

## 【翻訳】

## Chanoyu and Kobayakawa Takakage

(An annotated translation of the fourth 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. Three previous papers are translations of the first three chapters of *Cha no yu to Chikuzen*: Chapter One deals with the history of the tea kettles of Ashiya; Chapter Two examines the documents that sustain the mythology of the Hakozaki tea gathering where Rikyū hung a tea kettle from a pine tree; and Chapter Three surveys the 1588 exile of Kokei Sōchin (1532-1597) to Hakata. This translation of the fourth chapter examines Kobayakawa Takakage's transfer to Chikuzen province, Hideyoshi inviting Takakage to a tea gathering, the ruins of Najima-jō castle and the Najima Benzaiten-sha Shrine, and tea gatherings held in Najima and Hakozaki. This fourth chapter concludes with some

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comments about the legacy of Takakage in Chikuzen.

## Keywords

Kobayakawa Takakage (小早川 隆景 1533-1597), Toyotomi Hideyoshi (豊臣秀吉 1537-1598), Akizuki Tanezane (秋月 種実 1548-1596), Hakozaki Hachiman Shrine 筥崎宮, Toyotomi Hidenaga (豊臣 秀長 1540-1591) Narashiba Katatsuki *cha ire* 檜柴肩衝茶入, Shimazu Yoshihisa (島津義久 1533-1611), *gozasho* 御座所, Kamiya Sōtan (神屋宗湛 1553-1635), *Sōtan Chanoyu Nikki* 「宗湛茶湯日記」, Shimai Sōshitsu (嶋井宗室 1539-1615), Oda Nagamasa (Yūroku) (織田 長益, 1548-1622), Kuroda Nagamasa (黒田 長政 1568-1623), Hiraoka Kōtarō 平岡浩太郎 (1851-1906), 大日本茶道学会, 茶道文化学術賞<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Translator's note (hereafter TN): This paper is a translation and adaptation of the fourth 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』. That book was written for a non-specialist audience with an interest in tea history and was published by 海鳥社 in 2010. Translations of later chapters will follow. The referencing conventions of non-specialist Japanese publications often list only the author and publication, without any precise page numbers being given. 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. There is some repetition as the original text includes quotations from archaic documents that Matsuoka renders into contemporary Japanese. Although the Japanese convention is to list all of any multiple number of points as 一, I have listed them as 1, 2, 3, etc. 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), as well as the *kencha* rites performed at Munakata Taisha by Takiguchi Sōhō on the third day of the tenth month each year. I would like to acknowledge the generous co-operation of Matsuoka Hirokazu, the timely assistance of Watanabe Seiiku in providing a series of drafts, 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.

## Chanoyu and Kobayakawa Takakage

### 1. Takakage's transfer to Chikuzen province

The day Hideyoshi departed Ōsaka for Kyūshū to subjugate Shimazu was the first day of the third month of the 15th year of Tenshō (1587). On the twenty eighth day of the same month, he reached Moji, the northern end of Kyūshū, and split into two groups from there. The forces of Hidenaga, the brother of Hideyoshi, went on to Bungo province and Hyūga province. Hideyoshi's main army went through Buzen Umagadake-jō castle (in present day Miyako-gun of Yukuhashi city) and captured Ganjaku-jō (in present day Tagawa-gun) which was the branch castle of Akizuki Tanezane in only one day on the first day of the fourth month 1587. Tanezane had his head shaven and entered the priesthood before surrendering with his legitimate son Tanenaga.<sup>2</sup> On this occasion, the act of Tanezane offering Hideyoshi the thick tea container called Narashiba Katatsuki saved his life.<sup>3</sup> Hideyoshi passed through Kōrasan in Kurume as his forces advanced to Nankan, Kumamoto, Udo, Izumi and Akune.

In the fifth month of the same year (1587), Shimazu Yoshihisa surrendered at Taihei-ji temple in Satsuma Sendai. After that, Hideyoshi went to Hakozaki by way of Dazaifu and Hakata and made Hakozaki Hachimangū his *gozasho* (a luxurious base for a noble man).<sup>4</sup> For roughly twenty days until his twenty sixth day of the sixth month departure, he stayed at Hakozaki. During his stay, Hideyoshi allocated the positions of the Kyūshū daimyō. According to a *shuinjō* document dated the twenty

<sup>2</sup> TN: For an account of the role of Akizuki Tanezane in eventually building support for the Toyotomi regime in Kyushu, see Andrew Cobbing, *Kyushu: Gateway to Japan: A Concise History* (Folkstone: Global Oriental, 2008), pp. 163-164.

<sup>3</sup> TN: For an account of the development of Korean tea bowls, framed against the background of the interaction between Hideyoshi and Akizuki Tanezane following the 1587 advance of Hideyoshi into Kyūshū, see Nam-lin Hur, 'Korean Tea Bowls (*Kōrai chawan*) and Japanese *Wabicha*: A Story of Acculturation in Premodern North-east Asia', *Korean Studies*, Vol. 39 (2015), pp. 1-22.

<sup>4</sup> TN: For a psychological analysis of Hakozaki Hachiman and its Shintō rituals, see E. Leslie Williams, *Spirit Tree: Origins of Cosmology in Shintō Ritual at Hakozaki* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2007).

fifth day of the sixth month, Hideyoshi granted Kobayakawa Takakage Chikuzen province, the Ikuha and Takeno counties of Chikugo province and half of the Kii and Yabu counties of Hizen province in exchange for Iyo province formerly owned by Takakage.<sup>5</sup> Hideyoshi also assigned Akizuki Tanenaga to Hyūga Takarabe and gave three counties of Shimo Chikugo to Tachibana Muneshige. Hideyoshi gave Miike county to Takahashi Munemasu, the son of Takahashi Jōun. Hideyoshi allocated three counties of Kami Chikugo province to Kobayakawa Tōshirō Hidekane, the younger brother of Takakage and Chikugo Kōzuma county to Chikushi Hirokado. Those who became local lords of Chikugo province, Tachibana Muneshige, Kobayakawa Hidekane and Chikushi Hirokado, were all appointed assistants to Takakage. Then, on the twenty sixth day of the sixth month (1587), Hideyoshi left Hakozaki for Ōsaka by way of Aoyagi and Akama (*Kuroda Kafu*).

Kobayakawa Takakage was originally the third son of Mōri Motonari. His eldest brother Takamoto was ten years older and the next brother Motoharu was three years older than Takakage. Takakage inherited Takehara Kobayakawa clan who had been the local lords of Aki province in the 13th year of Tenmon. In the 19th year of the same era, Takakage unified the two branches of the Kobayakawa clan by becoming the successor to the branch of another local lord Numata Kobayakawa. Mōri Motonari is well known for ‘The Tale of Three Arrows.’<sup>6</sup> In *Mōri Motonari Kyōkunjō*, the source of the famous tale, he preaches ‘Though Motoharu and Takakage succeeded other clans, you must never make light of or forget the name of Mōri, your family of birth. If the Mōri clan is impregnable, you can lead the people of

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<sup>5</sup> TN: For a sense of how the relationship between Hideyoshi and Takakage developed, refer to the role of Kobayakawa Takakage in Hideyoshi’s campaign to invade Korea during the 1590s, see Mani Kitajima, ‘The Imjin Waeran: Contrasting the first and second invasions of Korea’, in James B. Lewis (ed.), *The East Asian War, 1592-1598: International Relations, Violence and Memory* (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 73-92.

<sup>6</sup> TN: For an account of how Kurosawa adapted this three arrows tale for the screen, see Peter Wild, *Akira Kurosawa* (Islington: Reaktion Books, 2014), p. 166. See also the synopsis and background survey of *Ran* in Robert Niemi, *100 Great War Movies: The Real History Behind the Films* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2018), pp. 258-261.

the Kikkawa and Kobayakawa clans as you like, backed by the Mōri influence.’ It seems that Takakage was a commander who complied faithfully with his father’s teachings and never forgot to support the Mōri clan.

When Takakage received the Hideyoshi proposal to govern the Chikuzen and Chikugo provinces before it was officially offered, supposedly apprehensive about being taken away from Mōri territory, he expressed an intention to initially decline the offer by saying ‘I cannot bear the burden of ruling the additional Chikugo and Chikuzen provinces, because even now I am afraid of not being able to carry out the public services of the area belonging to the three clans of Mōri, Kikkawa and Kobayakawa clan that stretches across seven or eight provinces in Chugoku region.’ (*Kobayakawa Takakage* by Watanabe Yūsuke and Kawakami Tasuke)

In this chapter, I want to look into the relationship between Takakage and *chanoyu* when he is in Chikuzen, based on the materials including the *Sōtan Chanoyu Nikki* material (from *Sōtan Nikki*, included in volume 6 of *Sadō Koten Zenshū* [The complete collection of classic Sadō literature]).

## 2. The tea gathering to which Hideyoshi invited Takakage

Although it is not known from when Takakage began to enjoy *chanoyu*, his first meeting with Rikyū is thought to be on the twelfth month of Tenshō 13 (1585) when the Mōri clan entered Ōsaka-jo castle to have an audience with Hideyoshi. For Takakage, the visit was also to express his appreciation for being granted Iyo province as a reward for his contribution to the conquest of Shikoku. Kikkawa Motonaga who succeeded Kikkawa Motoharu and a messenger of Mōri Terumoto from the head family accompanied Takakage.

It was the Shikoku conquest in which the Mori clan first combined forces with Hideyoshi, but typically that was not enough reason for the effusive welcome of Hideyoshi. Hideyoshi compelled Kuroda Yoshitaka to visit Takakage and the Motonaga entourage in Saijō Dōjō where they stayed after they arrived at the port of Sakai on the nineteenth day of the twelfth month of the same year (1585). Hideyoshi also made Hashiba Hidenaga and Hidetsugu go meet them in Tennōji after they left

Sakai for Ōsaka on the twenty first.

Concerning the itinerary of Takakage's party, we have a copy of the letter written on the twenty sixth day of the twelfth month of Tenshō 13 (1585), by Kikkawa Tsuneyasu who was a member of the retinue of Motonaga, addressed to Kuri Morikatsu who was a castle guard of Shinjō Hinoyama-jō which was Tsuneyasu's home castle (included in 'Kikkawa Jōrin Tsuneyasu shōjō Utsushi' [Copied letters of Kikkawa Jōrin Tsuneyasu] in No. 102 of Iwami Kikkawa-ke Bunsho, *Iewake Dai Nihon Kobunsho Dai 9*).

We are in fine spirits. Please don't worry about us. It is an honor to be a companion on this journey. You may guess how hard my task is.

Brief notes follow.

1. On the twenty first, the two lords (Lord Takakage and Lord Motonaga) arrived at Ōsaka. Soon Kampaku came to see them. After having a meal of 7, 5 and 3 dishes and music, the two lords saw the golden tea room and we were able to see it, too. It was a three-mat room with an alcove. It was quite a surprise.

1. On the twenty second, Minono Kami (Hashiba Hidenaga) invited us to a tea gathering.

1. On the twenty third, Kampaku invited us to a tea gathering.

1. On the twenty fourth, Miyoshi Magoshichi (Toyotomi Hidetsugu) invited us to a performance of noh. It was a program of seven acts but since the weather was bad, it ended with the third act. We bid farewell each other and our lords left before dawn on the twenty fifth. We were released earlier than we thought. Now we rejoice both officially and privately.

1. As we wanted to go to Kōya-san, we stay here. We will be back home in two days. 期面賀可申承候 Very truly yours.

Twenty sixth day of the twelfth month

Sennyūsai Jōrin

Kuri Morikatsu 参人々申給へ

Takakage's party met Hideyoshi after arriving at Ōsaka on the twenty first day of the twelfth month of Tenshō 13 (1585). They were shown the all-gold tea room. It seems that Kikkawa Tsuneyasu, the writer of the letter was given the privilege of being able to see that tea room. He wrote "It was a three-mat room with an alcove. It was quite a surprise."

The next day, on the twenty second day of the twelfth month, they were invited to the tea gathering of Minono Kami, Hashiba Hidenaga. Hidenaga was a younger brother and the competent assistant (*hosayaku*) of Hideyoshi. Hidenaga acted as the general of the army in the conquest of Shikoku. On the twenty third, they then were invited to the tea gathering of the regent Hideyoshi. On the twenty fourth, Miyoshi Magoshichi, later Toyotomi Hidetsugu, invited them to a noh performance. After this, Takakage and Motonaga were entertained with tea and noh before leaving Ōsaka before dawn on the twenty fifth day of the twelfth month.

Urahayōbu Munekatsu, who was a commander of Kobayakawa naval forces, also accompanied Takakage and left another detailed record of these incidents. The document is called 'Urahayōbu Kikioboegaki' and a copy of the document has been preserved as volume 71 of *Yoshida Gondō Bunko* in the Yamaguchi Prefectural Archives. Further, the document is also included in the Segawa Hideo book, *Kikkawa Motoharu* under the identical 'Urahayōbu Kikioboegaki' name, as a quotation from *Yoshida Kafu*. The book depicts the tea gathering of Hideyoshi on the twenty fourth day of the twelfth month in detail as follows:

On the twenty fourth, the regent offered tea for us. The tea house was the size of four and a half mats and had a thatched roof and a garden with the atmosphere of mountain village. In the room, he had a hanging scroll with the black and white picture of a doll house by 珊瑚. The tea kettle was a masterpiece called Hōroku. There was a *daisu* tea shelf with a white *haku-tenmoku* bowl on Kazu no Dai on it. On the *daisu*, there was the kettle on

the base. There was also the tea caddy called Nitari Nasu from the Bungo region. That tea caddy was on a carved tray also on the *daisu* and it was empty. The vase was a masterpiece called *sorori no hanaire* owned by Jōō and a metal water container was placed also on the *daisu*. The server of the tea was a tea master from Sakai called Sōkyū. The bowl was another masterpiece called *Ido no chawan*, which had been owned by the Tsutsui clan. The tea was put in a large tea canister called *Shijyukkoku* and later in the precious Katatsuki tea caddy. They were called seven masterpieces and even Sen no Sōeki, the tea master attending Hideyoshi, was seeing five of them for the first time.<sup>7</sup>

The document said “The tea house was four and a half mat size and had a thatched roof and a garden with the atmosphere of mountain village.” When he built the Ōsaka-jō castle, Hideyoshi created an area called Yamazato-maru which had the

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<sup>7</sup> TN: The following two quotations define this tea shelf which is used for the most formal serving procedures in shrines and temples by the Sadō Nambō Ryū school of tea. ‘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), *kensui* (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.

Citing *Chajidan*, Sen Sōshitsu links the *daisu* with Murata Jūkō (Shukō) and not Rikyū. According to Sen, the relevant temple is Sūfukuji and not Shōfukuji 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 Kyūshū. (Note: Ankokuzan Shōfukuji is in Hakozaiki, 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 Jūkō 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.



atmosphere of a mountain village within the castle and built a thatched tea house in a rustic and simple style. That atmosphere was the antithesis of the luxurious comfort of the castle tower or the gorgeous golden tea room.

According to *Sōkyū takaiki* in *Ten'nōjiya Kaiki* (included in volume 7 of *Sadō Koten Zenshū* (complete collection of classical literature on Japanese tea gathering), the first tea gathering after Hideyoshi entered Ōsaka-jō was held on the second day of the seventh month of Tenshō 11 (1583). It seems that Hideyoshi had left the castle in Yamazaki before this incident in the sixth month and entered Ōsaka-jō. The new castle was not really habitable back then. It was before the full-scale construction started on the first day of the ninth month of the same year. Hideyoshi just started to build the castle tower and the main building as the first phase of construction and the main building was completed sometime around the fourth month of Tenshō 13 (1585).

Hideyoshi seems to have hurried to complete Yamazato-maru. It was finished at the end of Tenshō 11 (1583), the year he entered the castle. He held an opening gathering of the tea house in Yamazato-maru on the third day of the first month of the next year (1584) (*Sōkyū takaiki*).

Observing the tea gathering Hideyoshi had for Takakage: the hanging scroll on the alcove wall was a ink painting by 珊瑚, tea kettle was a masterpiece called Hōroku. On the *daisu* stand, there was a *haku-tenmoku* bowl on Kazu no Dai and an eggplant shaped tea caddy called Nitari Nasu from the Bungo region, namely from Ōtomo Sōrin. The tea caddy contained no tea powder and was placed on a carved tray also on top shelf of the *daisu*. On the lower shelf of the *daisu*, a masterpiece flower vase in the *sorori* style previously owned by Takeno Jōō and a metal water container were placed. The person who made tea was Tsuda Sōkyū from Sakai.

The *karamono* tea bowl was another masterpiece called Ido Chawan which was offered to Hideyoshi by Tsutsui Junkei who used to be the owner of it. The tea leaves were stored in the large tea canister (*cha tsubo*) called Shijukkoku and tea powder

was put into the *katatsuki* tea caddy after the leaves were ground.<sup>8</sup> There were seven masterpieces and even Rikyū seemed to be inspecting five of them for the first time. At any rate, judging from the detailed description of tea utensils in this document, the navy commander called Munekatsu must be a tea connoisseur.

In addition, the Nitari Nasu tea caddy was a piece that Ōtomo Sōrin of Bungo had bought for five thousand *kan* and Hideyoshi subsequently bought that and the Nitta Katatsuki tea caddy for ten thousand *kan*. The Shijukkoku tea canister was a masterpiece able to contain seven and a half *kin* (900g) of tea with the name coming from the story in which a tea master in Kyōto bought it for the rice fields producing a yield of forty *koku* a year.<sup>9</sup> It belonged to the category of Higashiyama Gyomotsu, meaning it was originally one the treasures of former Shōgun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, and Hideyoshi obtained this tea canister in Tenshō 5 (1577).

After conquering Kyūshū, Hideyoshi held an extravagant tea gathering at Kitano

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<sup>8</sup> TN: Although there is a widespread fetishization of the tea bowl by contemporary tea practitioners now, in the period under discussion here the *cha ire* tea caddy and the *cha tsubo* tea jar were utensils that focused the obsessive and possessive desire of tea men. For a sense of how tea utensils, including the eggplant caddy of Takeno Jōō (1502-1555) was implicated in discourses of political power and exchange, see Andrew Watsky, 'Commerce, Politics and Tea: The Career of Imai Sōkyū', in Morgan Pitelka (ed.), *Japanese Tea Culture* (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), pp. 18-38.

For a sense of the how importance of the *cha tsubo* evolved, see Louise Cort and Andrew Watsky, *Chigusa and the Art of Tea* (Washington: Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2014).

More recently, Dora C. Y. Ching, Louise Allison Cort and Andrew M. Watsky (eds), *Around Chigusa: Tea and the Arts of Sixteenth-Century Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017).

For a sense of how quiet tearoom moments were made possible by an economy of conspicuous acquisition, see Morgan Pitelka, *Spectacular Accumulation: Material Culture, Tokugawa Ieyasu, and Samurai Sociability* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015).

<sup>9</sup> TN: For a definition of *koku*, see Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, Donald Keene (eds), *Sources of Japanese Tradition: Volume 2, 1600 to 2000* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), p. 238. 'One *koku* is approximately five bushels. *Koku* was the unit used to measure rice as well as the productivity and value of land, reflected in the stipends for the military class.'

The name of the *cha tsubo* Shijukkoku means forty *koku*.

Tenmangū in Kyōto on the tenth day of the tenth month of Tenshō 15 (1587).<sup>10</sup> On this occasion, Kamiya Sōtan was invited as the only guest from Kyūshū. Sōtan left Hakata on the seventeenth day of the ninth month and reached Jurakudai on the eighth day of the tenth month. However, although the gathering was supposed to be held for ten days, it was cancelled on the second day at the news of peasant uprising in Higo province. Sōtan could not attend this tea gathering after all but spent a month or so in Kyōto and Ōsaka joining tea gatherings in Jurakudai or Ōsaka-jō, visiting his zen master Kokei Oshō at Daitoku-ji temple and attending the tea gatherings of Tsuda Sōkyū.

Observing the tea things and characters appearing in *Sōtan Chanoyu Nikki*, those ceremonies were luxurious and the description in the document are rich in content. Those days in Kyōto and Ōsaka must be some of the most satisfying days of his life. Even by just reading this diary, it can be seen how Hideyoshi, as he was readying for battle on the Korean peninsula, was hospitable to Sōtan, one of the prominent merchants in Hakata.

### 3. The ruins of Najima-jō castle and the Najima Benzaiten-sha shrine

Once Takakage was transferred to Chikuzen province, he entered Tachibana-jō castle standing on top of Tachibana-yama mountain (367 metres).<sup>11</sup> This castle was an important strategic site for managing Chikuzen province. It was a castle where the Ōtomo clan had fought against the Mōri clan or the Tachibana clan against had fought against the Shimazu clan time and again in the past. Although it had sufficient defense capabilities as a mountain castle, the access was steep and its premises were

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<sup>10</sup> TN: Louise Allison Cort, 'The Great Kitano Tea Gathering', *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 31 (1982), pp. 15-20.

<sup>11</sup> TN: For an account of the activities of Takakage in this period, including his tea-room activities around Najima-jō castle, see my translation of Horimoto Kazushige 'Chanoyu in Hakata: Zen, Karamono and the Reception of Tea Ceremony', in Andrew Cobbing (ed.), *Hakata: The Cultural Worlds of Northern Kyushu* (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2012), pp. 114-115.

cramped with a poor water supply. Takakage decided to build a new castle on Najima located on the right bank of the mouth of the Tatara River. Najima was the place where Tachibana Tajimano Kami Akitoshi who was on Bungo Ōtomo side built a branch castle of Tachibana-jo in the era of Tembun (1532-1555).

In *Chikuzen no Kuni Shoku Fudoki*, it says “To build Takakage’s castle on Najima, Lord Hideyoshi himself led the project and determined the place to build it.” It seems that Najima was chosen by Hideyoshi. Around that time, he had decreed town distribution (*Taikō machiwari*) to restore the city of Hakata devastated by the fires of war. It was very much likely that Hideyoshi took Najima as one strategic location for advancing to the Asian continent.

According to *Sōtan Chanoyu Nikki*, castle construction began on the twenty fifth day of the second month in Tenshō 16 (1588). The new castle built by Takakage continued to be the foothold of two generations, Takakage and Hideaki for thirteen years, before Kuroda Nagamasa came to abolish it and completed Fukuoka-jō castle on the place of Fukuzaki which is in the west of Nakagawa River in Keichō 5 (1600), on the grounds that Najima-jō castle had such narrow quarters premises with little possibility to develop that area as a castle town.

The area around the ruins of Najima-jō castle has undergone a great change with the development of the area after the Meiji period. The most outstanding impact is the construction of the Najima thermal power station which began to operate on the fourth month of Taishō 9 (1920): a reservoir was built by reclaiming a part of the castle-moat and facilities including a moorage for coal ships, unloading facilities and coal storage yards were established. The power station was closed down in Shōwa 35 (1960) and the site is now the Najima Prefectural Athletic Park. In addition, in Shōwa 3 (1928) Najima became the construction site for a water aerodrome. Approximately 9900 square metres of the shoreline were reclaimed and scheduled flights to Ōsaka and Shanghai commenced in August 1928. But with completion of the Gannosu international amphibious airport in the sixth month of Shōwa 11 (1936), Najima finished its role as a water aerodrome. Moreover, in recent years, given the development of large housing complexes, detached houses and apartments, it is not

easy to visually confirm the area of the former castle of Takakage era.

By examining 'Najima Kojō Zu' in *Chikuzen no Kuni Shoku Fudoki Furoku*, edited by Katō Ichijun and Takatori Chikashige, or 'Najima-jō Zu' owned by Fukuoka City Museum (included in the Fukuoka-shi Maizō Bunkazai Houkokusho [A Report on the Archeological Cultural Assets in Fukuoka city] entitled *Najima-jō Zu 2*), it can be seen that Najima-jō was a sea castle connected to mountains on the east side and facing the sea on the other three sides, with the *honmaru* (headquarters) located on the northern part of the site and Ni-no-maru and San-no-maru on the southeast side, and protected by sea water canals and a dry moat. The highest place is the Tenshukuruwa, also called Jingū-ga-mine (Jinkō-ga-mine), and Najima Benzaiten-sha (Najima Jinja) was enshrined there but when Takakage built a new castle the shrine was moved down to the shore at the mouth of Tatara River. (See the article 'Najima Benzaiten-sha' in *Chikuzen no Kuni Shoku Fudoki*.)

The enshrined Ubusunagami (the guardian protector of the Najima area) deities of Najima Jinja shrine are the Munakata San Himekami (the three Goddesses of Munakata) namely, Tagori-Himenokami, Tagitsu-Himenokami and Ichikishima-Himenokami. Given that the *honjibutsu* or the original Buddhist identity of Ichikishima-Himenokami is Benzaiten, the shrine was the focus of worship as Najima Benzaiten-sha in the Edo era. In Genroku 9 (1696), Tsunamasa, the fourth lord of Fukuoka domain, moved the shrine from the shore to half way up the mountain, its original and present location. However, in Meiji 4 (1871), in compliance with the Ordinance Separating Shinto and Buddhism issued in Meiji 1 (1868), the worship hall of the shrine was moved to Sōei-ji temple and a new Najima Jinja shrine was built on the on the site of Najima Benzaiten-sha shrine.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, in the Taishō era, Sōei-

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<sup>12</sup> TN: For an overview of the separation of Buddhism and Shinto that includes a survey of the national system of shrine classification, see Takie Sugiyama Lebra, *Above the Clouds: Status Culture of the Modern Japanese Nobility* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 132-141.

For an overview of the assault on Buddhism, see Martin Collcutt, 'Buddhism: The threat of eradication', in Marius B. Jansen and Gilbert Rozman (eds), *Japan in Transition: From Tokugawa to Meiji* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), pp. 143-167. Details of lay resistance are outlined in pp. 164-167.

ji and Najima Benzaiten-sha were relocated to their present sites.

In *Sekijōshi*, edited by Tsuda Genko and Tsuda Genkan and completed in Meiwa 2 (1765) in the Edo era, the sunset scenery of Najima was listed as one of the eight best scenic locations of Hakata. Presumably that was referring to the sunset seen from the present day location of Najima shrine. In recent years, an artificial island has emerged in front of the shrine but in the evening light when the sunset is seen from the ruins of Najima-jō, the sun still sinks behind the blueish purpled Nokonoshima and the mountains of Itoshima peninsula, as the waters of Hakata Bay deepen into vermillion.

Incidentally, as the locations listed in the eight views of Hakata varies depending on the historical period, *Sekijōshi* listed the following eight views: Nureginu Yau (night rain on Ishidō River [present day Mikasa River]), Hakozaki Seiran (a haze hanging over the Hakozaki shore), Wakasugi Shūgetsu (autumn moon over Mt. Wakasugi), Nata Rakugan (wild geese descending from the sky in Nata), Hakata Kihan (ships returning back to Hakata), Yokodake Banshō (the evening bell at Sōfuku-ji temple at Yokodake), Kamadoyama Bosetsu (evening snow on Kamadoyama [present day Mt. Hōman]) and Najima Sekishō (the sunset scenery of Najima).

## 4. Tea Gatherings at Najima and Hakozaki

### (1) Tea gatherings at Hakozaki with warlords in Kansai area

In response to the peasant uprising in Higo province, Hideyoshi initially ordered Takakage and Tachibana Muneshige to suppress it and later he sent troops from the Kamigata area (present day Kyōto and Ōsaka) led by the commander-in-chief Mōri Terumoto.

After the tea gathering in Kitano Tenmangū Shrine, Kamiya Sōtan stayed in Kyōto and Ōsaka for about a month and started for home. When he arrived at the foot of Mt. Tachibana located on the outskirts of Hakata on the twenty second day of the eleventh month in Tenshō 15 (1587), Sōtan received an express messenger from

Hakata. Sōtan was told to go straight to Higo province and visit Takakage who was at the Nankan front putting down the riot.

On arriving in Nankan, Sōtan was given a reception by Ugai Shin'emon, one of Takakage's senior vassals, and from the next day onwards he was offered hospitality from Takakage himself or Ankokuji Ekei. He returned home to Hakata on the first day of the twelfth month.

The peasant uprising in Higo province was finally put down around the middle of the first month of Tenshō 16 (1588). Takakage, who had been back in Hakata, entertained the warlords from Kamigata area on their way back from Higo province via Najima with tea to show appreciation. It was around this time Takakage started constructing the new castle in Najima. According to *Sōtan Chanoyu Nikki*:

In Tenshō 16, the year of Boshi, a riot broke out in Higo province. When armies from the Kamigata area came down, Lord Kobayakawa had tea parties and offered tea for warlords. As a *sadō* for the lord, I, Sōtan accompanied him. Until then, he had used a thatched hut on the Najima seashore as his *gozasho* residence. Because of that reason, he made a two and a half-matted tea house and a fence around it within the premises of the house of the head priest of Hakozaki shrine, the wall of which is made of green cedar leaves and had latticed shuttered windows. A *furo* brazier was used and meals were served in the hall of the house of the head priest.

Takakage only had a temporary residence in Najima. Usually he had treated guests at the thatched hut but after the riot Takakage built a two and a half-matted tea house within the premises of the house of the head priest of Hakozaki Hachimangū shrine. The walls of the tea house were latticed shuttered windows made of green cedar leaves. Although it was the winter season of *ro* (sunken heath), no *ro* was available, and consequently a *furo* brazier had to be used. And the meals after the tea were served in the hall of the house of the head priest. On these days, Sōtan attended as *sadō* or as a *shōban* attendant almost every day.

In the morning of the first day of the third month, at Hakozaki

1. The gathering of lord Takakage. First, Lord Asano Danjō (Nagamasa), Ankokuji (Ekei) and other three warlords. Accompanied by Sōtan.

2. The gathering next morning: Lord Fukushima Saemondayū (Masanori) and Lord Ikoma Uta (Chikamasa). On this occasion, when the lords kept their swords with themselves, Ugai Shin'emon received and returned their swords. Takakage as well as Sōtan served as *shōban* attendants.

Among the invitees, Lord Katō Shukei (Kiyomasa) was delayed. As he was late, the other lords began to have their meal without him. After that, saying that he was too late, the lords went home. Finally Lord Shukei arrived around noon and he was entertained.

In the morning tea gathering on the first day of the third month, Asano Danjō Nagamasa, Ankokuji Ekei and three other feudal lords were invited. In the gathering next day, the guests were Fukushima Saemondayū Masanori, Ikoma Utanokami Chikamasa and others. Katō Shukei Kiyomasa was late and joined the gathering around noon. In both ceremonies, Sōtan accompanied the guests as *shōban* attendant.

## (2) A tea gathering to commemorate the construction of Najima-jō castle

On the sixth day of the third month of Tenshō 16 (1588), Sōtan visited the construction site of Najima-jō castle with a *tokuri* bottle of *shironeri* and delicacies in a three-tiered food box.

On the sixth day of the third month of the same year, when I visited the construction site, I brought one bottle of *shironeri* and a three-tiered food box containing auspicious food. The lord said that we should go on to the shore between Myōken-jima and Najima to enjoy the feast. I accompanied him and he had *sake* on the shore. He praised the *shironeri*, saying that it tasted like the old days, and made me have the cup. He then summoned Kyūmura and asked him to perform one. Kumura performed one called



*Furofuki*. I gave him a fan instead of a tip. Lord Takakage was pleased with this and praised me for that.

Takakage said that they should have the drink on the shore between Myōken-jima and Najima. Sōtan accompanied him and Takakage drank the *sake* at the seashore. On drinking the *shironeri*, Takakage said that it tasted like “the old days” and he offered Sōtan the chance to drink from the cup. Takakage summoned Kumura, the noh player and asked him to perform “one” and Kumura danced an extract from *Furofuki*. When Sōtan gave Kumura a fan instead of a tip, lord Takakage showed he was extremely pleased with this. (*Sōtan Chanoyu Nikki*)

*Shironeri* means a kind of *nerizake* (a *sake* made by using glutinous rice and grinding the raw unrefined *sake* called *moromi* in a mortar). It was introduced in the first part of souvenir section in the twenty ninth volume of *Chikuzen no Kuni Shoku Fudoki* as follows below. It was called *shironeri* (literally ‘whitely kneaded’) because the color was white and it looks like white silk. It was a famous *sake* of Hakata.

Hakata *nerizake*: It is called *nerizake* because the color is white like glossy silk. The extracted and filtered one is called *nerizake* and the one mixed with lees is called *minerizake*.

Myōken-jima was a small island located in the north of Najima-jō castle and according to ‘Fukuoka-ken Chiri Zenshi’ [Complete Topography of Fukuoka Prefecture] of *Fukuoka-ken Shi Kindai Shiryō-hen: Fukuoka-ken Chiri Zenshi*, Vol. 1 [Modern Historical Documents of the History of Fukuoka Prefecture], Myōken-jima is described as “It stretches about thirty meters from east to west and about sixty meters from north to south. It can be waded across the sandbank to the island when the tide is subsided.”

If you look at the aerial photograph of Najima-jō ruins in late Shōwa 20s (on *Furusato Najima no Rekishi* [History of our hometown Najima] edited by the editing committee of *Furusato Najima no Rekishi*), the pine covered Myōken-jima is seen

connected to Najima-jō ruins. Myōken-jima should have been a beautiful stretch of sandy beaches dotted with pine trees in the days of Takakage and Sōtan, but through the land reclamation of the area in modern times, present day Myōken-jima is not even an island: it is next to the Jōhama housing complex and Jōhama Elementary School. On the hill which used to be the island, there stand some pine trees and they are the only memento of the island.

In *Hakata to Chanoyu* by Chikushi Yutaka published in the second month of Shōwa 53, he wrote “In the back yard of a private house, erstwhile in the lower part of the cliff of the southern part of the island, there still existed the lonely stone wall of the well which used to be used as the well for tea water by Sōtan and others.” A recent visit to that site confirmed the presence of a new stone monument inscribed “Famous historic site: The well Taikō Hideyoshi used as the well for tea water” by the parking lot of an apartment building located west of a small hill.

### (3) Tea gatherings in a rush-thatched roof tea house

Takakage often held tea gatherings on Myōken-jima island. The next gathering was a daytime event held on the twenty seventh day of the third month of Tenshō 16 (1588).

At noon on the twenty seventh day of the third month

1. Lord Takakage held a tea gathering on Myōken-jima in Najima

The tea house had a *tomafuki* rush-thatched roof and an enclosing fence. The wall was made of green brushwood and had lattice shutters. The entrance of the house was rocks likened to a path. Inside the room the kettle rested on an arrangement of upright rocks. The water jar was a Korean style *nosuri* mortar and a bucket was the charcoal-pail. Other utensils were an assortment. Lord Takakage was in the best of humor.

2. Lord Takakage, the chamberlain from Kurume and Inoue Mataemon were the three main guests.

The following guests were Kumura, Ryouki and Jusai.

In the second row were Ushin'u, Keikyū, Teichi and Kuriyohei.

Lord Takakage liked the arrangement of this tea house very much and used it as a chatting place until recent years.

Since Takakage was in the middle of constructing his Najima castle and living in a temporary housing, he naturally had no satisfactory tearoom. So, he constructed a tea house with lattice walls made of green brushwood within the rush-thatched enclosure on the shore of Najima. Rocks suggested a path to the room and guests walked on them as they entered the tearoom. Inside the tearoom, a kettle was placed upright on rocks. It was a fireplace made of seaside rocks, not a *ro* (hearth) or a *furo* (furnace). The remaining tea utensils were an assortment of what was available, including a Korean mortar used as the *mizusashi* water jar and a bucket was used to carry in the charcoal, incense container and other utensils necessary to tend to the fire. A plain and natural tea gathering full of rustic charm. Lord Takakage was said to be in a very good mood.

Looking at the guests, Mōri Hidenake, the lord of Kurume castle was the *shōkyaku* guest of honor and other than that there was Inoue Mataemon, one of the senior vassals of Takakage. The three of them, including Takakage, sat in the front row and in the second row there sat the noh actor Kumura, advisers and four Takakage retainers.

Hidekane was the biological younger brother of Takakage and the ninth child of Mōri Motonari. He had been adopted by Takakage because Takakage didn't have children. In Tenshō 15 (1587), when Takakage was granted Chikugo province, three of its counties were given to Hidekane and he became the lord of Kurume castle. Takakage later adopted Toyotomi Hidetoshi (later Hideaki), one of the nephews of Hideyoshi and at this time Takakage made Hidekane establish a new branch of Kobayakawa family.

Although the tea house in Myōken-jima was an improvised temporary structure, it appears that Takakage seemed to grow increasingly fond of it. He also used that

tea house as a place to chat for a long time after that.

In the eighth month of Tenshō 16 (1588), Kokei Oshō was exiled to Hakata and stayed at Daidōan until about the tenth month of Tenshō 17 (1589). But according to *Sōtan Chanoyu Nikki*, Takakage did not attend tea gathering organized by Kokei Oshō at Daidōan.

## 5. The tea house in Najima Benzaiten-sha

On the tenth day of the fourth month of Tenshō 19 (1591), Takakage ordered Sōtan to build a tea house in the premises of Najima Benzaiten-sha shrine. As has been previously described, Najima Benzaiten-sha had been relocated to the shore near the mouth of Tatara River when Najima-jō castle was built. As a matter of course, the tea house was constructed close to the sea shore. It must have been within the distance from where they could hear the sound of gentle waves breaking on the beach of Hakata Bay. Near the Najima Benzaiten-sha shrine, there is a rock formation that is believed to be the masts of the ship of Empress Jingū that have turned into stones.<sup>13</sup> They actually are petrified tree trunks.

At noon on the tenth day of the fourth month (Tenshō 19)

(part of the original text omitted)

1. As Sōtan was ordered to build a tea house within the premises of Najima Benzaiten-sha, it was hurriedly constructed with *hagi* walls with lattice. The builders were thirteen *chūgen-shū* lower-class retainers. Lord Takakage was pleased with the workmanship saying that it was a one level improvement. In this tea house, in the morning of the sixteenth:
2. Tea gathering held by Lord Takakage

Two guests from Kamigata area, Hidekane and Sōtan, five in all.

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<sup>13</sup> TN: For an account that contextualizes the ability of Empress Jingū to summon deities and the power of magical stones to delay the onset of labour, see Jane Marie Law, 'Out of Place: Fetal References in Japanese Mythology and Cultural Memory', in Vanessa R. Sasson and Jane Marie Law (eds), *Imagining the Fetus the Unborn in Myth, Religion, and Culture* (Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 259-274.

In the morning on the twenty fifth, Sōtan hosted a tea gathering:

3. Lord Takakage, Hidekane and a man from the Chūgoku area.

For *atomi*, Lord Miyoshi, Ushin'u, Keikyū and Teichi.

The tea house was an improvised structure with Japanese bush clover (*hagi*) walls with lattice but was complemented by Takakage, saying that it was an improvement that was one level better than his earlier tearoom. A morning tea gathering was held in this tea house without delay on the sixteenth.

On the twenty fifth, Sōtan entertained Takakage, Hidekane and another guest from the Chūgoku area in this same tea house. After the gathering with Takakage as a guest of honor, Ugai Shinemon and other Takakage retainers received the hospitality of an *atomi* serving. *Atomi* is the event held after the tea gathering for noble men has been completed, in which tea is served with those very same tea utensils before the atmosphere of the previous serving disappears.

In the first month of the next year, Tenshō 20 (1592), Hideyoshi issued a mobilization order to invade Korea. At Najima on the eleventh day of the first month, Takakage ordered Ugai Shin'emon and others to build two bridges, one at Hakozaki and another across Tatara River, for the troops who were advancing to Hizen Nagoya. As the bridge in front of Hakozaki had to be 378 metres long (210 *ken*), it was completed by jutting out the banks by 90 metres (50 *ken*) from both sides on the eleventh day of the second month. The bridge was 180 metres long (100 *ken*) and 7.2 metres wide (4 *ken*) (*Buzen Oboegaki* by Kido Kiyotane). People from Mikasa county and the villages owned by Hakozaki Shrine were mobilized to complete this urgent construction. According to *Taikōmichi Densetsu Wo Aruku* (Walking along the legends of Taikō (Hideyoshi) route) by Ushijima Eishun, the location of the bridge is presumed to be between the east end of the iron bridges of JR Kagoshima main line or Nishitetsu Kaizuka line (former Miyajidake line) and somewhere near Fukuoka Shiritsu Higashi Hakozaki Kaikan (Fukuoka Municipal Higashi Hakozaki Hall). Furthermore, the bridge across Tatara River is presumed to be located at a point somewhat upstream, in the area around the present Ōhashi Bridge which used

to be the crossing point of the Karatsu-kaido road during the early modern period. The width is unknown but it was about 95 metres long (53 *ken*).

On the fifth day of third month, Ukita Hideie was the first to cross the bridge and a stream of warlords one after another proceeded westwards before gathering in Hizen Nagoya. Takakage also left Najima for Hizen Nagoya on the twenty third day of the third month.

The Takakage letter sent to Kamiya Sōtan and Shimai Sōshitsu dated the twenty second day of the third month, the day before the departure (included in *Hakata no Gōshō: Shimai Sōshitsu Ten* [Prominent Hakata Merchant: Shimai Sōshitsu Exhibition]) is extant.<sup>14</sup> Hideyoshi had directed Terazawa Hiroataka to order Takakage to empty all Hakata rice granaries and stockpile the rice for the troops bound for Korea, and in this letter Takakage gave Sōtan and Sōshitsu concrete details for the task of stockpiling. Hakata had become the logistic base for the invasion of Korea.

Hideyoshi left Ōsaka on the twenty sixth day of the third month and arrived in Nagoya in Kami-matsuura of Hizen province on the twenty fifth day of the fourth month (1592). Even in *Sōtan Chanoyu Nikki*, the description of tea gatherings in Hizen Nagoya continues. The famous tea gathering in the golden tea room was held on the twenty eighth day of the fifth month. As Rikyū was made to commit the ritual suicide of *seppuku* in the second month of the previous year, Tsuda Sōbon, a son of Sōkyū, accompanied the troops as a *sadō* tea master.

In the seventh month of Tenshō 20 (1592), Hideyoshi returned to Ōsaka on hearing the news that his mother Kitano Mandokoro was in a critical condition and once her funeral and other rites were completed Hideyoshi once more came back to Kyūshū. On the last day of the tenth month, on his way to Hizen Nagoya, Hideyoshi was entertained in Sōtan's residence. A tea gathering was held in a two-mat room. Oda Yūraku was the *shōban* attendant and he was supported by Koderu Kyūmu. In

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<sup>14</sup> TN: For a summary of the inscription by Kōgetsu Sōkan (1574-1643) on the memorial portrait of Shimai Sōshitsu, see Andrew Maske, *Potters and Patrons in Edo Period Japan: Takatori Ware and the Kuroda Domain* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), p. 25.

addition to the meal presented to Hideyoshi, the record documents that more than five hundred full-course dinners were prepared, and countless bowls of soup poured over rice and innumerable dishes of glutinous *komemeshi* rice were served. The entire military entourage was entertained.<sup>15</sup>

## 6. The legacy of Takakage in Chikuzen

In the tenth month of Bunroku 3 (1594), Takakage adopted Toyotomi Hidetoshi (1577-1602), an adopted son (*yūshi*) of Hideyoshi and made him marry the foster daughter (*yōjo*) of Mōri Terumoto to inherit Kobayakawa clan. On the twenty sixth day of the tenth month, Kamiya Sōtan and Shimai Sōshitsu along with the *toshiyori-shū* senior vassals set sail to Bingo Mihara to respectfully attend the wedding gathering of Hidetoshi.

In the ninth month of the next year (1595), Hidetoshi entered his domain and stayed at Najima for about a month before setting out for Kyōto.<sup>16</sup> On the twenty ninth day of the tenth month, during his stay at Najima, when Hidetoshi expressed a wish to see the Hakata Matsubayashi festival, Takakage showed him the costumed parade of the deities of good fortune Fukujuin and Ebisu (the god of fishing and commerce).<sup>17</sup> Although this was originally a festival held in the first month of the

<sup>15</sup> TN: For an anecdotal account of the Hakata activities of Hideyoshi, Kamiya Sōtan and Shimai Sōshitsu, see A. L. Sadler, *Cha-no-yu: The Japanese Tea Ceremony* (Rutland and Tōkyō: Charles Tuttle, 1998 [1933]), pp. 102-103.

<sup>16</sup> TN: For an account of the 1595 tea gathering held on the twenty fifth day of the ninth month to commemorate the succession of the Kobayakawa Hidetoshi (1577-1602) to the head of the lineage, where the guests included the wife of Hidetoshi and her five female attendants, see Rebecca Corbett, *Cultivating Femininity: Women and Tea Culture in Edo and Meiji Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2018), pp. 43-44.

<sup>17</sup> TN: The Omori Yasuhiro color film from 1984, Shichi Fukujuin (Seven Young Gods of Fortune), shows how in Shimo-fukuzawa the annual Dosojin deity festival is an important rite for newlyweds and 42-year-old men. For a review of the documentary film, see Tsuneo Ayabe and Noboru Miyata, 'Reviewed Work: Shichi Fukujuin (Seven Young Gods of Fortune) by Yasuhiro Omori', *American Anthropologist (New Series)*, Vol. 87, No. 4 (Dec., 1985), p. 992.

For a historical account of the Ebisu worship, see Nelly Naumann, 'Whale and Fish Cult in Japan: A Basic Feature of Ebisu Worship', *Asian Folklore Studies*, Vol. 33, No.

year, it has been passed down as the Hakata Dontaku Minato Matsuri which takes place in the fifth month.<sup>18</sup>

On the other hand, Takakage retired and withdrew to Mihara with his hereditary vassals in the eleventh month of the same year. Although Takakage ruled Chikuzen province for only about eight years from the sixth month of Tenshō 15 (1587) to the ninth month of Bunroku 4 (1595), a number of his legacies remained intact there. Takakage was especially active in the preservation, renovation and reconstruction of shrines and temples and activities including the donation of rice-field to shrines and temples were part of his policy of preservation. Currently, even if only the sites that are designated as important national cultural properties are considered, the main shrine of Dazaifu Tenmangū, the *rōmon* two-story gate of Hakozaki Hachimangū and the worship hall of Munakata Taisha Hetsumiya are examples his positive influence.

When Takakage retired, he was given three counties worth 50,000 koku of rice yield, Kurate, Munakata and Mimaki (Onga) in Chikuzen province, as a duty-free retirement stipend. After the retirement of Takakage, Hidetoshi and his vassals, with Yamaguchi Gemba Munenaga playing a central role, proceeded to govern the province and Hidetoshi forfeited the rice fields of shrines and temples donated by Takakage after the land survey of his province done in the year Takakage retired. Hidetoshi forfeited 200 acres from Munakata Taisha shrine but Takakage donated

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1 (1974), pp. 1-15.

For an overview of how Ebisu-kaki puppeteers living in the Sanjo district were instrumental in the spread of Ebisu worship, see the chapter entitled 'A Crippled Deity, a Priest, and a Puppet: Kugutsu and Ebisu-kaki of the Nishinomiyama Shrine', in Jane Marie Law, *Puppets of Nostalgia: The Life, Death, and Rebirth of the Japanese "Awaji Ningyo" Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press (1997), pp. 89-136.

<sup>18</sup> TN: For an ethnographic account and history of the Hakata *matsubayashi* that refers to *Sōtan Nikki*, see Terence A. Lancashire, *An Introduction to Japanese Folk Performing Arts* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. 90-92.

For a historical account of the Music of the New Year's Pines (*matsubayashi*) that refers to Lord Kuroda, see P. D. Perkins and Keiichi Fujii, 'Two Ancient Japanese Dances', *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Jan., 1940), pp. 314-320. Although the bulk of the article deals with *kōwakamai* in the context of the history of noh, Hakata Dontaku is specifically mentioned on pp. 315-316.



100 *koku* of rice from Kawanishi-mura, Munakata-gun, a part of his retirement stipend to the shrine (*Munakata Shi-shi* [The History of Munakata City] edited by Munakata City Office, vol. 2).

Incidentally, many remaining structures of Najima-jō castle such as stone walls or turrets were disassembled and re-used as elements when the Kuroda clan built Fukuoka-jō castle, but there are some remnants that still exist.

In the first instance, the *karamete-mon* gate (a gate built at back of a castle) of Najima-jō castle was used as the *san-mon* temple gate of the Sōtō sect Sōshō-ji temple at Ōbu in Munakata city. It is surprisingly small but it is said to have been made of parts cut from a large *nogurumi* tree. When Takakage passed away in Mihara, he left a will asking for his hair to be interred in the seven temples where he worshipped. Sōshō-ji is one of them and the tomb of Takakage is on the south side of the main altar halfway up the mortar-shaped mountain which surrounds the temple grounds.

In addition, the side gate of Najima-jō castle was relocated and incorporated in Fukuoka-jō castle. When Kuroda Nagamasa dismantled Najima-jō, he gave away the gate to his meritorious retainer Hayashi Kamon. But in the mid-Meiji period when a Nagasaki merchant was attempting to purchase it with the intention of taking it to Nakasaki, Hiraoka Kōtarō initiated a transaction that enabled him to use it as the gate of his own residence in Tenjin.<sup>19</sup> Later when a building was going to be built at the site of his former residence, the Hiraoka family donated the gate to Fukuoka City and it was relocated inside the ruins of Fukuoka-jō castle and is called Najima-mon.

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<sup>19</sup> TN: For an overview of the role of Fukuoka in the emergence of Pan-Asianism, including the 1881 formation of the Black Ocean Society (Genyōsha) by Hiraoka Kōtarō, see Reiko Ogawa, 'Imagining Regional, National and Local Identities: "Asianism" in Fukuoka', in Andrew Cobbing (ed.), *Hakata: The Cultural Worlds of Northern Kyushu* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), p. 151.

For an account that examines the formation of Genyōsha with Hiraoka Kōtarō as its president, see E. Herbert Norman, 'The Genyōsha: A Study in the Origins of Japanese Imperialism', *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (Sep., 1944), pp. 261-284.

For a brief account of the influence of Genyōsha on the Popular Rights Movement (*jiyū minken undō*), see Moshe Nathaniel Lakser, 'Politics, Work, Identity: Educational Theories and Practices in Meiji Era Fukuoka, 1879-1918', UCLA Electronic Theses and Dissertations (2015), pp. 307-308. <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/2km343mv>

Furthermore, in Sūfuku-ji temple, the Kuroda clan family temple of the Fukuoka domain, there remains one *kara-mon* (a Chinese style gate) which is said to be a Najima-jō remnant and it has been designated as a Prefectural Cultural Property.

One last item is the *hengaku* (a name tablet displayed on the outer wall), handed down as the one displayed on the tea house wall in Najima-jō. This tablet is currently held by Sōshō-ji temple (Higashi ku, Fukuoka), the family temple of Urahyōbu Munekatsu who is the author of *Urahyōbu Kiki oboegaki*. The tablet reads “*Seiryō-shitsu*” (pure + cool + room). Munekatsu repeatedly appears in the tea ceremonies at Najima but it remains unknown whether are not sure if the tea room called “*Seiryō-shitsu*” was that of Munekatsu or not.

Lastly, please let me add some complements about Ura Munekatsu. Munekatsu went to Korea following Takakage into the war there in Bunroku 1 (1592) and although Munekatsu stayed in Busan to guard the battle ships and secure the supply lines, he later was stricken with paralysis and came back to Japan with the permission of Takakage. He received medical treatment in his residence at the foot of Tachibana-yama but died on the twenty third day of the ninth month of Bunroku 1 (*Ura Munekatsu Kankei Shiryō Hikae* [A copy of documents relating to Ura Munekatsu] by Ishioka Bunshi). Sōshō-ji used to be a small temple called Shimpuku-ji but Munekatsu rebuilt it. It was re-named Sōshō-ji after Munekatsu was buried there and Takakage donated rice fields worth 20 *koku* yield (*Chikuzen no Kuni Shoku Fudoki*). The grave of Munekatsu is located in the mountain on the right side of the main hall of Sōshō-ji.

Additionally, there is another a Hōkyōin-tō pagoda that is reportedly a grave of Munekatsu at Shōun-ji temple in Tadanoumi (Takehara city, Hiroshima prefecture) which is his home territory. Tadanoumi is a sea side town located 20 kilometres to the west of Mihara city and it has the ruins of Kagi-jō, Munekatsu’s residential castle, thrusting out into the sea. Kangetsu-zan Shōun-ji is a Sōtō sect temple and is also another Munekatsu family temple. The Hōkyōin-tō pagoda stands in the hillside graveyard dominating the Inland Sea and the ruins of Kagi-jō are visible below.

In the interests of clarity, it should be noted that Ura Munekatsu frequently

appears as Nomi Hyoubu (Jō) Munekatsu in historical documents. In fact, Katakatsu, the father of Munekatsu, was the second son of Nomi clan but inherited the Ura family which is the branch of Kobayakawa family. Katakatsu used Nomi as his family name for unknown reasons and Munekatsu often did the same.

I once visited Shōun-ji temple on a fine lovely day in early spring several years ago. I could see the *sanmon* gate of the temple on the mountain side when I passed through the residential area from Tadaumi Station. The temple is located at the end of the slope. This temple is known as the lodging place of Hirayama Ikuo, a Japanese-style painter and a former president of Tokyo University of Arts, when he was transferred to Tadaumi Junior High School after being exposed to the Hiroshima atomic bomb explosion.<sup>20</sup> In his book, *Gunjō no Umi: Waga Seishun Fu (Ultramarine Ocean: a chronicle of my youth*, Chūkō Bunko) he looked back and wrote that “I was living at the corner of the main hall of the temple, enclosed by sliding screens”, and that he had meditated for some time in the lotus position following the routine of the chief priest.

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<sup>20</sup> For a summary of the life and work of Hirayama Ikuo (1930-2009), see Patricia Jane Graham, *Faith and Power in Japanese Buddhist Art, 1600-2005* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), pp. 261-262.

For a self-published catalogue, see Ikuo Hirayama, *The World Heritage: Paintings by Ikuo Hirayama* (New York: Shorewood Publishers, 1997).

For a profile of the activities of the Hirayama Trust and the Hirayama Ikuo Silk Road Museum, see John H. Stubbs and Robert G. Thomson, *Architectural Conservation in Asia: National Experiences and Practice* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2016), p. 9.

The home page of the Hirayama Ikuo Museum of Art is <http://hirayama-museum.or.jp/en.html>.