

## 【翻訳】

# Doubts about Rikyū hanging a tea kettle from a Hakozaki pine tree

(An annotated translation of the second 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. A previous 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 second chapter introduces the condition of Hakata during the late Sengoku period. An account of Hakata merchant Kamiya Sōtan entering the Buddhist priesthood precedes a description of the warm welcomed extended to him by Hideyoshi at Ōsaka Castle in 1586. Against the background of Hideyoshi's Kyūshū conquest and preparation for his invasion of the Korean peninsula, Matsuoka surveys the tea gatherings at Hakozaki held by Hideyoshi and Rikyū before interrogating accounts of the pine tree Rikyū hung

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his kettle from (*Rikyū kamakake no matsu*) in terms of their historical sources. Matsuoka extends current research on the widely accepted view that *Nanpōroku* was compiled by Tachibana Jitsuzan (1655-1708) to conclude that since all accounts of this event are linked to Tachibana Jitsuzan, it is reasonable to doubt their veracity.<sup>1</sup>

### Keywords

Chikuzen (part of present day Fukuoka Prefecture), Bungo (part of present day Oita Prefecture), Chikugo (southern part of present day Fukuoka Prefecture), Ōtomo Sōrin (1530-1587), Kamiya Sōtan (1551-1635), Chikushi no bozu, Imai Sōkyū (aka by his trading-house name Naya Sōkyū, 1520-1593), Tsuda Sōkyū (died 1591), Kōdera Kyūmu, Hakozaki Shrine, Narashiba Katatsuki tea caddy, Hakata Katatsuki, Kobayakawa Takakage (1533-1597), Kuroda Josui (aka Kuroda Yoshitaka, Kuroda Kanbei, 1546-1604), Tōrōdō, Tachibana Jitsuzan (1655-1708), *Nanpōroku*, Nambō Sōkei (died 1595), Kaibara Ekken (1630-1714), Kuroda Mitsuyuki (1628-1707)

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<sup>1</sup> This paper is a translation and adaptation of the second 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. Although I initially follow the referencing conventions of the original text where the cited work is listed parenthetically (author, *title*) in the body of the chapter to give a sense of the flavour of the original Japanese text, I later include the author and title information in parentheses in the footnotes. The translation of the Matsuoka book is 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 the generous co-operation of Matsuoka Hirokazu, the timely assistance of Watanabe Seiiku, and 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.

## **Doubts about Rikyū hanging a tea kettle from a Hakozaki pine tree**

### **1. Hakata and its surrounds during the late Sengoku period**

#### **(Warring States period, 1467-1615)**

Hakata was often exposed to the fires of war in the battle for control of the city in the late Sengoku period. In the confusion of the Ōuchi clan who ruled the northern part of Kyūshū being ruined, the Ōtomo clan of Bungo area came north to Hakata. But in the fourth month of 1569 (Eiroku 12) the Mōri clan who replaced the Ōuchi clan invaded the Chikuzen area, and attacks on the fortifications of Tachibana Castle, Hōman Castle and Iwaya Castle which were protecting the Ōuchi forces turned Hakata and Kashii into a battlefield. Meanwhile, Ōuchi Teruhiro (1520-1569), intending to restore the Ōuchi clan, attacked the Mōri clan base of Yamaguchi, from Bungo (present day Ōita Prefecture) by crossing the Inland Sea. The Mōri clan, therefore, made peace with the Ōuchi clan and hurriedly withdrew from Kyūshū, forcing Teruhiro to finally kill himself by his own sword. The truth is that the Yamaguchi invasion was an incident set up by Ōtomo Sōrin (1530-1587) and Teruhiro was made a victim.

In that aftermath, although the Ōtomo clan's reign over the provinces of Buzen, Chikuzen and Chikugo continued, in 1578 (Tenshō 6) the local samurai of the Chikuzen and Chikugo area rose up against the Ōtomo clan who were weakened by having lost the battle at Mimigawa (present day Hyūga in Miyazaki Prefecture) against the Shimazu clan from the Satsuma Domain (present day Kagoshima Prefecture). In the third month of 1584 (Tenshō 12), the Shimazu clan allied with the Arima clan drove Ryūzōji Takanobu (1530-1584) to his death in Shimabara. Also, Bekki Akitsura (later Tachibana Dōsetsu) who was the main ruling commander of Chikuzen area under the Ōtomo clan died in the middle of the battle against the Shimazu clan in his own camp in Kōrasan, Kurume in 1585 (Tenshō 13).

Alarmed by the move of the Shimazu clan who tried to advance upon northern Kyūshū ignoring the admonition for peace handed down by Hideyoshi (1537-1598), Ōtomo Sōrin (1530-1587) went to Ōsaka to ask Hideyoshi for support in 1588 (Tenshō 14).

Ōtomo Sōrin entered Ōsaka Castle around the middle of the fifth day of the

fourth month 1588 and had an audience with Hideyoshi in the state room surrounded by the senior vassals, including Toyotomi Hidenaga (1540-1591), Ukita Hideie (1573-1655), Hosokawa Sansai (1563-1645) and Maeda Toshiie (1538-1599). After being entertained, Sōrin had the honour of inspecting the golden tea room which was Hideyoshi's pride and joy, before drinking tea prepared by Sen no Rikyū and then Sōrin drank tea prepared by Hideyoshi himself. Sōrin was shown the castle tower (*tenshu*) with Hideyoshi acting as his guide and he inspected the treasured tea jar named 'Hachatsubo'. Sōrin wrote his chief retainers a letter describing the event and at the end of the letter he gave an account of how Hidenaga came out to farewell him, holding the hand of Sōrin as he said 'About anything, absolutely anything, you don't have to worry, while I am here like this.' The letter continues by noting that Hidenaga said 'Sōeki (Rikyū) will handle all personal matters and I will take care of all the official business', followed by the words 'Nothing bad will happen to you.' Sōrin also added a comment saying 'I thought no one could ever speak to Hideyoshi except Sōeki (Rikyū)' (*Diary of Ōtomo Sōteki visiting Ōsaka, Ōtomo Sōteki Jōhan Nikki*, included in Ōtomo Family Documents). This final comment shows that within the walls of Ōsaka Castle Rikyū held actual authority comparable with that of Hidenaga, the younger brother of Hideyoshi.

Later, in the seventh month of 1588 (Tenshō 14), the Shimazu clan conquered Iwaya Castle (in present day Dazaifu City) defended by the Ōtomo ally Takahashi Jōun after a fierce battle. The Shimazu clan, however, suffered a crippling blow in this battle and on the twenty fourth day of the eighth month 1588 the Shimazu forces withdrew their siege of Tachibana Castle defended by Bekki Munetora (later Muneshige) who was the heir of Bekki Akitsura (later Tachibana Dōsetsu) and the biological son of Takahashi Jōun.

Hideyoshi sent down a mobilization order for a punitive expedition against the Shimazu clan to 37 domains including Kinai, Hokurikudō, Chūgoku, Gōshū and Ise dated the first day of the twelfth month 1588, ordering the departure of those massed forces on the first day of the third month of the following year.

## 2. Kamiya Sōtan enters the Buddhist priesthood

Around the same time as Hideyoshi issued a mobilization order for the campaign to suppress the Shimazu clan, the wealthy Hakata merchant Kamiya Sōtan (1551-1635) was called to Ōsaka Castle. His *Sōtan Tea Diary* (*Sōtan Chanoyu Nikki*) along with *Matsuya Kaiki*, *Tennojiya Kaiki*, and *Imai Sōkyū Chanoyu Kakinuki*, is counted as one of the four major records of tea ceremony gatherings.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, the original copy of the Sōtan manuscript has been missing and it has been pointed out for some time that the existing copy was organized and compiled during Genroku period (1688-1704) (*Genshoku Encyclopedia of Tea Culture, Genshoku Sado Daijiten* edited by Iguchi Kaisen, Suemune Hiroshi and Nagashima Fukutarō, published by Tankōsha). However, the Sōtan diary is undoubtedly one of the most precious historical materials providing insight into the activity of Hideyoshi and Rikyū in Hakata. This chapter introduces one historical tea gathering in Hakozaki and discuss the doubts about 'Rikyū Kamakake no Matsu' (The pine tree Rikyū hung his kettle from).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Translator's Note (TN): The most accessible source for such tea records is *Chadō Koten Zenshū* published by Tankōsha: *Sōtan Chanoyu Nikki*, and the writings of Yamanoue Sōji, *Yamanoue Sōji Ki* (volume 6); *Tennojiya Kaiki* (volume 7); *Matsuya Kaiki* (volume 9); *Imai Sōkyū Chanoyu Kakinuki* (volume 10).

<sup>3</sup> TN: Apart from being a tea procedure treasured by the Nambō Ryū school of tea centred on Kushida Shrine, *Rikyū kamakake no matsu* is both an icon in popular media culture and the name of a tea ceremony sweet. *Heugemono* is the name of a manga comic series drawn by Yamada Yoshihiro and published by Kōdansha in 2005. In 2009 *Heugemono* was given the Award for Excellence in the Manga Division of the Media Arts Festival of the national Agency for Cultural Affairs. In 2011 the Grand Prize in the Manga Division of the Tetsuka Osamu Culture Prize was awarded to the *Heugemono* manga and it was subsequently made into an anime series in 2011. NHK broadcast the anime series from April 2011 on its BS Premium channel. Volume 5 of the manga series features the *Kamakake no matsu* scene between Hideyoshi and Rikyū. Given that the Hakozaki location of *Rikyū kamakake no matsu* site lies within the campus of Kyūshū University, from 2011 local confectionary maker Ishimura Manseidō offered graduating students the chance to purchase a special limited edition set of auspicious sweets (*Tsuru to matsu, Kame no ko, Kamakake no matsu* set). In 2015 Nambō Ryū commenced annual public servings of this hanging kettle procedure on the first Sunday in April at Kushida Shrine. This event is called the Fusube Cha Kai. The Kushida Shrine pine tree was a gift from the Rinzai temple Jōten-ji, known

First, *Sōtan Chanoyu Nikki* starts on the twenty fourth day of the eleventh month 1586 (Tenshō 14), when Sōtan left Hizen Karatsu for Ōsaka to have an audience with Hideyoshi. Although Sōtan didn't mention what led him to go to Ōsaka and Kyōto on that occasion, it can be assumed that Hideyoshi who was ready to send troops to Kyūshū invited Sōtan, one of the leading Hakata merchants, to appease any local opposition to the plans of Hideyoshi. (*Sōtan Chanoyu Nikki*, annotated by Nagashima Fukutarō).<sup>4</sup>

In the meantime around the same period, another leading merchant in Hakata, Shimai Sōshitsu (1539-1615) had already expanded his business to the Keiki area of Kyōto, Ōsaka and Nara before Sōtan, and Sōshitsu had already been engaged in exchange with the Tsuda family of merchants from Sakai who traded under the name of the Tennōjiya. The presence of Sōshitsu in a tea gathering on the twenty fifth day of the eighth month 1580 (Tenshō 8) had already been noted in the description of the *Tsuda Sōkyū Diary of Tea Gatherings* (*Sōkyū Jikaiki*), one of *Tennōjiya Diary of Tea Gatherings* (*Tennōjiya Kaiki*, included in the sixth volume of *Sadō Koten Zenshū*, published by Tankōsha). Like Sen no Rikyū, Tsuda Sōkyū was a wealthy merchant from Sakai and he was also one of Hideyoshi's designated tea masters, again like Rikyū.<sup>5</sup> *Tennōjiya Kaiki*, one of the four major tea gathering diaries mentioned above,

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as the Japanese birthplace of noodle culture imported from the continent: *udon* and *soba*. Life sized Hakata ningyō dolls of Hideyoshi, Rikyū and Kamiya Sōtan are incorporated in Fusube Cha Kai, creating the impression of re-enacting that Hakozaki gathering. The point-of-sale displays of the Japanese confectionary shop Ishimura Manseidō feature smaller installations of these three figures.

<sup>4</sup> TN: This political coupling of warlords and merchant-tea masters is not a Hideyoshi-Rikyū innovation. For an account of how Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582) used the good offices of Imai Sōkyū to persuade Sakai merchants to acknowledge the authority of Nobunaga by paying the arrow tax, see Andrew Watsky 'Commerce, politics, and tea: the career of Imai Sōkyū', *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 50, no. 1 (1995), pp. 47-65. This article is also a chapter in Morgan Pitelka (ed.) *Japanese Tea Culture: Art, History, and Practice* (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), pp. 18-38.

<sup>5</sup> TN: The three tea masters (*chadō*) appointed by Hideyoshi were Imai Sōkyū (1520-1593), Tsuda Sōkyū (died 1591), and Sen no Rikyū (1540-1591). There is some variation in the *chadō* term: typically it is written as tea + head, but occasionally appears as tea + hall or tea + road. In Zen contexts, the pronunciation tends to be *chajū*.

records three generations of Tennōjiya tea activities by Tsuda Sōtatsu (1504-1566), Sōkyū (died 1591) and Sōbon (died 1611).

Furthermore, two years later, on the second day of the sixth month 1582 (Tenshō 10) when Akechi Mitsuhide (1528-1582) attacked Honnōji temple where Oda Nobunaga was staying without his military entourage, Sōshitsu attended a dawn tea gathering hosted by Nobunaga the next day. The incident where Sōshitsu saves a work treasured by Nobunaga is well known: the *Thousand Character Classic* (*Senjimon*) handwritten by Kōbō Daishi (known in his lifetime as Kūkai, 774-835). This anecdote is recorded in a manuscript guaranteed by its transmission within the Shimai family but questions have been raised about whether it is actually historically true or not. In the same document, Sōtan was described as being with Sōshitsu during this incident, but given that Sōtan's appearance on the center stage was after his trip to Ōsaka in 1586 (Tenshō 14), as spelled out in the opening part of *Sōtan Chanoyu Nikki*, his presence in the Honnōji incident with Sōshitsu has been spoken of as a tale fabricated by later generations (*Shimai Sōshitsu* by Tanaka Takeo).

As seen above, although Sōshitsu must have been better known than Sōtan as a Hakata merchant in the Kamigata area of Ōsaka and Kyōto, why did Hideyoshi summon Sōtan? In the formerly cited *Sōtan Chanoyu Nikki* annotated by Nagashima Fukutarō, Nagashima speculates that Hideyoshi surreptitiously brought only Sōtan up to Kyōto because Sōtan is a less conspicuous figure when he moves than Sōshitsu.

After boarding a ship at Mitsushima, Karatsu (in present day Saga Prefecture), Sōtan arrived at Chikuzen Kafuri (present day Itoshima City, Fukuoka Prefecture). It is assumed that Sōtan lived in Karatsu in order to avoid the ravages of war because Hakata in those days had been turned into burnt ruins by the battle between the clans of Ōtomo and Ōuchi that was followed by the war between the Ōtomo clan and the Shimazu clan. Sōtan then took an overland route from Kafuri and later boarded another ship in Shimonoseki.

On arriving in Kyōto, Sōtan first called on Morita Sōin in Shimokyō Yonjō, and on the twenty third day of the first month, he was invited to the Kyō-yashiki residence of Tsuda Sōkyū who was Hideyoshi's tea master. It was Sōtan's first encounter with

Sōkyū.

In the Hour of the Tiger (about 4 a.m.) on the third day of the twelfth month 1586, Sōtan followed his instructions and departed from Shimokyō Yonjō, heading for Daitokuji Sōken'in. It snowed heavily on that day and vehicles were almost useless with the snow three feet deep even on the streets of Kyōto. Sōtan managed to reach the Sanmon gate of Daitokuji temple at the break of day.

Sōken'in is a sub-temple (*tacchū*) founded by Hideyoshi roughly four years earlier in 1582 (Tenshō 10) to appease the soul of Nobunaga, and the founder was Kokei Sōchin (1532-1597) who served as the 117th Head Priest of Daitokuji. Kokei was also the Zen teacher of Rikyū.

When Sōtan asked for the admission at the front gate of the temple, a monk called him in and served him breakfast. In his diary, he wrote it was a first-rate meal with three trays. Later Sōtan was summoned to the reception hall and met with Head Priest Kokei. He saw an incense burner, an incense container and a razor on the table facing the veranda. After burning the incense, the priest touched Sōtan's hair with a razor and bowed deeply, bending his upper body three times with his palms joined together. Then the Daitokuji monks shaved Sōtan's head as he assumed the form of a Buddhist priest. Under Kokei's instruction, Sōtan then approached the *gohonzon* image of Buddha and bowed three times. Placed on the *sanbō* wooden offering stand was a branch of white plum and two kinds of delicacies displayed on a sheet of thick paper. Stewed noodles (*nyūmen*) were served followed by sacred sake (*o-miki*) in an earthenware utensil placed on a tray with legs. In this manner Sōtan entered the priesthood with his hair shaved and was given the name 'Sōtan' as his pseudonym. Once he became a priest with his black robes, no one would ask him his position in the mundane world. This transformation is what was required for Sōtan to have an audience with ruler Hideyoshi.

After this initiation, Sōtan was made to wait in Sakai, a city away from Kyōto and in his diary, he wrote about the tea gatherings held almost everyday by Tsuda Sōkyū, his uncle Tsuda Dōshitsu and others he was invited to attend while he was staying in the city.



### 3. Sōtan in Ōsaka Castle

On the third day of the first month 1586 (Tenshō 15), a large tea gathering was held in Ōsaka Castle to celebrate the departure of military forces for Kyūshū and this was the first time Sōtan met Kanpaku (the Chancellor, the chief adviser to the Emperor) Hideyoshi, who addressed Sōtan by the name 'Chikushi no bōzu' in front of the assembled war lords and gave him special treatment. In *Sōtan Chanoyu Nikki*, Sōtan described the scene as follows:

When Sōtan went up to the castle at the Hour of the Tiger on the third day of the first month, he was answered by Imai Sōkyū (aka by his trading-house name Naya Sōkyū, 1520-1593) outside the gate and was introduced to Sen no Rikyū for the first time. The number of feudal lords going into the castle was innumerable and some went in on foot and others arrived by vehicles. At the Hour of the Rabbit (around 6 a.m.), five merchants from Sakai also appeared.

Sōtan was ushered into the reception hall before Ishida Jibushōyū (Junior Assistant Minister of the Ministry of Civil Administration, aka Ishida Mitsunari, 1559-1600) appeared from inside and took him deeper into the castle to show him a display of tea utensils. Later, back in the reception hall he was advised to offer a present and the five Sakai merchants followed.

Kanpaku Hideyoshi himself showed Sōtan around by saying 'Please inspect the display.' The other guests continued behind Hideyoshi and examined the presentation after Sōtan. Then Hideyoshi asked 'Which is the monk from Chikushi?' (*Chikushi no bōzu wa dorezo?*) Sōkyū immediately answered 'This is him.' (*Ze ni te sōrō*) The Sōtan diary conveys the sense of urgency of this instant.

Hideyoshi went so far as to issue this order: 'Everyone else step back and let the monk from Chikushi inspect everything by himself.' The Sakai merchants retreated to the veranda while Sōtan was honoured with a solo viewing. The treatment extended to Sōtan by Hideyoshi was exceptional.

Hideyoshi said 'Since there are so many of you, the tea contained in the Shijūkoku jar may not be enough. So, grind the contents of the tea jars called Nadeshiko and Matsuhana and serve tea to each person here.' The Shijūkoku tea jar

belongs to the category of great famous objects (*ōmeibutsu*) and was purchased with an exchange of rice fields yielding forty (*shijū*) measures (*koku*) of rice (about 6,000 kg).<sup>6</sup> Responding to Hideyoshi's words, Rikyū immediately retrieved the Matsuhana jar and Sōkyū took down the Nadeshiko jar from the alcove and each then removed a quantity of tea before returning the tea jars to their position of display in the *tokonoma* alcove.

While he was staying in the hall next door, at around the time meal was being served on trays, Hideyoshi said 'Provide a meal for the monk from Chikushi.' (*Chikushi no bōzu ni meshi wo kuwaseyo.*) Thus Sōtan sat in front of Hideyoshi as he ate with the group of daimyō but the hall was so crowded that he was told to sit back to back with Naya (Imai) Sōkyū, one of Hideyoshi's tea masters in the very center of the hall. Sōtan noted that no merchants from Sakai or Kyōto were permitted in the presence of Hideyoshi at that time. Although there were a large number of attendants serving, it was the high-ranking Ishida Mitsunari who brought the food trays to Sōtan.

When it was time for tea to be served, while standing Hideyoshi announced 'Since you are such a large number, three people shall sip from one bowl. Decide the companions by drawing lots.' Wooden tags were prepared for the feudal lords and they determined their drinking groups. Moreover, Hideyoshi said 'Let the monk from Chikushi drink a whole bowl of tea from Shijūkoku jar.' (*Sono Chikushi no bōzu ni wa, Shijūkoku no cha wo ippuku tokkuri to nomaseyo ya.*) Then Sōtan savored the tea taken from the tea jar called 'Shijūkoku' with Rikyū performing the serving procedure for him. Sōtan wrote 'The bowl was an *ido chawan* style and the tea was not hot.'

As Hideyoshi also said 'Let him hold and see the Nitta Katatsuki tea caddy' (*Nitta*

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<sup>6</sup> TN: *Koku* is a measurement of volume, and one *koku* of rice was enough to feed an adult male for one year. On the formation of the categories of *ōmeibutsu*, *meibutsu* and *chū meibutsu*, see Morgan Pitelka, *Handmade Culture: Raku Potters, Patrons, And Tea Practitioners In Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005), pp. 135-136. On the interwar use of the *Sen meibutsu* neologism, see Tim Cross, *The Ideologies of Japanese Tea: Subjectivity, Transience and National Identity* (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2009), p. 88.

*Katatsuki wo te ni torite miseyo*), Sōtan had the honour of closely appreciating the piece. Nitta Katatsuki is one of the three most famous shouldered tea caddies (*katatsuki chaire*), along with Hatsuhana and Narashiba.

#### 4. Hideyoshi's Kyūshū conquest

On the first day of the third month 1587 (Tenshō 15), Hideyoshi set out for Kyūshū to conquer the Shimazu clan and he reached the Moji castle (present day Kitakyūshū) on the twenty eighth day of the same month. Hideyoshi decided to march on by splitting his army into two groups. One group led by his brother Hidenaga as the commanding general advanced on to Bungo and Hyūga (present day Ōita and Miyazaki Prefectures). The main force of the Hideyoshi group went through Umagatake Castle in Buzen (an area spanning present day eastern Fukuoka and northern Ōita Prefectures) and conquered Ganjaku Castle in Soeda, Buzen.

Ganjaku Castle was a branch castle of Akizuki Tanezane who governed the area of Chikuzen and Buzen and was allied with the Shimazu clan. On the first day of the fourth month 1587 Hideyoshi ordered Gamō Ujisato to capture the castle and that happened in only one day. On fourth day of the same month, Tanezane shaved his head to become a priest and implored Hideyoshi for his forgiveness as he surrendered with his son Tanenaga. At this time, Tanezane saved his neck by offering the Narashiba Katatsuki tea caddy, together with two thousand *koku* of rice and one hundred gold *ryō*.<sup>7</sup> Narashiba Katatsuki, also known as 'Hakata Katatsuki',

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<sup>7</sup> Author's footnote 1 (AF 1) Concerning the Narashiba Katatsuki tea caddy, in his *Sōtan Chanoyu Nikki*, amongst other things Sōtan noted that 'The caddy has round shoulders and brown glaze around the ridge.' The Narashiba name came from a *waka* poem which goes 'Okarisuru/ kariha no ono no/ narashiba no/ nare wa masarazu/ koi koso masare' (No. 3048 of vol. 12, *Manyōshū*). As the glaze was deep (*koi* in Japanese) brown, someone adopted a pun on it with a homophone for love (also *koi* in Japanese) and picked up the theme word of this poem to name this tea caddy. It is also known as Hakata Katatsuki because Hakata merchant Shimai Sōshitsu was once its owner. Ōtomo Sōrin once unsuccessfully urged to Sōshitsu to exchange the tea caddy. Later, Akizuki Tanezane forcibly took it from Sōshitsu by relying on his military power. It was one of the three *meibutsu* tea caddies along with 'Nitta Katatsuki' and 'Hatsuhana Katatsuki'. On his deathbed, Hideyoshi gave it to Ieyasu

was a piece which Tanezane had forcibly taken from its former owner, Hakata merchant Shimai Sōshitsu.

After that, Hideyoshi lodged in Mt. Kōra of Kurume and his forces marched towards Nankan, Kumamoto, Uto-jo, Yatsushiro, Izumi and Akune.

Sōtan, on the other hand, left Atago in Kyōto one month later than Hideyoshi on the twenty eighth day of the third month 1587 and although he reached Hizen Karatsu on the fifteenth day of the fourth month, he immediately left for Satsuma to visit Hideyoshi at his field headquarters and met him at Izumi Castle on the twenty eighth day of the same month. The mediation of Ishida Mitsunari resulted in Sōtan being allowed to appear before Hideyoshi. Although it was in middle of a campaign, a formal tea ceremony using the *daisu* tea stand was held.<sup>8</sup> The tea bowl used was the

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but it was said to have been destroyed by the great fire in 1657 (Meireki 3). By the way, when Hideyoshi conquered Kyūshū, the Akizuki clan survived until the Meiji restoration by relocating to Takanabe, Hyūga (present day Miyazaki Prefecture).

<sup>8</sup> TN: 'The *daisu* is a large stand with a base board and one shelf on which all the other utensils rest. The other utensils include a kettle and a brazier; a *kaigu*, a set of matching bronze utensils which include a *mizusashi* (water jar), *hensui* (waste water receptacle), *futaoki* (lid rest) and *shakutate* (ladle stand), a Chinese tea caddy (tea container), and a Chinese tea bowl.' 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. 57-58.

Horimoto places this first *daisu* in Japan at Sōfukuji, but while there is agreement that it was eventually transferred to Daitokuji in Kyoto, English-language accounts vary as to which Hakata temple initially housed it. One places it at Sūfukuji. Theodore M. Ludwig, 'Before Rikyū: Religious and Aesthetic Influences in the Early History of the Tea Ceremony', *Monumenta Nipponica*, 36 (1981), p. 382. Another states that the relevant temple is Shōfukuji: citing *Chajidan*, Sen Sōshitsu links the *daisu* with Murata Jukō (Shukō) and not Rikyū. According to Sen, the relevant temple is Shōfukuji and not Sūfukuji as Ludwig suggests: 'At that time there was a *daisu* at the Daitokuji in Murasakino, Kyoto, but no one knew how to use it. It was a tea stand that had come many years earlier as a present from Song China to the Shōfukuji, a Zen temple in Hakata in Kyushu. (Note: Ankokuzan Shōfukuji is in Hakozaki, Hakata, Chikuzen province. Its mountain gate has a tablet with a six-character inscription written by former emperor Go-Toba. It says, "First Zen Temple in Japan". Today's formal tea ritual using the *daisu* originated with this shelf.) This shelf was later sent to Hieizan and after that came to Daitokuji. When Jukō spied it, he proclaimed it could only be for tea and promptly began using it in his tea service.' Sen Sōshitsu, *The Japanese Way of Tea: From its Origins in China to Sen Rikyū*, trans. V. Dixon Morris (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998), p. 129.

gold *tenmoku* chawan and was served by one of the expert curators (*dōbōshū*). Sōtan then returned to Karatsu once.

Hideyoshi accepted the surrender of Shimazu Yoshihisa (1533-1611) at Sendai Taiheiji temple on eighth day of the fifth month 1587.

A letter written by Hideyoshi on the ninth day of the fifth month at Taiheiji temple in Satsuma to Kōfu, an old woman-in-waiting in Ōsaka Castle (*Taikō no Tegami* [*Letters from Taikō*] by Kuwata Tadachika, Bungeishunjū) reads ‘As I will send messengers to Korea to tell them I will punish them, I should stay in Hakata for the interim.’ Additionally the letter to Kita no Mandokoro (the legal wife of Hideyoshi, 1546-1624)<sup>9</sup> written in Sashiki in Higo Province on the twenty ninth day of the fifth month reads ‘I will visit Hakata in Chikuzen Province sometime around the fifth day of the seventh month and order the revival of Hakata. I will be back in Ōsaka around the tenth day of the seventh month.’ In these two letters, Hideyoshi wrote about the Korean invasion and the revival of Hakata. This correspondence documents that Hideyoshi intentionally stayed in Hakata for these reasons and that he already was already formulating a plan to invade Korea during the Kyūshū conquest.

After leaving Taiheiji temple, Hideyoshi’s army marched through Kumamoto, Nankan, Kōrasan and Dazaifu Iwaya bound for Hakata. According to ‘Kyūshū Gozadōki’ (included in *Kinsei Shotō Kyūshū Kikōshū* in the *Kyūshū Shiryō Sōsho*, Kyūshū Shiryō Kankōkai) which describes Hideyoshi’s battles and routes during the Shimazu Conquest, although they arrived at Hakozaki on the seventh day of the sixth month, the author of this document is been unknown (The fourth volume of *Kokushi Daijiten*, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan). In addition, *Records of the Regent (Taikō ki)* by Ose Hoan and published by Iwanami Bunko, which is a less reliable version of historical record, writes ‘Hideyoshi arrived at Hakata on the seventh day of the sixth month. He knelt down and worshipped at Hachimangū Hōden (the treasure house of Hakozaki Hachimangū shrine) at Hakozaki.’ However, in the case of *Buzen Oboegaki*

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<sup>9</sup> TN: Toyotomi Yoshiko was also known as Nene and One, or after joining a convent following the death of Hideyoshi, in 1603 Tokugawa Ieyasu gave her the name Kōdai-in.

(in *Hakata Chikuzen Shiryō Buzen Oboegaki* by Kawazoe Shōji revised by Fukuoka Kobunsho wo Yomu Kai), Hideyoshi arrived at Hakozaki at noon on the fourth day of the sixth month and went into the lodgings prepared within Hakozaki Hachimangū. *Buzen Oboegaki* is the document written by Kido Kiyotane, a retainer of Hakozaki Zasu (the head priest of the Hakozaki Hachimangū) and his father Buzen no Kami Tomomasa about their actions and what they saw and heard. Placing confidence in the strength of this document as a historical source, the date Hideyoshi arrived at Hakozaki can be assumed to be the fourth day of the sixth month 1587.

However, the date of the arrival of Rikyū in Hakata remains uncertain. His actions can be ascertained from an extant letter Rikyū wrote in Jurakudai, addressed to Shibayama Kenmotsu on the twelfth day of the fourth month (included in *Teihon Sen no Rikyū no Tegami* [The complete collection of letters from Sen no Rikyū] by Kuwata Tadachika) : ‘Uji-cha will arrive at the end of this month. After getting that tea, I shall go down to Hakata.’<sup>10</sup> Rikyū was apparently in Kyōto at this point and was supposed to go down to Hakata with the tea. Hideyoshi, on the other hand, was in mountain lodgings at Kōra-san in Kurume around this time as his forces were making their advance to Satsuma. Thus, Rikyū left Ōsaka after the army of Hideyoshi had departed and he went to Hakata separately. It appears that Rikyū reached Hakozaki before Hideyoshi arrived at Hakata.

According to *Buzen Oboegaki*, Hideyoshi ordered Rikyū to build a tea house in the vicinity of Hakomatsu in Hakozaki Hachimangū soon after he arrived at Hakozaki. At this time, Rikyū made Kido Buzen no Kami, the author of *Buzen Oboegaki*, search for ropes and old ship planks needed to build the tea house. Given that there was no rice straw to be found, Rikyū was delighted to be offered wheat straw rolled into thin ropes.

Hakomatsu is the sacred tree still visible at Hakozaki Hachimangū shrine, located on the right hand as we face the Rōmon tower gate and the tree is enclosed by a

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<sup>10</sup> TN: Having received the surrender of Shimazu Yoshihisa, Hideyoshi left Osaka Castle and administered from Jurakudai, located in present day Kamigyō-ku, Kyōto.

vermillion-lacquered fence. A legend says that in olden times when Empress Jingū gave birth to Emperor Ōjin in Umi, Kasuya-gun, she buried a box (*hako*) containing the placenta and planted a pine tree (*matsu*) to mark the spot. The pine tree is Hakomatsu.

At that time, although Sōtan had returned to Karatsu, he arrived at Hakozaki at noon on the seventh day of the sixth month 1587 and had an audience with Hideyoshi the following day. That meeting on the eighth was mediated by Tsuda Sōkyū who accompanied Hideyoshi.

### 5. The tea gathering at Hakozaki held by Hideyoshi and Rikyū

While Hideyoshi was staying in Hakozaki, he re-allocated the Kyūshū area (*Kyūshū no kuni wari*) by assigning the entirety of Chikuzen Province, two Chikugo counties and one Hizen counties to Kobayakawa Takakage (1533-1597). At the same time, six counties of Buzen Province were given to Kuroda Josui (aka Kuroda Yoshitaka, Kuroda Kanbei, 1546-1604).

Hideyoshi frequently held tea gatherings from time to time with his designated tea masters (*sadō*), including Rikyū and Sōkyū, when he was staying in Hakozaki. Hideyoshi even organized some performances of linked haiku verse (*renku*) with Hosokawa Yūsai (aka Hosokawa Fujitaka, 1534-1610), one of the foremost contemporary *waka* poets, who was summoned from his castle of residence in Tango (that part of present day northern Kyōto Prefecture which faces the Sea of Japan). *Kyūshū Michi no Ki* (Travel Journal of Kyūshū, included in *Chūsei Nikki Kikōshū* [volume 48 of *Shinpen Nihon Koten Bungaku Zenshū*], Shogakukan) is the travel journal of Yūsai.

On the eighth day of the sixth month 1587, Hideyoshi visited Tōrōdō, Rikyū's lodging, and held a linked haiku gathering with Yūsai and others.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> TN: At that time, Tōrōdō was located inside the Hakozaki Hachimangū shrine complex, but with the division imposed on Shintō and Buddhism (*shinbutsu-bunri*) in 1868, Tōrōdō was moved to the nearby Kōyasan Shinkonshū temple called Ekōin in 1870. Ekōin 瑠璃山 惠光院 is located in Maidashi 5 chome, Higashi-ku, Fukuoka City.

On the tenth day of the sixth month 1587, Hideyoshi, along with Sōtan and others, boarded a European ship called *Fusuta* from the port in front of Hakozaki Hachimangū shrine to inspect the area of Hakata devastated by war.<sup>12</sup> Sōtan was the guide.

On the eleventh day of the sixth month 1587, to reconstruct Hakata, Hideyoshi ordered five magistrates (*bugyō*) including Konishi Yukinaga (1555-1600) to begin the reconstruction of the city according to his handwritten instructions.<sup>13</sup> As can be inferred from the letter sent when Hideyoshi was leading his forces from Satsuma (Kagoshima) to Hakata, for Hideyoshi who was planning to advance to Korean peninsula, Hakata was an important logistic base for assembling his army. Hideyoshi had an urgent necessity to rebuild the city quickly.

In the morning of the thirteenth day of the sixth month 1587, in a tea house that imitated the style of a salt-making hut, Sōkyū's tea gathering was held. The guest of honor (*shōkyaku*) was Hideyoshi and also in attendance was an uncle of Kuroda Josui called Kodera Kyūmu (*shōban*), and Seyakuin Zensō. Hideyoshi apparently liked this tea house very much. After this tea ceremony with Hideyoshi as the guest of honor, Sōtan was invited to the so-called *atomi no chanoyu*. *Atomi* (leftover traces + see) means the meeting in which the guests savour the atmosphere of the preceding ceremony for the guest of exalted rank by appreciating that combination

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<sup>12</sup> TN: Although Matsuoka gives the name *Fusuta* using Japanese transliteration, *fusta* was a class of shallow drafted ship that could be rowed or sailed and typically carried up to three canons.

<sup>13</sup> AF 2: For the people of Hakata, Hideyoshi was a benefactor who reconstructed the once scorched city. In the corner of the former site of Sōtan's residence, a shrine called Toyokuni Jinja worshipping Hideyoshi was built in 1886 (Meiji 19), three hundred years after Hideyoshi's conquest of Kyūshū. This is the branch shrine of Toyokuni Jinja in Kyōto. TN: This division of Hakata into seven *nagare* by Hideyoshi is the framework that structures the groups of worshippers participating in the Hakata Gion Yamakasa festival today. The dominant account traces the origin of Yamakasa as a remedy to a 1241 plague in Hakata. For an account of how Yamakasa is implicated in discourses of local history, see Tim Cross, 'Fictocritical Momentum: Yamakasa Masculinity as Hakata Tradition', in Andrew Cobbing (ed), *Hakata: The Cultural Worlds of Northern Kyushu* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 119-141.



of tea utensils. Observing the setting of the ceremony, displayed on the wall behind the shallow decorative alcove (*oshi-ita*) was a *shikishi* paper board featuring a *waka* poem of Fujiwara Teika (1162-1241). Flowers were arranged in a *kabura nashi* vase. The names of flowers were not provided. A new kettle with the *arare* hail pattern and a jar made of ceramic fresh water container (*Ki seto no mizusashi*) were used.

Incidentally, the *oshi-ita* is a prototype of the *tokonoma* alcove. A Buddhist altar cloth (*uchi-shiki*) is draped over a table and a wooden board is aligned with the table feet. Placed on the board are three Buddhist implements (*mitsu-gusoku*), an incense burner (*kōro*), a flower vase (*kebyō*) and a candle holder (*shokudai*). On the wall above this display, such things as pictures are hung.

At noon of the fourteenth day of the sixth month 1587, in Tōrōdō at Hakozaki, Rikyū held a tea ceremony. The teahouse was a deep-plan three and three-quarter *tatami* mat size room with a thatched roof and walls made of *aokaya* (*hariyasu* grass). The guests were Sōtan, Shimai Sōshitsu and Shibata Sōjin, a member of Hakata Toshiyori-shū (senior vassals handling self-administration). Sōshitsu is another famous wealthy Hakata merchant along with Sōtan.

That tearoom had no *koita* wooden board between the walls and hearth, and a new *ubaguchi* kettle (the shape supposedly resembling the puckered mouth of a toothless elderly woman) was held by a *kanaburo* metal brazier placed directly on the *tatami* flooring. On the pillar above the place of honour, Japanese pampas grass (*susuki*) and mother wort (*yakumosō*) were displayed in a Korean ceramic vase that was cylindrical. The serving procedure was performed by Rikyū. According to the description of Rikyū, the square-shouldered (*katatsuki*) Bizen ware tea caddy was named *Hotei* and tea taken out of the *Hashidate* tea jar was ground for that gathering.

After this event, Sōtan, along with Sōjin, was invited to the two and a half *tatami* mat tearoom of Sen no Jōan. The walls were wooden lattice shutters featuring green pine needles and the roof was thatched with *toma* rushes. Shiitake mushrooms and dry skewered abalone simmered down in soy broth were served before tea was prepared. Incidentally, Jōan is Sen no Dōan, son of the former wife of Rikyū. Despite

being Rikyū's legitimate son, Jōan didn't assume leadership of the House of Sen but his name remains in that style of a tearoom called Dōan *gakoi*, the Dōan *burol* brazier and other things.<sup>14</sup>

On the eighteenth day of the sixth month 1587, a *waka* poetry gathering was held. There are strips of paper handed down in Hakozaki Hachimangū which are said to be written in Hideyoshi's hand (1070<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Enshrinement, *Gochinza 1070 nen kinen Hakozaki gū* edited by Hakozaki gū). Hideyoshi used the kanji character *matsu* (pine) instead of his signature:

For more than a thousand years, that box stored at Hakozaki, I want to be here when pine flowers bloom. (*Chitose wo mo tatami ire oku hakosaki no matsu ni hanasaku orini awabaya Matsu*)

On a hot day, I dropped down at the foot of this pine tree, the breeze carrying the murmur of waves through the pine trees. (*Atsuki hi ni konoki no moto ni tachiyoreba nami no oto suru matsu kaze so fuku Matsu*)

According to the above mentioned *Buzen Oboegaki*, Hideyoshi donated two hundred *koku* of rice to Hakozaki Hachimangū to commemorate the construction of a new shrine building. On the eighteenth day of the sixth month 1587, Hideyoshi ordered a retainer (*ka-shin*) called Miyaki Chōjirō to transport the rice from Meinohama to Hakozaki and to unload it on the Hakozaki shoreline. It was Buzen no Kami who received the rice.

In the morning of the nineteenth day of the sixth month 1587, Hideyoshi held a tea gathering in his military camp at Hakozaki. That gathering was held in the tea house Hideyoshi ordered Rikyū to build in the vicinity of Hakomatsu in Hakozaki Hachimangū soon after Hideyoshi arrived in Hakozaki. The guests were Sōtan and

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<sup>14</sup> TN: Sen Dōan (1546-1607) was the eldest son of Rikyū. The mother of Dōan was Hōshin-myōju (died 1577). Although his first name was Jōan, he was later called Dōan, Fukyūsai and Minō. Reference to Dōan first appears in the eighth day of the twelfth month 1566 (Eiroku 9) at a tea gathering of Tsuda Sōkyū. In *Yamanoue Sōji ki*, Sen Rikyū appears as Tanaka Sōeki and Dōan appears as Tanaka Jōan. By 1584 (Tenshō 12) Dōan is one of the eight men-of-tea (*gosadō hachinin-shū*) employed by Hideyoshi.

one other person, Shimai Sōshitsu. It can be said that Hideyoshi, the ruler of Japan, extended exceptional hospitality. The presence of these two wealthy merchants representing Hakata, which was going to be the logistic base of Hideyoshi's invasion of the Korean peninsula, is significant. This tea gathering reveals Hideyoshi's intentions.

Upon entering the side gate, stepping-stones beckon and under a *hakomatsu* tree which is thought to have been placed at the centre of the *roji* teahouse garden, there is a *chōzubachi* wash basin. The *chōzubachi* is an aged trunk, the hollowed-out wood covered in moss, on top of which rests a ladle. Proceeding past the *hakomatsu* pine, in front of the *sukiya* teahouse a low fence made of old bamboo has a hanging gate. When Sōtan reached this *hanekido* hanging gate just at the break of day, Hideyoshi opened the sliding door from inside the teahouse and was good enough to loudly call out 'Come in' (*Haire ya*). In the vicinity of the teahouse it was still so dark that Sōtan could not find the entrance.

The three-matted tearoom without veranda had two *shōji* doors, a window that opens from the top and an *oshi-ita* board placed against the wall, creating a shallow decorative alcove of less than two paces (*roku shaku*) long.

As their eyes grew accustomed to the darkness, hung above the *oshi-ita* at the seat of honour was a hanging scroll painted by the late thirteenth century Chinese monk-artist Mokkei. In a peach shaped flower vase (*momo-jiri*), foxtail grass was displayed. The contrast between those foxtails and the ruler of the country is interesting.

After saying 'Let's have tea' (*cha wo nomō ka*), Hideyoshi prepared tea himself. A tea caddy classified as *shigi-katatsuki* was put on the square *yohō-bon* tray reserved for highly-ranked pieces from the continent (*karamono*), and the tea bowl was a Korean *ido chawan*. After serving tea, Hideyoshi called the two guests over to beside him with the *Shigi-katatsuki* tea caddy in his hand and said 'Because it has this glaze, it is called *Shigi* (snipe).' (*Kono yaku aru ue ni, shigi to iu zo.*) The image of Sōtan and Sōshitsu with Hideyoshi in that small tea room, sitting knee-to-knee, floats up into our eyes.

Sōtan wrote about the dishes served at that time in his *Kamiya Sōtan Nikki Kondate* ([*Kamiya Sōtan's* diary of foods] supplemental volume of the previously mentioned *Sōtan Chanoyu Nikki*) as follows:

(Sixth month) Nineteenth day, morning: Breakfast meeting with Kampaku (i.e. Hideyoshi)

Dishes on the primary *oshiki* lacquered tray:

A serving plate with red inside: vinegared fish and vegetable, with sea bream, *daikon* radish, sea eel and ginger

Soup: meat of small bird with *daikon* radish, flavored by Fukusa miso

*Tsusu* plate: grilled turban shellfish, seasoned with miso

*Mioshi*: partake of food and drink

Secondary tray:

Lacquered black tray with a matching black rice-scoop

Sake:

Served in a tin bottle that was placed in a lacquered pot containing hot water

Sweets:

Small serving bowl: *kuzuneri-mochi* (sweet arrowroot starch paste), with roasted soybean flour (*kinako*), toothpicks provided

The main dishes were served on a lacquered tray. It was a *namasu*-style vinegared sea bream, sea eel and radish, garnished with ginger. The soup was small bird meat and radish, miso flavoured. Another dish was grilled miso-seasoned turban shellfish and sweets were *kuzuneri-mochi* dusted with roasted soybean flour.

Incidentally, in this tea party, Hideyoshi is said to have asked Sōshitsu if he would prefer to be a samurai or a merchant. This anecdote is written in *Shimaishi nenroku* ([Chronicle of Shimai family] included in *Fukuoka-ken shi shiryō* edited by Itō Oshirō). In response to this question, Sōshitsu answered 'Although it is an order from my lord, more than becoming a samurai I prefer being a merchant.' (*Godamei de aru ga, samurai yori mo chōnin ga yoroshū gozaimasu.*) Hideyoshi

pressed further asking ‘Don’t you have any ambition?’ (*Nanika nozomi wa nai ka?*) Sōshitsu, pointing the open sea of the north-west, said “That sandy place stretching three *ri* (7.32 miles) from Nata to Shika-no-shima is called Umi no nakamichi. I heard the place is called *Hakusato* in Chinese books. I would like to own the inland sea from that sandy boundary within the range of vision to this shore.” When Hideyoshi responded with ‘You have plenty of ambition. But are you going to be a samurai?’ (*Yokumo bōzu nozomi tari. Shikaraba samurai ni naru ka?*) Sōshitsu replied ‘I would hate being a samurai.’ (*Samurai wa kirai ni gozaimasu.*) It is said that Hideyoshi commented laughingly ‘All right then, if that is what you want, there will come a time for your wish to come true. Let’s just leave it as something to look forward to.’ (*Shikaraba sono hō no nozomi, izure jūsetsu ga kuru de arō. Tanoshimi ni shite oku ga ii.*) Although this well-known episode shows the backbone of Sōshitsu as a Hakata merchant, doubts have been raised about its validity as historical fact.<sup>15</sup>

It should be added that on the nineteenth day of the six month 1587 another important incident occurred. On this day Hideyoshi issued a ban on Christianity and an order to expel the missionaries.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> (Tanaka Takeo, *Shimai Sōshitsu*)

<sup>16</sup> TN: Several English translations of the Hideyoshi edict limiting the propagation of Christianity are available. For edicts made on the eighteenth day of the sixth month 1587 onwards, see David J. Lu (ed.) *Japan: A Documentary History: The Dawn of History to the Late Tokugawa Period* (Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1997), pp. 196-197.

Mary Elizabeth Berry, *Hideyoshi* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), pp. 91-92.

George Elison, *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), pp. 115-116. In addition to both Berry and Elison commenting on the limited extent to which this edict was actually enforced, Peter Nosco suggests that political expediency was the primary concern of Hideyoshi. See ‘Keeping the faith: *Bakuhau* policy towards religion in seventeenth century Japan’, in Kornicki, P. F., and I. J. McMullen (eds.), *Religion in Japan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) pp. 135-155.

For a survey that is arranged geographically with one chapter per location, see John Dougill, *In Search of Japan’s Hidden Christians: A Story of Suppression, Secrecy and Survival* (Tokyo: Tuttle, 2012). The chapters address these sites, most of which are in Kyūshū: Tanegashima, Kagoshima, Yamaguchi, Azuchi, Hakata, Nagasaki, Omura, Shimabara, Amakusa Islands, Sotome, Gotō Islands, Urakami, and Hirado.

In Sōtan's diary, the description of tea gatherings pauses from the nineteenth day until the twenty fifth day of the sixth month when this description begins.

In the morning of the twenty fifth day of the sixth month, Sōtan held a tea gathering attended by Hideyoshi at the military camp in Akahatabō in Hakozaki Hachimangū. The tearoom was the size of two and a half tatami mats with a roof thatched with *aokaya* (a kind of perennial grass). The walls and the *kugurito* side gate also featured this blue *aokaya*. The *tokonoma* alcove was the size of one tatami and a thick bamboo was used for the horizontal *kamachi* beam framing the alcove space. The *shōban* attendant was Hosokawa Yūsai and the tea caddy was *Hakata Bunrin*,<sup>17</sup> Sōtan's favorite. Displayed in front of *tokonoma* and before the *furo* brazier was the famous Chinese *tenmoku-dai* (a tea bowl stand designed specifically to hold a

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Ikuo Higashibaba, *Christianity in Early Modern Japan: Kirishitan Belief and Practice* (Leiden, Boston & Koln: Brill, 2001).

Stephen Turnbull, *The Kakure Kirishitan of Japan: A Study of their Development, Beliefs and Rituals to the Present Day* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013).

*Tenchi hajimari no koto* (Beginning of Heaven and Earth) blends Bible stories, Japanese folk tales, and the doctrines of Roman Catholicism, and it was a sacred text for some Kakure Kirishitans. For a translation and commentary of *Tenchi hajimari no koto* that was informed by eleven months of fieldwork in the Gotō Islands of Nagasaki Prefecture which included negotiating the complexities of local dialect, see Christal Whelan, *The Beginning of Heaven and Earth: The Sacred Book of Japan's Hidden Christians* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996).

Tomoko Kitagawa, 'The conversion of Hideyoshi's Daughter Gō', *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 34, no. 1 (2007), pp. 9-25.

<sup>17</sup> AF 3: Hakata Bunrin is one of the famous tea caddies which Toshisada, the head of the Kamiya family three generations before Sōtan, obtained from the Ming dynasty. Hideyoshi and Kuroda Nagamasa who was later relocated to Chikuzen Province both longed eagerly for it but Sōtan would not yield. But in 1624 (Kan'ei 1), giving in to the strong demand of Kuroda Tadayuki (1602-1654), the second feudal lord of Fukuoka domain, Sōtan parted with Hakata Bunrin in exchange for fields with a five hundred *hoku* crop yield and two thousand *ryō* of gold. It has been handed down in Kuroda family (*Genshoku Sado Daijiten* [*Genshoku* Encyclopedia of Tea Ceremony] edited by Iguchi, Sue and Nagashima, Tankōsha). It is now owned by Fukuoka Art Museum. TN: For an account of how this utensil was obtained, see A. L. Sadler, *Chano-yu: The Japanese Tea Ceremony* (Rutland and Tokyo: Charles Tuttle, 1998 [1933]), pp. 150-151. For a more detailed account of Hakata Bunrin, see Andrew Maske, *Potters and Patrons in Edo Period Japan: Takatori Ware and the Kuroda Domain* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 39-42.

*tenmoku* teabowl) called *Kazu no dai*, which in turn held a *tenmoku* teabowl from Ise.

In the tea room, Hideyoshi ate his meal on the brocade cushion laid in the alcove and came down when he drank tea. His attire was made of a woven white fabric (*shira-aya*) featuring paulownia patterns (*kiri-no-mon*), made into the *kataginu-hakama* combination of a sleeveless jacket (*kataginu*) and ceremonial trousers (*hakama*). Hideyoshi wore a medium length sword (*wakizashi*) with a *tsuba* sword guard in the shape of a family crest that recalls the cross-section of a gourd (*mokkō-mon*). In the next room, Tsuda Sōkyū, Kōdera Kyūmu and others were engaged with preparing the meal trays. The attendant who had the honour of appearing in front of Hideyoshi was Kyūmu. Sōkyū planned the tea procedure and co-ordinated the *toriawase* combination of tea utensils.

At the end of the sixth month 1587, Hideyoshi attended a tea gathering held at the lodgings of Tsuda Sōkyū. For some unknown reason the date was not recorded. The location was Hideyoshi's favorite, the tea hut in the *shioya* style of a salt-works shed. The two *shōban* attendants were Zanpa Sanshōken and Kōdera Kyūmu, Sōkyū was serving tea. The black ink calligraphy of Mukurin was hung, flowers were arranged in a narrow-mouthed vase, and a hailstone-patterned kettle (*arare-gama*) was installed on the *furo* brazier. The fresh water container was a square bucket used for scooping water from a well (*tsurube*) and Seto ware tea bowl contained the tea utensils. There was a jujube-shaped tea caddy (*natsume*, these days typically for thin tea) and the waste-water container was in the *mentsū* style of round containers made by bending thin slips of Japanese cedar. The kettle lid rest was *hikkiri*, made from bamboo.

After the ceremony, Hideyoshi arranged flowers. The arrangement was so compelling that all everyone in attendance voiced their admiration. Later, they moved to the camp of Kyūmu, where Hideyoshi informally relaxed with his pleated trousers (*hakama*) removed. There, Hideyoshi suggested they make one pass of a linked verse poem and started a *renga* poetry meeting: '*Hito-ori senzu ka.*' ('*Renga wo hito-ori shō ka*'). *Hito-ori* means a double folded piece of traditional Japanese paper used to write down a *renga* poem or *haikai* poem. Hideyoshi started the first line of a *waka* poem

(*hokku*) and Tsuda Sōkyū followed with short verse (*tanku*).<sup>18</sup>

In front of the window cool air from the salt kiln on the beach – Ue sama  
(Hideyoshi)

(*Shiokama no hamabe suzushiki mado no mae*)

I dropped into the dense pine and bamboo shade – Sōkyū

(*Tachiyoru kage no shigeru matsutake*)

Then in the accompaniment *tsukeai* section where verses are added to the previous recitations, Hideyoshi added a verse after the verse of Kōdera Kyūmu:

Stir and bustle in front of the gates built close to each other – Kyūmu

(*Tatenarabetaru mon no nigiwai*)

Hakata will prosper for the next thousand years – Ue sama (Hideyoshi)

(*Hakata machi ikuchiyo madeya tsunoruran*)

When Sōtan and the others who heard this Hideyoshi poem firsthand, they rejoiced by saying ‘We want all the people in Hakata to hear this.’ (*Kono hakku wo Hakata no mono ni kikase mō saide ka.*) Hideyoshi was also in high spirits.

On the first day of the seventh month 1587 (Tenshō 15), Hideyoshi left Hakozaki, stayed overnight in Akama, and made a triumphant return to Ōsaka on the fourteenth day of the seventh month 1587.

On the first day of the eleventh month 1587, an extremely large tea gathering was held at Kitano Tenmangū shrine in Kyōto. It had been planned to last 10 days but the news of uprising in the Higo area (present day Kumamoto Prefecture) interrupted the event and the gathering turned out to be a one day event. On this occasion, Sōtan was regrettably late for the gathering but was warmly received by Hideyoshi thanks to the mediation of Sōkyū.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> TN: Following the original event, the entries for Hideyoshi are listed as Ue sama (Lord).

<sup>19</sup> TN: The scale of this event was unprecedented and the ‘invitation’ of Hideyoshi was coercive. For an account of how the pleasures of tea were infused with power, see Christine M. E. Guth, *Art, Tea, and Industry: Masuda Takashi and the Mitsui Circle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 69. For an overview of how the sphere of noh was colonized by Hideyoshi, see Tom Looser, ‘Locating Tokugawa Power: The Place of the Noh in Early Modern Japan’, in Najita Tetsuo



## 6. The pine tree Rikyū hung his kettle from

On the Hakozaki premises of Kyūshū University Hospital, there is a historical site called 'The pine tree Rikyū hung his kettle from' (*Rikyū kamakake no matsu*). It is in the front yard of a brownish research building. In addition to the monument named 'The place Rikyū served tea' (*Rikyū koji tencha no chi*) there are other monuments, including one built in 1890 (Meiji 23) which commemorates the three hundredth anniversary of the 1591 death of Rikyū and another which marks the four hundredth anniversary of his death, built in 1990 (Heisei 2). Furthermore, there is a monument inscribed with a poem by Sengai-oshō (aka Sengai Gibon, 1750-1837), a priest associated with Shōfukuji temple, which reads 'The smoke from the burnt raked-up leaves died out, I only hear the sound of the wind through the pines.' (*Kakikubeshi ochiba no kemuri atotaete tada matsukaze no oto nomizo suru.*)

The frontispiece of the Kaneko Kentarō book *Biography of Kuroda Josui* (*Kuroda Josui den*), includes an early Taishō period (1912-1926) photograph of the area surrounding 'The pine tree Rikyū hung his kettle from'. The photograph shows the monument commemorating the three hundredth anniversary of the death of Rikyū and that monument is surrounded by chained stone pillars. Behind the monument, the Hakozaki pine grove which nostalgically evokes the past of this place is visible.

The site in this photograph is said to be the place where Rikyū served tea for Hideyoshi using the fire fuelled by pine needles at that time when Rikyū was accompanying Hideyoshi on his conquest of Kyūshū. This incident is described by Hisamatsu Shin'ichi in his edited and annotated version of the tea book called *Nanpōroku* as follows [the following renders into English a paraphrase from seventeenth century Japanese to modern Japanese]:

*Fusube chanoyu* (tea with something smoked) is a common parlance. It is *nogake*, an open air ceremony. Cleanliness is the basic policy. At Hakozaki

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(ed.) *Productions of Culture in Japan*, (Chicago: University of Chicago East Asian Occasional Papers, No. 10, 1995), pp. 145-95. A more expansive analysis is available in his *Visioning Eternity: Aesthetics, Politics, and History in the Early Modern Noh Theater* (Ithaca: Cornell University East Asia Book Series, 2008).

Matsubara in Chikuzen Province, Rikyū held a tea ceremony. As it was in a pine grove, Rikyū raked up pine needles and burnt them to boil the water. Taikō Denka (Hideyoshi) was amused by the sound of the breeze in the pines and the scene of the rising smoke. He later requested Rikyū, Sōmu or Sōkyū to prepare *fusube* tea in the same atmosphere whenever he went outdoors to relax.

*Fusube-cha* or *nogake* is currently glossed by tea practitioners as *nodate*. *Nanpōroku* describes how Rikyū used pine leaves at Hakozaki to make tea, and the following discussion will address Rikyū also serving *fusube-cha* at Daizenji temple. But Hakozaki Matsubara is said to be the first place where the *nodate* venue can be identified.

Kaibara Ekken also wrote in his *Gazetteer* as follows:

On the eighteenth day of the sixth month, Rikyū again in Hakozaki Matsubara, south of the coast road and north-east of Ebisu-dō (shrine of the god of fishing and commerce): Rikyū hung a chain from a pine branch, installed a small *unryū* kettle (a kettle with the pattern of dragons in clouds) and he burnt pine needles to boil the water and offered tea to Lord Hideyoshi. There are ten or more old pine trees on the location. Later, people called those pine trees ‘Rikyū Matsu’ and the pine groves around there ‘Ochaya Matsubara’ (Tea House Pine Grove).

In addition, in the tea recollections of Tachibana Jitsuzan entitled ‘Jitsuzan Chanoyu Oboegaki’ (included in *Zencharoku*, volume 2, edited by Tatsubuchi Kanshū), we find a similar description set in the same day and place, as follows:

On the eighteenth day of the sixth month in the fifteenth year of Tenshō (1587), in compliance with Lord Hideyoshi’s request, Koji (Rikyū) made tea. At the place near the coast road and south-east of Ebisu-dō, Rikyū hung a chain from a pine tree, hooked up a *unryū* kettle and burnt pine needles. The record says the taste of the tea was weak. The story of this event has been handed down to posterity: the old pine trees still remain with green needles, and the forest of Ebisu Shrine and the old coast road are still visible.

What needs to be emphasized here is that all three books, *Nanpōroku*, Ekken's *Gazetteer* and *Jitsuzan Chanoyu Oboegaki*, only mention the presence of Hideyoshi and Rikyū at this open air *nodate* event. At other tea parties held by Hideyoshi or Rikyū, such men of tea as Sōtan or Tsuda Sōkyū attended without fail, but concerning this *nodate* event, no record of other participants exists. Given that Hideyoshi is Tenkabito (the highest man in the land), it seems odd to have a tea seating with only Hideyoshi and Rikyū in attendance. Moreover, more credible historical documents of the caliber of *Sōtan Chanoyu Nikki* or *Buzen Oboegaki* by Kido Buzen no Kami do not mention this *nodate* gathering. It is important to acknowledge the possibility that the *nodate* serving was held without the knowledge of Sōtan and Kido Buzen no Kami, but nonetheless, it is difficult to feel no doubt about the integrity of this account.

What makes it even more doubtful is that the description of this *fusube-cha* does not appear in any other sources prior to being mentioned in the three documents cited above, and Tachibana Jitsuzan was the one person who was deeply involved with each of these three documents.

Among the three documents which refer to the Hakozaki Matsubara *nodate*, if Ekken's *Gazetteer* is examined, the editor Kaibara Ekken was directed to chart the topography by Jitsuzan who was in turn transmitting the order made by Kuroda Mitsuyuki (1628-1707). In the letter dated the twenty ninth day of the fourth month 1707 (Hōei 4) to Takeda Shun'an (1661-1754) addressing the preparation of the book, Ekken wrote 'Gorōemon Dono (aka Jitsuzan) was good enough to offer considerable assistance. I would like him to write the Preface.' Although Jitsuzan did not write the preface he was after all deeply involved in the editing of Ekken's *Gazetteer* ('Letters of Kaibara Ekken' included in vol. 7 (甲) of *Shintei Kuroda Kafu*). An Ekken letter dated the first day of the fifth month 1707 (Hōei 4) and addressed to Shun'an documents that Jitsuzan censored some parts of the book line-by-line: 'Gorōemon Dono (Jitsuzan) has notified me that he has completed his corrections of the sections concerning areas Kasuya, Munakata and Sawara-gun' ('Letters of Kaibara Ekiken').

Jitsuzan and Ekken are teacher and student. Furthermore, Jitsuzan was held in deep confidence by Mitsuyuki, the third lord of Kuroda domain, as one of his closest

aides. Jitsuzan never left Mitsuyuki's side all his life. Ekken, on the other hand, having served under Kanzaemon (Jitsuzan's uncle), and with the patronage of Kanzaemon, Heizaemon (Jitsuzan's father) and Jitsuzan, Ekken went out into society as a scholar of the Kuroda domain, leaving a substantial number of academic achievements. If the extent of the influence of Jitsuzan on Ekken is considered, that undocumented *nodate* open air tea party held in Hakozaki Matsubara can be thought of as an addition to Ekken *Gazetteer* made by Jitsuzan.

What should be examined next is the case of *Nanpōroku*. Although this book presents itself as having been written by Nambō Sōkei (died 1595), a zen monk and a high-caliber disciple of Rikyū, there has been significant discussion as to whether *Nanpōroku* was an actual transcription of the words of Rikyū by Sōkei, or if it was created by Jitsuzan as he supplemented his own writing by editing from already existing tea resources.

Concerning the circumstances behind how Jitsuzan acquired the *Nanpōroku* manuscript, on the fourth day of the eleventh month 1703 (Genroku 16) he wrote in *Kirobengi* (included in the version of *Nanpōroku* corrected and annotated by Nishiyama Matsunosuke and published by Iwanami Shoten) the following:

In the autumn of 1686 (Teikyō 3), while I was on a ship anchored off Kamakari in the Inland Sea, accompanying Lord Mitsuyuki going to Edo for *sankin kōtai* (alternate-year residence in Edo requirement imposed upon daimyo), I received a letter from a Mr. So-and-so from Kyōto. It read 'There is a man who owns five volumes of Rikyū's hidden secret of *chanoyu*. As I secretly made a transcript, I can send you a copy if you so desire.' He attached some sampled copies of excerpts and illustrations from the book. As soon as I arrived Fushimi, Kyōto, I requested that he make a duplicate by the end of the year.

At the beginning of the first month of the next year, Jitsuzan received the copy he had asked for, along with an accompanying letter, at his residence in Sakurada, Edo. Jitsuzan invited Mitani Kosai and Ebi Ryōgi who had profound knowledge of tea culture, and these two men read the five volumes with great interest, concluding it

was a work of considerable merit. The titles of the five books are 'Oboegaki', 'Kai', 'Tana', 'Shoin' and 'Daisu'.<sup>20</sup>

In the course of subsequently visiting temples such as Nanshūji Shū'un'an in Sakai, Naya Sōsetsu, a hermit and a blood relation of Sōkei, was discovered. On the twenty second day of the first month in the third year of 1690 (Genroku 3) in Ōsaka, when Jitsuzan was accompanying Lord Mitsuyuki to Edo for the first *sankin kōtai* residence in Edo after Mitsuyuki retired, Jitsuzan had Sōsetsu show him the belongings of Sōkei and Jitsuzan made copies of two newly found books called 'Metsugo' and 'Sumibiki'. It was in this manner that Jitsuzan finished copying all seven volumes. As the books didn't have a collective name identifying them as a single work, Jitsuzan consequently required Kogai Sōshō of the Hakata Sōfukuji temple to name them 'Nanpōroku'.

However, as the historical scholarship of 'sadō' (tea + road) progressed doubts surfaced concerning the credibility of how 'Nanpōroku' was compiled. Examples of these questionable points include: copies of *Nanpōroku* are accounted for as far back as Jitsuzan but no further; between Sōkei and Jitsuzan absolutely no transmitters of the manuscripts exist; and despite the term 'sadō' (the Way of Tea) not existing when Rikyū was alive, this specialist expression is used in *Nanpōroku*.

These days, it is considered that Jitsuzan, having gathered good quality materials, used those sources as the basis for his editorial composition of *Nanpōroku*.<sup>21</sup> Although there was a period when no one doubted the credibility of *Nanpōroku* because it was believed to be a book describing tea in Rikyū's era, once *Nanpōroku* appears to have been possibly edited by Jitsuzan, it then follows that the open air *nodate* tea gathering between Hideyoshi and Rikyū at Hakozaki Matsubara might

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<sup>20</sup> TN: 'Oboegaki' takes the form of a dialogue in which Nambō Sōkei poses questions to Rikyū. 'Kai' is a record of one hundred tea gatherings hosted by Rikyū. 'Tana' deals with how portable tea furniture (*tana*) should be positioned in a tearoom. 'Shoin' addresses the conventions of how *shoin* spaces should be used. 'Daisu' explains the rules for using the formal *daisu* stand in tearooms.

<sup>21</sup> See, for example, Toda Katsuhisa, *Nanpōroku no Yukue* (Where does 'Nanpōroku' go?).

also be thought of as a fiction created by Jitsuzan.

The third historical document that should be scrutinized is *Jitsuzan Chanoyu Oboegaki*, a manuscript written by Jitsuzan when he held the first open air tea gathering on the twenty eighth day of the second month 1694 (Genroku 7) at Sōfukuji temple of Hakata, in connection with Rikyū's *fusube cha* event:

In addition, isn't it honorable to have it (Rikyū's *fusube cha* event at Hakozaki) recorded in the document? In four to five hundred meters west from the place, there is the Chokushi Man'nen Sōfukuji temple. The place where Rikyū had the *tencha* tea gathering is also located within the precinct of this temple. As this temple has received devotion from the governors here from generation to generation, great monks are worshipped and enshrined in this temple. Currently the chief priest is Kogai Zenji. He is my zen master and I received religious benefits from him over the years. I erected a stone monument there under the pine tree where the *tencha* of Rikyū took place, and had the master write the inscription. The carving has been done.

Jitsuzan wrote that the location of the *fusube cha* event is land that is associated with Sōfukuji temple. Sōfukuji itself is located roughly five hundred metres west of there. Sōfukuji has been the spiritual destination that the feudal lords of Fukuoka domain from one generation to the next have returned to and the present chief priest Kogai Sōshō is Jitsuzan's zen master. Jitsuzan decided to build a monument under the pine tree where Rikyū served tea and Jitsuzan asked Kogai Zenji to write the inscription. The production of the monument is complete. The monument with the inscription 'Rikyū koji tencha chi' is what Jitsuzan refers to and it is the oldest of all the four monuments inside Sōfukuji. This location has been handed down as the location of 'Rikyū's *fusube cha*'.

In the previously mentioned *Jitsuzan Chanoyu Oboegaki*, Jitsuzan wrote 'In addition, isn't it honorable to have it (Rikyū's *fusube cha cha* event at Hakozaki) in the document?' The 'document' being cited by Jitsuzan here is obviously *Nanpōroku* which Jitsuzan himself edited. Isn't Jitsuzan the one who included the *fusube cha* event in *Nanpōroku*?

As noted earlier, *Nanpōroku* mentions that in addition to the *nodate* at Hakozaki, at the least there is one record of an open air tea gathering in Daizenji. Furthermore, Nambō Sōkei, the author of *Nanpōroku* is said to have accompanied Hideyoshi along with Rikyū to Daizenji (‘Oboegaki’ section of *Nanpōroku*) and the tea procedure is said to have taken place following the idea of Rikyū (‘Metsugo’ section of *Nanpōroku*). Concerning the place Daizenji mentioned in *Nanpōroku*, one theory says that it is Daizenji temple in Kurume<sup>22</sup> and but another explanation denies the Kurume possibility by proposing that it is Daizenji of Ikari in Tagawa City.<sup>23</sup>

However Rikyū did not accompany Hideyoshi’s army (in Kyūshū) and Rikyū never went to Kurume or Tagawa. In addition, the recent dominant interpretation is that Nambō Sōkei, purportedly the editor and the author of *Nanpōroku*, is assumed to be a creation of Jitsuzan. Daizenji *nodate* is very much likely to be another creation of Jitsuzan. *Rikyū Kamakake no Matsu* is the most famous historical place where Rikyū served *fusube cha* to Hideyoshi but as the above investigation of sources concludes, it is highly doubtful to regard that incident as a historical fact.

There is a stone lantern in Hakozaki Hachimangū which is said to have been donated by Rikyū when he was staying in Hakata. Situated on the inside corridor between buildings at the west side of the main shrine, it is officially designated as an Important Cultural Property. The inscription engraved on the outside of the bottom of the *hibukuro* segment (where the burning wick is placed) reads ‘On the twenty eighth day of the sixth month of the first year of Kan’nō, Donated by nun Ryōhō’ and made by master stonemason ‘Daikō Ichō’. The stone lantern was made in 1350, the first year of Kan’nō which was the name of an era used by the Northern court during the period of the Northern and Southern courts and apparently that lantern was originally kept in Iwashimizu Hachimangū in Yamashiro.<sup>24</sup> Incidentally, *Daikō* is the

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<sup>22</sup> (*Nanpōroku* revised by Nishiyama Matsunosuke, Iwanami Bunko)

<sup>23</sup> (‘A personal opinion about how *Daizenji-yama Fusube chanoyu* appears in *Nanpōroku* by Akiyoshi Mitsuru, *Chanoyu* [journal], vol 16)

<sup>24</sup> (Fukuoka-ken Bunkazai Mokuroku [A catalogue of cultural properties in Fukuoka Prefecture] edited by Fukuoka Prefectural Board of Education)

leader of such artisans as stonemasons.

Additionally, Lantern Hall (Tōrōdō) is in the precinct of Shingon-shū Ekōin which is located near the approach to Hakozaki Hachimangū shrine. This is the place where Rikyū held a noon tea gathering on the fourteenth day of the sixth month 1587 (Tenshō 15). It was a deep-plan three and three-quarter tatami mat size tea house with a roof thatched with perennial rhizomatous grass and walls made of *aokaya* (*kariyasu* grass). The guests were Sōtan, Shimai Sōshitsu and Shibata Sōjin, a member of Hakata Toshiyori-shū (senior vassals handling government affairs).

In the painting by Sumiyoshi Hirosumi Gukei, active early to mid-Edo period, called 'Hakozakigū Muromachi Zu', positions Lantern Hall on the west of Shioi-michi.

According to Ekken's *Gazetter*, Rikyū was so impressed by the visual perfection of the structure of the building that he made a copy of the drawing of the hall as souvenir to take to Kyōto. For reference, the Tōrōdō Rikyū sketched was apparently already rebuilt. The current Tōrōdō was renovated in 1797 (Kansei 9) and relocated from Jigan'in, the place near the approach to Hakozaki Shrine, to Ekōin in 1870 (Meiji 3) during *haibutsu-kishaku* (a movement to abolish Buddhism).<sup>25</sup> The building is one of the mementos of Rikyū's Hakozaki Matsubara tea party.

## 7. Revisiting Rikyū's Hakozaki tea party

Judging from the content of the letters Hideyoshi wrote as he moved from Satsuma Sendai to Hakata and addressed to Kitano Mandokoro and an old lady-in-waiting, in which he wrote about the Korean invasion or the reconstruction of Hakata, it appears that Hideyoshi originally planned to stay in Hakata for a while. During the twenty or so days of their stay in Hakata, Hideyoshi and Rikyū held tea gatherings and *renga* poem meetings almost every day.

Tsuda Sōkyū, one of Hideyoshi's designated *sadō* tea masters, went all the way down south to Satsuma accompanying Hideyoshi's army while Rikyū, another *sadō*,

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<sup>25</sup> (*Ekōin Yuisho* [History of Ekōin] by Chikushi Yorisada included in *Shūso Kōbōdaishi Gonyūjō Senhyakugojū Go'onki-Ekōin Hondō Rakkei Kinen Ekōin* edited by Ekōin)



left Ōsaka late and went directly to Hakata. In the case of Hosokawa Yūsai, he left Miyatsu of Tango aboard a ship sailing around the Sea of Japan first to Moji, passing Shikanoshima and finally arrived at Hakozaki on the twenty fifth day of the fifth month 1587.

For Hideyoshi, although the conquest of Kyūshū demonstrated the military power of his massive forces, the tea gatherings and *renga* poem meetings in Hakozaki Matsubara also emphasize his refined taste as he gathered the most outstanding tea masters and the greatest poets of the day.

Hakata in those days was a burnt-out ruin as a consequence of the recurring conflicts between the clans of Ōtomo and Ōuchi followed by the battle between the Ōtomo clan and the Shimazu clan. In the severe situation of Hakata being a black field, as Hakozaki Hachimangū remained intact, Hideyoshi made that place his lodging. As there were no teahouses, they were quickly constructed. Hideyoshi ordered Rikyū to build a tea house that transformed the vicinity of Hakomatsu, the sacred tree of the shrine, into a *roji* teahouse garden. In addition, Hideyoshi directed Tsuda Sōkyū to build a thatched roof teahouse that imitated a salt-works hut. Hideyoshi was smitten with this salt hut style tea house and he frequently used it.

During his Hakata residence, Hideyoshi determined the allocation of Kyūshū provinces among his warlords and moved Hakata towards revival by directing the new layout of Hakata (*machi-wari*). Hideyoshi made Ishidō River the eastern edge, Nakagawa River the western edge, Bōshū-bori the southern edge and Kitahama the northern edge, which made Hakata a basically square town, with each side measuring about 10 *chō* (approximately 1 km). Hakata was an unexpectedly small city for playing such important roles as later functioning as a logistic base for the Korean invasion.

Hideyoshi's next visit to Hakata was the fourth month 1592 (Bunroku 1) when Hideyoshi embarked on the invasion of the Korean peninsula. Hideyoshi arrived at Nagoya, Hizen Province at the end of the same month.