

【翻訳】

The 1588 exile of Kokei Sōchin, the zen teacher of Rikyū

(An annotated translation of the third 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 of *Cha no yu to Chikuzen: Rikyūra no sokuseki to Nampō Roku no keifu* 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 insider assumption that the *Nampō 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. Two previous papers are translations of the first two chapters of *Cha no yu to Chikuzen*: Chapter One deals with the history of the tea kettles of Ashiya; and Chapter Two critiques the mythology of the Hakozaki tea gathering where Rikyū hung a tea kettle from a pine tree. This translation of the third chapter examines documents relating to the exile of Kokei Sōchin (1532-1597). Attention is also given to the nature of the relationships Kokei had with Hideyoshi and Rikyū, and a brief outline of the conditions of Hakata when Kokei was living there. This third chapter concludes with

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some comments about the importance of presence of Kokei in Hakata during his year of exile.

Keywords

Kokei Sōchin (古溪宗陳 1532-1597), Kōin Sōken (江隱宗顯 d. 1561), *Chikuzen no Kuni Shoku Fudoki*, Shun'oku Sōen (春屋宗園 1529-1611), Nansō-ji, Sen no Rikyū (千利休 1522-1591), Toyotomi Hideyoshi (豊臣秀吉 1537-1598), Hakata, Myōraku-ji, Shōfuku-ji, Kamiya Sōtan (神屋宗湛 1553-1635), Shimai Sōshitsu (嶋井宗室 1539-1615), Honkakubō Senkō (本覚坊暹好 dates unknown), Gyokuho Jōsō (玉甫紹琮 1546-1613), Kobayakawa Takakage (小早川隆景 1533-1597), Kuroda Nagamasa (黒田長政 1568-1623), Kokei *sui* talisman, 大日本茶道学会, 茶道文化学術賞

The exile of Kokei Sōchin, the zen teacher of Rikyū

1. About Kokei Oshō

In the Hakata-ku ward of Fukuoka City there used to be a district called Kokei-machi. It was called Kokei-machi because Kokei Oshō of Kyōto Daitoku-ji temple once lived there when he was exiled to Hakata by the 1588 order of Hideyoshi.¹ In February 1966 (Shōwa 41), the area was merged into Naraya-machi and the name of the town was abolished in accordance with the implementation of land naming readjustment project.

Kokei Sōchin (1532-1597) was a zen priest who was deeply engaged in Hideyoshi's administration along with Rikyū, and he also was the zen teacher of Rikyū. He was from Echizen Province (present day northern Fukui Prefecture) with Asakura as his secular name, Kokei as a pseudonym, and Hoan was the name he

¹ Translator Note: For a representation of the Sōchin farewell tea gathering hosted by Rikyū, in the Jurakudai complex of Hideyoshi, using a scroll that Hideyoshi entrusted to Rikyū for repairs, see the 1989 film directed by Kumai Kei *Sen no Rikyū: Honkakubō Ibun*.

attributed to himself. He became a Buddhist priest in his hometown and studied at an Ashikaga school before he practiced zen at Daitoku-ji Daisen'in under Kōin Sōken. Sōchin became a junior apprentice of Shun'oku Sōen at that time and after being seconded to Shōrei Sōkin, along with Sōen Sōchin, they inherited the responsibility to transmit those Shōrei Sōkin teachings. Sōchin became a chief priest of Daitoku-ji temple as well as Sakai temple Nansō-ji, and he had a close interaction with Rikyū and other merchants in Sakai. His officiating priest Shun'oku Sōen became the 111th head priest of Daitoku-ji and Sōen also had a close relationship with the Kuroda clan of the Fukuoka domain since he served as the chief priest of Sōfuku-ji in Chikuzen Province. The following anecdote about the two priests Sōchin and Sōen during their ascetic training remains in *Kokei Sōchin's Conduct* (*Kokei Sōchin Gyōjō*):

Once they became roommates in a six *shaku* (one shaku is approximately 30.3 centimetres) square room with a small desk. When Sōen read a book at the desk, Sōchin did *zazen* meditation and when Sōchin read, Sōen meditated. They slept at the same time at night with the desk tied up and hanging from the wall.²

Kokei (Sōchin) became Head Priest of Daitoku-ji on the fifteenth day of the ninth month 1573 (Tenshō 1). If the state of society at that time is examined, Nobunaga had finally obtained the surrender of Sakai merchants after their long years of resistance against him.³ In the seventh month of the same year, Nobunaga overthrew the Muromachi shōgunate by expelling Ashikaga Yoshiaki, the shōgun at the time, from Kyōto by using military force. One month later, in the eighth month 1573, Nobunaga attacked Echizen Province and forced Asakura Yoshikage and Asai Nagamasa to commit suicide one after the other.

In such times Kokei entered Daitoku-ji. According to *The list of congratulatory*

² Included in *Shiryō Daitoku-ji no Rekishi* [Documents about history of Daitoku-ji] edited by Yamada Sōbin, revised and expanded by Itō Katsumi, The Mainichi Newspaper).

³ TN: For an account of the role of merchant tea master Imai Sōkyū, see Andrew M. Watsky, 'Commerce, Politics, and Tea: The Career of Imai Sōkyū', *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 50, no. 1. (Spring, 1995), pp. 47-65.

gifts offered to the Head Priest of Daitoku-ji (*Nyūzan shiki shūgi hōkachō*),⁴ the celebratory presents received by Kokei included 100 *kanmon* (a monetary unit, approximately 3758 grams of copper) from Sen no Sōeki (later Rikyū), 50 *kanmon* from Tennojiya Tsuda Sōkyū, 30 *kanmon* from Aburaya Jōsa, 20 *kanmon* from Takeno Sōga, and 10 *kanmon* from Hakataya Sōju. Compared to the 50 *kanmon* from Sōkyū who was the head of the Tennojiya Tsuda family of wealthy Sakai merchants, 100 *kanmon* from Sōeki was a conspicuous amount, and in addition, the wife of Sōeki also contributed 2 *kanmon*. The generosity of Sōeki to Kokei commands attention. This exceptional expenditure was before Sōeki became Nobunaga's designated tea master (*Sadō*).⁵

Incidentally, after Kokei, although Baiin Sōkō became the 118th head priest of Daitoku-ji on the tenth day of the tenth month 1573, Sōkō did not reside in the temple. The duration of Kokei's service in Daitoku-ji was one year, until Shinshuku Sōbai became the 119th head priest on the eighth day of the ninth month 1574.⁶

Kokei somehow invoked the wrath of Hideyoshi and was exiled to Hakata, despite the fact that Kokei earned the trust of Hideyoshi by not only presiding over the funerary rites of Nobunaga who died in the Honnō-ji incident but also Kokei was later appointed head of Daitoku-ji Sōken'in which Hideyoshi built for the repose of the soul of Nobunaga. However, according to the following histories of Chikuzen Province, the period of Kokei's stay in Hakata had a warm flavour. This chapter examines that time and the reasons for the exile of Kokei.

Chikuzen no Kuni Shoku Fudoki (Kaibara Ekken commenced editing in 1688, Genroku 1)

'There are 24 houses in this town. It has this name because Kokei Oshō once lived there.'

⁴ Included in *Daitoku-ji to Sadō* by Nagashima Fukutarō, Tankōsha.

⁵ TN: For an account of the relationship between Rikyū and Daitokuji, see Gregory P. A. Levine, *Daitokuji: The Visual Cultures of a Zen Monastery*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005.

⁶ (*Kokei Sōchin: Rikyū Sanzen no Shi, Sono Shōgai* [The life of Kokei Sōchin: The Zen Teacher of Rikyū] by Takenuki Genshō, Tankōsha).

Sekijōshi (editing by Tsuda Genko and Tsuda Genkan commenced in 1765, Meiwa 2)

‘In the 16th year of Tenshō, Kokei Oshō, a priest of Kyōto Daitoku-ji, was exiled to Hakata for a certain reason. Built a hermitage and lived there. It was called Daidō-an. Kokei was pardoned and returned to Kyōto later in the 18th year of Tenshō.’

An Appendix of *Chikuzen no Kuni Shoku Fudoki* (Katō Ichijun and Takatori Chikashige started editing from 1784, Tenmei 4)

‘Kokei Oshō was exiled to this province and was pardoned three years later to go back home to Kyōto. The record of Hōkō-ji temple contains the details.’

Chikuzen no Kuni Shoku Fudoki Shūi (*Gleanings*) (Aoyagi Tanenobu commenced editing in 1814 (Bunka 11)

‘Kokei was exiled to Hakata for a certain reason in the 16th year of Tenshō and was pardoned to go back to Kyōto in the 18th year of the same era.’

2. The period during which Kokei Oshō arrived at Hakata

There was an important tea ceremony in relation to the period Kokei was exiled to Hakata. According to *Sadō Shidai Sho*, ‘Rikyū’s tea ceremony with *daisu* tea stand, held at Juraku on the morning of the fourth day of the ninth month, Tenshō 16.’⁷ The location was the four and a half mat room in the Juraku lodgings of Rikyū. The first guest was Shun’oku Sōen from Daitoku-ji temple, other guests were Gyokuho Jōsō, Kokei Sōchin, and Honkakubō Senkō of Miidera temple. But below the name of Kokei, the following is recorded: ‘It is time for him to be in the western region because he has done something bad in front of Taikō.’ In addition, although the names of four guests are listed, after the name of Honkakubō Senkō another annotation reads ‘These

⁷ Cited in the chapter ‘His Life’ in *Rikyū Daijiten* [Encyclopedia of Rikyū] edited by Yonehara Masayoshi, Tankōsha, vol. 1 of *Sukiya Koten Shūsei* [Collection of Classic Sukiya], *Rikyū no Hihō* [Treasure of Rikyū], Shōgakukan).

are the 3 guests.’

This morning tea gathering has been perceived to be important because it was the farewell for Kokei leaving for Kyūshū. However, the following doubts question this interpretation, suggesting that Kokei had already been exiled to Kyūshū at the time of the farewell tea gathering, or that morning tea gathering was an occasion to imaginatively remember Kokei in a faraway place.⁸

Firstly, if it was a farewell ceremony, it is natural that Kokei’s name should be placed after Shun’oku, his senior priest and Kokei must be listed before Gyokuho, his pupil. Secondly, it is reasonable to read ‘It is time for him to be in the western region because he has done something bad in front of Taikō’ as meaning Kokei is actually in the western region. Thirdly, the absence of Kokei is the reason why the annotation reads ‘These are the 3 guests’, despite the list of four names, i.e. Shun’oku, Gyokuho, Kokei and Honkakubō. Fourthly, in one copy (*shabon*) of the analects of Kokei manuscript called *Hoankō*, there is a note saying ‘Boarding in Hakata Myōraku-ji temple in the sixteenth year of Tenshō’ accompanying the poem called ‘Chūshū Kōgō’ written in the Chinese *shichigon zekku* style (a poem of four lines, each with seven characters). This annotation suggests that Kokei was not in Kyōto in the ninth month 1588.

Hoankō is Kokei’s collection of sayings and there are three extant manuscripts: Ryōkōin-bon owned by Ryōkōin temple, Shinjuan-bon owned by Shinjuan temple and Hōshun’an-bon owned by the Historiographical Institute of the University of Tokyo. There is a printed version of the manuscript published as *Murasakino Daikōzen’inzō-ban* in 1804 (Kyōwa 4). Volume 4 of *The Daitoku-ji Collection of Zen Analects* (*Daitoku-ji Zengoroku Shūsei*, edited by Hosoi Katsudō and Hirano Sōjō) uses the printed edition of *Murasakino Daikōzen’inzō-ban* as its original text (held in the collection of Sōfuku-ji temple). According to *The Daitoku-ji Collection of Zen Analects*, if the poem ‘Chūshū Kōgō’ in the Shinjuan-bon version is compared to the original, it

⁸ See, for example, the chapter ‘His Life’ in the above-mentioned book and *Tenkaichi meijin Sen no Rikyū* [Japan’s Supreme Master Sen no Rikyū], both edited by Yonehara, Tankōsha).

reads as follows:

仲秋口号、天正十六年、寄宿於博多妙樂寺、以見作之於是諸徒下語了也
不意生逢三五秋 渺茫寄跡一虛船
月明忽作京城見 飛入羽觴相勸酬

When the marginal notes are compared, in *Hoankō*, on which *Daitoku-ji Zengoroku Shūsei* is based, the annotation reads 'When I lodged in Myōraku-ji temple in Chikuzen' 時寓筑之妙樂寺, while in the Shinjuan-bon version, the note is 'In the sixteenth year of Tenshō, I stayed in Hakata Myōraku-ji temple, I made this poem as I see the moon and the people there who ended talking.'

天正十六年、寄宿於博多妙樂寺、以見作之於是諸徒下語了也

This is a poem Kokei made viewing the full moon on the fifteenth day of the eighth month, the day of harvest moon in 1588 (Tenshō 16) when he was staying in Hakata Myōraku-ji temple. The 'kōgō' expression means the poem was recited freely according to the emotions in his heart at that time. The use of 'ushō' conveys the vigorous exchange of sake cups, as the poetry gathering turned into a drinking party.

As will be explained later, while he was in Hakata, with the supporting assistance of Kamiya Sōtan and Shimai Sōshitsu, Kokei stayed in Daidōan temple which was restored as one of the sub-temples (*tachū*) of Myōraku-ji. But at the time of writing this poem on the fifteenth day of the eighth month 1588, Kokei stayed in Myōraku-ji because the construction of Daidōan was not completed.

There is another poem in *shichigon zekku* style in *Hoankō* (Shinjuan-bon version):

宴箱崎松原、天正十六年 9 月日、宴遊筑前博多松原之次賦之
窮勝窮幽携手来 箱崎佳景憶徂徠
有誰能到寒山句 取拾松風入酒杯

This is the poem Kokei wrote when a tea party was held at Hakozaki Matsubara in Chikuzen Province in the ninth month 1588 (Tenshō 16). This note, 'the ninth month of the sixteenth year of Tenshō, a drinking party at Chikuzen Hakozaki Matsubara, the following Chinese-style verse', "天正十六年 9 月日、宴遊筑前博多松原之次賦之" is found only in the Shinjuan-bon version, not in other versions. If this note

is correct, Kokei must have arrived Hakata before the fifteenth day of the eighth month 1588 (Tenshō 16).

As Yonehara Masayoshi points out in the above mentioned *Tenkaichi meijin Sen no Rikyū*, it is reasonable to interpret the phrase 'It is time for him to be in western region' as meaning that he actually is in the western region of Kyūshū, rather than he is about to go. *Hoankō* (Shinjuan-bon version) is a historical document that powerfully supports this interpretation.

Looking back the situation of Hakata in those days, Hideyoshi accepted Shimazu Yoshihisa's surrender at Taihei-ji temple in Satsuma Sendai on the seventh day of the fifth month 1587 (Tenshō 15) before arriving at Hakozaki on the fourth day of the sixth month and Hideyoshi used the Hakozaki Hachimangū shrine as his army headquarters.

On the seventh day of the sixth month 1587, Hideyoshi divided Kyūshū and allocated portions to each of the assembled feudal lords present. Kobayakawa Takakage received Chikuzen Province and two counties (Ikuha and Takeno) of Chikugo Province. Kuroda Yoshitaka received six counties (Miyako, Nakatsu, Chikujō, Kōge, Shimoge and Usa) of Buzen Province. Mōri Katsunobu received two counties (Kiku and Tagawa) of Buzen Province and Tachibana Muneshige received three counties (Yamato, Mizuma and Miike) of Chikugo Province.

On the eleventh day of the sixth month 1587, Hideyoshi ordered Takigawa Katsutoshi, Nagatsuka Masaie, Yamazaki Kataie, Konishi Yukinaga and Ishida Mitsunari to reconstruct the city of Hakata which had been tattered by the long period of warfare. This urban regeneration is known as *Taikō machi-wari*. Hideyoshi, then left Hakozaki for Kyōto on twenty sixth day of the sixth month 1587.

Having received Chikuzen Province and two counties (Ikuha and Takeno) of Chikugo Province, Kobayakawa Takakage started building a new castle at Najima, on the right bank of the Tatara-gawa river mouth on the twenty fifth day 1588 (Tenshō 16) because Tachibana-jō castle, the mountain castle, was cramped. Kokei was exiled to Hakata in the autumn of this year.

3. The cause of Kokei Oshō's exile to Hakata

It has been said that the cause of Kokei's exile were his conflict with Mitsunari and extreme slander from Mitsunari concerning the building of Tenshō-ji temple as seen in the passages of *Kokei Sōchin Gyōjō* which goes "Ishida Mitsunari, Jibushōyu (Junior Assistant Minister of the Ministry of Civil Administration) and Zōji-bugyō (Magistrate of Temple Construction) didn't get along well with the master (Kokei). Driven by jealousy, Mitsunari slandered him often. Kanpaku (Hideyoshi) didn't consider that."

Tenshō-ji was the temple which had been started to build at Funaoka-yama near Daitoku-ji to dedicate to Emperor Ōgimachi in token of Hideyoshi's gratitude for having been appointed to Kanpaku (chief adviser to the Emperor) in the seventh month of the 13th year of Tenshō (1585). Kokei was invited to be the founder and Ishida Mitsunari was appointed Zoji-bugyo (Magistrate of Temple Construction). In the ninth month of 1585, a tea ceremony for Emperor Ōgimachi was held as another token of gratitude. The theory that pseudonym *Rikyū Koji* given by the Emperor was actually named by Kokei Oshō has been widely accepted (included in the chapter 'His Life' in *Rikyū Daijiten* edited by Yonehara Masayoshi).

Construction of Tenshō-ji progressed very slowly and it ended up unfinished. It has been said that this is because of the feud between Kokei and Mitsunari and that Kokei was exiled to Hakata due to Mitsunari's slander. However, in formerly mentioned *Daitoku-ji to Sadō*, on the grounds that there could not be a conflict between Kokei and Mitsunari judging from *Sōtan Chanoyu Nikki*, the author Nagashima points out the following facts.

As described in Chapter 2 of *Cha no yu and Chikuzen*, on arriving at Kyōto at the end of the eleventh month of the 14th year of Tenshō (1586), Kamiya Sōtan visited Tsuda Sōkyū, a *sadō* tea master employed by Hideyoshi at the time, in his Kyōto residence. He then shaved his head and became an ordained monk in Daitoku-ji Sōken'in under Kokei Oshō's supervision. On the first day of the twelfth month, two days before Sōtan's becoming a priest, Hideyoshi decreed a mobilization order for the Shimazu Conquest. On the third day of the first month of the next year in the 15th year of Tenshō (1587), he held the Great Tea Gathering in Ōsaka-jo castle

commemorating the departure for Kyūshū. Invited to this tea gathering, Sōtan received a special treatment among many feudal lords while being called “Chikushi no bōzu” by Hideyoshi. Hideyoshi was so considerate to Sōtan for the purpose of conciliating Hakata merchants on the occasion of the departure of Hideyoshi for Kyūshū. On the same occasion, Mitsunari served a meal for Sōtan. Nagashima claims that Sōtan mentioned this because Mitsunari was appointed the general magistrate of Kyūshū conquest and that the head shaving ceremony to have the audience with Hideyoshi is thought to be under Mitsunari’s instruction. Nagashima concludes that if Kokei and Mitsunari were falling out with each other, Sōtan’s officiating priest who performed his shaving and entering into the priesthood could not be Kokei.

After these events, on the first day of the third month of the 15th year of Tenshō (1587), Hideyoshi left Ōsaka-jo castle for Kyūshū conquest. He accepted Shimazu Yoshihisa’s surrender at Satsuma and spent about 20 days at Hakozaiki-gū in Chikuzen province. He came home to Ōsaka-jo on the fourteenth day of the seventh month.

On the other hand, Tenzui-ji is the sub-temple of Daitoku-ji hastily started building as the *ihaijo* (site of a Buddhist mortuary tablet) of the Kinoshita clan (the clan of Hideyoshi’s mother) in the sixth month of the 16th year of Tenshō when Ōmandokoro, the biological mother of Hideyoshi and Hidenaga, fell critically ill, and completed in the eighth month of the same year (1588). Hidenaga worked as general magistrate, Asano Nagamasa and Ishida Mitsunari worked as the magistrates. The founder was Gyokuchū Sōshū. The service to celebrate the completion of the temple which Hideyoshi attended with his mother who had recovered from illness was said to be splendid. In the formerly mentioned book, Nagashima says “Tenzui-ji was allowed *jigō* (a title, literally, “temple name”) and granted 300 *koku* of estate. It was the biggest temple in the precinct of Daitoku-ji and the sliding screen paintings were done by Kanō Eitoku. Moreover, the founder was Gyokuchū Oshō. There were possibilities of arguments.” He assumes that conflict between Mitsunari and Kokei must have occurred over something related to the construction of Tenzui-ji.

In the above-mentioned *Tenkaichi meijin Sen no Rikyū*, the author Yonehara

didn't deny the Mitsunari slander theory written in *Kokei Sōchin Gyōjō*.

As seen above, the cause of Kokei's exile is assumed to be the slander of Mitsunari originating from the dissension between them. And considering that the date Kokei arrived at Hakata was before the 15th day of the eighth month in the 16th year of Tenshō as discussed above, the time he received Hideyoshi's exile order is thought to be before the eighth month of the same year (1588), more than a month before the celebration service of Tenzui-ji. There is a three-year gap between the beginning of the construction of Tenshō-ji and the exile. Hideyoshi had to undertake a grand project to suppress Kyūshū in this period. Whereas, the gap between the celebration service of Tenzui-ji and Kokei's exile is very close in time. If there was dissension between Kokei and Mitsunari, it must have been about the construction of Tenzui-ji, not about that of Tenshō-ji.

For your information, the building of Tenzui-ji temple is nowhere to be seen now. It was wound up in 11th year of Meiji (1878) and merged with Daitoku-ji in the seventh month of the 22th year of the same era (*Murasakino Daitoku-ji* by Satō Torao, the 6th volume of 'Sadō Bunko, Kawahara Shoten').

4. Kokei Oshō in Hakata

In Hakata, Kokei had Sōtan who respected him as a mentor priest and Sōkei who became very close with him through Rikyū and Imai Sōkyū. These two merchants welcomed Kokei in Daidōan, the sub-temple of Myōraku-ji which they reconstructed for the priest.

Incidentally, Myōraku-ji is now located in Gokusho-machi near Hakata station, but it used to be in Okinohama on Hakata Bay. It was founded in the 5th year of Shōwa (1316) by Getsudō Sōki, a disciple of Daiō Kokushi (Nampo Jōmin). The *sangō* temple title Sekijōzan (literally, mountain of stone castle) derives from the stone mounds built along Hakata Bay in preparation for the Mongol Invasion. The temple had become one of the most important bases for trade with the Chinese Ming dynasty. Its outer gate was called "Chō'onkaku" and inner gate "Donpekirō" but all the buildings of the temple were burnt down by the great fire in Hakata in the 7th year

of Tenmon (1538). It was reconstructed in the same place but was moved to its present location by Kuroda Nagamasa after he entered Chikuzen in the 5th year of Keichō (1600). The tomb of Kamiya Sōtan is inside the Myōraku-ji compound.

In the section of 16th year of Tenshō in *Sōtan Chanoyu Nikki* (from *Sōtan Nikki*, included in volume 6 of *Sadō Koten Zenshū* [The complete collection of classic literature on Japanese tea ceremony]), the circumstances of the tea ceremony in Daidōan was described as follows:

The morning, the twelfth day of the eleventh month.

Kokei Oshō had a ceremony at Daidōan. The guests were Sōtan and two others. A tea container arrived from Kyōto. It was *kuchi-kiri*.

In the morning ceremony of the twelfth day of the eleventh month, two guests other than Sōtan was there to join *kuchi-kiri* tea ceremony in which Kokei opened the tea container sent from Kyōto.

Kuchi-kiri means the tea serving procedure where tea is made from the freshly ground leaves that have been stored in the container since being harvested in spring (see p. 117).

The morning, the twenty first day of the eleventh month.

Kokei Oshō had a ceremony at Daidōan. The guests were Mōri Ikinokami and Sōtan. It was an all day talk from the morning.

The main guest of this day was Mōri Ikinokami Katsunobu, the lord of Buzen Kokura-jō castle and Sōtan was a companion. It seems that it became an all day meeting chatting over tea.

The morning, twenty sixth day of the eleventh month

Kokei Oshō had a ceremony and a treat at Daidōan. The guests were Shun Kurōdo and Sōtan.

Shun Kurōdo and Sōtan were invited. Shun Kurōdo could be a messenger of Shun'oku Sōen, the officiating priest of Kokei.

In *Hoankō*, we find that Kokei answered the Shun'oku inquiry about Kokei's exiled life with the following poem:

独携烟雨任吟遊 客況寥々万里船

旧恨別來何日尽 一声新雁海門秋

Hitori, en'u wo tazusaete, gin'yū ni ninzu. Kyakukyō (situation of the place on the journey), *ryōryōtoshite banri no fune. Kyūkon betsurai, izure no hi ka tsukin. Hitokoe no shingan, kaimon no aki.*

我記長安城裏遊 夢回欸乃一声舟

可憐不似繁花地 紅寥白蘋葦荻秋

Ware wa shirusu, chōan jōri no asobi. Yume wa mawaru, aidai (the sound of voices called when rowing a boat) *issei no fune. Awaremubeshi hanka no chi ni nizaru wo. Kōryō, hakuhi, roteki no chi.*

Kokei came down to Hakata thinking that it was a busy town, but he lamented that it was full of *tade* (a plant of the polygonum genus), floating grasses, and reeds. Back then the town of Hakata didn't seem to have been restored after the devastation of the fire attack of Shimazu troops in the 14th year of Tenshō (1586).

On the fifth day of the fourth month of the 17th year of Tenshō, Kokei attended the Kaizan-ki (anniversary of the temple-founder's death) of Shōfuku-ji temple. The tower of Senkōso (Yōsai) was reconstructed and Kokei offered a celebratory *gatha* (ritual Buddhist poem). (Vol. 1 of *Fukuoka-han-bunka, Tsūshi-hen, Fukuoka-ken-shi*)

In summer of the same year, a vassal of Mōri Terumoto who came from Hakata to Kyōto handed Rikyū letters from the two *shuso* (the leader of monks practicing asceticism) who were also exiled to Hakata with Kokei. Rikyū was pleased to see the letters which told about Kokei's safety and responded to the two *shuso* on the first day of the fifth month of the 17th year of Tenshō as follows (included in "*Rikyū no*

Tegami”):

Hoan-sama, sonotsu ni oite, tada ima, go anjū no mune, ōse kosare sōrō.
Manzoku seshime sōrō. Ryō san'nin, mezurashikarazu sōrō to iedomo,
goshinrō, onkimoiri sasshi tatematsuri sōrō. (Reverend Hoan, they told
me that you were leading a peaceful life over there in the port town. I am
satisfied with that. For the three of you, it may not be a rare situation, still I
feel hardship and worry for you.)

‘*Hoan-sama*’ means Kokei and ‘*sonotsu*’ means Hakata. This shows that Rikyū felt relieved to know that Kokei was living peacefully. These sentences are followed by the passage ‘*Takakage emo kimoiri no yoshi nite, honmō konokoto ni sōrō.* (I heard that Takakage also cared about you. This is what I really wanted.)’ From this, we understand that Rikyū was pleased to know that Kokei was under the patronage of Kobayakawa Takakage who was the feudal lord of Hakata.

Furthermore, in the same letter, it writes ‘*Kan sama, goshinsoko iyoioyo, yawaragi besshite shikarubeku sōrō jō, okokoro yasukarubeku sōrō. Okizukai naku, sonomoto, gokan'nin, mottomo ni sōrō. Oshō sama nimo migi no mune mōshiage sōrō.* (The discomfort of the advisor to the emperor (Hideyoshi) is notably alleviated. Please reassure yourself. Please don't worry. Your patience is understandable. I will tell the reverend as I wrote here). It had been eight months since he got exiled, the anger of Hideyoshi seemed pacified.

Soon after this exchange of letters, Kokei received the forgiveness of Hideyoshi. Rikyū's effort to pardon Kokei played a great role in this deed.

As the material showing the date of Kokei's pardon, we have a letter dated the 18th day of the 17th year of Tenshō (1586) from Kobayakawa Takakage, which has been kept in Beizan-ji, his family temple in Mihara city, Hiroshima. The letter is cut before the name of the recipient, but from the content, it was apparently addressed to Kokei Oshō.

態得尊意候。内々宗易御肝煎之故、一昨日可有御帰寺旨、関白様被仰出候条、
即時 御迎舟進之候。於様子者、大徳寺並宗易ヨリ被仰下候間、不能詳候。恐惶
謹言。

小早川左衛門左

七月十八日

隆景（花押）

Under the secret auspices of Sōeki, the advisor to the emperor (Hideyoshi) announced your coming back to the temple the day before yesterday. This is why I have sent a boat hurriedly to pick you up. There will come a notification from Daitoku-ji or Sōeki, I would like to refrain from telling you the details.

As the letter mentions, the day Kokei was pardoned was the sixteenth day of the seventh month, two days before the letter was sent. Takakage prepared a boat for him at once.

However, Kokei's exile didn't seem to have a dismal or oppressive mood unlike the typically lonely exclusions. Kokei received warm hospitality from Sōtan and Sōshitsu as well as the patronage of Kobayakawa Takakage. There also were the attractions of Sūfuku-ji and Shōfuku-ji in Hakata, where Zen Buddhism in Japan started and Sūfuku-ji is the temple which Shun'oku Sōen, Kokei's officiating priest, once served as chief priest. As you can see from above, Kokei's exile was quite different from the usual social isolation.

In *Sōtan Chanoyu Nikki*, the following entry is Kokei's last tea gathering in Hakata.

The morning, the second day of the eighth month in the year of the Ox
Kokei Oshō had a tea meeting at Daidōan

此数寄、付落 （About this tea ceremony, I missed adding）

The last phrase '此数寄、付落' means that he missed writing the details of this tea gathering.

The return of Kokei to Kyōto pleased even Hideyoshi, even though he was the one who had exiled Kokei. In the formerly mentioned Rikyū letter to Sōshitsu and Sōtan dated the fifth day of the ninth month (of the 17th year of Tenshō), Rikyū wrote as follows (*Teihon Sen no Rikyū no Shokan* [Complete collection of letters from Sen no Rikyū]);

This time, Lord Hideyoshi told the three of us, Minpō (Maeda Gen'i), Yakuin (Seyakuin Zensō) and I, about Kokei Oshō's returning to Kyōto. Hideyoshi was beaming with joy saying that he would assign a new temple for Kokei, make him a chief priest of it and treat Kokei with a feast. Judging from the look, it is very likely that you would receive this treatment. So please rest assured. I will let you know further details later. Stated in a humble and respectful manner.

fifth day of the ninth month

Rikyū

Sōeki (Seal)

Elder Sōshitsu

Elder Sōtan

Hideyoshi himself exiled Kokei to Kyūshū but it seems that he had done so in a fit of anger. Once he decided to pardon Kokei, thanks partly to Rikyū's petition, he expressed his pleasure and even tried to make Kokei the chief priest of a new temple. Rikyū wrote how Hideyoshi had been at the time and concluded the letter by telling Kokei to be assured.

In this year (1589), Rikyū made a long-desired donation of a *sanmon* (temple gate) to Daitoku-ji, of which Shun'oku Sōen performed the completion ceremony on the fifth day of the twelfth month. Rikyū also gave a Buddhist memorial service of the fiftieth anniversary of the death of his father, Icchū Ryōsen (Sen no Yohei) at Jukōin temple on the eighth day of the same month. The leading priest of this

ceremony was Kokei Sōchin. We don't know exactly when Kokei left Hakata but it should have before the beginning of twelfth month of the 17th year of Tenshō (1589).

However, in *Kokei Sōchin gyōjō*, it is written that 'He went back to his temple in the 18th year of Tenshō' for some unknown reason. According to the previously mentioned book, *Kokei Sōchin: Rikyū Sanzen no Shi, Sono Shōgai*, the author Takenuki pointed out that the year Kokei was granted the pardon is possibly interpreted to be the 18th year of Tenshō, admitting that his return to Kyōto should be the tenth or eleventh month of 17th year, which is before the service commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Rikyū's father. The reason why local history documents say 'He returned to Kyōto in the 18th year (*'Sekijōshī*, *'Chikuzen no Kuni Shoku Fudoki Shūi*)' or 'He returned home about three years later (*Chikuzen no Kuni Shoku Fudoki Furoku*)' may be because *Kokei Sōchin gyōjō* notes that date. Still, there is no doubt that Kokei performed the leading role in the service of the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Ichū Ryōsen. He is thought to have left Hakata earlier than the beginning of the eleventh month.

The 18th year of Tenshō (1590) is the year of the Siege of Odawara and Rikyū followed the army. On the first day of the third month, Hideyoshi left Kyōto and in the first month, he encircled Odawara-jo Castle which Hōjō Ujimasa and his son Ujinao were holding. On the fifth day of the seventh month, Ujinao surrendered. Hideyoshi advanced his forces to the Ōu region after that. Rikyū went back to Kyōto from Odawara separated from Hideyoshi. Hideyoshi made his triumphant return to Kyōto on the first day of the ninth month. It may be for the celebration of Hideyoshi's triumph that Sōtan came up to Kyōto. He was invited to Rikyū's *shoin daisu* style tea ceremony at noon of the tenth day of the ninth month, followed by the tea gathering at Daitoku-ji performed by Gyokuho Oshō along with Kokei Oshō on twentieth day of the same month.

On the twenty second day of the first month of the next year, Toyotomi Hidenaga, the chief councillor of state and a younger brother of Hideyoshi, died. Hidenaga is the one who said "Sōeki (Rikyū) will handle all personal matters and the prime minister (I) will take care of all the official business", followed by the words

“Nothing bad will happen to you.” (*Ōtomo Sōteki Jōhan Nikki* [Diary of Ōtomo Sōteki visiting Ōsaka], included in Ōtomo Family Documents). As symbolized in those phrases, Hidenaga and Rikyū are like wheels of a vehicle. The death of Hidenaga meant the loss of one side. It also meant a loss of patronage for Rikyū. The leading priest of Hidenaga’s funeral was Kokei again.

From around the twentieth day of the first month of the 19th year of Tenshō (1591), the enshrinement of a wooden statue of Rikyū within the *sanmon* gate of Daitoku-ji Temple began to cause trouble and on the thirteenth day of the second month, Rikyū was banished to Sakai on Hideyoshi’s order. Had Hidenaga survived he might have mediated between the two and the situation may have developed differently. Rikyū’s statue was crucified on the rail of Ichijō Modori-bashi bridge and Rikyū himself was called back to Kyōto to enter Juraku Yashiki. Rikyū died from seppuku (suicide by disembowelment) in the morning of the twenty eighth day of the second month after having a *ippuku ichie* (a once in a lifetime bowl of tea) tea ceremony.

In the winter of the 20th year of Tenshō (1592), Kokei was invited by Hideyoshi as the founder of the temple called Daikōin in Yamato Kōriyama province which Hideyoshi built to pray for the soul of Hidenaga, and Kokei stayed there for a year.

Later, in the eight month of the 1st year of Keichō (1596), Kokei revived after falling critically ill, but on the seventeenth day of the first month of the next year, he entered nirvana at the age of 66. The title he was given by the Emperor Goyōzei was Daiji Kōshō Zenji. His grave is in Daisen-in temple within Daitoku-ji. On the eighteenth day of the fifth month the following year came Hideyoshi’s death.

5. Kokei-sui

In *Sekijō-shi* edited by Tsuda Genko and Tsuda Genkan in the 2nd year of Meiwa (1765), there is a description of *Kokei-sui* in the section about Hōkō-ji as follows:

At the time of his returning to Kyōto, as a token of gratitude to people around him, he made symbolic signs representing water with his fingers and

dig a well there. Thus, they have been protected against fire. This may be the reason why they say their houses around here have never burnt down. Or they say in a legend that when a fire brakes out, a monk appears from somewhere and prevents the fire from spreading. Now a statue with fingers in the well-digging pose has been enshrined in that temple.

Hōkō-ji is a Jōdo (Pure Land) sect temple built on the ruins of Daidō-ji in later years. According to *Chikuzen no Kuni Shoku Fudoki Furoku*, the building of this temple was made of timber that came from Shōrin-ji temple dismantled in the 3rd year of Jōō (1654), more than 60 years after Kokei's leaving Hakata, by Kuroda Tadayuki, the second feudal lord of Fukuoka domain. The founder was Jōyo Tekidō, the second chief priest of Shōrin-ji and he settled down as the chief priest of Hōkō-ji. Chōyo, the fourth chief priest, carved the wooden statue of Kokei and enshrined it in the temple newly built to house it. (*Chikuzen no Kuni Shoku Fudoki Shūi*)

The well Kokei dug had been always full of clean water but later it was ruined. Nishifuji Tokuzō, a Hakata merchant, repaired and renovated it and raised a monument with words '*Kokei sui no hi*' (The monument for the water of Kokei)' written by Jikuhō Shōkai Oshō, the priest of Myōraku-ji. At the end of inscription, it reads as follows (*Fukuoka-ken hi-shi Chikuzen no bu* [The history of monuments in Fukuoka Prefecture: Chikuzen Province] edited by Arai Kaneo, Daidōgakkan shuppan-bu, note: original is written in Chinese):

The well is called 'Kokei sui'. The stones of the well were damaged as time went on. In spring of the 8th year of Bunka, also the year of Shin-bi in the Chinese astrological calendar (1811), the great merchant Nishifuji Tokuzō lamentably dropped his fortune and repaired the inside and outside of the well, restoring it with beautiful stones. How good his intention was. I wrote this as he had had relationships with my temple Daidō-an, and he asked me to write how this well came about.

As we can see from the description on *Sekijōshi* or *Kokei sui no hi*, the well drew many worshippers as the sacred well to prevent fire. Hōkō-ji temple used to distribute Kokei *sui* talismans as the protection against fire before WWII. However, Hōkō-ji was burnt down by the Fukuoka Air Raid in June of the 20th year of Shōwa (1945) and abandoned since the area formerly known as Kokei-machi has undergone a drastic transformation with the construction of new streets and road widening.

Kokei *sui* talismans have been revived and distributed by the organization called 'Kokei-Kai' composed of the residents of former Kokei-machi to this day. In addition, Kokei-kai also restored the statue of Kokei burnt down by the fires of war and enshrined it in the nearby Jōdo (Pure Land) sect temple, Kannon-ji. Since the seventeenth day of the first month is the day of Kokei's death, on the seventeenth day of the first, fifth and ninth month of each year, people gather in Kannon-ji to remember Kokei's high virtue. I have attended the ceremony a couple of times.

On the other hand, the Kokei-sui well buried in the rubble caused by the air raid was rebuilt and refurbished in the precincts of Myōraku-ji located in Gokusho-machi, Hakata-ku, Fukuoka-shi in October of the 10th year of Heisei (1998) to mark the 400th anniversary of Kokei's death. On the new granite monument next to the well, the same words inscribed on the defunct *Kokei sui no hi* (The monument for the water of Kokei), 'Built in the 8th year of Bunka (1811) by Hakata merchant Nishifuji Tokuzō', are inscribed. Additionally, the monument of 'Daidō-an' inscribed with copied handwritten characters of Kokei was built in Naraya-machi 4, Hakata-ku, Fukuoka-shi, near former Kokei-machi, in May of the 12th year of Heisei (2000).

As seen above, in the process of identifying the period Kokei stayed in Hakata, I can't help realizing how influential this priest was on the people of Hakata. Although the period he stayed in Hakata was only a year or so from the eighth month of the 16th year of Tenshō (1588) until the tenth or eleventh month of the next year, his story has been handed down by the people of Kokei-machi over 400 years and even the ceremony to remember his virtue continues to be held until now.