【翻訳】

The Home of Ashiya Tea Kettles: Ashiya in Onga-gun

(An annotated translation of the first chapter of 『茶の湯と筑前 利休らの足跡と「南方録」の系譜』by 松岡博和)

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Abstract

Tea histories tend to focus on the larger urban centres of Honshu. The 2010 publication by Matsuoka Hirokazu shifts the focus away from the Kyoto headquarters of the grand master system by examining the impact on the northern Kyushu region of the tea culture of Sen no Rikyū. The book is guided by the tea community assumption that the Nambō Roku, the series of manuscripts that was supposedly 'discovered' by Tachibana Jitsuzan (five scrolls in 1686, and two more scrolls in 1690), is the closest representation to the tea values espoused by Rikyū. This paper is a translation of the first chapter of the Matsuoka book, and that chapter deals with the history of the tea kettles of Ashiya. The first chapter introduces the geographical location of Ashiya and gives an overview of the major developments since 1991 that were directed at re-establishing Ashiya as a production centre of tea kettles after a lapse of more than three hundred years. The formal characteristics of Ashiyagama tea kettles are described in terms of their shape and their surface designs. The distinctive casting method that allowed competent Ashiya artisans to produce kettles no more than 2 mm thick was a significant advantage over other techniques

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practiced elsewhere that resulted in kettle walls being 3 mm thick. The historical period of kettle production commences by noting the existence of a 1443 document containing the expression Ashiya-gama. The historical survey concludes with a mention of a temple bell, cast in 1600, as being the final cast object produced in the Ashiya foundry. The bureaucratic intervention of tax-payer funds to revitalize the local economy of Ashiya, in part by invoking a historical narrative that refers to the status of eight Ashiya-gama as Important Cultural Properties ($j\bar{u}y\bar{o}$ bunka-zai) (that Agency for Cultural Affairs category is itself a bureaucratic construction), is an important example of how traditions tend to be modern inventions.¹

Keywords

Ashiya, hatsu-gama, kama-biraki, jūyō bunka-zai, tabi-yuki merchants of Ashiya, Ashiya-kabuki (Ashiya-based kabuki theater), Ashiya-machi Museum of History and Folklore, Ashiya-gama no Sato (the home village of Ashiya-gama), Kanaya-goshin god, the shin-nari-gama kettle shape, the hiki-ita board, the hiki-naka-go technique, temple bells (bon-shō), prayer gongs (wani-guchi), Shin-Ashiya-gama, Hakata-gama, Hakata-cha-gama

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1. The Ashiya location

Ashiya-machi in Onga-gun is a port town located in the northernmost end of Fukuoka Prefecture where the Onga River, the source of which rises in the mountains called

¹ This paper is a translation and adaptation of the first chapter of the award winning book of 松岡博和(Matsuoka Hirokazu)entitled『茶の湯と筑前 利休らの足跡と「南方録」の系譜』, published by 海鳥社 in 2010. Translations of later chapters will follow. These translations are part of a larger project that addresses the persistence and pleasures of local history in the tea practices of the Nambō Ryū school. These practices include rites performed at Kushida Shrine as part of the Hakata Gion Yamakasa(献茶式)and ceremonies at Tōrinji temple dedicated to the memories of Sen no Rikyū, Nambō Sōkei and Tachibana Jitsuzan(供茶式). I would like to acknowledge a series of 領域 別研究 grants from the 「言語のカートグラフィー」研究 Group,研究チーム番号:163001,which made the necessary library research possible.

Hikosan and Umamiyama, flows into the sea of Hibiki-nada. On the right bank at the mouth of the Onga River is Yamaga and on the left is Ashiya, both of which merged into Ashiya-machi in 1905 (Meiji 38). The coastline of a rich variation of green pine trees, sandy beaches and rocky shores is designated as Genkai Quasi-National Park, and in particular, the caves of Dōyama eroded by sea water and the crinum fields of flowering bulbs in Natsuigahama are well known. The Chronicles of Japan [Nihon Shoki, 720] refers to the Ashiya site as 'a port in the hills of Chikushi' (Chikushi no oka no minato), and in Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves [Manyōshū, compiled after 759],² the area is described as 'a port in the Mizukuki hills' (Mizukuki no oka no minato): as it is said in Manyōshū (vol, 7, no. 1231): 'Amagirai hikata fukurashi mizugukino okano minatoni namitachiwataru.'

'The sky is covered with clouds and the waves stand up as they cross the mouth of the Onga River: no doubt the Hikata summer wind is blowing.' 'Hikata' means the wind blowing from the direction of the sun. This is the name given to the strong southern wind in the Japan Sea coastal area.³

On a hill on the right side of the bank of the Onga River, there are the small ruins of a castle. These are the ruins of Yamaga Castle which, having been renovated as Shiroyama Park, is now a famous spot for viewing cherry blossoms. The castle area is 390 meters long, 140 meters wide and although it is only 40 meters above sea level, the park offers a panoramic view of the mouth of the Onga River. On the place corresponding to where there used to be the circular enclosure of the *ninomaru* second bailey stands a stone monument with this epigraph: 'The ruins of the castle of Yamaga Hyōtōji Hidetō.'

² Translator's Note (TN): According to Kenneth Yasuda, the eras addressed by Manyōshū are: Pre-Omi (prior to 667), Omi (667-673), Asuka (673-686), Fujiwara (686-710), and Nara (710-784). Land of the Reed Plains: Ancient Japanese Lyrics from the Manyōshū (Rutland and Tōkyō: Tuttle, 1972), p. 13.

³ See Asai Tomio, Uchida Eiji, Kawamura Takeshi (ed.) *Zōho Kishōno Jiten* [*Encyclopedia of Meteorological Phenomenon, updated and expanded edition*] (Tōkyō: Heibonsha, 1999).

⁴ See Hirosaki Atsuo, Fukuoka ken no shiro [Castles in Fukuoka Prefecture] (Fukuoka: Kaichōsha, 1995).

At the beginning of the Kamakura era (1185–1333), the Yamaga clan were originally the Utsunomiya clan who moved from the Kantō area to Onga-gun, assuming the Yamaga name once they had established themselves.⁵ According to *The Tale of Heike [Heike Monogatari*], in 1183 (Juei 2) during the Genpei era of conflict between the clans of Minamoto and Taira, when the Taira clan (Heike) went down to Dazaifu to respectfully attend the court of Emperor Antoku they were attacked by the Ogata clan of the Bungo area. In addition to having received them once at Yamaga Castle, Hidetō then escorted the Emperor with the Taira clan to Yanagi-ga-ura (present day Moji Ward, Kitakyūshū City) through the night. Hidetō was also the commander who overwhelmed the army of Minamoto Yoshitsune (1159-1189) at the beginning of hostilities, supplying more than 500 ships of the thousand or more ships of the Taira clan (Heike) in the battle of Dan-no-ura in the third month of 1185 (Juei 4).⁶

In the town of Ashiya on the left bank of the Onga River, cast metal products were manufactured for more than two centuries and several decades from an unspecified period until just before the beginning of Edo era (1603-1868) and many masterpieces, including temple bells (bon- $sh\bar{o}$), prayer gongs (wani-guchi) and iron kettles for tea ceremony (cha-gama), still exist. In particular, exponents of tea have respectfully treasured these tea kettles as 'Ashiya-gama'.

Incidentally, in the world of tea, as the first ceremony held in the New Year is called 'hatsu-gama' (first + kettle) and the gathering held to commemorate the

⁵ TN: These days the Kantō area is defined as the Greater Tokyo Area and the prefectures of Gunma, Tochigi, Ibaraki, Saitama, Tokyo, Chiba, and Kanagawa.

Emperor Antoku (1178-1185, r. 1180-1185) and struggles over the imperial regalia, see such section as 'The cockfights and the Battle of Dan-no-ura (11:17)', 'Farflying arrows (11:18)', and 'The drowning of the former Emperor (11:19)' in Burton Watson (trans.) and Haruo Shirane (ed.), *The Tale of the Heike (Translations from the Asian Classics*), (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), pp. 133-144. For the representation of this battle on the kabuki stage in the play entitled 'The War Chronicles at Dannoura' ('Dan-no-ura kabuto gunki'), see Ronald Cavaye, Paul Griffith, and Akihiko Senda, *A Guide to the Japanese Stage: From Traditional to Cutting Edge* (Tokyo and New York: Kodansha International, 2005), p. 141.

inaugural serving in a new tea room is called 'kama-biraki' (kettle + open), among the number of utensils required for tea, the kettle is regarded as one of the most important tools. Although the Agency for Cultural Affairs (a subsidiary of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology) has not designated any tea kettles as National Treasures, there are nine kettles ranked as Important Cultural Properties ($j\bar{u}y\bar{o}$ bunka-zai). Of those nine kettles, eight are Ashiya-gama and the remaining one is a Tenmei-gama from Sano City in Tochigi Prefecture.⁷

Once the feudal government period begun, the town of Ashiya flourished as a shipping port of the Fukuoka domain, specializing in rice, coal, firewood and salt. As the saying 'One thousand houses in Ashiya and one thousand houses in Shimonoseki' (Ashiya senken, Seki senken) suggests, Ashiya was once as famous as Shimonoseki. Kaibara Ekken (1630-1714), a Confucian scholar of the Fukuoka domain in the early Edo period, described Ashiya in his topography treatise Gazetteer of Chikuzen Province, Continued (Chikuzen no kuni zoku fu-do-ki, 1708) as follows:

There are many private residences. It has a broad town area. There are many luxurious houses, too. It is located south of the port of Oka-nominato. It used to be Yamaga village. The two towns have the Onga River in between. Many passenger boats are coming in and going out: as it has advantages of commerce, houses are packed with people.⁸

Yeth the annual meeting of Nambo Ryu professors (平成 29 度茶道南坊流南坊会教授会), held at Kushida Shrine on June 10 2018, guest lecturer and Ashiya-gama blacksmith, Yatsugi Takahiro explained how a shared narrative of the production of tea kettles was useful in the process of establishing a cultural exchange programme between the town of Ashiya and Sano City. Since its establishment in 1994, children from each location have taken annual turns to visit their sister community. A recent delegation of adults, including tea teachers from Sano City, visited Ashiya. In the same lecture, he also explained how the 100,000,000 yen grant approved by the Takeshita administration was crucial for the 1995 establishment of the Ashiya-gama no Sato (the home village of Ashiya-gama). That economic development grant was intended to provide some stimulus to the local Ashiya community and its benefits continue to be felt today. The municipal government of Sano City is also interested in the urban revitalization policies being implemented by the town of Ashiya.

⁸ TN: An alternative rendering of this title might be *Continuation of the Topographical Records of Chikuzen Province* but I have selected the translation used

Around the middle of the Edo period, the Imari style porcelain produced in Hizen Province (now an area consisting of Saga Prefecture and part of Nagasaki Prefecture) was traded throughout Japan. Ashiya merchants stocked their ships with ceramic wares from Imari and began selling them as 'Chikuzen-yaki' all across the country. These travelling merchants were called 'tabi-yuki.' Tabi-yuki merchants were initially active around the eras of Genroku (1688-1704) and Hōei (1704-1711) when Ekken's Gazetteer was compiled and reached their peak in the eras of Bunsei (1818-1830) and Tempō (1830-1844). Their destinations were not only the cities of Kamigata (present day Kansai area) and Edo (present day Tōkyō), but they also ranged from Hokuriku to Ōu (present day Tōhoku area) and even as far as Ezochi (present day Hokkaidō). It was said that there were no places where the tabi-yuki merchants of Ashiya hadn't set foot.

In the Ashiya precinct of Okaminato Shrine there are eleven stone lanterns which were dedicated in the eighth month of 1839 (Tempō 10). These lanterns were a collective donation by *tabi-yuki* merchants of Ashiya and ceramic merchants from Imari. As they record the names of those merchants who made the donation, the lanterns are important historical assets that document the close relationship between Imari and Ashiya.⁹

These kinds of external exchanges with other regions cultivated many townspeople who understood the circumstances outside Ashiya and learned the dominant culture of urban centres. This might explain why entertainment such as *odori-nen-butsu* (a Buddhist practice where believers chant the name of Buddha while beating a bell and dancing) or Ashiya-kabuki (Ashiya-based kabuki theater) began to flourish in the town.

in *Potters and Patrons in Edo Period Japan: Takatori Ware and the Kuroda Domain* by Andrew Maske (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2011). Subsequent references will be abbreviated as Ekken's *Gazetteer*.

⁹ TN: Under the auspices of the Ashiya Rekishi no Sato, a special exhibition dealing with these Ashiya travelling merchants was held at the Ashiya-machi Museum of History and Folklore (Ashiya-machi Rekishi Minzoku Shiryō-kan). 'Tabi-yuki shōnin' ran from January 16 2013 until April 16 2013, with a curator lecture on February 16 2013.

In the modern era, when the Chikuhō coal mine was developed in the Tagawa area, Ashiya became lively as the Onga River waterway was used by *goheita-bune* coal ships. But with the arrival of the age of railway, Wakamatsu became the new base of coal shipment and Ashiya found its relative status downgraded.¹⁰

After the end of World War Two, American forces were stationed in the former Ashiya Air Field of the Japanese Imperial Army until the U. S. forces withdrew in 1960 (Shōwa 35). *The flight from Ashiya* (directed by Michael Anderson, released in 1964, Shōwa 39) film is a Japanese-American co-production set in Ashiya during the US stationing. Two amphibious aircraft of the American Army took off from Ashiya Air Base to rescue the survivors of a Japanese ship wrecked in a typhoon still raging in the East China Sea. Crew members of the rescue aircraft were portrayed by Richard Widmark (the commanding pilot Lieutenant Colonel Stevenson), Yul Brynner (the rescue specialist Master Sergeant Mike Takashima) and George Chakiris (the co-pilot, Second Lieutenant John Gregg). That base is now the Japan Air Self-Defense Force Ashiya Airbase.

Following its slogan of 'Protect our history Taking advantage of our sea and forest The town that nourishes people' (*Rekishi wo mamori Umi to midori wo ikashi Hito ga sodatsu machi*), Ashiya-machi has recently been emphasizing its character as a bedroom suburb for the Kitakyūshū metropolitan area and a marine leisure centre.

To return from the digression of the recent history of Ashiya, in the context of *chanoyu*, if the word Ashiya is said, the inevitable reaction is 'Ashiya-gama'. Although

¹⁰ TN: The Tagawa Coal Reference Library was established in 1983, becoming the Tagawa City Coal and History Museum in 2005. In October 2007 Chikuhō Coal Field icons were registered as National Tangible Cultural Properties: at Tagawa Coal-Mining Memorial Park a pair of smoke stacks and the Ida mining derrick of the former Mitsui Tagawa Mine are preserved in their original states. An unsuccessful attempt was made to register the Chikuhō coal field and mine on the UNESCO World Heritage List.

http://www.joho.tagawa.fukuoka.jp/sekitan/

On March 4 2013, the *Nishinippon Shinbun* reported that a Tagawa delegation of seven visited the Taiwan Coal Mine Museum and that both parties agreed on the importance of transmitting the inheritance of coal culture. http://www.nishinippon.co.jp/nnp/item/351059

many excellent tea kettles were produced in Ashiya, in the days when Kuroda Nagamasa (1568-1623) pacified the Chikuzen domain, not only tea kettles but the cast metal industry itself completely disappeared. No related industry continues in present day Ashiya. As this was such a sudden erasure, there remains an oral account that suggests the Ashiya cast metal industry was abolished by order of the Edo Shogunate. In the following section of this chapter, I will make a further introduction of the home of Ashiya-gama.

2. Towards the restoration of Ashiya-gama

In August 1991 (Heisei 3), almost 400 years after the casting industry had died out in the town, Ashiya-machi Town Office held the Ashiya-gama Exhibition to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of its grant of town status $(ch\bar{o}sei)$. On this occasion, the masterpieces of made-in-Ashiya cast metal that were scattered all over Japan, including tea kettles, temple bells and prayer-gongs, were gathered back home in the Ashiya-machi Museum of History and Folklore.

Later in 1995 (Heisei 7), Ashiya-machi established Ashiya-gama no Sato (the home village of Ashiya-gama) to revive Ashiya-gama tea kettles at the same time as allowing people to feel the heart and culture of *chanoyu* with their own skin. To get to Ashiya-gama-no-sato from Ashiya-machi Town Office take Route 495. Cross the Ashiya Ōhashi Bridge to leave Yamaga town, head north until Uomiyama becomes visible on the left side. At the foot of Uomiyama mountain, in the middle of a Japanese garden of 3,000 *tsubo* (approximately 9,930 square metres) centered around a pond, is an expansive tearoom called Roan for large tea gatherings and Way of Tea

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¹¹ TN: For an account of the subsequent move of blacksmiths from Ashiya to Hakata, see my Horimoto Kazushige translation 'Chanoyu in Hakata: Zen, Karamono and the Reception of Tea Ceremony', in Andrew Cobbing (ed.), *Hakata: The Cultural Worlds of Northern Kyushu* (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2012), pp. 99-100.

¹² TN: In 1889 Ashiya-mura was established. In 1891 the village status of Ashiya was updated to that of a town. In 1905 the town of Ashiya-machi merged with the village of Yamaga-mura. Although the period from 1905 until 1991 is not exactly 100 years, it is not that uncommon for such anniversaries to be slightly ahead of slightly ahead of the actual date.

classes, the four-and-a-half mat tea house called Ginpūtei and a ryūrei setting of the tables and chairs necessary for the seated service of green tea. In the information centre, exhibits introduce the products, history and manufacturing process of Ashiyagama kettles. In addition there is a workshop in which the actual production of Ashiya-gama and other items takes place: the whole process of the production from mold making, the pattern and design drawing called 'hera-oshi' (spatula + push), casting or 'fuhi' in which the melted iron called yu is poured into the mold and lastly the finishing touches, this whole spectrum of Ashiya-gama making activities can be observed. Given that casting is scheduled as a long-term venture, seeing all of these processes at any time throughout the year might not be possible. It is necessary to call ahead of time and confirm with the office.¹³

In January 2007 (Heisei 19), I had the opportunity to observe the so-called 'fuki' (blow) portion of the iron casting process. Charcoal and pig iron chips made of iron sand from Ashiya beach are thrown into the koshi-kiro furnace. This koshi-kiro furnace should be called a prototype of the modern day cupola furnace. Instead of human-powered bellows, mechanical blowers constantly funnel air into the furnace. Charcoal and pig iron chips are gradually added as the furnace is brought into an impartial balance. It is uncertain how much time passed but the molten red hot iron poured out of the mouth at the bottom of the furnace when it was opened. It was surprisingly smooth and the name 'yu' (hot water) is a perfectly fitting expression.

'Hatsu-yu' is the first iron out of the furnace and in the blink of an eye turned black atop the casting sand, where it solidified into the shape of a black cloud. I heard the blacksmiths say they offer this first iron to Kanaya-goshin, the god of smelting.

Although Ashiya was thought to have been the production center of cast metal, scarcely any documentary records had been found. Taking this absence as needing further confirmation, apart from the cast iron products inscribed with the characters

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¹³ TN: The Ashiya-machi homepage features information in English about Ashiya-gama no Sato and includes this contact information: 093-223-5881 (phone) and 093-223-5882 (fax).

http://www.town.ashiva.lg.jp

for Ashiya, nothing more than mere fragments of furnaces or casting molds have been discovered inside the Ashiya-machi areas of Yamaga or Ashiya. Although a stone monument in a private residence in the Ashiya area of Kanaya commemorates 'The former site of Chikuzen Ashiya foundry', that location too was only selected on the basis of some iron scraps (tetsu-sai) found there.

Later in October 1993 (Heisei 5), furnace wall fragments as well as sections of a mold with the hail pattern (arare-ji) left on them were excavated. But as the vital remains of any iron foundries were yet to be unearthed, under these conditions it cannot be denied that there is the possibility that the wall fragments and mold fragments could have been brought in from somewhere else. However, in April 1995 (Heisei 7) cupola furnace remains and a storage shed of molds were discovered, which was followed in December 1998 (Heisei 10) during the rebuilding of a Kanaya electric appliance shop by the unearthing of stone arrangement for the foundation of the cupola furnace, casting equipment, the molds for the body and skirt sections of a tea kettle, and other items. According to these discoveries, the existence of the Ashiya-gama foundry ruins was confirmed. The Ashiya-machi Board of Education excavated and preserved the solidified remains of the furnace and they are exhibited in the permanent collection of Ashiya-machi Museum of History and Folklore.

Incidentally, although the Kanaya area of Ashiya-machi is located at the western approach to the Ashiya-Ōhashi Bridge, right from the beginning that name was closely related to forges and metal casting. *Tatara* iron making sites in Chugoku Mountains which have had a long history of iron making enshrine the Kanaya-goshin god.¹⁴

¹⁴ TN: *Tatara* is a charcoal-fired clay furnace used to produce either steel or pig iron from iron sand. 'The Tale of Tatara' section of the Hitachi Metals website contains an informative overview of *tatara* technology and lore that goes beyond this brief definition: '*Tatara* iron manufacturing is a method that involves the use of iron sand as the source material. The iron sand is reduced through the heat of combustion of charcoal in order to obtain iron. Iron is usually refined from ore, but iron ore is scarce in Japan. Iron sand, however, is found in abundance, and the *tatara* method was developed to make use of this resource.'

http://www.hitachi-metals.co.jp/e/tatara/index.htm

This god has been worshipped as the guardian deity of iron-making by the people working in the *tatara* smelter industry. The principal Kanaya-goshin shrine is Kanayago Shrine located in the Nishi-hida area of Hirose-chō in the city of Yasuki, Shimane Prefecture. The enshrined deities are Kana-yama-hiko-no-kami and Kanayama-hime-no-kami and their child Kanaya-goshin. Accompanying the dispersal of *tatara* iron making, the belief in Tatara-goshin is not confined to the Chūgoku region but has also spread from the islands of Shikoku and Kyūshū, to Kantō and even as far as one section of the Tōhoku region. In the cultural facilities of the Ashiya-gama no Sato factory, Kanaya-goshin was enshrined almost as if protectively watching over the casting workshop.

In addition, in the process preceding iron casting, although iron sand had to be refined into bare iron (*wazuku*), no evidence of such ironworks existing at the time of Ashiya blacksmiths has come to light in the area. At this point in time, there is speculation that the bare iron was brought in from somewhere around the Chūgoku region.

3. The characteristics of Ashiya-gama kettles

In the grammar of Ashiya-gama tea kettles, the basic variations of the *shin-nari-gama* kettle shape are combinations that modify the surface skin (*hada*) and generally include some surface design or illustration. Such combinations include the hail pattern skin (*arare-ji*) with a maple and deer illustration, the beach and pine illustration, the maple with running water and chicken illustration, and the hail pattern skin with a pine and plum tree illustration. Shin-nari means that basic or straightforward shape of a round kettle.

Although there are kettles with the unadorned dotted hail pattern acting as a surface treatment, among the many patterns inscribed on the face of Ashiya-gama

¹⁵ TN: For reasons of clarity and author assumptions about background knowledge, I have made modest changes to this sentence. The four examples of the *shin-nari-gama* kettle introduced here are *Ashiya-arare-ji-kaede-shika-zu-shin-nari-gama*, *Ashiya-hama-matsu-zu-shin-nari-gama*, *Ashiya-kaede-ryū-sui-niwatori-zu-shin-nari-gama*, and *Ashiya-matsu-ume-zu-arare-ji-shin-nari-gama*.

are the pine trees on the beach illustration, the seven treasures $(shipp\bar{o})$ pattern, the hexagonal turtle $(kikk\bar{o})$ pattern, the maple leaves floating on the stream illustration, images of hens, and the plum blossom illustration. But what must be remarked on is the thinness of Ashiya-gama kettle walls.

Kaibara Ekken introduces Ashiya-gama in his discussion of regional souvenirs ('Miyagekō') in his *Gazetteer* as follows:

From the old days, there have lived skilled casters in the Ashiya village of Onga county. Their ancestor was a skilled artisan nationalized from the Yuan Dynasty [China], and one of these casters dedicated a kettle inscribed with the Imperial crest of the chrysanthemum and the paulownia (*kiku-kiri no mon*) to the Imperial Family and it was called Yamaga-sa-kon-nojō. At the same time as his real family name was Ōta he called himself Yamaga because he had resided in the Yamaga area of Ashiya village. From this incident, tea masters began treasuring those chrysanthemum kettles and paulownia kettles. Even the Tenmyō-gama of Kōzuke Province haven't reached the perfection of Ashiya-gama. Master casters in Kyōto and Edo don't know the sophisticated *hiki-naka-go* technique handed down in Ashiya foundry.¹⁶

Ekken said that the ancestor of Ashiya casters was a skilled artisan nationalized from the Yuan Dynasty. Ekken also said that there was a caster called Yamaga-sa-kon-nojō among his descendants. Despite it being said that although it appears that there had been casters in Ashiya from the distant past, it remains unclear if they were naturalized citizens from Yuan Dynasty or not.

What is more curious in the writing of Ekken is his mention of the technique in the process of manufacturing which is referred to as *hiki-naka-go*. At that time it seems that the technique was groundbreaking and practiced only in Ashiya.

The tea kettle mold consists of two parts, the large outer one (soto-go) and the

¹⁶ TN: This 'Tenmyō-gama of Kōzuke Province' is the same lineage earlier referred to as the Tenmei-gama from Sano City in Tochigi Prefecture that has been designated as an Important Cultural Asset.

inner one (naka-go), and molten pig iron is poured into the gap between these two molds to give the kettle its shape. First, an elevational view of the kettle's intended shape is drawn and then a vertical center line bisecting the horizontal axis is added. Half of the silhouette of this cross-section view is then copied onto a wooden board and that shape is cut out. This board is called the 'hiki-ita' (grind + board). In this way, an accurate outer mold is obtained when the hiki-ita board is rotated around a central point in the box of half-hardened sand. The mold is then horizontally separated into upper and lower sections, and pictures and patterns are etched on the inner wall of the outer mold of the upper body section using a hera spatula.

Hiki-naka-go is a name of one of the techniques used to make the inner mold. The hiki-ita board which was cut out as an elevational silhouette of the inside of the pot is rotated and then the shape is refined by scraping from the outer surface of the resulting inner mold, unlike what is done in the case of the outer mold. The rotating board is made thinner than the outer part by the thickness of the kettle, and that compact silhouette is used as the template of the mold which is first separated evenly in two horizontally before being assembled afterwards. This makes the thickness of the Ashiya-gama uniform and thin, the weight of the kettle light and additionally the inside of the kettle is beautiful because of the lines made during the hiki-ita rotation. These are the characteristics of Ashiya-gama. Then on the other hand, what did the cast iron artisans in other areas, such as Tenmyō, do for this process? It is said they relied on the technique called 'kezuri-naka-go'. Sand amounting to the thickness of the pot was scraped off from the naka-go which was made of face-hardened sand shaped by the outer mold (from Ashiya Town Journal, revised and enlarged edition [Zōho-kai-te Ashiya-chō-shi]).

4. The period when Ashiya-gama was produced

Among the pieces of molded iron cast in those days, items that were donated to shrines and temples, such temple bells $(bon-sh\bar{o})$ and prayer gongs (wani-guchi), are often inscribed with the names of donators and the year of the donation, and in many cases even the name of the manufacturer is recorded. Compared to this, it

is rare for *cha-gama* to have the names of manufacturer or the year of production. According to Harada Kazutoshi, the oldest *cha-gama* of which the year of production is clear is the *shin-nari* kettle decorated with fish-scale pattern (*Uroko-mon shin-nari-gama*, held in a private collection) with the inscription 'Made in the third year of Meiō' (1494).¹⁷ In his 'Chanoyu gama—Ashiya to Tenmyō', Harada notes that the name Ashiya-gama first appeared in written documents about five decades before the oldest inscribed *cha-gama*. However, half a century earlier the term Ashiya-gama appears in the following article from 'Kan-mon-gyo-ki' (reprinted in *Zoku-gun-shorui-jū hoi* [*Compilation of Documents: Addendum*]), written on twenty second day of the first month in 1443 (Kakitsu 3): 'Ikkei oshō came. I met him. One Ashiya-gama. Ten candles were offered.'

The writer of this entry is the father of Emperor Go-hana-zono, Imperial Prince Fushimi-no-miya Sadafusa (1372-1456). Sadafusa recorded not only the details of everyday life of those days, but the movement of the imperial court, the political situation of the shogunate, everyday incidents of common people, rumors on the street, the 'saru-gaku' performances of noh and $ky\bar{o}gen$, and even went so far as to note the format of competitive $t\bar{o}$ -cha tea practices which were the beginnings $(gen-ry\bar{u})$ of chanoyu. With this span of attention, it is an intriguing read and the

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¹⁷ Harada Kazutoshi, 'Chanoyu gama—Ashiya to Tenmyō' [*Tea Kettles: Ashiya and Tenmyō*], included in the four hundred and eleventh issue of *Nihon no bijutsu* [*Japanese Art*]) (Tōkyō: Shibundō, 2000).

TN: For a brief account of the role of Sasaki Dōyo (1296-1373) in the development of $t\bar{o}$ -cha, sara-gaku and noh, see the relevant section of the H. Paul Varley chapter entitled 'Cultural life of the elite warrior in the fourteenth century', in Jeffrey P. Mass (ed.), The Origins of Japan's Medieval World: Courtiers, Clerics, Warriors, and Peasants in the Fourteenth Century (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), pp. 202-207. For a wider view of how the competitive connoisseurship of $t\bar{o}$ -cha and its associated culture of gambling fits into the trajectory of tea development, see Sen Sōshitsu XV, (V. D. Morris trans.), The Japanese Way of Tea: From its Origins in China to Sen Rikyū (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998), pp. 89-115. For a more concise account of the relationship between the tea competitions of $t\bar{o}$ -cha, cha kabuki and cha awase as a synthesis of court culture and temple etiquette, see Jennifer L. Anderson, Introduction to Japanese Tea Ritual (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), pp. 26-27.

Imperial Prince seems to be a man of considerable curiosity. In this journal, Sadafusa wrote about a tea party held in Fushimi-no-miya on twenty-sixth day of the second month in 1416 ($\bar{\text{O}}$ ei 23). What took place was the so-called ' $t\bar{o}$ -cha' (fight + tea). The participants were treated to sake prior to the party in which they held seven rounds of $t\bar{o}cha$, and according to the results, the prizes were shared. The leftover prizes were distributed by lottery at the end of the tea gathering which was then followed by a banquet.¹⁹

Although it appears that there were many varieties of $t\bar{o}$ -cha, such as honpi-jippuku (real tea + ten bowls) or shishu-jippuku (four varieties + ten bowls), basically it was a game in which the players drink powdered tea before trying to identify not only the locality where the tea was grown but also assess its quality as good or bad. In the hon-hi distinction, hon means genuine and hi means not genuine. Tea classified as hon-cha is genuine because it is produced in the Toga-noo area of Kyōto and hi-cha is tea grown in other areas. In the shishu-jippuku format, players sip ten cups of 4 different kinds of tea and tell their places of production and brands. (From Chanoyu no rekishi: Sen no $Riky\bar{u}$ made [The history of chanoyu: until Sen no $Riky\bar{u}$] by Kumakura Isao).

According to 'Ashiya-gama: that rise and fall and its style' (Ashiya-gama: sono seisui to saku-fū) by Harada Kazutoshi (included in Chanoyu no shikō: Ashiya-gama no meihin [The superb acheivements of tea: Ashiya-gama Masterpieces]), Ashiya-gama were widely used as household utensils in temples and other sites during the Ōei era (1394-1428), and even earlier, large volumes of Ashiya-gama were offered as gifts to

¹⁹ Anderson's paraphrase of the late fourteenth century historical epic *Taiheiki* account of elite tea practices during the period of Northern and Southern Courts (*Nambokuchō*, 1336-1392) conveys the pleasures of that conspicuous *tō-cha* consumption: 'Guests of the *shōgun* Ashikaga Takauji (1305-1358), beautifully dressed in satin damask and gold brocade, were seated in chairs covered with leopard or tiger skins. Scores of delicacies were offered to them and one hundred prizes were displayed in the room. All the guests received some token of the *shōgun's* largess such as rolls of cloth, *kimono*, bags of gold dust, rare incense, or armor. After comparing teas and winning additional prizes, the sated guests distributed all these treasures among their attendants.' Ibid, p. 27.

samurai and others. If those illustrations depicting *tōcha* scenes are examined, large tea kettles are on display. Ashiya-gama must have been valued in those *tōcha* parties.

In 1473 (Bunmei 5), the Ōnin War which had continued for 11 years simmered down with the deaths of Hosokawa Katsumoto and Yamana Sōzen. In 1477 (Bunmei 9) the Shogunate granted Ōuchi Masahiro, the lord (Shugo) based in what is now Yamaguchi Prefecture, the status of military governor (Shugo-shoku) in the Provinces of Suō, Nagato, Buzen and Chikuzen after he was raised to Junior Fourth Rank, Lower Grade (Jūshi-inoge) and appointed as Master of the Eastern Capital Offices (Sakyō no daibu).²⁰ Masahiro destroyed the Shōni clan in the same year and established his dominance over the area of present day Kitakyūshū in the provinces formerly known as Buzen and Chikuzen.

In those days, although the Yamaga and Ashiya area was governed by the local samurai lord (*Kokujin-ryūshu*) as the territory of Asō clan, within the clan, the father Hiroie and his son Hirokuni were in conflict with Hiroie's nephew Ienobu over the family inheritance and the authority to exercise administrative control. Ōuchi Masahiro supported the father and son and forced Ienobu to surrender by attacking Hanao-jō, his residential castle (located in the Yahata-nishi ku district of Kitakyūshū) in the tenth month of 1478 (Bunmei 10). By this victory, Hiroie and Hirokuni established their control over the area and Ienobu was transferred to Ashiya, on the left bank of Onga River, as the local governor of Onga area (*Onga Shōdaikan*). In Okagaki, the ruins of Oka Castle is said to be the site of the castle constructed by

²⁰ 'The *shugo* were usually favoured officials selected from among the samurai vassals (*go-kenin*) of the Minamoto to exercise authority on the bakufu's behalf. Although not appointed to every province, they served in effect as constables in charge of policing duties, with powers to punish serious offences including murder and rebellion. There was always the danger, therefore, that they could in turn become over-mighty subjects in the same way that provincial governors had once eroded the Heian state by building their own power bases at a regional level. ... In the provinces of Kyushu ... some of the most powerful dynasties of medieval warrior lords—Shōni, Ōtomo and Shimizu—counted men who held the post of *shugo* among their ancestors in Kamakura times.' Andrew Cobbing, *Kyushu: Gateway to Japan—A Concise History* (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2009), p. 107.

Ienobu (*Fukuoka-ken no shiro*). Incidentally, at this time Yamaga, Ashiya and Kanaya were distributed to Hiroie.

In his Study of Kyūshū Medieval History [Kyūshū chūseishi no kenkyū], Kawazoe Shōji, points out that 'the fact of the frequent appearances of Ashiya-gama in the list of presents from Ōuchi clan and its senior vassals and the temples controlled by them to the rulers in Kyōto coincides with the period of governance by Ōuchi Masahiro or his subordinate Asō Hiroie. This concentration must indicate that the production and circulation of Ashiya-gama were directly controlled by Hiroie and that he yielded his privilege to the powerful supporter Masahiro.'

Incidentally, there is an intriguing work of art which an Ashiya caster (i-mo-ji) produced in the last years of Masahiro's tenure. It is the standing statue of Bishamonten (Vaisravana) installed at Takakura Shrine in Okagaki-machi, Onga-gun. It was made in 1491 (Entoku 3). The petitioning worshipper was Sudō-Suruganokami-Yukishige and the caster was Ōe Sadamori. Technically, parts of the body were cast separately and then assembled later. The Bishamonten statue was not made of iron but of bronze which supposedly came from a Buzen copper mine (present day Kawara-machi, Tagawa-gun, Fukuoka-ken) because the Ōuchi clan was the Governor of Buzen (Buzen Shugo) at that time (from Ashiya Town Journal, revised and enlarged edition [Zōho-kai-te Ashiya-chō-shi]). The statue is 220 centimeters tall, and depicts a god of warriors and protector against foreign invasions dressed in armor with a furious look, as he holds a small pagoda in the left hand and a long sword in the right hand while standing on the back of an ogre (jaki).

5. Ōe Nobuhide, the Master caster and Ōuchi Yoshitaka

In 1494 (Meiō 3), Ōuchi Masahiro was succeeded by his son Yoshioki, a samurai with a literary bent who enjoyed making 31 syllable *waka* poems and linked verse (*renga*). In 1528 (Kyōroku 1) when Yoshioki died of illness, the family heritance was continued by Yoshitaka (1507-1551). In the fifth month of 1536 (Tenbun 5) Yoshitaka was appointed to the long-coveted office of Senior Assistant Governor-General of Government Headquarters in Kyushu (*Dazai-daini*) and he was given permitted to

enter the imperial court. In the twelfth month of the same year, as Yoshitaka was further promoted to Junior Third Rank (*Ju-san-mi*) he held a status equivalent to court nobles. He was fond of learning, and with his enjoyment of such things as *waka*, *renga* and performing arts highlighting his strong cultural aspirations, while mingling with Kyōto court nobles who had come down to Yamaguchi, Yoshitaka endeavored to import and promote Kyōto culture as he built up the so-called Ōuchi culture.

In the era of Yoshitaka, there was a master caster named Oe Nobuhide. The inscription on the Important Cultural Property tea kettle described as *Ashiya shin-nari-gama* with plum and pine illustration (*Ashiya ume-matsu-zu shin-nari-gama*) (held in the collection of Nezu Art Museum, Tokyo) reads 'Eishō teichū seshu Ashiya-Moto-kanaya Daikō Nobuhide': this kettle was made in the fourteenth year of Eishō (1517) by the master-caster Ōe Nobuhide who lives in Moto-kanaya, Ashiya. Among the kettles designated as Important Cultural Properties, this is the only one which records the year of production. Although the term Daikō denotes the master who assumes the leadership of a group of artisan-casters, in addition to this kettle, Nobuhide left behind a number of other masterpieces. It is safe to say that the Eishō era (1504 - 1520) must have been the golden age of Ashiya-gama.

Yoshitaka ordered Nobuhide to cast temple bells (bon-shō) and prayer-gongs (wani-guchi) and donated them to Kōryūji, the family temple of Ōuchi clan, and other institutions. The temple bell which was donated to Kōryūji (located in Ōuchi, Yamaguchi City) in 1532 (Kyōroku 5) combines Japanese and Korean elements and has been designated by the national government as an Important Cultural Property. According to the inscription, the caster was the 'master caster Ōe Sadahide in Motokanaya, Ashiya' (Ashiya Moto-kanaya Daikō Ōe Sadahide) and the main petitioner was the court noble holding the Junior Fifth Rank, Upper Grade and Master of the Eastern Capital Offices, Tatara Yoshitaka (Daiganshu jūgoi kami Sakyō no daibu Tatara ason Yoshitaka). In addition, the prayer-gong which was donated to the Imahachimangū shrine in 1534 (Tenmon 3) also has the combination of Yoshitaka as the principal donor (oo-da-na) and Sadahide as the caster. Even just examining these facts reveals that Yoshitaka performed a significant role as a patron of Ashiya

casters.

In response to Yoshitaka who had appointed members of a civilian government faction (bun-chi-ha) to important posts, Sue Takafusa (1521-1555, later Harukata) employed a political faction that was willing to resort to military means to achieve its aims (bu-dan-ha) and raised a rebellion against Yoshitaka, forcing Yoshitaka to kill himself with his own sword at Daineiji temple in Nagato on the first day of the ninth month 1551 (Tenmon 20). Takafusa welcomed a younger brother of the provincial military lord of Bungo area Ōtomo Sōrin (1530-1587), Ōuchi Haruhide (1532-1557, later Yoshinaga) as the new head of the Ōuchi clan; Haruhide was also a son of Yoshitaka's elder sister. But later, in the autumn of 1555 (Kōji 1), Harukata (formerly Takafusa) killed himself when he received a surprise attack from Mōri Motonari (1497-1571) in the Battle of Itsukushima. Yoshinaga (formerly Haruhide) also killed himself at Chōfukuji temple (now known as Kōzanji temple) in Chōfu in the fourth month of 1557 (Kōji 3). Thus, the Ōuchi clan was finally ruined.

6. The demise of Ashiya-gama

Against the background of a flourishing tea culture centred on Kyōto, the totally new demand for tea kettles emerged: with its long established production base those kettles were cast in Ashiya. Through the good offices of the Shugo Daimyo Ōuchi clan and their retainers (*hikan*) and the advice of the Asō clan governor who controlled Ashiya, explanations of the details of Kyōto taste were given to artisans, bringing improvements. Through this protection and encouragement of Ashiyagama production, further development was accomplished. In addition, even with the transportation of related foundry clay and large amounts of charcoal and iron, it is no mistake to say that there was Ōuchi assistance. But with the death of Yoshitaka in 1551 (Tenmon 20) followed by the fall of the Asō clan, Ashiya-gama lost of its

²¹ TN: Chōfukuji temple was established in 1327 and went into decline after Ōuchi Yoshinaga died by his own sword in the temple precincts in 1557. The Chōfukuji site was renovated as Shōzanji temple with the patronage of Mōri Hidemoto (1579-1650), before being renamed as Kōzanji temple in 1650 after the death of Hidemoto.

benefactors and rapidly declined.

Ashiya-gama was one element of the economic capital of Ouchi culture which was significantly affected by the culture of Kyōto style.

On the other hand, the rise of tea kettles made in Kyōto $(Ky\bar{o}$ -gama) gave further impetus to the decline of Ashiya-gama. As the geographical proximity of the supplier to the customer locale meant that custom-made kettles became possible, in the course of time Kyōto gradually became the main production area of cha-gama. In particular, after Sen no Rikyū appeared, tea kettles were created in accordance with his preferences (konomi).²² Examples of Rikyū konomi include those Amidadōgama, the round maru-gama, shirihari-gama and unryū-gama cast by one of the representative artisans Tsuji Yojirō (dates unknown, active during the Azuchi-Momoyama era, roughly 1573-1603).²³

Incidentally, although there is a written record documenting the final cast object made in Ashiya, the temple bell $(bonsh\bar{o})$ of Moto-takakura Shrine donated in 1600 (Keichō 5), that single source is found in Dazai-kannai-shi, a late Edo period journal edited by Itō Tsunetari and the whereabouts of that bell is still unknown. The relevant extract reads 'Master Craftsman Oe Nagano/ The Governor of Iki,

design of Rikyū] (Tokyo: Sekaibunka sha, 2009).

fukyūban Sado dogu no shinzui: Rikyū no dezain [Form according to Rikyū RIKYU · GATA (revised popular edition), The real significance of Way of Tea utensils: the

²² TN: For an account of how Imai Sōkyū was held in higher regard than Rikyū during the time of Oda Nobunaga, see Andrew Watsky, 'Commerce, politics, and tea: the career of Imai Sōkyū (1520-1593)', in Morgan Pitelka (ed.) Japanese Tea Culture: Art, History, and Practice (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), pp. 18-38. For a reading of how sixteenth century merchant-tea masters used tea discourse to invert power relations inside tea rooms, see Dale Slusser, 'The transformation of tea practice in sixteenth-century Japan', in Morgan Pitelka (ed.) Japanese Tea Culture: Art, History, and Practice (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), pp. 39-60. For evidence that undermines the orthodox tea assertion that Rikyū was an aesthete innocent of political or economic interests, see Beatrice Bodart, 'Tea and counsel: the political role of Sen Rikyū', in Monumenta Nipponica, vol. 32, no. 1 (1977), pp. 49-74. ²³ TN: For a sense of the persistent influence of Rikyū on tea design, see Sen Sōshitsu, Tanaka Ikkō and Kurokawa Kishō, Rikyū-gata: Sado dogu no shinzui [Form according to Rikyū: the real significance of Way of Tea utensils] (Tokyo: Sekaibunka sha, 1991). Alternatively, see their lavishly illustrated volume Rikyū-gata RIKYU·GATA—

Sadachika/ Dedication Kuroda Kai, Governor Toyotomi Nagamasa / On a severely cold winter's day in 1600' ('Daikō Ōe Nagano Iki no kami Sadachika/ Kishin Kuroda Kai no kami Toyotomi Nagamasa kyō/ Kanoene kyūtō nyoibi'). In 1600 (Keichō 5) the seasonal event of 'Kanoene kyūtō' falls in the twelfth month. In the ninth month of the same year, the eastern armies won the Battle of Sekigahara and Kuroda Nagamasa was given Chikuzen Province. In that same month of the same year the bell was donated, Nagamasa entered Najima-jo castle where Kobayakawa Hideaki had formerly resided. This means Nagamasa was still the Lord of Buzen Nakatsu Castle when the bell was ordered. In addition, the description suggests that there still was a group of casters in Ashiya before Nagamasa's assumption of control over the Chikuzen area.

Later, not only the production of Ashiya-gama but the whole foundry industry of the area came to an end. The Chikuzen Ashiya industry which created so many fine pieces of cast work suddenly ceased to exist.

Probably because the extinction was so sudden, there is a ghastly tale approaching something of a ghost story about the demise of Ashiya-gama. According to the reading material called *Hakozaki-fubako* written in the Edo era, sometime during the Kanei era (1624-1644) a villain named Asano Hikogorō was captured and sentenced to being roasted to death in a cauldron (*kama-iri no kei*). Although the Fukuoka domain gave an order to the three casting guilds of Hakata, Amagi and Ashiya to cast the execution cauldron, as none of them accepted the tender a lottery was held and Ashiya drew the short straw, cast the cauldron and the sentence was executed. A sequel to this story tells that as the *bakafu* feudal government had banned *kama-iri no kei*, the domain incurred the wrath of the *bakafu* government by implementing the cauldron punishment; consequently the Ashiya foundry was abolished.

²⁴ TN: For an account of tearoom activities around Najima-jo castle, see my translation of Horimoto Kazushige 'Chanoyu in Hakata: Zen, Karamono and the Reception of Tea Ceremony', in Andrew Cobbing (ed.), *Hakata: The Cultural Worlds of Northern Kyushu* (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2012), p. 114.

Observing the circumstances of the disappearance of Ashiya-gama, rather than thinking it was a natural decline, it can be concluded that it was a human-induced event involving someone of considerable power. Such a sudden disappearance may be the reason why this kind of story was created by a later generation, overcoming the absence of historical documents that record the details of the demise of Ashiya-gama.

In the meantime, the Ashiya-gama section of Ekken's *Gazetter* tells us about what happened afterwards as follows:

Later Kano Sakonjō (the name of a master caster), during the years of Keichō, until Lord Nagamasa entered this country, stayed in Ashiya and there were many casters there, but later they were extinguished. Their descendants came to Hakata or Meinohama to cast things. Among them, the caster named Ōta Jihei was a fine craftsman. No less skillful than the casters in Edo or Kyōto, so the lord here trusted him. People in Edo, Kyōto, Nagasaki or other neighbouring countries also asked for pieces of his work, called Shin-Ashiya. (The rest is omitted)

Descendants of Ashiya casters moved to Hakata or Meinohama after Kuroda Nagamasa entered the Chikuzen area. Did they move voluntarily to Hakata as they sought new markets for their casting or were they forced to re-locate in these areas by the domain government because they were a group with special skills? Ekken mentioned nothing about these questions.

Ekken's Gazetter says that the kettles made in Hakata were 'called Shin-Ashiya.' Although according to 'The Chapter of Yoshida Harutoshi's duty' (Yoshida Harutoshi kinji no shō) in Records handed down in Yoshida Family of Fukuoka Domain (Fukuoka-han Yoshida-ke denroku), owned by Dazaifu Tenmangū shrine and editorially supervised by Higaki Motokichi, the Yoshida family presented Kuroda Nagashige (1659-1710), the feudal lord of Akizuki Domain, a tea kettle and at that time it was already called 'Hakata-gama' or 'Hakata-cha-gama'.