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**KODANSHA  
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# G

## **gagaku**

Traditional music of the Japanese imperial court. Derived from the Chinese word *yayue* (*ya-yüeh*), which denotes ancient ritual music played by a large orchestra of stone chimes, bronze bells, flutes, drums, and numerous other instruments, the term was applied in both Japan and Korea to all of the music of the court.

**Repertoire** — *Gagaku* comprises three main bodies of music: *tōgaku*, music said to be in the style of the Tang (T'ang) period (7th–10th centuries) of China; *komagaku*, a music style said to have been introduced from ancient Korea; and finally, all of the many forms of native Japanese music associated with rituals of the Shintō religion.

*Tōgaku* comprises the largest part of the repertoire and includes well over 100 compositions. These can be performed as instrumental concert pieces, called *kangen* ("winds and strings") or as dance pieces, in which case the performance is referred to as *bugaku* ("dance music"). *Komagaku* includes a smaller number of compositions which are always performed as *bugaku*.

The *tōgaku* and *komagaku* repertoires exist in written Japanese notation, a different method of notation being required for each instrument of the ensemble. According to tradition, *tōgaku* is said to include not only compositions from Tang China, but a number of compositions from India, Southeast Asia, and Central Asia. Today the exact origins of each *tōgaku* composition are not clear, since compositions from many parts of Asia were already combined into the *tōgaku* style at the time of the introduction of this music into Japan from China. Subsequently new compositions in the *tōgaku* style were added by Japanese composers.

*Komagaku* is thought to include compositions from each of the three Korean kingdoms of ancient times: Silla, Koguryō, and Paekche. Japanese compositions in the *komagaku* genre were even more numerous than in *tōgaku*.

The oldest and most carefully preserved of the various forms of Shintō ritual music and dance used in the imperial court is the *KAGURA*, formally called *mikagura* (court *kagura*) in order to distinguish it from the various folk forms of Shintō music which are also called *kagura*. Besides the *mikagura*, this group of Shintō ritual songs and dances includes the *Yamato uta*, *Azuma asobi*, and *Kume uta*. The *mikagura* is central to the style, and the other three forms are in some way modeled on it. All are thought of as sacred ritual offerings of music and dance intended to please and pacify Shintō deities.

Also included in the *gagaku* repertoire are *SAIBARA* and *rōei*, two forms musically related to *tōgaku*. *Saibara* originated as a body of regional Japanese folk songs which were brought to the capital and reset in an elegant court style during the Heian period (794–1185). *Rōei* lyrics are based on Chinese poetic forms. Today, only a small number of *saibara* and *rōei* compositions continue to be performed by court musicians.

**History** — Something akin to the *kagura* songs and dances existed before the beginning of formal diplomatic contacts with the courts of Tang and Korea, when mainland forms of music were introduced into Japan. During the Nara period (710–794), a great number of these styles of music existed, each with its own special musicians, dancers, and types of instruments. The musicians and dancers responsible for the native Japanese rituals were grouped together into the Ōta-dokoro (Bureau of Music). Sometime during the early part of the Heian period, the various styles of foreign music were combined into the two categories, *tōgaku* and *komagaku*. During the Heian period, *gagaku* was performed both by the court nobles and by hereditary guilds of professional musicians. The *TALE OF GENJI* (*Genji monogatari*) gives a rich and detailed picture of how this music and dance functioned as an integral part of the life of nobles of the period.

With the fall of the noble classes in the early part of the Kamakura period (1185–1333), the popularity of *gagaku* waned. It was

maintained by guilds and the remaining nobles, each in relative isolation from the other. The musicians were divided into three groups and were in service in Kyōto, Nara, and Ōsaka. From this time until the mid-19th century, the *gagaku* tradition continued without the support of regular court rituals, banquets, and other occasions requiring music and dance. The performance method for several compositions was lost forever.

With the Meiji Restoration of 1868 and the subsequent relocation of the Imperial Palace in Tōkyō, the three groups were brought together as the official musicians of the newly established state. Although their numbers had dwindled significantly over the centuries since the end of the Heian period, there now began a period of renewed interest and activity in *gagaku* which has continued to the present day.

The musicians of the Imperial Palace Music Department are still largely the direct descendants of the members of the first guilds that performed this music in Japan during the 8th century. They are trained thoroughly for several years in the performance of the songs and dances of the tradition. Each musician is expected to have learned and memorized the entire repertoire on one of the wind instruments, and in addition, to have learned one of the string instruments, one form of dance, and the entire song and dance repertoire of the sacred Shintō rituals. The musicians perform all the ritual music and dances required by the court and also give regular public *gagaku* concerts.

**Bugaku** — The dance repertoire, *bugaku*, is divided into two groups, dance of the left (*sahō no mai*) and dance of the right (*uhō samai no mai* or *umai*), referring to the two sides of the Imperial Presence. The left dance uses music of the *tōgaku* category and the right dance uses *komagaku* along with a few compositions specially adapted from the *tōgaku* repertoire. Cutting across the division into left and right are two different methods of classifying the dances according to form and style. One set of classifications, *bu no mai* (military dance) and *bun no mai* (civil dance), was borrowed from the ancient Chinese ritual dances. The civil dance is also referred to as *hira-mai* (level or even dances), as opposed to *hashiri-mai* (running dances), a term which refers to a group of solo masked dances of strong character making use of relatively rapid movements. In addition, a few dances from all classifications of the repertoire are special variant forms called *dōbu* which are danced by children.

The richly embroidered and complexly woven silk costumes worn by the dancers represent the civil or military dress of the Heian court. The costumes of *sahō no mai* tend to be red while those of *uhō no mai* are generally blue or green, which are the colors appropriate to the court ranks associated with those two traditions. The musicians also wear richly embroidered silk robes of many colors when accompanying the dance. For *kangen*, the chamber music performance, the musicians wear simpler, almost austere silk robes of dark rust brown into which green silk vertical threads have been woven, giving them an iridescent sheen as they move. For the performance of the sacred Shintō ritual most of the musicians wear white robes in the style of Heian courtiers, or may use pure red or blue robes, depending on the particular form of dance being performed. See also THEATRICAL COSTUMES.

**Instruments** — The instruments used in performances of *gagaku* are Japanese modifications of those used in the Tang court ensembles. The instrumentation is determined by the type of music being performed: Shintō ritual, *komagaku*, or *tōgaku*, the latter in either *kangen* or *bugaku* form. A small double-reed pipe similar to an oboe or shawm, called the *HICHIRIKI*, is used in all the instrumental ensembles. Three different types of flute are used, the *kagurabue* generally for the Shintō rituals, the *komabue* for *komagaku*, and the *ryūteki* or dragon flute for *tōgaku*. In addition to these wind instruments, *tōgaku* uses a small mouth organ of 17 bamboo pipes called the *SHŌ*, which plays tone clusters of five or six notes. Since the reeds vibrate either when the performer inhales or exhales, these



et harmonies permeate the sound of *tōgaku* performances. *iku* and *komagaku* each use three percussion instruments, which are common to both types of music. These are a *TAIKO* or large drum, which plays the main strong beat in *tōgaku*, often highlighted with a few additional strokes, and the small bronze gong whose dry metallic tone complements the sound of the *taiko*. To stabilize the slow rhythms and paced strokes of the *taiko* and *shōko*, a smaller drum is used to divide the patterns. In *komagaku*, this is a small hourglass-shaped *san no tsuzumi*, which is played with a single stick (see 1). The *kakko*, a small drum played with two sticks and with single strokes and slow rolls, is used in *tōgaku*. In Shintō music the only percussion instrument is a pair of wooden clappers (*shakubyōshi*) played by the main singer of the group, or the main singers when there are the usual two groups of

stringed instruments are no longer used in the *tōgaku* dance or in *komagaku*. There are two stringed instruments used in *kangen*, or chamber music setting of *tōgaku*: the *gakusō*, usually called by its common name, *KOTO*, and the *BIWA*. The *gakusō* is a 13-stringed zither with individual movable bridges on each string. The strings are plucked with the fingers of the right hand, to which three small leather rings with bamboo plectra are attached. The *biwa* is a four-string lute, the strings of which are struck with a wooden plectrum. Like the *gakusō*, it was used in the older Chinese court ensembles. Only one stringed instrument is used in Shintō music. This instrument, the *wagon*, has a long neck and is struck with a short plectrum producing a dry sound like the silk strings.

In *tōgaku* and *saibara* both use the wind instruments of the *tōgaku* ensemble to accompany the voices. The rhythm is delineated by *yōshi*, similar to those clappers used in the Shintō music. The *tōgaku* also uses strings, the *koto* and *biwa*.

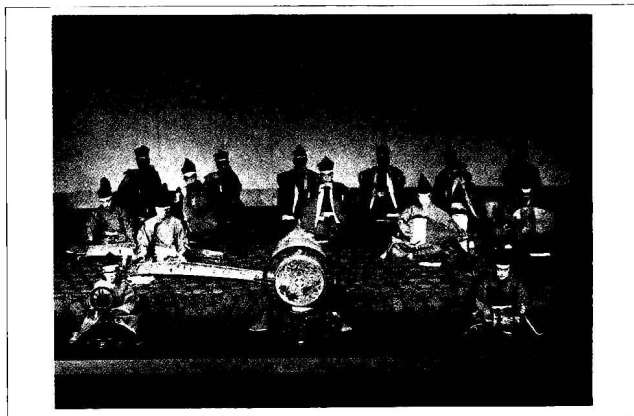
The *tōgaku kangen* ensemble is the most texturally varied of all *tōgaku* styles. The stringed instruments add another layer of texture to those of the wind instruments and the three percussion instruments. The strings provide an abstracted version of the melodic winds, but in a fixed pattern which synchronizes with the percussion patterns and thus links together the melodic and rhythmic elements of the ensemble. See **MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS**.

**Form and Formal Structure** — The main melody of each composition is carried by the winds and the singing voices in the Shintō *tōgaku*. *Gagaku* melodies are generally very slow in tempo, and in compositions may have an elaborate phrase structure. The point of reference for these long, slow melodies lies in the use of a fixed and repeated percussion patterns which are repeated throughout the composition. The melodies sometimes synchronize with the percussion patterns and at other times, particularly in the longer compositions, may drift away from the rhythmic structure by the use of irregular length, but they always return to a synchronization to the rhythmic pattern at the end of the composition. In terms of theoretical and formal structure, the Shintō repertoire is thought of as the simplest of the three *gagaku* categories and as the most complex, with *komagaku* falling somewhere between the two.

Shintō ritual music, with the *kagura* songs as the core of its repertoire, is first and foremost a body of pure songs. The texts are of great importance and thus also the human voice. The instruments are used to set the pitch for the singers, to play short preludes to certain songs, and to accompany the singers and strengthen the melodic line. The melody for the Shintō ritual music is not based on any theoretical scale or system but is instead developed as a formalization of a unique and characteristic vocal style and as a Japanese melodic pattern.

The *komagaku* system combines some elements of the formal Chinese theoretical modal system with a melody type which in respects resembles the type used in the Shintō music. Three types, or *chōshi*, are used in *komagaku*: *koma ichikotsuchō*, *ichōjō*, and *koma hyōjō*. Almost the entire *komagaku* repertoire is in the first two of these.

The *tōgaku* has the most complex formal structure and theoretical basis of the three types of *gagaku*, and retains more of the elements of ancient Chinese musical theory than any other music tradition in Japan. In theory, the Chinese generated sets of tones and from the superimposition of a number of consecutive perfect fifths. After twelve such consecutive fifths the thirteenth tone would be exactly the same as the first, but would begin a new series of pitches. In practice most ensembles were set within one se-



Gagaku

Imperial Palace musicians performing *tōgaku*-style music at the National Theater. Front row (left to right): bronze gong (*shōko*), large drum (*taiko*), and small drum (*kakko*). Middle row: two zithers (*koto*) and two lutes (*biwa*). Back row: three flutes (*ryūteki*), three pipes (*hichiriki*), and three mouth organs (*shō*).

ries of twelve tones. Each pitch within such a twelve-tone system could become the initial pitch for a different seven-note scale. Furthermore, any one series of seven tones could provide different modes, known as *chōshi* in Japanese, by having one of the five main tones of the scale serve as a beginning tone, thus permitting five different possible modes within each seven-tone scale. By then changing to different seven-tone scales within the same twelve-tone system, a new set of five modes could be obtained. Although the full potential of this system seems never to have been put into practice, a rather rich modal system was, in fact, used. The *tōgaku* system as it survives today has been considerably simplified from the original Tang system of 28 modes, and is generally said to include only 6 modes: *ichikotsuchō*, *hyōjō*, *sōjō*, *ōshikichō*, *banshikichō*, and *taishikichō*. However, it is in reality somewhat more complex, since *ichikotsuchō*, *ōshikichō*, *banshikichō*, and *taishikichō* each contain compositions in additional modes. *Saibara* and *rōei* share the *tōgaku* modal system.

The modes are an important element in the full appreciation of *gagaku*. They are not merely scales or transpositions of scales. Each has its own special character and color, the result of a combination of specific ornaments, tunings, and ranges unique to the particular mode. In performance the mode must first be established. In *komagaku* and *tōgaku* there are short preludes in free rhythm called *netori* which are first performed. In the performance of *bugaku* there is frequent use of longer and more complex introductions which are called, like the modes themselves, *chōshi*.

The compositions of the *tōgaku* repertoire are divided by length into three categories, *shōkyoku* or short pieces, *chūkyoku* or medium-length pieces, and *taikyoku* or great pieces, which are in fact suites of several compositions and interludes played consecutively as a unit. In addition, each composition can belong to a specific rhythmic type, either free rhythm, or a metered four beats to a rhythmic unit, eight beats to a rhythmic unit, or a combination of two plus four beats or two plus three beats. They are then combined into different types of rhythmic phrases of cycles, usually with four or eight rhythmic units to a cycle. In each of these combinations there are a number of specific percussion patterns which are required for the particular composition being played. Over these rhythm structures floats the melody of the piece, with all of the inherent definitions of the *chōshi*, creating an elegant, rich, and complex texture. The entire repertoire is played at tempos which, although varied, all seem very slow when compared to Western music or even to other forms of Japanese music. The intricacies of form in *gagaku* therefore remain elusive to all but the experienced or the very patient.

■ — Robert Garfias, "The Sacred Mikagura of the Japanese Imperial Court," *Selected Reports*, Institute of Ethnomusicology, University of California at Los Angeles 1.2 (1975). Robert Garfias, *The Music of a Thousand Autumns* (1976). Eta Harich-Schneider, *The Rhythmic Pattern in Gagaku and Bugaku* (1954). Eta Harich-Schneider, *A History of Japanese Music* (1973). Carl Wolz, *Bugaku, Japanese Court Dance* (1971).

Robert GARFIAS

## Gagen shūran

A classical Japanese-language dictionary compiled toward the close of the Edo period (1600–1868) by ISHIKAWA MASAMOCHI, a learned KOKUGAKU (National Learning) scholar and KYŌKA ("mad verse") poet. A typical example of an early dictionary, the *Gagen shūran* consists of 50 fascicles in 21 volumes. It mainly contains the vocabulary of Heian-period (794–1185) classical literature arranged in traditional *iroha* alphabet order along with abundant examples of word usage and the sources quoted. It was compiled as a standard reference for use in writing classical-style Japanese and remains a valuable research tool for the study of ancient Japanese. Publication began in 1826 but was discontinued halfway through; the unpublished remainder has been handed down in manuscript form. Copies presently in circulation are of the enlarged 1887 edition with a supplement by Nakajima Hirotari (1792–1864). UWANO ZENDŌ

## gaijin → foreigners in Japan

### gaikoku bugyō

(commissioner of foreign affairs). A short-lived (1858–68) government post created by the Tokugawa shogunate to oversee diplomatic relations. Forced in 1858 to sign the ANSEI COMMERCIAL TREATIES with the United States, the Netherlands, Russia, Britain, and France, the shogunate replaced its coastal defense officers (*kaibōgakari*), whose duties were mainly military, with the *gaikoku bugyō*, who received diplomatic missions and performed related functions. Initially, five direct shogunal vassals (HATAMOTO) were selected to serve on a monthly rotating basis; later the number varied. The commissioners were responsible to the senior councillors (*rōjū*) and maintained a bureaucratic staff that included translators and other specialists. After 1862 their subordinates also included assistant commissioners of foreign affairs (*gaikoku bugyō nami*). The commissioners' responsibilities were reduced to mere paperwork, however, when the *rōjū* themselves took direct control of diplomacy in 1867, creating the new posts of director of foreign affairs (*gaikoku jimu sōsai*) and the subordinate commissioner-general of foreign affairs (*gaikoku sōbugyō*). All of these posts were abolished the following year after the fall of the shogunate.

### gaikoku hōjin

(foreign juristic person). A juristic person (HŌJIN) established under the provisions of the law of a foreign country. Only the existence of states, administrative divisions of states, and trading companies as foreign juristic persons is recognized under the Japanese CIVIL CODE. However, the code does provide that other foreign juristic persons can be recognized, provided that they have been established under the provisions of Japanese laws or treaties. The code also provides that foreign juristic persons enjoy the same rights as those of the same classes of Japanese juristic persons, provided that they are not rights which aliens, as individuals, cannot enjoy and that there are no provisions to the contrary in laws or treaties. In addition to the provisions in the Civil Code, which are basic, the COMMERCIAL CODE contains a chapter relating to foreign companies and their operations in Japan as juristic persons (Civil Code, art. 36).

John M. MAKI

### gaikokujin gakkō

(schools for foreigners). A term used in Japanese educational circles to refer to two types of schools, both of which are outside the regular school system and both of which are classified legally as MISCELLANEOUS SCHOOLS (*kakushu gakkō*). One type is the schools on the primary and secondary level set up by foreigners in Japan to educate their children in their own languages and cultures. A certain number of Japanese students also attend these schools. The other type consists of schools on various levels established by Japanese to teach the Japanese language to foreigners. Nationwide there are over 100 *gaikokujin gakkō*.

TAKAKURA Shō

### Gaikokusen Uchiharai Rei

(Order for the Repelling of Foreign Ships). Also known as Ikokusen Uchiharai Rei. Order issued in 1825 embodying the policy of the Tokugawa shogunate toward foreign ships. The shogunate had maintained a NATIONAL SECLUSION policy since 1639, but toward

the end of the 18th century an increasing number of foreign ships began to appear in Japanese waters. In particular, Russian ships appeared with alarming frequency near Ezo (now Hokkaidō), demanding trade. There ensued a major political debate centering on the seclusion policy, and in 1791 the shogunate issued a new order ruling that whenever a foreign ship drifted ashore or approached the coast, the circumstances should be investigated and the ship and crew detained and readied for eventual passage to Nagasaki, pending shogunal instructions. In 1806, however, as a result of negotiations with the Russian envoy Nikolai Petrovich REZANOV, who came to Japan in 1804, the 1791 order was revised to provide that foreign ships entering Japanese waters would be peacefully made to leave and that those that drifted ashore or were damaged would be given firewood, water, and food and then be requested to leave. The 1806 order was maintained in spite of the PHAETON INCIDENT of 1808, as well as the violence inflicted by Rezanov's crew on the Japanese residents of Sakhalin and Etorofu between 1806 and 1807.

At the beginning of the 19th century English and American whaling ships began to appear in coastal waters. When an English whaler in search of firewood, water, and food entered the port of Uraga near Edo (now Tōkyō) in 1822, troops from several nearby domains were mobilized by the commissioner (*bugyō*) of Uraga, and the ship was made to leave after being supplied with provisions. This and similar events necessitating mobilization of armies imposed heavy burdens on the financially hard-pressed domains. The shogunate had just begun to review its policy when in 1824 another incidence of violence, by an English whaling ship, occurred in Satsuma (now part of Kagoshima Prefecture). Chastened, the shogunate issued a new order in the following year, the Gaikokusen Uchiharai Rei, prescribing that all foreign ships were to be repelled at once. The shogunate seems not to have worried about the practical consequences of such an order but issued it merely to prevent domestic turmoil; if the danger of international conflict became real enough, it could revoke the order. This danger arose in 1837, when the *Morrison*, an American merchant ship attempting to enter Uraga, was bombarded and forced to withdraw. The MORRISON INCIDENT, as well as the news of China's defeat in the Opium War (1839–42), prompted the shogunate to reassess its seclusion policy. In 1842 the shogunate revoked the *uchiharai* order and replaced it with the SHINSUI KYŌYO REI (Order for the Provision of Firewood and Water).

NUMATA Satoshi

## Gaimushō → Ministry of Foreign Affairs

### Gakken Co, Ltd

(Gakushū Kenkyūsha). The largest general and educational publishing company in Japan. Established by Furuoka Hideto in April 1946. When its first publication of an educational magazine was rejected by wholesale distributors, Furuoka organized his own sales network and expanded the business. Today, in addition to educational magazines, Gakken publishes 27 other types of magazines, as well as general books and dictionaries. It also produces and sells educational films, toys, and other teaching aids. KOBAYASHI Kazuhiro

## gakkōrei → school orders

### gakubatsu

(academic clique or alumni clique). A mutual support group formed of graduates of the same school. *Gakubatsu*, like other BATSU or cliques in Japan, are characterized by mutual aid and strong "ingroup" feelings. They are particularly common in Japanese corporations and government bureaucracies.

Most universities and colleges have alumni associations (*dōsōkai*) to which all graduates automatically belong. These associations serve to bring alumni together and facilitate the formation of *gakubatsu* within large corporations and government bureaus. When employment openings occur or opportunities for advancement arise, members of the same alumni group will receive preferential treatment; as the clique grows, its influence within the work organization is extended.

The development of *gakubatsu* is closely linked to the history of Japanese modernization. During the Meiji period (1868–1912), the government placed great importance on the school system as a modernizing institution. Tōkyō University and a network of higher edu-

tional facilities were established to produce high-level bureaucrats and scholars and to develop business, educational, and military leaders. Great numbers of graduates from these institutions took posts in government or large enterprises, where they received protection and special privileges and were guaranteed a rapid climb up the social ladder. Graduates of a particular school tended to monopolize positions in a certain field, leading to competition with graduates of the private universities established in the ensuing years. This competition spurred the formation of new *gakubatsu*.

Modernization was accompanied by the development of bureaucracy and by specialization in certain fields. Since bureaucracy is characterized by formalistic fairness, the system tended to evaluate its members by educational background. Emphasis was placed on seniority and academic background more than on ability, and in some fields graduation from a certain top-level school became a basic qualification for employment. This led to the marked development of cliques within government and industry.

In order to strengthen harmony and cooperation within the group, standards recognized by all members, such as the year of graduation, become important in determining the social ranking of members. From this arise the important distinctions of SEMPAI-ŌHAII (senior-junior), teacher and disciple, and school classmate. The *gakubatsu* also contains elements of GIRI AND NINJŌ relations, with their complex of favors and indebtedness. Such relations exhibit characteristics of what some scholars consider the rational *gellschaft*-type of social group, in that mutual aid and the quiescence of juniors can be unconditionally expected and that members calculate the risks and rewards of their participation in the group. However, the characteristics of the affective *gemeinschaft*-type of social group predominate, in that the clique functions on solidaristic and nonrational linkages.

Some have contended that the prevalence of *gakubatsu* have transformed Japanese society into a "degree-ocracy" (GAKUREKI IAKAI), where a person's worth is measured by academic degree and school. This conceptualization has both a vertical and horizontal axis. The vertical axis has as its standard the level of schooling an individual has completed; the person with the highest education will receive unconditional, favored treatment. On the horizontal axis, individuals have completed the same level of schooling, but those graduating from the most prestigious and influential schools will receive preferential treatment. In a social framework based on this system, those in favorable positions join together to preserve and expand their privileges, while those less favored join in opposition.

The *gakubatsu* tends to foster feelings of superiority among members of the group while ignoring the abilities of those not belonging to a leading academic clique. It provides emotional support to members of the group, but it also breeds factionalism and inefficiency through exclusiveness. There are some indications that ability is beginning to take precedence over background in Japanese society, but the *gakubatsu* still exert a powerful influence.

■——Shimbori Michiya, *Nihon no daigaku kyōju shijō: Gakubatsu no kenkyū* (1965). SHIMBORI Michiya

## gakumon no susume

An Encouragement of Learning). A series of pamphlets intended as an elementary-school text and reader for the general public by FUKUZAWA YUKICHI, the preeminent thinker of the so-called Meiji enlightenment, the movement to modernize Japan on the Western model. The series developed from an address given at the opening of a school in Fukuzawa's native domain, Nakatsu (now part of Ōita Prefecture), in 1871. After the speech was published in February 1872, it enjoyed such brisk sales that over 200,000 copies of the first pamphlet had been sold by 1880. This reception led the author to sue other tracts on loosely related issues under the same general title until there were 17 in all, the last appearing in November 1876. The later pamphlets were not as popular as the first, which enjoyed wide usage as an ethics text; nevertheless, the total circulation was over 1 million by 1890, making the series one of the best selling and most influential works of the early Meiji period (1868–1912).

The first pamphlet began with Fukuzawa's famous assertion that heaven never created a man above another man nor a man below another man. By this Fukuzawa meant his readers to understand that in Meiji society, where hereditary rank no longer prevailed, wealth and honor would result only from diligence and study. In discussing the proper objects of this effort, Fukuzawa argued that additional education and customs were inadequate for the task of strengthening Japan against the West, and that Western learning and

an independent spirit of rationality were appropriate for the new age.

Another major concern of *Gakumon no susume* was the threat to political stability raised by those who felt wronged by the changes of the Meiji period. Fukuzawa met this issue in the first pamphlet by arguing that those who felt hurt had only themselves to blame for their poverty and low rank. Individual study and hard work were the answers, not political action or violence.

Against a background of *samurai* resentment, rebellion, and political agitation, largely stemming from reductions in *samurai* privileges and income, Fukuzawa raised this same issue in subsequent pamphlets. He articulated a "social contract" theory of government, which argued that because of the "contractual" relation between people and government, the people must uphold their part of the "contract" even if they are inconvenienced by government actions. This argument drew heavily upon the writings of Francis Wayland (1796–1865), president of Brown University and author of a popular textbook, *The Elements of Moral Science* (1835). To this assertion ideologues of the FREEDOM AND PEOPLE'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT raised the objection that a nonrepresentative government was tyrannical and ought to be opposed. Fukuzawa countered by contending that the way to achieve change was through martyrdom, not ineffective individual action or morally unjustifiable rebellion. This, too, he took virtually verbatim from Wayland.

Despite its conservative emphasis, *Gakumon no susume* was banned as a textbook in 1881 as part of a government reaction to the people's rights movement and to Western influence in general. After 1890 publication of *Gakumon no susume* ceased.

■——Fukuzawa Yukichi, *Gakumon no susume* (1872–76), tr David A. Dilworth and Umeyo Hirano as *An Encouragement of Learning* (1969). Fukuzawa Yukichi, *Fukuō jiden* (1899), tr Eiichi Kiyooka as *The Autobiography of Fukuzawa Yukichi* (1934, repr 1960). Itō Masao, *Fukuzawa Yukichi ronkō* (1969). Earl H. Kinmonth, "Fukuzawa Reconsidered: *Gakumon no susume* and its Audience," *Journal of Asian Studies* 37.4 (1978).

## Gakuō Zōkyū (fl ca 1482–ca 1514)

Zen monk-painter identified in a contemporary monk's diary as a disciple of SHŪBUN, the influential master painter of the SHŌKOKUJI Zen temple in Kyōto. Associated with Ise Province (now part of Mie Prefecture), where many of his paintings were preserved, Gakuō was the most faithful follower of Shūbun's style of ink landscape painting. Gakuō's assimilation of typical compositional formulae from Shūbun led many later historians to confuse his paintings with those of his teacher. Although few details are known concerning Gakuō's biography, his paintings survive in relatively large numbers and record his artistic career more completely than those of many of his contemporaries. His close association with Ryōan Keigo (1425–1514), an abbot of the Tōfukuji Zen temple in Kyōto, is documented by numerous inscriptions by this eminent monk on Gakuō's paintings from the 1480s to 1514 (some of the inscriptions are dated).

Included among Gakuō's extant paintings are a few figure subjects such as the bodhisattva KANNON in a bamboo grove and Ling Zhao (Ling Chao), the Chinese paragon of filial piety. The majority of his paintings are, however, landscapes. Notable among these are several depicting the Eight Views of Xiao (Hsiao) and Xiang (Hsiang), a Chinese subject, called SHŌSHŌ HAKKEI in Japanese, that became a prominent theme of Japanese ink landscape painting during the late 15th century. Gakuō's Xiao-Xiang paintings survive in greater numbers than works on this theme by other 15th-century artists, and they clearly reveal his close study of model paintings in the style of the Song (Sung) dynasty (960–1279) Chinese painter, Xia Gui (Hsia Kuei; fl ca 1195–1224).

The evolution of Gakuō's own painting style demonstrates his gradual assimilation and integration of ideas from both Shūbun and Chinese model paintings. From the example of Xia Gui he evolved a typical method of defining mountains and rocks with sharp textural strokes utilizing contrasting tones of ink. He shared with his late-15th-century contemporaries an interest in more unified articulation of solid forms, but throughout his career he maintained a concern for the suggestive, spiritual quality of space that was the hallmark of the mid-15th-century masterpieces attributed to Shūbun. Gakuō's painting presents a striking contrast to the contemporary work of SESHŪ TŌYŌ, who introduced to Japanese painting a highly rational approach to the definition of space in landscape, sacrificing evocative atmosphere to a structurally logical articulation of solid forms. See also INK PAINTING.

■——Richard Stanley-Baker, "Gakuo's Eight Views of Hsiao and Hsiang," *Oriental Art* 20.3 (Autumn 1974). Tanaka Ichimatsu, "Gakuo Zōkyō no shiteki tachiba," in *Nihon kaigaishi ronshū* (1966).

Ann YONEMURA

## gakureki shakai

("education-record society"). Term used in Japan from the 1960s to refer to the great emphasis the Japanese place on a person's educational background. In Japan an individual's social and occupational status is generally considered to be determined not only by the level of education completed, but also by the rank and prestige of the particular universities attended. Factors such as class, race, religion, and personal wealth, which are important determinants of social status in other societies, are not quite as significant in Japan because of the country's high level of homogeneity and lack of extreme inequalities in the distribution of wealth. A person's educational career, on the other hand, provides a convenient determinant of status. Since the 1970s, with more than 90 percent of the students who complete their nine years of compulsory education going on to high school, and almost 40 percent of those of college age attending institutions of higher learning, the status distinctions among schools have become increasingly pronounced. As a result, the competition to gain entrance to the most prestigious schools has intensified markedly. See ENTRANCE EXAMINATIONS; CRAM SCHOOLS.

USHIOGI Morikazu

## Gakuren Incident → Kyōto University Incident

## Gakusei → Education Order of 1872

## Gakushūin University

(Gakushūin Daigaku). A private university located in Toshima Ward, Tōkyō. A forerunner of the present institution was the Gakushūjo, an academy for the children of court nobles established in Kyōto in 1847, but its immediate predecessor was the Gakushūin, opened in 1877 in Tōkyō under the auspices of the Kazoku Kaikan (Peers' Hall). In 1884 the school was put under the direct jurisdiction of the Ministry of the Imperial Household (Kunaishō), acquiring the status of a government institution. The school remained an educational institution for children of the imperial family and the nobility and was known as the Peers' School until after World War II, when the peerage system was abolished. In 1947 it became a private school open to the general public. It maintains faculties of law, economics, letters, and science, and is known for its Institute of Oriental Studies. Enrollment was 6,125 in 1980.

## Gamagōri

City in southeastern Aichi Prefecture, central Honshū, on Atsumi Bay. Long known for its cotton cloth (*Mikawa momen*) and hemp nets, Gamagōri has a port with facilities for freighters. Mandarin oranges are cultivated on nearby mountain slopes. The city is situated within the Mikawa Bay Quasi-National Park; Miya and Nishiura Hot Spring and Takeshima, an island connected to the mainland, are favorite tourist sites. Pop: 85,294.

## gambaru

(to persist, to hang on, to do one's best). An important word in Japanese interpersonal relationships. Probably derived from *ga o haru* (to be self-willed), the word originally had the negative connotation of asserting oneself against group decisions and norms. Since the 1930s, however, *gambaru* has become a positive word, commonly used to exhort enthusiasm and hard work, usually toward a group objective. For example, when a village youth, on leaving for a new job in the city, promises to his friends, parents, and teachers that he will *gambaru*, the implication is that he will try not to disappoint them. The word is also used among members of a group to encourage each other in cooperative activities, often in the imperative form *gambaru*. The term connotes high achievement motivation and orientation to group harmony.

■——Tada Michitarō, *Shigusa no Nihon bunka* (1972).

Hiroshi WAGATSUMA

## gambling

(*tobaku* or *bakuchi*). Today, all forms of gambling other than those specifically recognized by law, such as horse, bicycle, or powerboat racing, and certain lotteries (*takarakuji*), are prohibited in Japan.

Among the many importations from China in the 6th century was a board game resembling backgammon called *sugoroku*. In this game, pieces were advanced by rolls of a die. Often, items like food were wagered. When Japan started to mint copper coins in the early 8th century, people found it more interesting to bet money on the outcome of the game. Soon, *sugoroku* and other dice games, as well as simpler forms of gambling like flipping coins, gained great popularity in the Nara capital and spread to other areas of Japan. At times, the central government issued edicts prohibiting *sugoroku* and other dice games, but the spread of gambling continued to parallel the developing money economy.

In the 16th century, when Europeans began arriving in Japan, the Japanese became familiar with various aspects of Western culture, including Christianity, through the Dutch and the Portuguese. At this time, many words of Portuguese origin such as *tabako* (tobacco) and *birōdo* (velvet) became part of the Japanese language. *Carta*, the Portuguese word for "playing card," was adopted as *karuta* and card games became popular in the large cities.

Early Japanese playing cards consisted of 48 illustrated cards divided into four suits. Various games were developed using all the possible combinations of numbers, elements of the Japanese KANA syllabary, and pictures. As card playing grew in popularity, so did gambling. Gambling was often prohibited by law, but as each type of game was banned, another replaced it. Thus, when the Tenshō *karuta* game (in which cards were matched according to the 12 months of the year) was prohibited, a game called *kabufuda* (played like the Western twenty-one) took its place. When it too was banned, such games as *garafuda* (with cards matched to numbers, letters, or pictures on pieces shaken out of a bamboo tube) developed.

At the end of the 18th century, a card game called *hanakaruta* (flower cards) made its appearance. In this game the cards were divided into suits for each season of the year, marked with the number of each month, and illustrated with seasonal pictures of flowers, animals, and insects. By this time, although gambling was still prohibited, card games were no longer routinely banned, and *hanakaruta* continued to be played throughout the remainder of the Edo period (1600–1868). *Hanakaruta* (now called *HANAFUDA*) survived the transition period of the late 19th century and is still played today. It remains the most popular form of card gambling in Japan. See PLAYING CARDS.

From the end of the 18th century professional gamblers called *YAKUZA* (or *bakuchi uchi* or *bakuto*) provided places for farmers, merchants, craftsmen, and cargo transport workers to engage in gambling. They extracted a service fee from the players and offered protection from arrest or harassment. In southwestern Japan, around Ōsaka, and in parts of Kyūshū, they also managed gambling dens for *hanafuda* card players.

The emergence of professional gamblers spurred the development of sophisticated cheating techniques, including loaded dice and marked cards. Nowadays, electromagnetically controlled dice are said to be used. Since World War II, dice games have declined in popularity and *hanafuda* gambling has become predominant.

Europeans living in Yokohama first instituted a system of buying pari-mutuel tickets for betting on horses in 1880. This practice was soon picked up by the Japanese in Tōkyō. By the early 20th century, the government was officially permitting horse racing, and racetracks were built all over the country. These courses were sponsored either by the central or local government, and none of them was privately owned. Thus, horse racing marked the beginning of "public" (government-sponsored) gambling. The expression "public gambling," however, was not used in this sense until 1950. From around that time bicycle, motor boat, and motorcycle racing (also government sponsored) became more popular than horse and dog racing. There are at present more than 150 race courses of different kinds in Japan, most of them located in large cities. The government taxes these enterprises at 25 percent and donates the revenue to various local enterprises. In the past few years, government taxes on public gambling have totaled about one trillion yen (about US \$4.5 billion) annually.

Betting on animal contests such as BULLFIGHTING and DOG-FIGHTING is very popular in Japan. This, together with "public gambling" and private establishments where one can play *hanafuda*, dice

**MAH-JONGG**, or **PACHINKO** (pinball), makes Japan a haven for gamblers. For example, there are more Mah-Jongg and pachinko parlors than elementary and secondary schools in Japan. Although pachinko parlors do not award money prizes, and there are always prohibitive cash wagering in Mah-Jongg parlors, in reality no parlors in which gambling does not occur. In spite of the fact that gambling has been prohibited by various laws and edicts since the 5th century, gamblers and proprietors of such facilities have rarely been prosecuted. *KATA Kōji*

**MAH-JONGG** and **PACHINKO** have, from ancient times, indulged in all kinds of games, including board games, word games, and a great variety of outdoor, parlor, and children's games. Matching games or "comparisons" (*awase*) have a long history in Japan. One of the earliest games, of which there are records in Heian (794–1185) literature, are *e-awase* (picture-comparing contests) in which contestants carefully compared their paintings for color and quality of style, and *UTA-AWASE* (poetry contests), in which poems of poets vied with each other in composing poems on given topics. Similar games involved comparing flowers, incense (see **INCENSE CEREMONY**), birds, and insects. **KAI-BAKU**, the shell-matching game, involved the delicate task of matching the two halves of clam shells that had been separated and mixed with others.

Board games were imported from China. The best known are **HŌGI**, a form of chess; and **SUGOROKU**, a type of backgammon. These were first played among aristocrats and gradually spread among the common people. A popular children's board game is **JŪROKU MUSASHI**, which resembled pachisi. Matching picture, and **WORD GAMES** are abundant in Japan because of the great number of homonyms in the language and the great versatility possible in calligraphy, using pictorial sweeps and brushwork.

Games using **PLAYING CARDS** (referred to as *karuta*) were influenced by foreign games introduced in the 16th century and after. Many of these were matching games, in which players match a card containing one part of a plant, animal, Chinese character, and so forth, with a card containing the other. Among the popular today are **HANAFUDA**, a flower-card game, and **HYAKUSHU**, in which one must match the first and last halves of a 31-syllable *waka* poems.

Important traditional children's games are **OHAJIKI**, a game resembling marbles; **BEANBAG** (*otodama*); cat's cradle (*ayatori*); **TOPS**, or the **BEIGOMA**, a top spun with a whiplike cord; **MENKO**, a game in which players attempt to flip over their opponents' cardboard tokens with a skillful tossing of their own; hide-and-seek (*kakutag* (*onigokko*)); **KAGOME KAGOME**, a guessing game; **NEKKI**, of tossing skill; *tōsenkyō*, a game in which players throw darts at a target; *takeuma asobi* (stilts or hobby horse); and handball). **KEN** are games of forfeit involving hand signals still played today. Two pastimes enjoyed by both children and adults are a game played with Japanese **PAPER BALLOONS** (*kami*) and the art of Japanese paper folding (**ORIGAMI**).

Year's is not only the most important holiday of the year but also a time of greatest leisure; thus many games are particularly associated with the holiday. Among these are kite flying (*takoage*); **ISSHU** and the *Hyakunin isshu* card game. Others are **FUKU**, a game in which the blindfolded player must place the feather on the outline of a face on a piece of paper, and **BATTLEDORE** (see **HANETSUKI**). *SAITŌ Ryōsuke*

## Kumpei (1768–1813)

Classical scholar of the Edo period (1600–1868). Born into a noble family in the castle town of Utsunomiya (now in Tochigi Prefecture), he studied the Japanese classics from an early age. His visits to the Mito domain (now part of Ibaraki Prefecture) and association with **FUJITA YŪKOKU** and other members of the **SHINTŌ** school of historical studies further inspired his interest in the particular, his studies on the question of the "true relations between sovereign and subject" (*taigi meibun*) awakened in him a concern for the imperial family and its decline in power and prestige.

In 1796 and 1799 he toured the country inspecting imperial tombs and found many of them in disrepair. He published a report, *hi* (History of Imperial Tombs), in 1808. For his proimperial activities Kumpei is considered a precursor of the movement to over-

throw the shogunate and restore direct imperial rule in the late Edo period.

## Gamō Ujisato (1556–1595)

(Gamō Masuhide; Christian name, Leão). *Daimyō* of the Azuchi-Momoyama period (1568–1600); son of Gamō Katahide (1534–84), lord of Hino Castle in Ōmi (now Shiga Prefecture), the scion of a baronial family prominent in that province since the 12th century. The Gamō sided with **ODA NOBUNAGA** when that emergent hegemon marched on Kyōto in 1568; Ujisato was married to Nobunaga's daughter and served Nobunaga in various campaigns from his expulsion of the shōgun **ASHIKAGA YOSHIAKI** (1537–97) from Kyōto in 1573 to the conquest of the **TAKEDA FAMILY** in 1582. After Nobunaga's assassination later that year, Ujisato passed into the service of the national unifier **TOYOTOMI HIDEYOSHI**, distinguished himself in the invasion of Ise Province (now part of Mie Prefecture) in 1583, and was the next year granted a domain assessed at 120,000 *koku* (see **KOKUDAKA**) at Matsugashima (now Matsusaka) in that province; he won further distinction in Hideyoshi's Kyūshū campaign in 1587 and, after participating in the **ODAWARA CAMPAIGN** of 1590, was rewarded with a 420,000-*koku* domain (in effect comprising present Fukushima Prefecture) at what is now the city of Aizu Wakamatsu in northern Honshū. In 1591 Ujisato took part in the sweep through northernmost Honshū that completed Hideyoshi's unification of Japan; his domain was more than doubled to an assessed yield of 919,320 *koku*, and he thereby became one of Japan's five greatest daimyō. Ujisato fell ill while in Nagoya (now in Saga Prefecture), the Kyūshū headquarters for Hideyoshi's invasions of Korea, and died in Kyōto on his way home; the story that he was poisoned is unfounded. A cultivated man, Ujisato was an amateur of poetry and the tea ceremony, and studied Buddhism and Confucianism with the celebrated Zen monk and scholar Nange Genkō (1538–1604). He was converted to Christianity in 1585 through the efforts of **TAKAYAMA UKON**, a fellow disciple of the great tea master **SEN NO RIKYŪ**; the Jesuit missionaries rightly rejoiced over the baptism of "one of the most important and influential persons yet to become Christian," but Ujisato lost his zeal for the faith after Hideyoshi issued his **ANTI-CHRISTIAN EDICTS** in 1587. *George ELISON*

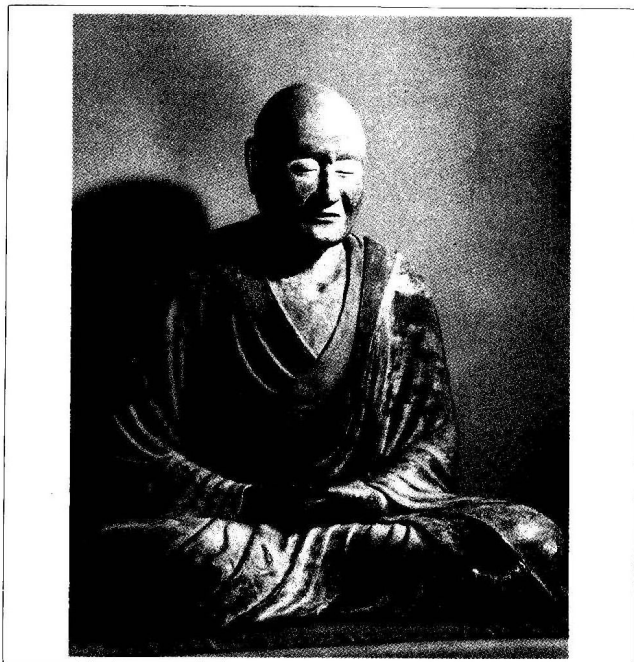
## Gangōji

Also known as Shin Gangōji. Temple of the **KEGON SECT** of Buddhism. Located in the city of Nara. Founded by **SOGA NO UMAKO** in 588, the temple originally was located in Asuka, where it was known by both its formal title Hōkōji and the popular name **ASUKADERA**.

When the imperial court moved to Nara (**HEIJŌKYŌ**) from Asuka, this temple was one of the first to reestablish itself there in 718 and was called Shin (New) Gangōji. The new plan featured a single large golden hall enclosed in a rectangular courtyard, flanked by a pair of separately enclosed 5-story pagodas. By 749 it was considered second only to **TŌDAIJI** among all temples. Formally classified as a **SANRON SCHOOL** temple during the Nara period (710–794), Gangōji is mentioned as having played a part in many important state ceremonies of the Nara and Heian (794–1185) periods. The priests Chikō (b 709) and Raikō (died after 729) lectured here on the Sanron (Three Treatises centered on *Mādhyamika*), and Shōgo (732–811), Shin'ei (d 737), Gomyō (750–834), and Myōsen (789–868) were renowned masters of the *Hossō* doctrine (Skt: *Vijñānavāda*, see **HOSSŌ SECT**). Since Gangōji was south of Kōfukuji—also a Hossō center—these two temples were called the southern and northern branches of Hossō. Gangōji prospered and was numbered among the so-called "Seven Temples of Nara" including Tōdaiji, Kōfukuji, Daianji, Yakushiji, Saidaiji, and Hōryūji. From the middle of the Heian period (794–1185), however, Gangōji fell into disrepair. It barely continued as a center of worship of the bodhisattva Kannon (*Avalokiteśvara*) and of the Pure Land faith, which centered on the Pure Land mandala attributed to Chikō, an early devotee of the Pure Land. Nothing remains now of the original buildings except the stone pagoda base, excavated in modern times after its final destruction by fire in 1859.

Today, the main hall, known as Gokurakudō, together with an attached *zenshitsu* (meditation hall), originally a Nara-period monks' quarters rebuilt in the Kamakura period (1185–1333), is all that remains on the site. Both these buildings have been designated National Treasures. Other treasures housed here include a 9th-century wooden icon of Yakushi Nyorai (Skt: *Bhaisajyaguru*; the Buddha of Healing) and a 5.5 meter (18 m) model of a five-storied pagoda from





Ganjin

This image of the blind monk in meditation is thought to have been produced shortly before his death in 763. Hollow dry lacquer, painted. Height 79.7 cm. Portrait chapel (*miedō*). Tōshōdaiji, Nara Prefecture. National Treasure.

the 8th century. The temple also houses statues of AMIDA Buddha (from the mid-Heian period), Prince SHŌTOKU (from the 13th century), and KŪKAI (from the 14th century), all of which have been designated Important Cultural Properties, and two mandalas, known as copies of the original mandala by Chikō, one painted on wooden boards from the 13th century, the other a 15th-century copy on silk, both of which have been designated Important Cultural Properties (see MANDALA).

■ — Gorai Shigeru, ed, *Gangōji gokurakudō chūsei shomin shinkō shiryō no kenkyū* (1964). Iwaki Takatoshi, ed, *Gangōji hennen shiryō*, 3 vols (1963, 1965, 1966). Minoru Ōoka, *Temples of Nara and their Art*, vol 7 (1973). Ōta Hirotarō et al, *Yamato koji taikan*, vol 3 (1977). Tsuji Taihan et al, *Gangōji*, vol 6 of *Koji junrei: Nara* (1979). Jane T. GRIFFIN

## Ganjin (688–763)

Chinese Buddhist monk who introduced the RITSU SECT of Buddhism to Japan and founded the temple TŌSHŌDAIJI in Nara. Ganjin is the Japanese pronunciation of the Chinese name Jianzhen (Chien-chen). Born in Yangzhou (Yang-chou), China. In 701, at the age of 13, he became a monk at a local temple. He received the bodhisattva precepts (J: *bosatsukai*) in 705 and studied monastic discipline under the famed master Daoan (Tao-an) at the Longxing (Lung-hsing) monastery in Yuezhou (Yüeh-chou). At the age of 20 he became a full-fledged Buddhist monk when he received the complete precepts (J: *gusokukai*) in the capital city of Chang'an (Ch'ang-an). He preached the importance of Buddhist conduct and discipline in and around Luoyang (Lo-yang) and Chang'an, the two main centers of Chinese society of the time. He pursued further studies in the *vinaya* (Buddhist precepts) and Tiantai (T'ien-t'ai; J: Tendai; see TEN-DAI SECT) doctrine and gave lectures and helped to establish numerous temples. He copied volumes of Buddhist scriptures and built homes for the sick and poor.

In 732 the Japanese government decided to resume dispatching envoys to Tang (T'ang; 618–907) China (see SUI AND TANG CHINA, EMBASSIES TO). It also hoped to invite to Japan Chinese monks who were not only well-versed in Buddhist teaching and discipline but who would firmly establish the precepts necessary to regulate monastic life and establish in the capital an authentic ordination platform which the Buddhist clergy had lacked. For 10 years the Japanese monks Yōei and Fushō had no success in persuading any

Chinese monk to sail across the China Sea to Japan. They had nearly given up and were preparing to return home in 742 when they had an audience with Ganjin at Yangzhou. Already a widely known and highly venerated monk throughout China, Ganjin readily accepted their offer, notwithstanding the formidable perils of sailing to a far-off country. Between 743 and 748, Ganjin made five attempts to cross but was turned back each time either by pirates or storms at sea. These abortive attempts to reach Japan resulted in the death of a number of disciples, and Ganjin himself was suffering from cataracts.

In 752 the Japanese government dispatched another group of envoys to China to urge Ganjin to come to Japan. Thus in 753, Ganjin left Yangzhou on his sixth voyage, and at the age of 66, he finally reached the southern shores of Kyūshū. By this time Ganjin was totally blind. Three months later, in the spring of 754, he arrived in Nara and immediately established an ordination platform at TŌDAIJI. He was given by imperial order the authority to ordain priests and to give instruction on Buddhist precepts. Many monks came to be ordained by him or to receive Ganjin's instruction on Buddhist morality and discipline. From him the empress KŌKEN and the retired emperor SHŌMU received the bodhisattva precepts. In 758 he was granted the honorary title *daiwajō* (great preceptor) by the emperor. In 759 he established Tōshōdaiji, where he resided and continued to instruct his students. Henceforth Tōshōdaiji became the headquarters of the Ritsu sect. Four years later Ganjin, who had given up a brilliant career and fame in his homeland to dedicate himself to the propagation of Buddhist dharma in Japan, died, reportedly while in the full lotus position of meditation.

■ — Andō Kōsei, *Ganjin wajō* (1967). Ishida Mizumaro, *Ganjin, sono kairitsu shisō* (1973). Ishida Mizumaro, *Ganjin, sono shisō to shōgai* (1958). T. James KODERA

## gankake

Also termed *gandate*; prayers or petitions to a Shintō or Buddhist deity to obtain a specific request. *Gankake* are accompanied by offerings or promises to fulfill certain acts or penances and may be made either by groups or individuals. In the former case *gankake* often involve an entire village or community in prayers for the rain or sun necessary for a good harvest, for protection from the ravages of war or epidemic, or for a villager who is gravely ill. Individual petitions, generally for personal health or marital happiness, may involve the entire family; they have remained the more prevalent form of *gankake* in modern times and are still made at temples or shrines noted for their miraculous powers.

PILGRIMAGES to shrines and temples are considered a form of *gankake*, one common type of which is the 100-visit pilgrimage, or *hyakudo mairi*, to a local shrine. The pilgrimage might be conducted under conditions of self-mortification (e.g., without shoes or adequate clothing in winter) and might involve fixed periods of retreat (*komori*); the performance of a set number of ritual ablutions; and specific abstinences (e.g., salt, tea, sake, or fire; see TACHIMONO).

Offerings made to the deity may include food or goods (e.g., rice cakes, wine, or cloth). One popular practice, for example, is to offer a votive tablet (EMA) inscribed with an appropriate picture (for example, an eye or ear in the case of afflictions of these organs) to Yakushi NYORAI, the Buddha of healing. Some *gankake* involve sympathetic magic, for example, presenting a bowl, stone, or sea shell with a hole strung with thread (a pun on *gan ga yoku tōru*, "one's request comes through"), or an attempt to coerce the deity, as in the practice of binding an image of the deity JIZŌ with rope and promising to untie it when one's petition is answered. The process of *gankake* is concluded by a special visit of thanks to the shrine or temple in question upon fulfillment of the petitioner's request.

Ōtō Tokihiko

## Ganku (1756–1839)

Painter and founder of the Kishi school of painting. Surname Kishi; given name Koma. Born in Kanazawa (now in Ishikawa Prefecture). He served in Kyōto in the household of the princely family of Arisugawa from 1784; he later served at the imperial court and toward the end of his life was given the honorary title of Echizen no Kami (Governor of Echizen). A self-taught artist, Ganku seems to have studied KANŌ SCHOOL techniques, and he acknowledged a debt to the Chinese painter SHEN NANPIN (Shen Nan-p'in); the influence of the MARUYAMA-SHIJŌ SCHOOL is also present. Ganku's style, how-



eclectic and rooted in other schools of painting, is bold and husky. In addition to Ganku's son Gantai (1782–1865) and his nephew Ganryō (1797–1852), the Kishi-school painters include Kishi Sōtatsu (1804–59), who was adopted by Ganku, Yokoyama Kazan, Hirai Kayō (fl. ca. 1840–60). These artists all specialized in BIRD-FLOWER PAINTING themes and animals. Ganku is especially known for his paintings of tigers.

## garabō

(spinning). A process for spinning cotton thread, onomatopoeically named for the clattering noise made by the water-driven wheels. The *garabō* spinning frame, invented by a Buddhist monk Dōgaun Tatsumune (1842–1900) in 1876, was capable of mass-spinning cotton yarn from almost any kind of waste fiber. A simple and efficient process because it did not require carding before spinning, it spread rapidly throughout the country and played an important part in the early development of Japan's modern spinning industry. The *garabō* process especially thrived in the Mikawa area of Aichi Prefecture, where boats were fitted out as spinning mills quipped with water wheels to supply power; by 1897 there were 1,000 such boats on the river Yahagigawa, each operating as a 300 spindles. With the increased importation of modern spinning machinery after 1900, the *garabō* process virtually disappeared. The Mikawa area, however, has remained a center of gaspining, producing such specialized goods as cotton blankets, and the soles for TABI (a kind of Japanese sock) with electric-powered *garabō* machinery.

## kenia

(*inashi*). *Gardenia jasminoides* f. *grandiflora*. Also known as *asimine*. The *kuchinashi* is the most common species of gardenia in Japan. An evergreen shrub of the family Rubiaceae, it reaches a height of about 2 meters (6.6 ft). The leaves are opposite, glossy, and in summer it produces fragrant white flowers 2.5 cm (1 in) across. The fruit is obovate and turns yellow when ripe. The plant grows wild in Honshū westward to the Kantō region as well as in Shikoku and Kyūshū. It has long been cultivated in gardens and for cut flowers, and numerous varieties such as those with variegated leaves or with double flowers, have been developed.

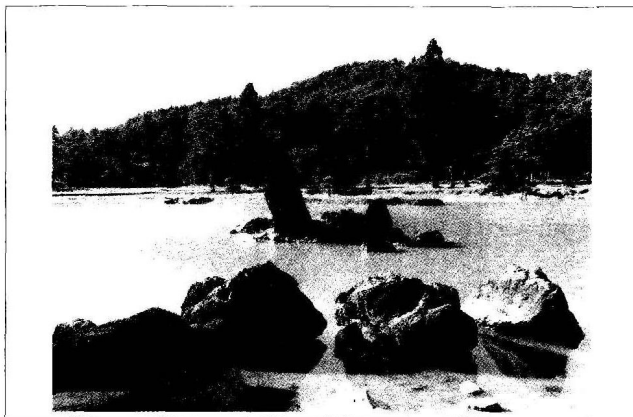
The fruit of the *kuchinashi* has long been valued as a source of natural dye for clothes, but nowadays the dye is limited to use in tuffs and as a stain for wooden utensils. In traditional medicine, a tea made of the dried fruit was used to treat jaundice and a plaster made of the powdered dried fruit mixed with flour and water used as a folk remedy for bruises or cuts. Japanese gardenias have been exported and crossed with other species. Some of these cultural varieties have larger double flowers and roundish leaves.

MATSUDA Osamu

## Japanese gardens

Japanese gardens possess a unique beauty derived from the combination and synthesis of various elements. There are no sculptured fountains, dynamic watercourses, or profusion of flowers in bloom. Rather, together with the functional beauty of the garden's purpose, there is a compositional beauty derived from a blending of various elements: of material beauty provided by natural plantings, water, and rock. This compositional beauty is made unique by the natural beauty of Japan's landscape, which undergoes considerable seasonal change, and a symbolic beauty arising from the fusion of SHINTŌ beliefs and Buddhist intellectual conventions. The elements in the creation of the Japanese gardens are the land and the sky, the beliefs and the spirit of the people, and the social and economic basis upon which the gardens are realized. The interrelationship of these elements establishes the form of the garden. For this reason Japanese garden styles are referred to by the names of the provinces, historical periods, and the men for whom or by whom they were designed.

**Rock** — It has been said that the use of groupings of rocks is a distinguishing feature of the Japanese garden and provides its basic structure. Rock groupings are well balanced and are made up of stones whose natural form has been retained. The ancestors of modern Japanese referred to places surrounded by natural rock walls as *iwasaka* ("heavenly barrier") or *amatsu iwakura* ("heav-



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Pond of the garden at Mōtsuji. *Funa asobi* type. Typical of the gardens built for *shinden-zukuri* mansions. Hiraizumi, Iwate Prefecture.



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The famous rock and sand (*kare sansui*) garden at the Zen temple Ryōanji in Kyōto.

only seat"), believing that gods dwelled there. Dense clusters of trees were also thought to be the dwelling places of gods and were called *himorogi* ("divine hedge"). Moats or streams which enclosed sacred ground were called *mizugaki* ("water fences"). The creative origin of the Japanese garden can be seen in the ancient people's use of stone, water, trees and in the beliefs that supported such use. Even today, the Japanese feel that naturally formed rocks possess a quality of sacred spirituality. Other ancient practices that may have contributed structural elements to the Japanese garden include the planting of windbreaks to the rear of dwellings and the digging of moats for protection from enemies and wild beasts.

The story of Japanese gardens begins with the establishment of a Japanese state in the YAMATO area (now Nara Prefecture) during the 6th and 7th centuries AD and the establishment of the capital at Nara in the 8th century. One theory holds that when the ancestors of the Japanese passed through the Inland Sea area on their way to settle the Yamato area they were impressed by the seascape studded with islands. It was perhaps for this reason that when they first made gardens amidst the mountains of Yamato they imitated ocean scenes by making large ponds with wild "sea shores" and islands. During this period Buddhism was transmitted to Japan and immigrants from PAEKCHE on the Korean peninsula contributed continental influences to the Japanese garden, incorporating the theme of Shumisen (Skt: Sumeru), one of the Buddhist paradises, and adding stone fountains and bridges of Chinese origin. It was at this time that there arrived from China and Korea a court recreation (*kyokusui no utage*) enjoyed by emperors and courtiers, in which poems were composed and the participants floated cups of rice wine to one another along a winding garden stream.

In 794 the capital was moved to Kyōto. Here there was much marshland and it became necessary to engineer the control of water



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This garden at Jōjuin, a subtemple of Kiyomizudera, makes use of a "borrowed view" (*shakkei*) of the hill behind it. Kiyomizudera, Kyōto.

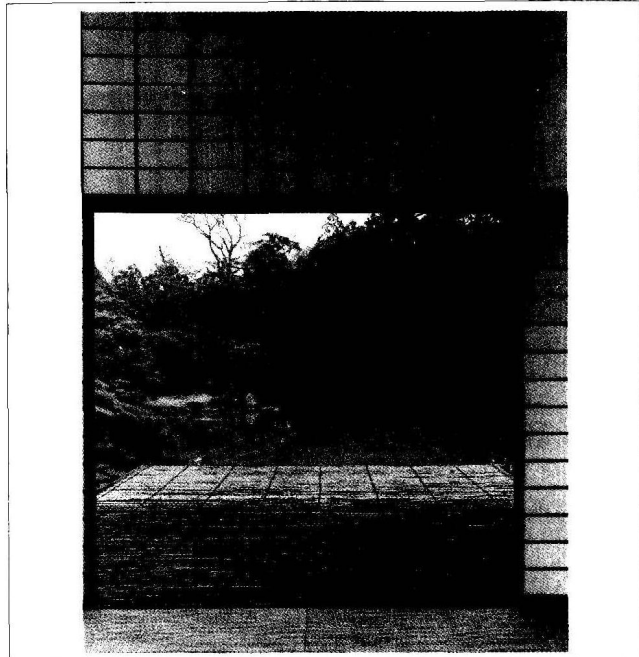


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Pond-side view at Kenrokuen, a *kaiyū*-style garden and one of the most noted gardens in Japan. Kanazawa, Ishikawa Prefecture.

flow, reinforce riverbanks, and solidify the rims of ponds. In order to provide a sense of relief from the heat of summer, waterfalls, ponds, and narrow streams (*yarimizu*) were made, which, passing between the buildings of the *SHINDEN-ZUKURI* mansions, also flowed through the gardens. The ponds were of simple shape yet large enough for boating, and at their edges, jutting out over the water, were erected fishing pavilions (*tsuri dono*) connected by roofed corridors to the other structures of the mansion. The large area between the main buildings and the pond was covered with white sand and used for formal ceremonies. This type of garden, called the *shinden* style, was modeled after the Buddhist paradise described in the scriptures as the Pure Land (*Jōdo*) of Amida Buddha. A good example of this is the garden of the *BYŌDŌIN*, a temple at Uji. Before the *amidado* (Amida hall), popularly known as the *Hōdō* (Phoenix Hall), was constructed a pond in the shape of the first letter of the Sanskrit alphabet. Chinese Taoist belief in the importance of the attainment of immortality, expressed in Japan through the symbolism of the crane and the tortoise (*tsuru* and *kame*) merged with the Buddhist *JŌDO* SECT tradition and subsequently this combined theme became the central motif of Japanese gardens. Because of the interest in gardens among aristocrats, there appeared many excellent critical works on the subject, the oldest of which was Tachibana Toshitsuna's *Sakuteiki* (Records on Garden Making) written in the early part of the Kamakura period (1185–1333).

By the Kamakura and Nambokuchō (1336–92) periods, temples had gradually been moved from cities to the mountains. Their restricted views, enhanced by construction on sloping ground, were designed to provide an environment more appropriate to the practice of various Buddhist disciplines. During this period priestly garden designers were called "rock-placing monks" (*ishitate sō*), the



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View of the *kaiyū*-style garden of the Katsura Detached Palace in Kyōto from the Old Shoin (Ko Shoin) section of the main house.

placement of rocks implying the creation of a garden. The greatest of these "rock-placing monks" was *MUSŌ SOSEKI* (1275–1351). At the temple *SAIHŌJI* he constructed a garden with ten views based upon the Chinese compositional method known as *shijing* (*shih-ching*; J: *jukkyō*) or "ten realms."

The Muromachi period (1333–1568) has been called the golden age of Japanese gardens. Skilled groups of craftsmen known as *sen-zui kawaramono* ("mountain, stream, and riverbed people") were active, and there appeared the new *kare sansui* ("dry mountain stream") style of garden. The warrior class had replaced the aristocracy and was securely entrenched in government administration. The concepts of *ZEN* Buddhism which had earlier been introduced from China were also well established. It is customary to speak of the origin of waterless rock and sand gardens (*kare sansui*) as deriving from a combination of such traditions as Zen doctrine, *shoin*-style architecture (*SHOIN-ZUKURI*), Chinese ink painting, potted dwarf trees (*BONSAI*), and tray landscapes, the basic idea being the symbolic expression of a whole universe within a limited space. Though *kare sansui* is a garden form found nowhere else in the world, its development was probably influenced by the methods and perspective employed in the Chinese ink paintings known as *can-shan shengshui* (*ts'an-shan sheng-shui*; J: *zanzan jōsui*), landscapes of barren mountains and dry riverbeds. *Shoin*-style structures were small and faced onto gardens whose view was designed to be seen from within. In this way was developed a garden possessing an almost pictorial delicacy of composition which could endure long and studied observation.

The confidence of the parvenu *samurai* who had managed to remain unscathed during the Sengoku period (Age of Warring States; 1467–1568) was expressed in their gardens. They composed groupings of boulders of unique shape and striking color and used exotic foreign plants such as the *sotetsu*, a variety of sago palm, in the gardens. Standing in opposition to such superficial splendor was the *TEA CEREMONY* or Way of tea (*sadō*) as taught by *SEN NO RIKYŪ*, who emphasized a quiescent spirituality. The tea spirit represented an attempt to achieve inner peace, harmonious intercourse among men, and self-forgetfulness through the drinking of tea. The approach to a teahouse was through a tea garden (*roji niwa*) the ideal of which Rikyū sought in the desolate tranquility of a mountain trail. Among the contributions of the tea garden to the contemporary Japanese garden are stepping-stones, stone lanterns, groves of trees, as well as stone washbasins and simply constructed gazebos for guests being served tea.

3 Table 1

Elements of Japanese Garden Design		B. Design in terms of effect	
Design in terms of function		Effect	Compositional unit
closure: Closing off the perimeter. The most basic device for creating space.	Compositional unit Bamboo fences such as the <i>ajiro</i> (wickerwork) and <i>yotsume</i> (lattice). Fences may also be made of wooden slats, stone, clay, or other materials. Other enclosing elements include moats, gateways, and a variety of hedges differing in type of plant, height, and manner of trimming.	Decoration: Objects placed in gardens to emphasize symbolic composition add accent to the garden and aid the viewer in establishing points of focus.	Groupings of rocks, such as those in the form of a triad of Buddhist images ( <i>sanzon ishigumi</i> ) or a waterfall ( <i>taki ishigumi</i> ), are especially effective as symbolic or decorative points, particularly when placed before a tree or shrubbery. Stone lanterns come in a variety of shapes and sizes and are placed in strategic locations throughout the garden. Usually purely decorative or used as landmarks, lanterns sometimes serve a practical purpose in illuminating certain sections of the garden.
division: Spatial division and distinction according to use of atmosphere.	Hedges and other plantings provide complete visual and physical separation. <i>Yotsume</i> fences and <i>shiorido</i> (a wicket made from the bent branches of saplings) achieve visual connection but physical separation. <i>Sekimori ishi</i> ("barrier stone"; a smooth, round stone with a rope tied around it) are used as direction-indicating barriers at forks in tea garden paths.	Breadth and depth: Allows the composition within a small piece of land of a scene suggesting vast distance and a broad expanse.	This effect is created by a three-dimensional mass of plantings set against a flat plane of spread sand or moss, and by the difference in heights of a fence and trees. Trees with spreading branches planted beside a pond and trees that partially obstruct the view of a waterfall or lantern also heighten the sense of distance. Low groupings of rocks emphasize a horizontal line, giving a sense of breadth and serenity.
connection: Direct or visual connection between different spaces or objects.	Stepping-stones and rectilinear stone walkways provide horizontal connection; these should exhibit rhythmic variation. Stepping-stone stairs give vertical connection. Bridges connect near and opposite shores and suggest the Buddhist metaphor for existential travail and the distant realm of enlightenment. They may be constructed of natural or finished stone, wood, or earth and may be flat or gently or fully arched.	Movement: Water, wind, and animals add movement to a garden; movement acts as a counterpoint to, and thus heightens the atmosphere of quiet.	Impressions of movement, breadth, quiet, and coolness arise from a cascading waterfall, a flowing stream, a rippling pond, or the upswell of water in a spring. According to the manner in which the water descends, waterfalls are given such names as <i>sandan ochi</i> (three-stage fall) or <i>nuno taki</i> (cloth waterfall). Varieties of streams are <i>yarimizu</i> (a narrow flow drawn from a nearby river) and <i>kyokusui</i> (winding stream). <i>Sōzu</i> (also called <i>shishi odoshi</i> ) is a length of bamboo that, while at rest at an acute angle, is filled by running water until it tips, spilling out the water. The bamboo swings back to its original position, the lower end striking a rock and producing a sound. The process is then repeated. Other components involving movement include <i>kakehi</i> (a bamboo pipe from which water trickles); <i>suisha</i> (waterwheel); and carp, which bestow movement and color to the still surface of a pond.
concealment: Slightly things may be concealed or the front portion of something may be hidden in order to provide a sense of anticipation.	High hedges create a sense of anticipation for that portion of the garden yet unseen. <i>Sodegaki</i> (low fences) are used for concealment.		
ordering: Ground cover used to provide a sense of road space and to facilitate the entrance of visitors.	Flagstones (cut stones, joined stones, large rectilinear stones, rounded stones from streambeds, or a combination of cut and rounded stones) are used for pavement or, on occasion, to suggest the shape of a riverine sand island. In the <i>kare sansui</i> style of garden, sand is spread and patterns may be drawn in it symbolizing the rippling surface of a pond or the sea. Sand prevents the growth of grass and functions as a ground cover. Moss and grass are also used as ground cover.		

ring the Edo period (1600–1868) a synthesis of preceding took place. The garden of the KATSURA DETACHED PALACE, achieved considerable renown through the writings of the architect Bruno Taut (1880–1938), is made up of a number gardens. This is an example of the *kaiyū*, or "many-pleasure" which became fully established midway in the Edo period, ding the *kare sansui* and *shoin* garden styles. The Katsura was built by an aristocrat but the majority of *kaiyū* gardens ed to *daimyō* (feudal lords). In the Edo period, an age of sis in all cultural spheres, compositional details developed in dens of previous eras were used to create a synthetic whole. d a large pond there might be scattered miniature scenes from stages of the TŌKAI DŌ highway, views of Mt. Fuji (Fujisan), ee famous views of Japan (see NIHON SANKEI), or the many sung of in classical Japanese WAKA poetry; there might be a ig stream (*kyokusui*), a pond in the shape of the Chinese char- or heart (*kokoro*) accented by the extreme convolution of its ne, a representation of the island of Hōrai (a fantastic island nese mythology inhabited by immortal ascetics), *sanzoneki* ings of stones symbolizing three Buddhas, usually Yakushi, , and Shaka, each accompanied by two attendants), Chinese- mbankments and bridges, Confucian-style towers, representa- f ancient Chinese-style rice paddies, teahouses, and gardens daimyō and their advisers entertained themselves, practice ls for archery and horse riding, and "yin and yang stones," lizing the male and female. All such elements were merged in nious unity with natural scenes—reduced in scale—of moun- ivers, and valleys. The use of a large number of motifs was a l development of the application of garden planning to the grounds upon which daimyō built their mansions. As the ls were customarily on low-lying flat land marked by little aphical variation, the builders dug ponds, raised hills, em- l the technique known as "borrowed views" (J: *shakkei*), in distant hills in the background were integrated into the pe- e of the garden, and introduced numerous other motifs into sign. In an age when the art of printing flourished, many garden texts were widely distributed, effecting a general popu- on of the garden. A representative garden designer of this was KOBORI ENSHŪ, whose work included the gardens of the

Sentō Palace in Kyōto.

**Technique and Composition of the Japanese Garden**—— It has been said that the soul of the Japanese garden lies in its symbolic significance. However, this is true only when the original function of topiary composition has been fulfilled. In order for a garden to be usable as a garden certain elements of its design must be purely functional; at the same time, in order to impress viewers with its beauty, certain elements must be designed for effect. These conditions are of course not unique to Japanese gardens. What is particularly Japanese about Japanese gardens is that design elements of both types of detail are essentially independent units which, for the most part, adhere to traditional Japanese forms. These units are made up of natural rock, trees, and bamboo. Garden planning consists of selecting, according to terrain, a number of compositional units and placing them so that they form an organic whole. Skill in the making of a Japanese garden is based on an understanding of conventions concerning form, type, and implementation of compositional units. These units of compositional detail have been given names taken from the gardens in which they were originally employed.

**The Use of Space**—— Methods of dividing the surface plane of a Japanese garden may be classified into four groups. The *funa asobi* ("pleasure boat") style (centered on an oval-shaped pond where courtiers went boating) was a popular type of garden in the Heian period for mansions on the outskirts of the capital. The *shūyū* ("stroll") style (a garden whose chief feature is a path leading from vantage point to vantage point from which changing scenes could be viewed) was often employed in gardens of temples and of mansions of the wealthy and powerful during the Heian, Kamakura, and Muromachi periods. The *kanshō* or *zakan* ("contemplation") style (in which the garden is viewed from within a central structure, emphasis being placed on the creation of a carefully composed scene suggestive of a picture and suitable for long and studied viewing) was designed to be seen from a *shoin*, a room in a type of building known as *shoin-zukuri*, which was often built by men of the samurai class during the Muromachi and Azuchi-Momoyama (1568–1600) periods. The *kaiyū* ("many pleasure") style (in which various gardens, usually tea gardens, were constructed around a central pond, displaying striking changes of scene to viewers) was often employed

Gardens — Table 2

Major Japanese Gardens					
Garden	Location	Style	Period	Area (sq meters)	Features
Mōtsuji	Hiraizumi, Iwate Prefecture	<i>funa asobi</i>	Heian (794-1185)	145,616	oldest existing garden
Kōrakuen	Tōkyō	<i>kaiyū</i>	Edo (1600-1868)	58,337	daimyō garden
Hama Detached Palace	Tōkyō	<i>kaiyū</i>	Edo	249,015	daimyō garden
Kenrokuen	Kanazawa, Ishikawa Prefecture	<i>kaiyū</i>	Edo	100,462	daimyō garden; oldest fountain
Asakurtei Yakata Ato	Fukui, Fukui Prefecture	<i>kanshō</i>	Muromachi (1333-1568)	13,715	daimyō garden
Byōdōin	Uji, Kyōto Prefecture	<i>funa asobi</i> ( <i>shinden</i> )	Heian	20,714	Jōdo symbolism; garden of the <i>amidado</i>
Saihōji	Kyōto	<i>shūyū</i>	Nambokuchō (1336-92)	16,883	<i>jukkyō</i> compositional method; designed by Musō Soseki
Tenryūji	Kyōto	<i>kanshō</i>	Nambokuchō	12,065	designed by Musō Soseki
Katsura Detached Palace	Kyōto	<i>kaiyū</i>	Edo	42,900	garden belonging to the imperial household resort house; contains seven teahouses
Ryōanji	Kyōto	<i>kanshō</i> ( <i>kare sansui</i> )	Muromachi	38,488	noted for its rock garden
Kinkakuji	Kyōto	<i>shūyū</i>	Muromachi	93,077	noted for beautiful pine trees on the shore of its pond
Ginkakuji	Kyōto	<i>shūyū</i>	Muromachi	22,338	oldest tea ceremony room; garden designed in imitation of Saihōji
Daisen'in	Kyōto	<i>kanshō</i> ( <i>kare sansui</i> )	Muromachi	1,363	reduced-scale scenes; symbolization of mountains and water
Daigoji Sambōin	Kyōto	<i>kanshō</i>	Azuchi-Momoyama (1568-1600)	15,454	noted for large size of design elements
Nijō Castle	Kyōto	<i>kaiyū</i>	Azuchi-Momoyama	1,589	noted for large, stirring components
Konchiin	Kyōto	<i>kanshō</i> ( <i>kare sansui</i> )	Edo	3,792	crane-tortoise symbolization
Shūgakuin Detached Palace	Kyōto	<i>kaiyū</i>	Edo	47,320	<i>shakkei</i> ; designed by the retired emperor Go-Mizunoo
Sentō Goshō	Kyōto	<i>kaiyū</i>	Edo	30,000	designed by Kobori Enshū
Nishi Honganji	Kyōto	<i>kanshō</i> ( <i>kare sansui</i> )	Azuchi-Momoyama	760	sago palm garden
Kōrakuen	Okayama, Okayama Prefecture	<i>kaiyū</i>	Edo	114,365	daimyō garden
Shukkeien	Hiroshima, Hiroshima Prefecture	<i>kaiyū</i>	Edo	46,286	daimyō garden
Ritsurin Park	Takamatsu, Kagawa Prefecture	<i>kaiyū</i>	Edo	750,875	<i>shakkei</i> of mountain in rear; daimyō garden
Jōeiji	Yamaguchi, Yamaguchi Prefecture	<i>kanshō</i>	Muromachi	394,469	reduced-scale scenes
Tsuki no Katsura no Niwa	Hōfu, Yamaguchi Prefecture	<i>kanshō</i> ( <i>kare sansui</i> )	Edo	70	a noted rock garden
Kohōan	Kyōto	tea garden ( <i>roji niwa</i> )	Edo	1,554	designed by Kobori Enshū

in the gardens of daimyō during the Azuchi-Momoyama and Edo periods. In other words the *funa asobi* style is a garden for amusement, the *shūyū* for walking about, the *kanshō* for quiet contemplation, and the *kaiyū* for strikingly varied scenes. Various adaptations of these four styles are also used. (Note: Both the *shūyū* and *kaiyū* styles, which have much in common, are referred to as "stroll" gardens in English. The word *funa asobi* [literally, "boat pleasure"] is written with Chinese characters that can also be, and often are, pronounced *shūyū* in referring to gardens; the word *shūyū* meaning "stroll" is written with different characters.)

**Methods of Scenic Composition** — There are three basic principles of scenic composition: reduced scale, symbolization, and "borrowed views." Reduction in scale refers particularly to the *kaiyū* style garden, which brings together in a confined area adaptations of famous scenes and places of historical interest through miniaturization of natural views of mountains and rivers, and as in tea gardens, the creation, even within a city, of idealized scenes from a mountain village. Themes of Buddhist paradise such as Shumisen or Jōdo (the Pure Land), which derive from the Buddhist cosmology and are inappropriate for expression by means of scenic reduction, are represented through symbolization. Methods of symbolization are abstraction, as in the use of white sand to suggest the ocean, and inference, as in a grouping of stones or an island signifying the felicitous crane and tortoise. Use of a portion of a mountain or river

to suggest the whole is a powerful symbolic device employed in Chinese paintings. The term "borrowed view" (*shakkei*) describes the use of background views outside and beyond the garden, such as a beautiful mountain, a broad plain, or the sea. These are used in such a way that they become part of the interior scenic composition. It is for this reason that the surrounding view is an important factor in the selection of a garden site.

■ — Masao Hayakawa, *The Garden Arts of Japan* (1973). Teiji Itoh, *Space and Illusion in the Japanese Garden* (1973). Loraine Kuck, *The World of the Japanese Garden* (1968). SHINJI Isoya

## GARIOA-EROA

(Government and Relief in Occupied Areas—Economic Rehabilitation in Occupied Areas). Two US legislative programs in the post-World War II period (EROA was later included in GARIOA) authorizing funds for economic relief and reconstruction in occupied countries. Contributions to Japan under these programs from 1947 to 1951 totaled about \$2.1 billion. Major items were food, fertilizer, petroleum, medical supplies, and nonindustrial raw materials; some civilian personnel costs were also paid from GARIOA funds. Soybeans, among the first commodities shipped to Japan, later became a major export item for the United States. In 1962 the United States and Japan agreed on the figure of \$1.8 billion as Japan's total



A debt to the United States for postwar assistance and on the \$490 million as what Japan would pay over 15 years in settlement. The United States agreed to use \$25 million of this money for cultural and educational exchange between the two countries. It is about half of this amount for various cultural and educational exchanges in Japan, including the Fulbright educational exchange program. In 1976 appropriated the remainder for use by the US-Japan Friendship Commission.

—Jerome B. Cohen, *Japan's Economy in War and Reconstruction* (1949). US, Department of State, *Bulletin*, 29 January 1962.

Richard B. FINN

## Textile industry

Sales in the Japanese ready-made garment industry amounted to 1.5 trillion (US \$16.8 billion) in 1976. The industry had experienced an average annual growth of 25 percent in the four preceding years. This dramatic growth was largely a consequence of two factors: first, the steady increase in personal income in recent decades has led Japanese consumers to spend more on clothing; and second, the drop in homemade and custom-made attire left ready-made garments with the unchallenged leadership of the clothing industry. The major companies in the industry are RENOWN, INC (ready-made garments), GUNZE, LTD (underwear), WACOAL CORPORATION (underwear), and KASHIYAMA & CO, LTD (ready-made garments). Their combined sales equal that of the 10 leading garment makers in the United States. The major companies concentrate their activities on design and sales while contracting production out to numerous small manufacturers, which generally employ about 10 each.

Osaka, Tōkyō, and Okayama are the garment production centers, contributing about 30 percent of the nation's total production. Wage rates are high in Tōkyō and Ōsaka, production in those areas is limited to quality goods, with mass production taking place in less urbanized areas. In recent years, mass-produced garments have been imported in large quantities from South Korea and Taiwan. Imports now account for 20 to 30 percent of annual garment sales.

TOMISAWA Konomi

## San

Mount Gassan, a volcano in central Yamagata Prefecture, northern Honshū, with the neighboring Hagurosan and Yudonosan, Gassan is the Dewa Sanzan (Three Mountains of Dewa Province), a site for the religious exercises of the SHUGENDŌ sect (see DEWA SAN SHRINES). Gassan Shrine is on the summit. Alpine flora is plentiful, particularly large tracts of Japanese black fritillary (*kuro-urushi*). There is summer skiing and mountain climbing. Height: 1,976 m (6,494 ft).

## S

The gate or gateway in Japan is a major architectural feature of palaces and shrines, castles, and domestic architecture; its forms range from imposing edifices symbolizing sacred authority to simple bamboo or thatch gates of teahouse gardens. The gate provides potent visual definition of character, role, sanctity, and security. Gates have been so highly regarded by the Japanese that the word *mon* came to be used frequently in a wide sense. For example, *mikado* ("honorable gateway"; *kado* alternate pronunciation of the Chinese character for *mon*) referred to the emperor; *kemmon* ("gate of power") to a powerful or titled person; *shūmon* ("gate of religion" or "sect gate") to a sect or denomination; and *ichimon* ("one gate") to a family sehold.

Temple gateways establish hierarchic divisions between different parts of the Buddhist temple and give eloquent testimony to the power and authority of Buddhism in Japan. The *nandaimon*, or "great gate," is the main exterior gateway of the temple, located on its major north-south axis. The *chūmon*, or "inner gate," gives access to the inner precinct of the temple and is usually aligned with the *nandaimon* on the north-south axis.

The *chūmon* of the Nara temple HŌRYŪJI is the oldest extant in Japan, built in the early 8th century. It has two stories with a simple hip roof above the first and an elegant hip-gable roof for the second. Cloud-shaped bracket-arms (*kumo hijiki*) support the wide eaves, a feature typical of other early Hōryūji buildings such as the main hall (*kondō*).



Gates — Chūmon ("inner gate"), Hōryūji

The oldest extant gateway in Japan, dating from the early 8th century. Height (excluding stone base) 14.44 m. Nara. National Treasure.



Gates — Karamon, Toyokuni Shrine

This *karamon*, with front and rear cusped gables, once stood at Nijo Castle. Height 10.5 m. Late 16th century. Kyōto. National Treasure.

The *nandaimon* of the temple TŌDAIJI, Nara, was built in the mid-8th century under Emperor Shōmu as part of an ambitious program to symbolize the grandeur of central power with material accomplishments. Destroyed during battles between the Taira and Minamoto families in the 1180s, it was rebuilt at the end of the 12th century by the Kamakura shogunate. It is one of the largest gateways in Japan, over 27 meters (88.6 ft) in height, and a rare surviving example of *tenjikuyō*, a monumental but structurally unsophisticated building style adopted from Southern Song (Southern Sung; 1127-1279) China at this time. The enormous but stark bracket sets are an important characteristic. They are corbeled out from the columns six steps and braced laterally by tie-beams running the length of the building, not by further bracket arms as in *wayō* (Japanese-style) architecture. See also BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE.

The open TORII gateway is a distinctive feature of native SHINTŌ ARCHITECTURE. It consists primarily of two principal columns and bridging architrave and its absence of doors symbolizes permanent openness. Placement of *torii* at intervals along the approaches to sacred sites was borrowed from Buddhist practice. Early Shintō shrines, or those preserving ancient forms such as ISE SHRINE, have gates identical to Buddhist temple gateways.

The ancient Japanese capitals of HEIJŌKYŌ (Nara) and HEIANKYŌ (Kyōto) were modeled on Chinese cities and had many gateways on their main avenues, at city entrances, and leading to government buildings and palaces in accordance with Chinese practice. The most spectacular of the Nara and Kyōto gateways were the *rajōmon* (or *rashōmon*), the main southern entrance to the city, and the *suza-kumon*, at the south central entry to the Imperial Palace complex. These gates were large, two-storied, brilliantly painted, and heavily tiled. The Kyōto *rajōmon* was over 32 meters (105 ft) in width, according to excavations, or approximately 4 meters (13.1 ft) wider than the Tōdaiji *nandaimon*.

Gates are also an important feature of domestic architecture. They were integral to the SHINDEN-ZUKURI mansions of the aristocracy during the Heian period (794–1185). Although no example of these Heian gates remains, picture scrolls (EMAKIMONO) furnish information about their appearance. They show three common gate types. The *agetsuchimon*, or “raised earth gate,” is a simple two-pillared gate set into and supported by the outer wall of the mansion. It is roofed with wooden slats and covered with clay for weather-proofing and decoration. The *munamon*, or “ridged gate,” is incorporated into the mansion wall, but has a more elaborate gabled roof of wood shingle or tile. The *yotsuashimon*, or “four-legged gate,” was usually larger than the *agetsuchimon* and *munamon* and was free-standing by virtue of two pillars at front and two central pillars bracing the rear. Mansion gateways such as these were important status symbols and objects of government regulations, which ensured close correlation between architectural style and the social status of the family for which they were constructed. Gateways onto the main avenues of Nara and Kyōto were restricted to higher-ranking aristocratic families under a law issued in 731.

New gate types developed in response to changing political and social circumstances in the Kamakura period (1185–1333). Gate style became a virtual badge of rank within the *samurai* class. The *yakuimon* became a common gate form, a stylistic hybrid of the *munamon* and *yotsuashimon* built with two principal and two support pillars. The roof is spread over all four and may be large and impressive, while the support system remains structurally simple.

The *karamon* developed in the Muromachi period (1333–1568) as a stylistic synthesis of gateways associated with the *shinden* mansion, especially the *yotsuashimon*, and Buddhist architecture, particularly the curvilinear emphasis of *zenshūyō* (“Zen style”). The *karamon* has large cusped gables at front and rear or at each side. During the Azuchi-Momoyama period (1568–1600) and the early part of the Edo period (1600–1868), it was heavily encrusted with sculpture and other ornament in keeping with the decorative exuberance of the age. It was used as a ceremonial entrance to the great *daimyō* mansions of Edo (now Tōkyō) and to official temples and shrines such as the Tōshōgū at Nikkō, before the Tokugawa shōgunate curbed these architectural extravagances.

*Nagayamon*, or gate rowhouses, were used as outer walls to *daimyō* mansions and as housing for lower-ranking retainers. Edo laws insisting upon frugality in gate construction later restricted main *daimyō*-mansion entrances to *nagayamon*, rather than more elaborate gate types. Higher status was indicated by fine detailing of sentry windows and guard houses. There were exceptions to the *nagayamon* rule. The Maeda family was permitted to build a large *munamon* with flanking guard houses to commemorate intermarriage with the Tokugawa family in 1827. This is now the famed Akamon, or Red Gateway, at the entrance to Tōkyō University.

Gates were a vital aspect of the fortifications of CASTLES of the Azuchi-Momoyama and Edo periods. Gateways were constructed at critical points of entry and had to be effectively defended to maintain the security of the castle. They were often incorporated into ingenious maze-like entrances and cunningly constructed to maximize their defensive advantage. The *masugatamon*, for example, was a commonly used barbanic gateway of great size and strength. A small outer gate affords limited access to, and therefore hinders ready escape from, a courtyard surrounded by high walls and a heavily guarded tower gate. Attackers could easily be dealt with in the confined space of the courtyard from the numerous fire positions overlooking it. EDO CASTLE was protected by a ring of these *masugatamon*, which also provided articulate expression of the shōgunate’s power.

■ — Kishi Kumakichi, *Nihon monshō shiwa* (1946).

William H. COALDRAKE

## GATT

(General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade). GATT was established in 1947 to bring about the standardization and reduction of TARIFFS. The organization operates through the extension of most-favored-nation status to member nations, whereby tariff reductions granted to one trade partner are extended automatically to all GATT members.

Japan joined GATT in 1955, after the nation’s economy had recovered from war damage and was on the threshold of rapid economic growth. When Japan joined, 14 member nations invoked the agreement’s article 35, which allows members to withhold most-favored-nation treatment to new members at the time of their acces-

sion. This was done out of fear that Japan would continue its rapid recovery and utilize its supply of cheap labor to conduct “export raids” on the economies of the industrialized countries. Most GATT members relinquished these discriminatory import restrictions during the 1960s.

The second problem Japan faced upon joining GATT was the requirement of trade liberalization, i.e., the lifting of import restrictions. It was only during the 1960s, when it moved toward an open economy in response to the demands of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), that Japan seriously confronted the question of liberalization. The liberalization rate was extremely low in the early 1960s (only 43 percent of all imports had been decontrolled), but it increased to 90 percent by 1963. The remaining restrictions were treated as residuals. By 1964 it was felt that Japan had completed its postwar reconstruction and should join the other industrialized nations in the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as an “article 8” nation. Because of this change in status, Japan was no longer allowed to enforce trade restrictions; instead, it was required to fulfill the liberalization principles of article 11 of GATT, which prohibit all quantitative import restrictions. By the late 1970s, the liberalization rate was said to have reached 97 percent, with residual restrictions on 27 import items, a rate equal to the average for major countries.

The third problem Japan confronted in joining GATT was the reduction of tariffs. Tariffs were lowered substantially in 1955, and reduced further in 1967 as a result of the Kennedy Round negotiations. Also in 1967, Japan granted preferential duties to developing countries. In the early 1970s, in an effort to reduce the surplus in its international BALANCE OF PAYMENTS, Japan unilaterally reduced tariffs even further. As a result of the compromise settlement at the Tōkyō Round talks in 1979, Japan is working to eliminate nontariff trade barriers as well.

Japan is a trade-dependent country, largely because of its severe shortage of natural resources. In addition, unlike the countries of the European Community, Japan does not have natural trade partners with which to enter into an economic alliance. Given this position, it appears likely that Japan will continue to support GATT’s principles of nondiscrimination and trade liberalization.

TSUCHIYA Rokurō

## Gaun nikkenroku

Diary of the Zen priest Zuikei Shūhō (1391–1473) of the temple Shōkokuji in Kyōto. Noted for his erudition in the Chinese classics, Zuikei (pen name Gaun) was a confidant of the shōgun ASHIKAGA YOSHIMASA. The diary extends from 1446 to 1473 and is an important source of information on Zen Buddhism, scholarship, the arts, and to a lesser extent the social conditions and political history of Zuikei’s time. The original text, in 74 fascicles, survives only in a partial copy made by Koretaka Myōan in 1562.

## geese

(*gan* or *kari*). Large water birds of the family Anatidae, measuring 61–87 centimeters (24–34 in) in length. The bodies of most geese, both male and female, are grayish brown. Nine varieties have been recorded in Japan, all as winter visitors. They frequent areas safe from predators such as broad paddies and fields, salt marshes, and coastal waters, but in recent years they have become rare except in wildlife refuges. Among the geese found in Japan, the *kokugan* (brant; *Branta bernicla*) and *magan* (white-fronted goose; *Anser albifrons*) are also found in both Europe and North America; the *haiirogan* (greylag goose; *A. anser*), *karigane* (lesser white-fronted goose; *A. erythropus*), and *hishikui* (bean goose; *A. fabalis*) are found in Europe; and the *shijūkaragan* (Canada goose; *B. canadensis*), *haku-gan* (snow goose; *A. caerulescens*), and *mikadogan* (emperor goose; *A. canagicus*) are found in North America. The only species found in Asia alone is the *sakatsuragan* (swan goose; *A. cygnoides*), which in recent years has become rare.

TAKANO Shinji

In the account of the reign of the legendary emperor Nintoku in the KOJIKI (712), there is an anecdote in which the laying of an egg by a goose was taken as an auspicious sign of the emperor’s enduring rule. (Geese normally do not lay eggs during the season of their stay in Japan.) A similar account appears in the NIHON SHOKI (720). Poets of the MAN’YOSHŪ (latter half of the 8th century) and later generations have portrayed geese realistically but have also used their arrival as a symbol of the coming of autumn, a poetic convention borrowed from China.

SAITŌ Shōji



**ni (1431–1485)**

own as Shingei. The successor of NŌAMI in many, if not all, roles required of the leading painter-connoisseur-curator of Ikaga shōguns' collection. He appears to have worked for shōguns from at least 1458 on, and like Nōami and his own son successor, SŌAMI, he gave evaluations of paintings and was with the care of the collection. In 1478, when painter-priest SHŌKEI came from Kamakura to study with him, Geiami lent him with works from the shōguns' collection to copy; when returned to Kamakura in 1480, Geiami presented him with a painting of *Viewing a Waterfall (Kambakuzu)* as a form of on certificate. From this work, and from a detailed record by Shōjū Ryūtō (1428–98) describing Geiami at work on a sixfold screens, using as models screens from the shogunal era by Xia Gui (Hsia Kuei), it is apparent that his major land-ode was based on Southern Song (Sung; 1127–1279) academic styles, notably that of Xia Gui. Moreover, his artistic style, reflected in works of the Shōkei school in Kamakura, suggests that he paid little attention to the wash-oriented land-styles of Muqi (Mu-ch'i; J: MOKKEI) and Yujian (Yü-chien); he appears, however, to have transmitted, like so many contemporaries, a Muqi-oriented style in figure paintings. See also AMI; INK PAINTING. Richard STANLEY-BAKER

**kei**

the town of Higashiyama, southern Iwate Prefecture, north-shū. Created when the Satetsugawa, a tributary of the Kitava, eroded limestone for a distance of approximately 4 km. Designated a Natural Monument, it abounds in steep cliffs and angularly shaped rocks on both sides.

**a**

lled *geigi* and *geiko*. Women entertainers of a traditional role to provide singing, dancing, conversation, games, and companionship to customers in certain restaurants. The *geisha* world in Japan is referred to as the *karyūkai* ("flower and willow world"). The total number in the 1920s was roughly 80,000, but geisha numbers fell as Japan mobilized for war in the 1930s. By the early 1940s, geisha entertainment was forbidden for all but the military, and most of the women were pressed into factory work for the war. In the late 1970s geisha numbered around 17,000. One reason for their current decline in number is the encroachment of Western-style bar hostesses on what was once the exclusive domain of the geisha. Many modern Japanese, unfamiliar with the etiquette of geisha entertainment, find the bar girls much more keeping with the tempo of the times. From the women's point of view, it is much easier to become a hostess than a geisha, with its long training, discipline, and expense of maintaining a *ki-wardrobe* are not necessary. It is also true, however, that geishas do not have the professional pride and career consciousness of a hostess.

For the traditional arts seems to be the most important motivating factor for women who choose to become geisha, and, despite some social prejudice against them, they are respected carriers of traditional art and culture.

**Profession** — The profession of geisha is rather unusual in Japanese entertainment business in that women can make it a career. Since the premium is on artistic skills and conversational abilities rather than just youth and good looks, geisha may advance to work to an advanced age. If they cease working as geishas, they go into related occupations like operating a restaurant, shop, where they can use their geisha background and connections to advantage. Occasionally they become the mistresses or wives of their customers. In one possible pattern, a geisha who becomes a man's mistress may marry him if his first wife dies; thus geishas have sometimes become the second wives of very wealthy and powerful men.

When geishas marry they quit their profession, but while they are married, their relations with men may be of several types. It is generally considered desirable to have a patron (*danna*), with whom the geisha is involved emotionally, sexually, and economically. In addition to the patron, every geisha tries to build up a clientele of able favorite customers (*goiki*), whom she can count on to patronize when they give parties and to contribute to the expenses of her public performances of dancing or other arts.

Before World War II, a geisha generally had to have a patron to help support her and often had little say in deciding who he would be. Furthermore, every apprentice had to undergo the "deflowering ceremony" (*mizuage*) with some important customer before she could attain full geisha status. But now it is quite possible to make a living from wages and tips alone, so the matter of whether or not to accept a man as one's patron can be decided more freely.

There can be great differences in the status and behavior of geishas, largely depending on where they work. The high-class urban geisha are very discriminating in their choice of a patron, and their relationships tend to be long-term, but geisha at hot-springs resorts or other tourist spots generally have a transient clientele, and many of them engage in prostitution on the side.

**Training** — No matter where they work, aspiring geisha must take lessons in various traditional arts. Some arts that do not directly concern their skills as entertainers are optional (such as tea ceremony, flower arranging, calligraphy, and painting); but lessons in classical dancing, playing the SHAMISEN (a stringed instrument), and several styles of singing are required. Even if a woman has no background in the arts when she enters the geisha life, her lessons begin immediately during the trial period, called *minarai*, after which she must pass an examination at the local geisha registry office, presided over by senior members of the geisha union. The lessons become part of her life as a geisha and she continues them as long as she works.

Traditionally, children were often adopted into geisha houses (*okiya*) for training. Such girls (called *shikomi*) were assigned much of the hard drudgery of housework as part of their discipline and treated like maids or servants. Sometimes girls were indentured by their parents, especially in times of famine when a family could not support all its children. The father would receive a lump sum in exchange for which his daughter would be trained at the geisha house, and its owner would later turn over to the father a specified percentage of her income. Actually, the young girls sent to geisha houses were at least able to learn some skills and refined manners, with a good chance of later finding a patron to pay for their freedom.

From the ages of about 13 to 18, would-be geisha used to serve as "apprentices," generically termed *oshaku* and called *hangyoku* ("half-jewel") in the Kantō area around Tōkyō or *maiko* (dance child) in the Kansai area around Kyōto and Ōsaka. Such apprentices wore a distinctive kimono and hairstyle while they underwent their initial training period. At present, the apprentice stage has all but vanished in Tōkyō, and while the *maiko* have managed to continue in Kyōto, their numbers are dwindling. One reason for this is the compulsory education law requiring everyone to complete middle school, with the usual age of graduation at 15. This means a modern-day *maiko* starts out at the age when traditionally she would be getting ready to assume full-fledged geisha status. It is much more common now for girls to start their careers in their early 20s and skip the apprentice stage altogether.

**Organization** — The geisha are divided into discrete groups called *hanamachi* ("flower towns"), each organized around its own registry office (*kemban*). These communities provide the focus for the geisha's private and professional life. The *hanamachi* are highly systematized from the viewpoint of guest and geisha. Every geisha must be registered in her particular area and receive her assignments through the *kemban* to attend those establishments that are members of the "restaurant union" (*ryōtei kumiai*) of the area. *Ryōtei* is a generic term for this kind of restaurant, although, in Kyōto, establishments where geisha entertain are generally called *ochaya*. Meals are not prepared in the *ochaya* but are brought in by catering shops called *ryōriya*. The Tōkyō equivalent of the *ochaya* was known as *machiai-jaya* or simply *machiai* ("waiting and meeting house"). Because of its connotation of behind-the-scenes prostitution, the term *machiai* fell into disuse during the postwar Occupation, and legitimate places labeled themselves *ryōtei* or *kashi zashiki* ("rental banquet room").

The guest makes arrangements for geisha entertainment through these restaurants, and must abide by the rules of the geisha union (*geigi kumiai*) regarding times of attendance and fees for the geisha. The local *kemban* is the central organizing office that coordinates geisha schedules, and it is also the location of the "three unions" (*sangyō kumiai*), which are the working elements of each *hanamachi*. In addition to the restaurant union and geisha union, there is the geisha house union (*geigiya kumiai*), consisting of those establishments with a license (*kamban*). The geisha houses (*okiya* or *geigiya*), with which every geisha must be affiliated, pay fees to the *kemban* for these licenses.