The Anthropology of Experience*, ed. Victor W. Turner and Edward M. Bruner (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986). Into this basic methodology, I incorporate Wilhelm Dilthey’s emphasis on *Erlebnis*, what has been “lived through.” By this Dilthey means that phenomenological narrative accounts ought to enhance for readers a sense of “lived throughedness” with respect to the landscape represented through the firsthand experiences of the researcher; thus, readers are better situated within or affectively experience the landscape narrated through inclusion of the firsthand experience of the researcher. Thereupon, readers might, for instance, conjure up a feeling of not just climbing a mountain but actually “feeling” the rough stones beneath their feet. For Dilthey, experience was primary reality—interestingly, a stance congruent with Japanese Zen Buddhist emphasis on primary experience. Dilthey emphasized that writing in this manner enhances “sharing lived experiences”—what Turner and Bruner term “putting experience into circulation” (12). For this essay, the concerns are the primary experiences of Musō and successive generations of priests and then with my primary experience as the researcher/writer. See also Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre* (New York: Performing Arts Journal Press, 1982); idem, *Wilhelm Dilthey: Selected Writings*, ed. H. P. Rickman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976). As such, the writer does not have to interpret the experience for readers. Phenomenological description *is* interpretation. Gaston Bachelard also emphasizes this mode of phenomenological presentation via inclusion of the felt experience and emotions of the researcher/writer. Phenomenologically, a writer’s goal is to recreate the felt experience of the situation narrated. See esp. Bachelard, *The Poetics of Reverie*, trans. David Russell (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971), 173–212. See also *The Poetics of Space*, trans. M. Jolas (New York: Orion Press, 1964); *Senses of Place*, ed. Keith H. Basso (Santa Fe, N.M.: School of American Research Press, 1996); Edward S. Casey, *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987); Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception* (New York: Humanities Press, 1962); idem, *The Primacy of Perception* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1964); and Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1977). Interestingly, incorporation of phenomenological accounts of direct experience in studies of gardens and other landscapes is congruent with Japanese Zen Buddhist emphasis on heart-to-heart communication of primary experience. Here I emphasize both images and text as a vital aspect of a phenomenological presentation. Especially with respect to gardens and landscapes, well-integrated words and images can heighten a reader’s felt experience. More than ancillary accompaniment to text, well-placed and well-captioned images aid empathetic experience of space and place. On this phenomenological view of images, see John Dewey, *Experience and Nature* (Chicago: Open Court, 1929); idem, *Art as Experience* (New York: Minton Balch, 1934); and Mikel Dufrenne, *The Phenomenology of Aesthetic Experience* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1973).

⁴ Hongxun Yang, *The Classical Gardens of China: History and Design Techniques* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1982), 75.



4. Zuisen-ji: Garden pond in front of the cave carved into the mountainside



5. Zuisen-ji: Bridges over the pond lead to narrow, steep steps carved into the mountainside.



6. Zuisen-ji: Steps leading to the mountain escarpment



7. *Zuisen-ji: Main temple building, as seen when ascending or descending the mountain*



8. *Zuisen-ji: Pond and pond bridges in the temple garden, as seen when ascending or descending the mountain*



9. *Zuisen-ji: Path through the forest, with temple buildings peeking through the trees*

with mystery.⁵ Lush foliage cools the passageway and softens the surrounding mountainous earth and stones.

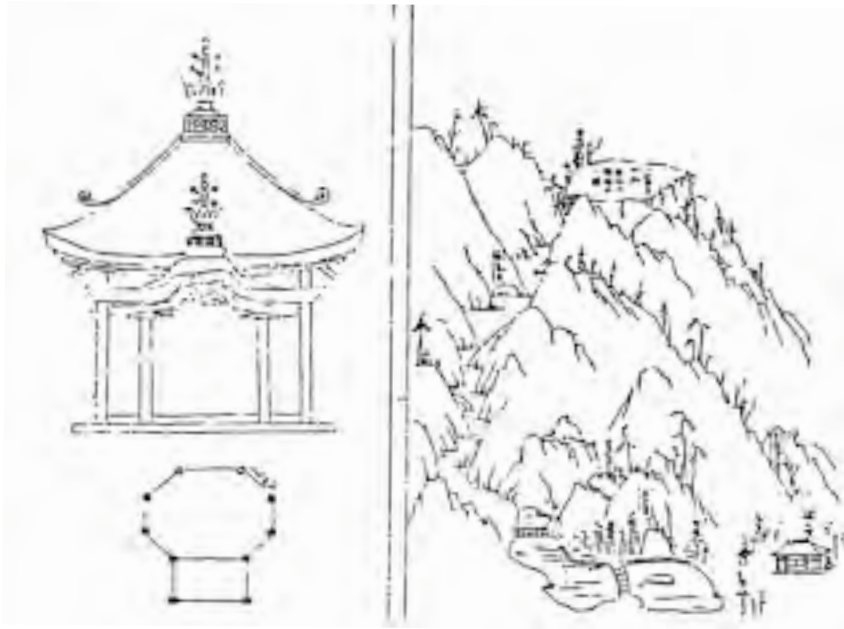
Ahead, there is a slight ascent through a thickening forest of mixed coniferous and deciduous trees (Fig. 9). The path narrows upon approaching the high plateau of the mountain. A bit further ahead, nestled within tall grass, rarely visited, is a wooden arbor (Figs. 10, 11). The garden scholar Iso Mutsu writes:

[I]n 1328, shortly after the temple was founded, the first priest, the celebrated Musō Kokushi, caused a pavilion called *Ichiran-Tei* to be erected upon the summit of the hill . . . in order to afford rest and appreciation of the landscape.⁶

Modest shelters in the forest and arbor pavilions on the top of mountains accompanied Musō's Zen and are a testament to his living simply in and intimately with nature. For more than twenty years, Musō lived a relatively solitary life, and, as historian Ryusaku Tsunoda notes, "[H]e wandered all over Japan to seek a revelation of Truth [*tathāgata*] in its mountain

⁵ On the important 16th-century concept and aesthetic of *yūgen* and garden landscapes, see Vincent T. Covello and Yuji Yoshimura, *The Japanese Art of Stone Appreciation: Suiseki and Its Use with Bonsai* (Rutland, Vt., and Tokyo: Tuttle, 1984), 26–32; Schaarschmidt-Richter and Mori, *Japanese Gardens*, 72; and Makoto Ueda, *Literary and Art Theories in Japan* (Cleveland, Ohio: Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1967), 60–64.

⁶ Mutsu, *Kamakura: Fact and Legend* (Rutland, Vt., and Tokyo: Tuttle, 1955), 73.



10. Zuisen-ji: Mirei Shigemori, historical sketch interpreting the original design of the arbor (from *Nihon Teien Shi Zukan*, vol. 2.1 [Tokyo:Yukosha, 1936–1939], 68)



11. Zuisen-ji: Arbor on the mountain plateau, nested in tall grasses

fastnesses and forests.”⁷ The religious landscapes of Buddhist India and China influenced Musō to explore the interrelationship of mountains and temple buildings. In India and China, Buddhist temple buildings still remain sited near revered mountains to which monks and other believers continue to make pilgrimages. Examples include Vulture Peak near Benares in northern India and T'ai Shan in the Shandong province of eastern China. In Japan, Musō included mountains as a salient aspect of the siting and layout of religious landscapes. Thus, rather than sojourning outside a temple to experience mountains, people experienced mountains via the routine experience of the temple itself. Musō named the arbors he constructed, or had constructed, after people who influenced his religious development; for example, the arbor here on the mountain plateau aspect of *Zuisen-ji* was “The All-Encompassing View from an Arbor [*Ichiran-Tei*],” after the Chinese priest Henkei Ichiran. Musō's original arbor was consumed by a fire in 1439, rebuilt in 1442, but burned again during the Ōnin War (1467–1477). The arbor was rebuilt once more in the early Tokugawa period (1603–1868) by patron and visitor Tokugawa Mitsukuni. Then it was subsequently destroyed during an earthquake in 1703. The present-day arbor was raised on the site of Musō's original *tei* (arbor) by Nikura Shidoshi, an abbot at *Zuisen-ji*. Thus we see that subsequent generations of senior temple priests routinely ascended to and descended from the arbor and site on top of the mountain plateau.

“A Gathering of Beauty”

Iso Mutsu writes:

In olden times, the distant view commanded from this small plateau was highly renowned amongst poets and nature lovers, its beauties having been immortalized in many songs and poems. Beyond the irregular ridge lies the deep blue ocean, distant purple mountains closing in the picture with lovely effect.⁸

Across generations, it appears that the only people invited to this aspect of the temple landscape were those deemed by temple priests to be capable of appreciating the deeply affecting experience. From this site, the visitor still experiences the surrounding mountains so deeply loved by Musō: Tsurugaoka, Nagani, and Tendai to the north; Hakone and Izu to the east; and Mount Fuji to the west. The phrase *henkai ichiranten tei no niwa* (garden arbor for apprehending myriad views all at once) best expresses the experience of the designed interrelationship of person, building, and nature felt here on the mountain plateau.⁹ A

⁷ *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, ed. William De Bary and comp. Ryusaku Tsunoda, William Theodore de Bary, and Donald Keene (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1958), vol. 1, 234. For a definitive discussion of Musō's arbor-making activity, see “Tenryū-ji no Reikishi to Zen” (in Japanese only), in *Koji Junrei Kyōtō* (in Japanese only), no. 4, eds. Tsutomu Minakami and Seki Bokuō (Kyoto: Tankosha, 1976), 81–88.

⁸ Minakami and Bokuō, *Koji Junrei Kyōtō*, 78.

⁹ The incorporation of distant views of nature as an aspect of the design of landscape gardens was termed *shakkei*. See my “Geomancy, Sacred Geometry, and the Idea of a Garden: Tenryū Temple, Kyoto, Japan,” *Journal of Garden History* 9 (1989): 1–19; and my essays in Tadahiko Higuchi, *The Visual and Spatial Structure of Landscapes*, trans. Charles Terry (Cambridge and London: MIT Press, 1988), 146–62; Teiji Itoh, *The Gardens of*

contemporary document written by a resident priest from *Zuisen-ji* poetically describes the encompassing view from this site:

In front there is water [Sagami Bay] which moistens the heavens. To the left, there is a long valley. To the right, there are magnificent rocks leading to Mount Fuji . . .

Japan (New York and Tokyo: Kodansha, 1984), 82–83, 106–8; and idem, *Space and Illusion in the Japanese Garden*, 15–32. For useful overviews of the interrelationship of mountains and human-created religious landscapes, see Edwin Bernbaum, *Sacred Mountains of the World* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1990); Marco Pallis, *The Way and the Mountain* (London: Owen, 1960); John Snelling, *The Sacred Mountain* (London and The Hague: East West, 1983).

The striking design of *Zuisen-ji* and *Saihō-ji* is not exclusively Japanese. The Zen Buddhism passing to Japan was a blend of Buddhism from India and the indigenous Taoism of China. Bodhidharma (Bodi-Daruma), the 28th patriarch, brought Indian Buddhism to China in the 6th century. The Sanskrit term *dhyana* became the Chinese *Ch'an* (Zen). Having made trips to China in 1168 and 1187, the Rinzaï priest Min-an Eisai (Zenko Kokushi, 1141–1215) brought Chinese Zen Buddhism to Japan. Intense interchanges of people, ideas, and artifacts occurred during the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279) in China and the Kamakura period (1186–1333) in Japan. Thus without traveling, Musō was influenced by the designs of venerated Buddhist temple landscapes in China and India. In dynastic China, mountains were the Taoist realm of human beings who sought out mountains as enriched environments for participation in *Ch'i* (Breath of the Tao). Tao-sheng (360–434 A.D.) likened climbing a mountain to the Buddhist experience of enlightenment in that “when the mountain is climbed, the landscape [enlightenment] . . . appears all at once”; see Heinrich Dumoulin, *A History of Zen Buddhism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1963), 64. Tao sheng undoubtedly would have envisioned climbing the pathway at *Zuisen-ji* as a material metaphor of the experience of enlightenment (*kensho* in Chinese; *satori* in Japanese).

Taoist temples in dynastic China invariably were mountain temples; see Dorothy Graham, *Chinese Gardens: Gardens of the Contemporary Scene, an Account of Their Design and Symbolism* (New York: Dodd Mead, 1938), 14: “Taoist priests urged the people to make pilgrimages to the high places, to the caves of hermits and to the shrines in the far hills.” Remnants of arbor pavilions and subtemples dot the summit of revered mountains, such as Taishan in north China, analogous to the placement of the *Zuisen-ji Ichiran-Tei*; see J. Porter and E. Porter, *All under Heaven: The Chinese World* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), 90: “The wind isolates Taishan’s summit from the land below like an island of abandoned solitude. A large Taoist temple, its rusted brown roof tiles made of cast iron to withstand the wind, sits in a sheltered depression just below the summit . . . A more humble building occupies the very summit itself.” In Buddhist India and China, mountains deemed sacred invariably are laced with rock-cut pathways for pilgrims. See also Anna M. Hotchkis and Mary Augusta Mullikan, *The Nine Sacred Mountains of China* (Hong Kong: Vetch and Lee, 1973); Paul W. Kroll, “Verses from on High: The Ascent of T’ai Shan,” *Toung Pao* 69, nos. 4–5 (1983): 223–60; Nelson I. Wu, *Chinese and Indian Architecture: The City of Man, the Mountain, and the Realm of the Immortals* (New York: Braziller, 1963). As a final design corollary to *Zuisen-ji* and *Saihō-ji*, the summit of Taishan was experienced only after traversing a physically challenging winding path of 7,000 steps. See Dumoulin (as above, note 9, para. 2): “[I]t is correct, however, that the canon of Indian Buddhism described the way to final realization, namely to enlightenment and nirvana, in the form of a gradually ascending path” (63).

Of course, there are prominent instances in Japan of climbing mountains for spiritual experiences not associated with temples, but many of these mountains are *kami* (deities of Shinto, an indigenous Japanese belief), and/or are marked with Shinto shrines as dwellings for *kami* associated with these mountains. See esp. Carmen Blacker, *The Catalpa Bow: A Study of Shamanistic Practices in Japan* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1975), 279–97; Allan G. Grapard, “Flying Mountains and Walkers of Emptiness: Toward a Definition of Sacred Space in Japanese Religions,” *History of Religions* 21, no. 3 (1982): 195–221; Ichiro Hori, “Mountains and Their Importance for the Idea of the Other World,” *History of Religions* 6, no. 1 (1966): 1–23. Musō’s writings do not mention a Shinto influence on the design of *Zuisen-ji* and *Saihō-ji*, nor do I. Musō’s consciousness was Buddhist. On the other hand, I am not aware of any texts documenting the religious kinship of the landscape at *Zuisen-*

These rocks stand in the sky, and have accumulated the snow from ancient times. It is like the Spirit Mountain of Tsurugaoka. Mountains and rivers come together, the high and the low, the far and the near. There is a gathering of beauty, transcending the beauty of each element.¹⁰

The effort of ascending to this site culminated in an affecting experience of distant mountains. To be invited to share this vantage point apparently was being invited to share a feature of nature important to Musō, though of course every invited guest perhaps did not experience nature as Buddha-Nature (*bushshō*). The present-day arbor is weathered. The upper half of two sides are open, and views of the surrounding landscape visiting each of the open walls are framed by corner posts and by the sloping eaves of the tiled roof (Figs. 12, 13). Musō and invited guests came here, contemplated nature, and wrote poems. Mutsu adds:

around the interior a collection of poems, inspired by the beauty of the scenery and composed upon the spot, were inscribed on panels of lacquered wood. These panels are still preserved in the guest room of the temple.¹¹

There are no human-constructed features on this plateau associated with formal seated meditation (*zazen*), as on the upper reaches of *Saihō-ji*. For Musō as well as for invited guests, the shared experience here apparently emphasized the sustained, felt experience of nature. And for Musō, nature was the clear mirror of Buddha-Nature (*bushshō*).¹² While sitting here in winter, Musō wrote:

The hut of the mountain
Where the pine is piled
White snow in the garden
Peeking at the treetop.¹³

The site on top of the mountain plateau, this aspect of the temple, remains a deeply affecting interrelationship of nature and the human-created landscape, as Musō intended (Fig. 14).

ji and *Saihō-ji* to venerated Buddhist landscapes in India or China. However, the design and layout of *Zuizen-ji* and *Saihō-ji* as Buddhist temple landscapes *physically* and *spatially* embody inheritance from China. See V. Dehejia, *Early Buddhist Rock Temples: A Chronology* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1972): “[T]he monasteries of China borrowed their basic organization from India” (144). See also my “Temple as Relationship: On the Origin of Tenryū Temple and Garden, Kyoto, Japan,” in *Temples in Traditional Environments*, Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Working Paper Series 49, no. 1 (Berkeley: Center for Environmental Design Research, University of California, 1993): 1–29; idem, “Geomancy,” *Journal of Garden History* 9 (as above, note 9).

¹⁰ This vivid description in English of a view from the arbor is in a temple brochure.

¹¹ Mutsu, *Kamakura*, 73.

¹² It is difficult to know the mindset—the consciousness—of every invited visitor to this site. Primary records are scant, but translated existing documentation conveys viewers’ affecting experiences.

¹³ “Matsumo mata kasanaru yama no iho ni nite ni tsutsuku niwa no shira-yuki.” See esp. 139, Matsunoke Tatsui, “Musō Kokushi to Zoen” (in Japanese only), *Teien* 24 (1942): 138–42.



12. Zuisen-ji: Interior of the arbor, with contemporary benches and a dust whisk on the shelf.



13. Zuisen-ji: View to the southwest, from inside the mountaintop arbor



14. Zuisen-ji: View to the south, from inside the mountaintop arbor

Temple of the Western Fragrance

The Temple of the Western Fragrance (*Saihō-ji*) is sited to the west of Kyōtō. In January 794, Emperor Kwammu (736–805) ordered the administrative capital of Japan (*Yamato*, place between mountains) moved from Nara (*Heijō-kyō*, Nagaoka) to Kyōtō (*Heian-kyō*, *U-kyō*, Capital of Peace and Tranquility).¹⁴ Kyōtō was popularly known as the City of Purple Hills and Crystal Streams (*Sanshi-Suimei*). The poetic name signifies the manner in which the new capital interwove the human (city) with aspects of nature and mountains, specifically.

The capital itself [Kyōtō] was situated in beautiful country, encircled on three sides by thickly forested hills and mountains, often delicately wreathed with trails of mist. In the autumn evenings, one could hear the deer's cry in the distance and the desolate call of the wild geese overhead. The landscape abounded in streams and waterfalls and lakes, and into its green slopes and valleys the countless shrines and monasteries blended as if they too had become a part of nature.¹⁵

¹⁴ At this time, a unified nation called Japan did not exist. *Yamato* refers to the name of a powerful matrilineal clan of related families of central southern Honshū. They had begun to unify the island politically and were based on the Yamato plain near Nara. See *The Kojiki: Records of Ancient Matters*, trans. Basil Hall Chamberlain (Rutland, Vt., and Tokyo: Tuttle, 1981), vols. 65–73; *The Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697*, trans. by W. G. Aston (Rutland, Vt., and Tokyo: Tuttle, 1985), 1–138; George Sansom, *A History of Japan to 1334* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1958), 41–66.

¹⁵ Ivan Morris, *The World of the Shining Prince: Court Life in Ancient Japan* (New York: Knopf, 1964), 18–19.

Present-day *Saihō-ji* was sited within the mountains west of the City of Purple Hills and Crystal Streams, an area of prior religious significance (Fig. 15). The religious presence in this area dates to 731, with construction of Matsuo, a still-venerated Shinto shrine a short distance from present-day *Saihō-ji*. Later in the twelfth century, an influential member of the Fujiwara clan of families funded the siting and construction of several Buddhist temples within the area historically served by Matsuo Shrine. Fujiwara Morokaza was a venerated Shinto priest at Matsuo Shrine as well as an ardent believer in the Jōdo sect of Buddhism (*Jōdo-shū*, the School of the Pure Land), introduced into Japan by the monk Ennin (793–864) and institutionalized by the monk Hōnen (1133–1212). Jōdo Buddhists still believe that faith in and a deathbed recitation of Amida's name is enough to usher one into the bliss of Amida's Pure Land of Paradise (*Sukhavatī*), which lies to the West (congruent with the siting of *Saihō-ji* amid the mountains west of Kyōtō).

Morokaza funded the construction of two Jōdo Buddhist temples (ca. 1190–1198), the design and layout of which were the foundation of present-day *Saihō-ji*. The temples were laid out north to south (lower to the south; upper to the north), and temple buildings were spread out on the southern slope of Mount Torigatake. The two spatially distinct yet interrelated temples manifested important aspects of Jōdo Buddhist cosmology: the Temple of Aloofness from the Foul World (*Edō-ji*) was sited on an upper escarpment of the mountain, and the Temple of the Western Fragrance (*Saihō-ji*) was sited on the lower piedmont (Mount Kōin) of the mountain. The lower *Saihō-ji* complex in particular gained prominence as a physical microcosm of the Western Paradise awaiting believers in Amida Buddhism, “a world of tranquility, of paradise, and of life.”¹⁶ The expansive pond originally dominating *Saihō-ji* was envisioned as the celestial garden lakes of the Pure Land, a land of beauty and goodness.

The Music of Flowers

As a Zen Buddhist temple, present-day *Saihō-ji* was constructed between 1339 and 1341. Fujiwara Chikahide (1288–1341), a descendant of Morokaza, was a provincial governor as devoted to Zen Buddhism as his forebear had been to Amida Buddhism.¹⁷ Zen is a

¹⁶ Itoh, *The Gardens of Japan*, 104. Pure Land Buddhism (“easy path”) was distinguished from Zen (“difficult path”). Hōnen felt that Zen was too arduous for most believers so he offered a way to salvation on the basis of faith alone—faith, that is, in the deity Amida, a Bodhisattva who had refused to accept Buddhahood until all beings became aware of their inherent Buddha-Nature. It is still believed that lifelong faith in and recitation of the mantra “Namu Amida Butsu” (Veneration to Buddha Amida) reverberates for salvation from the suffering of all living things.

¹⁷ Works in English especially influencing my interpretation of Zen Buddhism include Heinrich Dumoulin, *Zen Enlightenment: Origins and Meaning* (New York: Weatherhill, 1979); idem, *Zen Buddhism: A History*: vol. 2, *Japan* (New York and London: Collier Macmillan, 1990); Rindo Fujimoto, *The Way of Zazen* (Cambridge: Cambridge Buddhist Association, 1961); idem, *The Record of Rinzai*, trans. Irmgaard Schloegel (London: Buddhist Society, 1975); idem, *The Zen Teaching of Rinzai*, trans. Irmgaard Schloegel (Berkeley, Calif.: Shambhala, 1976); Katsuki Sekida, *Zen Training, Methods and Philosophy* (New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1975); Daisetz Suzuki, *The Training of the Zen Buddhist Monk* (New York: University Books, 1959); idem, *The Essentials of Zen Buddhism* (New York: Dutton, 1962).



15. Saihō-ji: *Present-day topographic map (from Mitchell Bring and Josse Wayembergh, Japanese Gardens: Design and Meaning [New York: McGraw Hill, 1981], 17)*

sect of Buddhism holding that enlightenment (*kensho*, *satori*), the experience of Buddha-consciousness (*bushshō*), is not a hoped-for experience culminating a lifetime of diligent effort. Rather, Zen Buddhists believe that enlightenment can occur suddenly as “the immediate expression and actualization of the perfection present in every person at every moment.”¹⁸ Zen Buddhists model the enlightenment experiences of Shakyamuni (i.e., Siddhartha Gautama, the historical Buddha) rather than the texts (*sutra*) of his reputed words, as do believers in other Buddhist sects. Enlightenment is not something for which

¹⁸ Ingrid Fischer-Schreiber, Franz-Karl Ehrhard, and Michael S. Diener, eds., *The Shambhala Dictionary of Buddhism and Zen* (Boston: Shambhala, 1991), 263. Zen is often imaged in association with the cross-legged seated (lotus) posture of *zazen* and as such is often depicted as physically immobile, static contemplation. Musō, though, appeared to place design emphasis on “walking” Zen (*kinhin*) as well as on “seated” Zen (*zazen*).

one strives; instead, when experienced, enlightenment often occurs as one's moment-to-moment experience of truth (*tathāgata*). Emphasis on the unfettered experience of existence itself means that Zen Buddhism is "an absolutely pure exercise from which nothing is sought and nothing is gained." Zen Buddhism places emphasis on comparatively accessible methods for liberating believers from ignorance, desire, and "self" (the belief in ego consciousness as reality), so that people hopefully experience being fully present to existence itself.

Musō accepted a commission from Chikahide to convert the earlier Jōdo Buddhist landscapes into a Zen Buddhist temple. He arrived to find a desolate area, ravaged by periodic fire and flood. Musō had subtemple buildings rebuilt and restored other features of the complex.¹⁹ To signal the emergence of a Zen Buddhist temple, Musō changed the name of the complex from Temple of the Western *Direction* (in reference to the paradise of Jōdo Buddhism) to Temple of the Western *Fragrance* (in reference to the presence in Japan of Zen Buddhism from China).

Musō maintained the spatial layout of the prior Jōdo Buddhist site, and he reiterated the spatial distinction between a lower area and an upper area experienced only by ascending/descending Mount Kōin on the southern slope of Mount Torigatake. Musō reconceptualized *Saihō-ji* as a single Zen Buddhist temple, though still comprised of two distinct spatial arenas. *Edō-ji*, on the upper reaches of Mount Kōin, had eroded, and subtemple buildings were lost to the ravages of time. Musō constructed pavilions and teahouses on the lower area of the complex. The pond, restored and reshaped, remained the focus of the lower garden area of the complex.

The few early descriptions of *Saihō-ji*, made by visitors some time after Musō, invariably comment on the lower aspect of the temple. On 26 March 1349, Emperor Komyō visited the temple by invitation, and "he did no more than have a good time admiring the cherry flowers, listening to music, and riding in a boat on the pond. The high-minded Zen precepts on which Musō Soseki (Musō's monastic name) had based the garden design were forgotten; people were interested solely in the beauty of the landscape."²⁰ On 18 March 1433, Prince Sadafusa of Fushimi province visited *Saihō-ji*:

I was escorted throughout the temple. No words can describe the beauty of the scenery around the pond.²¹

It appears that aesthetic, not religious sensibilities accompanied conventionally horizontal movement around the lower garden area of *Saihō-ji*. The complex resurrected by Chikahide and redesigned under Musō's direction was destroyed during the Ōnin War, save for one

¹⁹ Musō refurbished and renamed buildings primarily after places and personages from the Zen Buddhist text, *The Blue Cliff Record* (*Heikanroku*) from Song dynasty China. For instance, the prior Pure Land pond was renamed *Ogonchi* (Golden Pond—spiritual light), referring to the Chinese priest Nanyang, whom Musō venerated.

²⁰ Itoh, *The Gardens of Japan*, 106–7.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 109.

subtemple building. Floodwaters submerged the lower aspect of the site in 1485, from 1624 to 1644, and again in 1688. Waves of successive destruction and always partial reconstruction ended in 1887 with the most recent reconstruction of subtemple buildings and with ongoing maintenance of the temple landscape. Present-day *Saihō-ji* still exhibits spatially distinct upper and lower aspects of the landscape of the temple complex. Experience of the temple in its entirety still requires concerted and often laborious physical movement up, across, then subsequently down Mount Kōin.

Moss, and Threads of Gold

Upon entering the present-day eight-acre complex of *Saihō-ji*, the visitor initially experiences the lower aspect of the temple and the celebrated moss garden (*koke dera*) (Figs. 16–18). There was no moss, though, before or during the time of Musō. The moss carpeting the lower aspect of the temple rooted during the sixteenth century and took life during various periods of flooding—areas where the lower aspect of the site was protected by mountains, where the forest of trees provided continual shade and the clay soil held vital moisture. One-hundred-twenty species of new moss presently are tended here. Some species grow to grasslike heights of four inches, while other species of moss hug the contours of the ground as far as the eye and imagination can see. The forest embracing the lower pond garden is a swarm of muted hues of green and yellow and brown. The lower area of the temple is a garden canopy of maple and evergreen trees filtering sunlight into slender shafts and threads of gold.

The curvilinear pond continues as an experiential focus of the lower area of the temple. One moves around the pond and lower garden on gravel-strewn pathways, and “one enjoys ever-changing views of the landscape as one strolls through its spaces.”²² This style of garden is termed a *chisen-kaiyu* (go-around or stroll garden), a style of garden by design encouraging (conventionally horizontal) movement around the lower landscape aspect of the temple. During the time of Musō, most invited guests apparently only experienced this aspect of the temple.

A Pathway of Contemplative Movement

A pathway to the north of the Abbot's Quarters (*Dai Hōjō*) ascends from the pond and lower garden to the upper area of the temple (Figs. 19, 20). The canopy of trees sheltering the lower area thins further along and up the pathway. Similar to *Zuisen-ji*, subtemple buildings within the lower area disappear during the middle of the ascending/descending passage. The ascent across the face of Mount Kōin to the upper area and subsequent descent bring to mind Chinese scrolls. In dynastic China, scrolls were rolled around two wooden rods, with one rod held in each hand. To view a scroll, the rods were rolled in coordination such that the drawing or painting, invariably of a landscape, was furled from rod to rod,

²² Hayakawa, *The Garden Art of Japan*, 61. Earlier phases of the landscape garden on this site were designed for viewing from the interior of buildings or from boats on the pond.



16. Saihō-ji: *Present-day Abbot's Quarters (Dai Hōjō)*



17. Saihō-ji: *A path winding around the Golden Pond begins at the rear of the Abbot's Quarters.*



18. Saihō-ji: Present-day Golden Pond, where a blanket of moss extends to the edges of the water

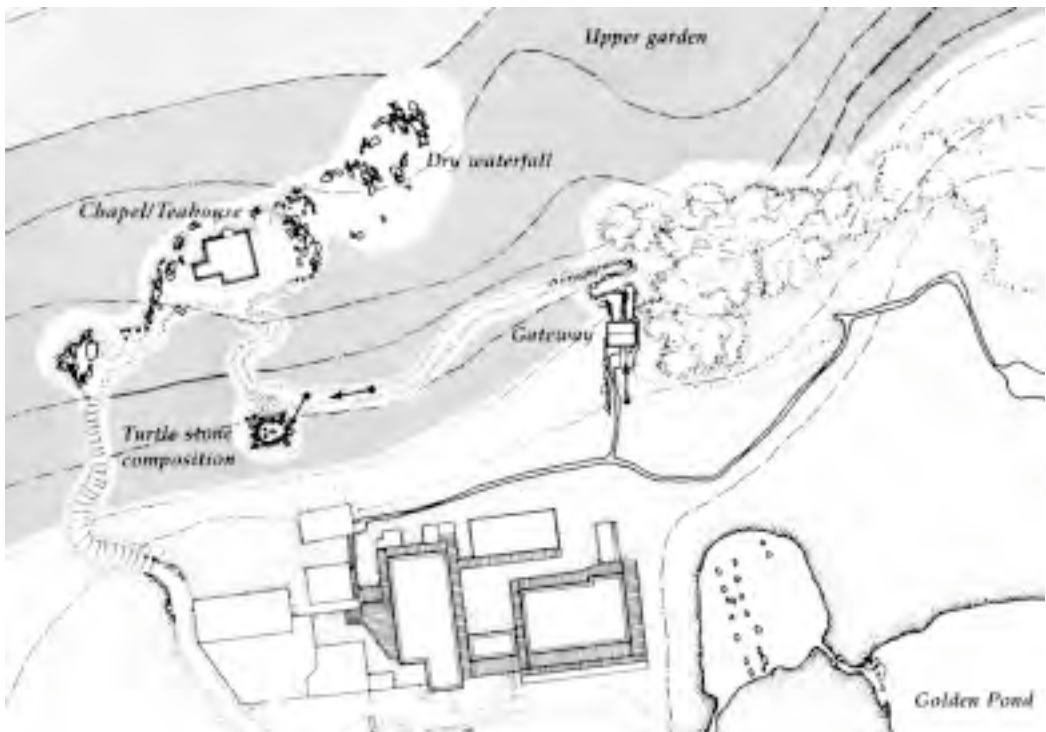
literally flowing before the viewer scene by scene. The pictorial landscape was designed not to be experienced all at once. Similarly, and akin to the layout of *Zuisen-ji*, the landscape of *Saihō-ji* continues to be experienced as a gradually unfolding vista. The experience of the ascent to/descent from the upper area of the temple is such that “as we go along the path which leads off among the moss and trees, the garden will be revealed to us bit by bit.”²³ Gates, foliage, and building architecture focus awareness and attention, as one moves through the several inclined spatial arenas comprising the temple complex. It is as if the temple landscape is a panoramic painting, the various areas of which are experienced only as one moves through the painting.

The canopy of trees sheltering the lower area of the temple complex thins further along the passageway. Similar to Musō’s layout of *Zuisen-ji*, subtemple buildings within the lower area disappear during the middle of the ascent/descent. During ascent/descent, there is only the *yūgen* of the passage itself. Entrance into the upper garden area of *Saihō-ji* is still marked by a covered wooden gate (*Kōjōkan*) and by magnificent stands of bamboo (Figs. 21, 22). Passing through and under the gateway, visitors’ further movement to and from the upper garden area of the temple is along the steep angle of the face of the mountain, where

²³ Loraine Kuck, *The World of the Japanese Garden: From Chinese Origins to Modern Landscape Art* (New York and Tokyo: Walker and Weatherhill, 1984), 105.



19. Saihō-ji: Path leading from the lower area of the temple to its upper area



20. Saihō-ji: Topographic map of primary features and structures of the upper area of the temple (from Bring and Wayembergh, Japanese Gardens, 20)

venerated foot stones (*Tsūshō* Path) “carry” visitors further along (Fig. 23). As at *Zuisen-ji*, final ascent, then descent from the mountain, became increasingly difficult, physically and emotionally.

A visually prominent building appears at the plateau of the upper area, similar to the layout of *Zuisen-ji*. The subtemple building here is a chapel (*Shitō-an*) raised in commemoration of Musō (Figs. 24, 25). The still-distinct upper/lower spatial areas comprising *Saihō-ji* provided generations of resident priests and invited guests stark contrasts in experiencing the temple landscape, dependent upon the effort of movement one was invited to undertake. Most guests apparently limited their experience to the lower area of the temple; other guests, though, ascended then descended Mount Kōin to experience the upper area. During one visit, Prince Sadafusa wrote that he had “burned incense in the *Shitō-an* . . . and [similar to *Zuisen-ji*] enjoyed the view of the fields before us and the distant scenery.”²⁴

Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (1358–1408) visited *Saihō-ji* in 1382 and climbed to the upper area to sit within the chapel long into the night in meditation and veneration of Musō. Ashikaga Yoshimasa (1435–1490) climbed here in 1458 to burn incense in the chapel in memory of Musō. For these historical visitors, the upper area of the temple was not so much a religious landscape as a site associated with the *kokoro* (heart) of Musō Kokushi.

In the Midst and Mist of Nature

The present-day upper area of the complex is relatively level, rocky, and moss-laden in areas. Musō intended the upper area to be experienced as “this world as it is” (*tathatā*), where “physical form and the human heart produce mutual reverberations.”²⁵ During his years of living in forests and wandering amid mountains, Musō wrote of several experiences of awareness of the Buddha–Nature of nature.²⁶

[O]nce a person awakens to the field of Original Nature, he sees that Buddha–nature, mind, *tathāgata-garbha* . . . as well as . . . the great earth, mountains, rivers, grass, tiles, or stones, are all the field of Original Nature.²⁷

Thus in the upper area of *Saihō-ji*, Musō sought to emphasize nature and the Buddha–Nature of nature as a vital aspect of the temple landscape. Buddhism during the time of Musō generally taught that enlightenment was possible only for people. Musō, though, felt that Buddha–Nature was the nature of both nature (*shizen*) as well as people (*hito*). People already possessed Buddha–Nature, but few were aware of it. Both people and nature “originated from the same common ground,” participating in the same nature.²⁸ However, Musō felt that nature rather than people more clearly revealed Buddha–Nature. Musō would have

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid., 67.

²⁶ For a well-edited collection of Musō’s writings and poetry, see Merwin and Shigematsu, *Sun at Midnight*.

²⁷ See Kenneth Kraft, “Musō Kokushi’s Dialogues,” 90 (as above, note 1).

²⁸ See *Nature in Asian Traditions of Thought: Essays in Environmental Philosophy*, ed. J. Baird Callicott and Roger T. Ames (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), 155.



21. Saihō-ji: Gateway demarcating the lower and upper areas of the temple



22. Saihō-ji: Overhead view of the gateway



23. Saihō-ji: Footpath of stones winds from the gateway to a plateau near the mountaintop
(photo: Masao Hayakawa, *The Garden Art of Japan* [New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill/Heibonsha, 1984], 62)



24. Saihō-ji: Combination chapel and teahouse built to commemorate Musō Kokushi



25. Saihō-ji: View to the south from the combined chapel/teahouse

been familiar with the earlier argument of Kobo Daishi (774–835, Kūkai) for the Buddha-Nature of trees and rocks (*mokusekibusshō*). Musō wrote, “[T]here is no desire in nature; desire exists in the mind of man.”²⁹ Buddha-Nature thus could be experienced directly in nature, spontaneously, as nature was unfettered by illusion. Nature simply is. For Musō the experience of nature—movement through nature—also appears pedagogical:

[T]he garden beyond the Ko-jo-kan gate does not welcome the intrusion of outsiders. In fact, it is likely that this part of the temple garden was reserved for special discipline from which the laity was excluded.³⁰

Only about twenty people were residing at *Saihō-ji* at the time: an abbot (Musō Kokushi initially), the abbot’s acolyte or personal attendant, sixteen or so priests, and one or two novices or postulants.³¹ It is likely then that during the early life of the complex the upper garden area was only experienced by successive abbots, by priests, and by invited guests. The upper area gradually became associated with the direct experience of nature, as at *Zuisen-ji*. In addition, several well-known features of the limited-access upper area here remain associated with Musō’s—and resident priests’/select visitors’—practice of seated medita-

²⁹ Sutemi Horiguchi, *Niwa to Kukan Kosei no Dento* (in Japanese only) (Tokyo: Zenjiro Kawasho/Kajima Kenkyusho, 1977), 28–29.

³⁰ Masao Hayakawa, *The Garden Art of Japan*, 66.

³¹ See Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, 150.

tion (*zazen*) in nature: in particular, a composition of stones in the shape of a turtle (*kame*) and a composition of stones in the shape of a waterfall.

“A Light Rain Fell Dripping on Him”

During the time of Musō, flat-top stones taken from the land were arranged into a still-celebrated composition called *kame-ishi* (turtle island), referencing the turtle, an important being in Buddhist cosmology.³² Similar to the arbor on the mountain plateau within *Zuisen-ji*, this iconographic complex of stones was placed near a precipice across which still lie distant landscapes and mountains, in particular, to the south (Figs. 26, 27): “Musō Kokushi had a *zazen* stone of medium height to enable him to practice *zazen* . . . in the midst of nature.”³³ This composition of stones continues to be termed a *zazen ishi* by resident priests within the temple, though, I am told, present-day resident priests do not sit in *zazen* on these stones.

Musō modeled the stones for his *zazen* after a legend from China and his veneration of Chinese Zen Buddhist priests. *The Record of the Blue Cliff* (*Hekiganroku*) states:

In the reign of Zhenghe (1111–1117), in the Song Dynasty, a man named Xiong Xiucai made a trip to Mount Xishan in Hong province. As he was being carried up the mountain in a palanquin, a light rain fell dripping on him from the green leaves of the trees. At the end of his climb, he came upon an old white-haired priest seated on a stone [referencing the present *zazen ishi*]. Xiong Xiucai said to the man: ‘Today there are no good priests. I have heard that the famous abbot Liang [whom Musō venerated] secluded himself on this mountain. Perhaps you are that very same Liang.’ In reply, the old priest pointed eastward [referencing the present-day *Shitō-an*; the name itself means pointing to the east]. Xiong Xiucai looked to the east, but when he turned around again the old man was gone. The surface of the stone where he had seen the old man sitting was dry, though rain had wet all the rest.³⁴

Musō appears to have intended that experience of the upper area at *Saihō-ji* to mimic the ascent, rest and seated contemplation, then descent narrated in *The Record of the Blue Cliff*.

³² On the Buddhist ontological significance of the turtle and tortoise, see M.W. DeVisser, *The Dragon in China and Japan* (Amsterdam: Johannes Muller, 1913), 39–42; Itoh, *The Gardens of Japan*, 71; and *The Taiheiki: Chronicle of Medieval Japan*, trans. by Helen Craig McCullough (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 376.

³³ Schaarschmidt-Richter and Mori, *Japanese Gardens*, 253.

³⁴ Ibid. Teiji Itoh elaborates: “[T]he stony mountain path and the trees recall the slopes of Xishan [Western Mountain, referencing the direction around which *Saihō-ji* was oriented symbolically] that Xiong Xiucai ascended in his palanquin, and the garden is accented with a stone called the *zazen*, or ‘seated meditation,’ in reference to that on which Liang was seated.” In reply to Chikahide’s invitation to restore the site, Musō is reputed to have said, “I am happy to be able to live and work in a place that has the same name [western mountains, or *xishan* in Chinese] as the one in Hong province associated with abbot Liang.” See Itoh, *The Gardens of Japan*, 106. See also Yüan-wu (1063–1135), *The Blue Cliff Record*, trans. John and Thomas Cleary (Boulder, Colo.: Shambhala, 1977).



26. Saihō-ji: *View of the turtle island of stones*



27. Saihō-ji: *The turtle island of stones is sited near the plateau precipice and is associated with views of mountains to the south.*

Mountain, temple, and the designed movements of participants are constituent aspects of religious landscapes in Buddhist India and China venerated by Musō. Correspondingly, in these his first several temple designs, mountain, buildings, and the movements of participants by design are constituent aspects of Musō's *Buddhist* conception of a religious landscape.

“Not a Drop of Water” in the Stones

Slightly to the northwest of the stones for seated contemplation and the chapel, there is a second aspect of the upper area to this day associated with the enlightened presence of Musō. An intricate composition of stones is nested into the bend of the plateau, where Mount Torigatake resumes its steep ascent to/descent from its summit (Figs. 28, 29). The prevailing interpretation is that this well-known composition of stones evokes a waterfall and that “although there is not a drop of water in this dry-landscape garden [*karesansui*] of huge stones, the spatial composition seems to make the viewer's ears ring with the roar of a great flood.”³⁵ Motion, frozen motion, yet Musō named this composition of stones Mount Ko'inzan. The reference, then, is not to a waterfall but to the mountains of Hung-cho, China, and to the site of a hermitage built by the venerated priest Liang Tsuo-shū in *The Record of the Blue Cliff*.³⁶ Finally, garden scholar Teiji Itoh perceptively suggests that the “waterfall” perhaps also functioned as a staircase of stepping stones leading from the plateau here to the summit of Mount Torigatake.³⁷ If so, then Musō would have perhaps paused here, sat in meditation on the *zazen* stone, only to rise and then once again move deeper into his beloved forests and mountains (Fig. 30).

The Nature of Landscapes and the Landscapes of Nature

In “West Mountain Evening Talk,” Musō wrote directly as to how, from his point of view, we can interpret the design of movement as a vital aspect of *Zuisen-ji* and *Saihō-ji*. When Musō was abbot at *Nanzen-ji*, another senior priest challenged him because

for the last twenty years, ever since you finished your study in the monasteries, you have been moving from one place to another. By now, you have changed the place you live more than ten times. I think this is harmful to a Zen student. It exhausts him and interferes with his practice.

Musō calmly replied:

[I]t was not because of the Buddha's words that I kept moving on. I think of his enlightenment as my home, and I never left that whether I went off to the east or stayed behind in the west. Some people stay at one monastery for a long time, but

³⁵ Hayakawa, *The Garden Art of Japan*, 62.

³⁶ Schaarschmidt-Richter and Mori, *Japanese Gardens*, 180, where Mori states that the waterfall iconographically references a steep, rocky pathway ascending to/descending from a Chinese mountain hermitage.

³⁷ Itoh, *The Gardens of Japan*, 107.



28. Saihō-ji: *Waterfall of stones. A recently added pathway of stones leads to the central stones complex.*



29. Saihō-ji: *Waterfall of stones. Note the steplike quality to the arrangement of the stones.*

30. *Musō Kokushi* (from *Tōchi Yoshioka*, Zen [Osaka: Hoikusha, 1984], 19; photo: Shōkei Hirota)



they do not always sit on the same Zen mat. Sometimes they leave it to wash their hands or faces. Sometimes they walk in the garden or climb a mountain to look out over the country. You might say that they too were rather frivolous. But, *because their minds are fixed on the one point, even when they are moving around, it is not correct to say that they are somewhere else.*³⁸ [emphasis mine]

For Musō, Buddha–Nature was ever–present—whether moving or not moving, sitting (*zazen*) or walking in mindful contemplation (*kinhin*). Sitting/walking; ascending/descending—all are contemplative modes of being present to existence. Both motion and stillness are vital to the layout and experience of *Zuisen-ji* and *Saihō-ji*; each reflects the other and, as Gaston Bachelard reminds us, “[I]n its reflections the world is twice beautiful.”³⁹

Zuisen-ji and *Saihō-ji* were sited and laid out so as to incorporate mountains as a constituent aspect of each temple. In each instance mountains themselves still demand the inclined, often nearly vertical movements of people privileged to experience each temple in its entirety. The religious landscapes associated with the venerable Musō Kokushi are a reminder that the world is a religious mode of being.⁴⁰ Experience of the Temple of the Abundant Flowing Spring and the Temple of the Western Fragrance remains a deeply affecting reminder that garden landscapes of nature often condition a religious mode of being in the world.

³⁸ Merwin and Shigematsu, *Sun at Midnight*, 143.

³⁹ Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, 199; see also *The Poetics of Reverie*, 171–212.

⁴⁰ Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1959), 116–59. See also my “Garden as Sacred Space,” in *The Power of Place*, ed. James Swan (Wheaton, Ill.: Quest Books, 1991), 167–87.