

【翻訳】

Kuroda Josui and Chanoyu

(An annotated translation of the fifth 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)

Tim Cross *

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 Matsuoka 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. Four previous papers are translations of the first four chapters of *Cha no yu to Chikuzen*: Chapter One deals with the history of the tea kettles of Ashiya; Chapter Two reads behind 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. Chapter Four examines the transfer of Kobayakawa Takakage to Chikuzen province, his tea activities in Najima and Hakozaki, and his legacy in Chikuzen. This fifth chapter surveys the tea activities of Kuroda Josui (1546-1604) by examining the records of tea gatherings he supposedly

* Professor, Faculty of Humanities, Fukuoka University

attended. The role of Tachibana Jitsuzan in explaining the difference between various accounts is noted. The Three Principles of Chanoyu that were advocated by Josui are summarized.

Keywords

Kuroda Josui (黒田如水, aka 祐隆 すけたか, 孝隆 よしたか, 孝高 よしたか, 官兵衛 かんべえ 1546-1604), Toyotomi Hideyoshi (豊臣秀吉 1537-1598), Kaibara Ekken (貝原益軒 1630-1714), Kuroda Mototaka (黒田職隆 1524-1585), Kuroda Nagamasa (黒田長政 1568-1623), Kobayakawa Takakage (小早川隆景 1533-1597), Tsuda Sōkyū (津田宗及, ?-1591), Kamiya Sōtan (神屋宗湛 1553-1635), *Sōtan Chanoyu Nikki* 「宗湛茶湯日記」, Jōō Tenmoku tea bowl (Takeno Jōō 武野 紹鷗, 1502-1555, 紹鷗天目茶碗), Shigi Katatsuki tea caddy (鳴肩衝茶入), Hosokawa Fujitaka (細川藤孝, aka 幽齋 ゆうさい 1534-1610), Asano Nagamasa (浅野長政 1546-1611), Ishida Mitsunari (石田三成, 1559-1600), Shimai Sōshitsu (嶋井宗室 1539-1615), Sen no Rikyū (千利休 1522-1591), *Nanpō Roku* 「南方録」, Shun'oku Sōen (春屋宗園 1529-1611), Akizuki Tanezane (秋月種実 1548-1596), Hakozaki Hachiman Shrine (宮崎宮), 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), Oda Nagamasa (Yūroku) (織田 長益, 1548-1622), 大日本茶道学会, 茶道文化学術賞¹

¹ Translator's note (hereafter TN): This paper is a translation and adaptation of the fifth 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. It was awarded the 茶道文化学術賞 by the Dai Nihon Sadō Gakkai in Heisei 22 (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. For reasons of simplicity, Kuroda is referred to as Josui throughout the chap-

1. Josui's connection with *chanoyu*

Kuroda Josui (1546-1604) was a military commander in the Sengoku Period who was given an important position by Toyotomi Hideyoshi because of his exceptional resourcefulness displayed in his contribution to Hideyoshi's unification of Japan. Josui was born in Himeji-jō castle as a son of Koderu Mototaka, a low-level vassal of the Akamatsu clan, the provincial constable of Harima Province, in the eleventh month of Tenmon 15 (1546). His childhood name was Mankichi, he later called himself Yoshitaka and was then renamed as Kanbei, before reverting to his former Kuroda surname at the age of 35. Josui is his pseudonym. Kuroda Nagamasa, the founder of Fukuoka domain, is his legitimate son.

According to The Genealogical Table of the Kuroda Family (*Kuroda Kafu*) written and edited by Kaibara Ekken,² when Josui was 7 years old, Kuroda Mototaka (1524-1585), his father entrusted him to a temple and made him learn reading and writing under the Jōdo sect priest Enman. Josui enjoyed making *waka* poems when he was around 17 or 18 and he is said to have passionately devoted himself to those poems. Further, he also directed his attention to literature by doing things like transcribing *Sandai-shū*. Observing this, Enman advised Josui against devoting himself to literature, saying that it is more important to put emphasis on the military arts in the war-torn period of the Age of Warring States. Josui is said to have applied himself to military arts after hearing this from Enman.

ter, even for the period before he assumed that name around 1587. 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 Seiku 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.

² TN: Mary Evelyn Tucker, *Moral and Spiritual Cultivation in Japanese Neo-Confucianism: The Life and Thought of Kaibara Ekken (1630-1714)* (New York, SUNY Press, 1989).

Josui retained his interest in *waka* and *renga* poems in later years, interacting with famous poets of the day, including Satomura Jōha and Satomura Shōtaku, and his own poems survive.

The Kuroda clan was under the command of Oda Nobunaga from the time of Mototaka (1524-1585) and Josui participated in such skirmishes as the attacks on Tottori-jō castle and Bicchū Takamatsu-jō castle. After Nobunaga died in the Hon'nō-ji incident, Josui distinguished himself with military exploits such as the Battle of Shizugatake, and was ranked Jugoi-no-ge (Junior Fifth Rank, Lower Grade) on the third month of Tenshō 14 (1586), as well as holding the position of Kageyu-jikan (Vice-Minister of the Office of Investigators of the Records of Outgoing Officials). On the twenty fifth day of the seventh month of the same year, he was appointed Gungen (Deputy Commander) of the Kyūshū Conquest troops and left Kyōto with four thousand soldiers under his command. In the first month of the following year, Hideyoshi also left for Kyūshū with a large army and on the seventh day of the fifth month 1587, he accomplished the suppression of Kyūshū when he accepted the Shimazu clan surrender at Satsuma Sendai.

Hideyoshi arrived at Hakata on the seventh day of the sixth month of Tenshō 15 (1586) and stayed at Hakozaki Hachimangū for more than twenty days to reward services and distribute honors to those who participated in the Kyūshū Conquest. Josui was granted 6 counties of Buzen province (Miyako, Kitsuki, Nakatsu, Kōge, Shimoge and Usa) which were worth 180,000 *koku* of rice (there is also a theory suggesting that the value was 120,000 *koku*) and entered Umagatake-jō castle (built in the area between present day Miyako-machi, Miyako-gun and Yukuhashi-shi). When Nakatsugawa-jō castle was completed in the next year at the mouth of Yamakuni-gawa river, Josui and his legitimate son Nagamasa moved in to this castle. By the way, on this occasion, the Chikuzen province was granted to Kobayakawa Takakage (1533-1597).

It is not certain when Josui became interested in *chanoyu* but his master Hideyoshi was a well-known *chanoyu* enthusiast who had Sen no Rikyū, Tsuda Sōkyū and Imai Sōkyū as his Sadō (officially designated tea masters). A letter Rikyū wrote

to Kuroda Kageyu on the fourth day of the twelfth month of Tenshō 14 survives (Complete Collection of Letters of Sen no Rikyū [*Teihon Sen no Rikyū no Shokan*] by Kuwata Tadachika).

In The Collections of Anecdotes of Great Commanders in Japanese History (*Meishō Genkōroku*) edited by Okanoya Shigezane, there is an anecdote which is thought to have led Josui to become interested in *chanoyu*. It is summarized in the following paragraphs.

Josui used to say that *chanoyu* was something that should not be of interest to gallant men and that it is quite careless for the host and guests to sit swordless in a small tea room. But one day, Josui received the order from Hideyoshi to be entertained with tea. As it was the order of his commander, Josui could not reject the offer and reluctantly entered the tea room. However, Hideyoshi made no effort to prepare tea and instead they talked privately about the attack on Odawara-jō castle. Hideyoshi later told Josui that this secrecy was one of the merits of *chanoyu*. Hideyoshi also told Josui that if he had invited him somewhere else to have a private conversation, people might have become suspicious and that such concerns might have caused problems. By saying it was *chanoyu*, people didn't suspect them. Josui was greatly impressed by this value and it was later said that he came to like *chanoyu*.

It was on the third month of Tenshō 18 (1590) that Josui participated in the attack on Odawara-jō and the surrender of the castle took place on the seventh day of the seventh month, which means the event cited in this anecdote took place around the time when Josui was 45 years old.

This chapter outlines the connection Josui had with *chanoyu* and discusses the doubts about the tea gathering at the Samegai residence (*Samegai yashiki ni okeru chakai*) that Josui attended and which appears in Excerpts from the Tea Diary of Imai Sōkyū (*Imai Sōkyū Chanoyu Nikki Nukigaki*, included in volume 10 of The Complete Collection of Classic Literature on the Way of Tea [*Sadō Koten Zenshū*]), *Nanbōroku* (included in volume 4 of the same collection) and The Genealogical Table of the Kuroda Family (*Kuroda Kafu*).

2. The Three Rules for Chanoyu established by Josui

Before the attack on Odawara-jō castle, in the fifth month of 1589 (Tenshō 17), although Josui had retired and handed over the headship of the family to Nagamasa, Hideyoshi still gave him important positions.

Having returned in triumph from Odawara to Kyōto by way of Aizu, Hideyoshi held a morning tea gathering at Jurakudai on the twenty third day of the ninth month of the same year. A scroll painting called Ships Returning from a Distant Bay (*Empo Kihan Zu*) from the brush of Muxi (Mokkei) was hung in the *tokonoma* alcove. This was a spoil of war obtained from the Hōjō clan in the Siege of Odawara. Down on the floor in front of the *tokonoma* pillar, there was the Jōō Tenmoku tea bowl with the Shigi Katatsuki tea caddy placed in it and a wild daisy was displayed in the gap between the bowl and the tea caddy.³ This arrangement was the idea of Hideyoshi, the host. Josui attended this tea gathering. Other guests are Hariya Sōwa and Tsuda Sōbon who recorded this tea gathering (Sōbon's Tea-Gathering Diary and Record [*Sōbon Hoka Kaiki*], included in volume 7 of The Complete Collection of Classic Literature on the Way of Tea [*Sadō Koten Zenshū*]).

In the eighth month of 1591 (Tenshō 19), under the order of Hideyoshi, Josui traveled down to Hizen province to carry out *nawabari* for the construction of Nagoya-jō which was to be the base for the Korean invasion. *Nawabari* means the architectural preparations of castle design and construction.

Hideyoshi built Yamazato-maru within Ōsaka-jō and created a tranquil space with the rustic atmosphere of a rural mountain village, which was contrasted with the magnificent and gorgeous castle tower. Hideyoshi also built Yamazato-maru within Hizen Nagoya-jō castle and made a four-and-a-half-mat tearoom. According to *Sōtan Chanoyu Nikki*, all of the tea room pillars were bamboo, the *tokonoma* alcove

³ TN: Named after Takeno Jōō (武野 紹鷗, 1502–1555). For a brief summary of the career of Jōō, see Ian Martin Röpke, *Historical Dictionary of Osaka and Kyoto* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 1999), pp. 91-92.

For an accessible account of the development of the *wabi* aesthetic by Murata Jukō (村田珠光 1423-1502), Jōō and Rikyū, see Aaron Fisher, *Way of Tea: Reflections on a Life with Tea* (Clarendon: Tuttle Publishing, 2011), pp. 81-98.

was 1.36 metre (2 *shaku*) wide, there was a *dōko* tea shelf⁴ and two sliding screens, and there were brushwood fences outside the tearoom.

On the twenty sixth day of the third month of Tenshō 20 (1592, the name of era was changed to Bunroku in the twelfth month of the same year), Hideyoshi left Kyōto for Kyūshū and reached Hizen Nagoya at the end of the fourth month. A tea gathering was held in the relocated golden tea room and Kamiya Sōtan was invited. Sōtan wrote “The golden room had 3 tatami mats. The pillars are covered with beaten gold. The threshold and lintels were done similarly.” Sōtan welcomed Hideyoshi to the two-mat tea room in his Hakata residence in the morning of the last day of the tenth month of the same year.

In the second month of 1593 (Bunroku 2), Josui along with Asano Nagamasa was sent again to Korea to convey the orders of Hideyoshi to Ishida Mitsunari. But as Josui and Asano Nagamasa were so absorbed in their game of *go* that they failed to see Mitsunari, Mitsunari was enraged. When Josui returned without the permission of Hideyoshi in the seventh month of 1593, this made Hideyoshi furious. In seeking refuge from these difficulties, Josui took the tonsure and called himself Josui Ensei.

Josui was pardoned in the eighth month of the next year. Later this year, he once again visited the headquarters of Nagoya-jō castle wearing *jittoku* to pay his respects by serving at the side of Hideyoshi. *Jittoku* are the clothes used as the formal attire of tea men. *Jittoku* are an unlined (*hitoe*) half *haori* coat with the sides being loosely stitched together and are usually made of black linen or silk gauze.

In the eighth month of the same year (1593), Josui was granted territory yielding 2,000 *koku* of rice in Ittō-gun, Harima Province (Banshū, the southwestern part of present-day Hyōgo Prefecture) as a kind of travelling expense (*tōmoku-ryō*). In those days, Josui spent much of his time accompanying Hideyoshi in Kyōto. In the next year, 1596 (Keichō 1), Josui stayed in Kyōto and renewed his friendship with Hosokawa Yūsai (1534-1610). As will be described later, Josui and Yūsai both

⁴ TN: The *dōko* tea shelf is an enclosed closet-like space with shelves that can be opened while sitting on the tatami. The *dōko* reduces the need to leave to the room for the *mizuya* preparation room to retrieve and return utensils.

attended the tea gathering hosted by Hideyoshi in the compound of Rikyū at Samegai. Yūsai was a warlord who participated in conquest of Kyūshū and the Siege of Odawara-jō but he fought for Tokugawa Ieyasu during the Battle of Sekigahara (1600). Having learned the secret transmissions (*kokin denju*) of the Anthology of Old and New Japanese Poem (*Kokinshū*) from Sanjōnishi Saneki and written an anthology of *waka* poems called *Shūmyōshū*, Josui was himself one of the first-rate poets of his day.

In the eighth month of 1598 (Keichō 3), Hideyoshi died of illness.⁵ Following orders left after his death, all forces stationed in Korea were withdrawn. Josui's son Nagamasa also left for Japan in the eleventh month of the same year. Josui left Buzen Nakatsu for the new residence in Fushimi, Kyōto in the twelfth month of the same year.

The well-known Kuroda Josui Rules for Chanoyu (*Kuroda Josui Chanoyu Sadame-gaki*) were written during his Kyōto stay in the first month of 1599 (Keichō 4). This is a simple document with 3 main articles, the outlines of which are as follows:

- (i) When you grind tea leaves, make sure to do it carefully, undisturbed and as quietly as possible.
- (ii) Tea ware from tea bowls down should be washed often, so as to keep them free of dirt.
- (iii) Don't forget to add a ladleful of water when you scoop a ladleful out of the kettle. Never waste water or leave it reduced.

Josui was said to have hung these regulations on the wall of the tearoom preparation area (*mizuya*). For your reference, the original text is as follows (The Genealogical

⁵ TN: For an account of the implications of the deaths of Hideyoshi, Ishida Mitsunari and Konishi Yukinaga for the persecution of Catholicism, including the refusal by Kuroda Nagamasa to allow Yukinaga to receive the Last Rites from a priest, see Yosaburō Takekoshi, *The Economic Aspects of the History of the Civilization of Japan*, Volume 2 (Milton Park: Taylor & Francis, 2004), pp. 66-69.

Table of the Kuroda Family [*Kuroda Kafu*] :

定

一、茶引候事、いかにも静に廻し、油断なくとゞこほらぬ様に引可候事。

(Cha hiki sōrō koto, ikanimo shizukani mawashi, yudan naku todokōranu yōni hiku beku sōrō koto.)

一、茶碗以下あかづき不申様に、度々洗可申候事。

(Chawan ika akazuki mōsanu yōni, tabitabi arau beku mōshi sōrō koto.)

一、釜の湯一ひしやく汲取候はゞ、又水一ひしやくさし候て、まどひ置可申候。つかひ捨、のみ捨に仕間敷候事。

(Kama no yu hito hishaku kumitori sōrawaba, mata hito hishaku sashi sōraite, madohi oku beku mōshi sōrō. Tsukai sute, nomi sute ni sumajiku sōrō koto.)

右我流にてはなく利休流にて候間能々守可申候事。

(Migi garyū nite wa naku Rikyū ryū nite sōrō aida yoku yoku mamoru beku mōshi sōrō koto.)

惣て人の分別も、静とおもへば油断に成、とどこほらぬとおもへばせはしく成候て、各生付得方に成候。

(Subete hito no funbetsu mo, shizuka to omoeba yudan ni nari, todokōranu to omoeba sewashiku nari sōrai te, onoono umaretsuki ekata ni nari sōrō.)

又随分理明白なる様におもへども、欲あかにけがれやすく候。

(Mata zuibun ri meihaku naru yōni omoedomo, yoku aka ni kegare yasuku sōrō.)

又親主の恩を始、朋輩家人共の恩も預り候事多く候処に、其恩を可報とおもふ心なく、終に神仏の罰をかふぶり候。

(Mata oya aruji no on wo hajime, houhai kajin domo no on mo azukari sōrō tokoro ni, sono on wo mukuu beshi to omou kokoro naku, tsui ni shinbutsu no batsu wo kōburi sōrō.)

然ば右三ヶ条、朝夕の湯水の上にてても、能々分別候ため書付置候也。

(Shikaraba migi sankajō, asayuu no yumizu no ue nitemo yokuyoku funbetsu

no tame kakitsuke oki sōrō nari.)

慶長四年正月日 (Keichō yo nen shōgatsu bi) 如水 (Josui)

In writing these three rules Josui emphasized that were not formulated by his own practice, but as they were elements of the tea of Rikyū they had to be closely followed. Josui continued by saying that “there are many debts of gratitude owed to parents, masters, friends and family members but if these favors are not requited, there is the prospect of punishment by Shintō and Buddhist deities. To ensure that these three Rules for Chanoyu are followed in the practice of morning and evening tea, they are written and displayed to encourage discrimination.”

This was the period when the power relations were fluid and unstable after the death of Hideyoshi. After marching down to Ōsaka from Fushimi under the leadership of Toyotomi Hideyori, Maeda Toshiie succumbed to sickness on the third leap moon. Nagamasa, Katō Kiyomasa and others mounted a pursuit attack of Ishida Mitsunari.⁶ Mitsunari escaped to Sawayama after he retired from the position of Bugyō (magistrate). In the same month, Tokugawa Ieyasu captured Fushimi-jō castle. It was during such times as these that Josui wrote his Rules for Chanoyu.

3. Tea Gatherings of Josui in Fukuoka

On the fifteenth day of the ninth month of 1600 (Keichō 5), the Battle of Sekigahara ended after only one day. Highly appreciating the military service of Nagamasa in the Battle of Sekigahara, Ieyasu transferred him to Chikuzen province from his former six counties of Buzen province. According to The Genealogical Table of the Kuroda Family (*Kuroda Kafu*), in the twelfth month of the same year, Josui and Nagamasa entered Hakata from Buzen by way of Iizuka. They lodged at the residence of Kamiya Sōtan when they were in Hakata. This was the residence where Sōtan

⁶ TN: For an account of the details of the escape of Mitsunari, including his escape from Osaka-jo castle wearing women's clothes as he rode in a carriage for women, see Markus Sesko, *Masamune: His Work, his Fame and his Legacy* (Morrisville: Lulu Press, 2015), p. 134.

welcomed Hideyoshi on the last day of the tenth month of 1592 (Tenshō 20).⁷ And on the eleventh day of that month, Kuroda Shuri, a nephew of Josui acting as a representative of Nagamasa, received Najima-jō from its former owner Kobayakawa Hideaki. Josui was 55 at this time.

The Genealogical Table of the Kuroda Family (*Kuroda Kafu*) records the transportation of the retainers from Buzen to Chikuzen, with many travelling to Najima or Hakata by way of Kama or Honami after crossing the Nanamagari Tōge pass (present day Chūai Tōge pass) located in the border of Miyako-gun and Tagawa-gun. Others, especially women, child and household assets, came into Hakata by ship from Nakatsu river, by way of Akamaga-seki and Ashiya. Many merchants, craftsmen and Buddhist monks also moved to Chikuzen. This was the so-called Chikuzen Entry Procession (*Chikuzen Ouchiiri*).

According to the Tea Diary of Sōtan (*Sōtan Chanoyu Nikki*), on the morning of the ninth day of the tenth month of Keichō 6 (1600), Nagamasa, the legitimate son of Josui, held a *kuchi-kiri* tea gathering at a villa built in Torikai village, located west of Fukuoka-jo castle.⁸ The guest of honor was Josui, who was living in Dazaifu at that time, and the *shōban* attendant was Kamiya Sōtan.

As a point of information, *kuchi-kiri* means the tea event held around the first day of winter (*rittō*), the time of the first use of the *ro* hearth. Tea is made from the mill-ground leaves taken from the *cha tsubo* container in which the tea leaves harvested fresh in spring have been stored in through autumn.⁹ It is considered to be

⁷ TN: A summary of this Hakata event held in Naraya-machi is provided by A. L. Sadler, *Cha-No-Yu: The Japanese Tea Ceremony* (Tuttle Publishing, 2011), pp. 148-150. In terms of current Yamakasa affiliation, Naraya is part of Nishi Nagare.

⁸ When he built Fukuoka-jō, Kuroda Nagamasa relocated Torikai Hachimangū to the present location (Imagawa 2 Chōme, Chūō-ku, Fukuoka-shi) and built the so-called Torikai Gobekkan tea house. Currently, Minami Tōjin Elementary School and Torikai municipal housing are built at the site. In Nagamasa's days, the large moat running into the land contained water to the margin of the stone walls of the tea house.

⁹ TN: For a brief mention of a Hakata *kuchi-kiri* gathering hosted by Shimai Sōshitsu, see Kazushige Horimoto (translated by Tim Cross), 'Chanoyu in Hakata: Zen, Karamono and the Reception of Tea Ceremony' in Andrew Cobbing (ed.), *Hakata: The Cultural Worlds of Northern Kyushu* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), p. 213.

an important New Year event for *chanoyu*.¹⁰

To review the details of that gathering, it was held in the two-mat tea room with a new *ubaguchi* (the shape that is considered to resemble the shape of the puckered mouth of a toothless elderly woman) kettle placed over the *irori* fireplace. The scroll painting displayed in the *tokonoma* alcove was a portrait of Dharma, the fresh water container was Shigaraki ware, the tea caddy was Seto ware in the *katatsuki* shape with a *shifuku* bag made of white cloth decorated with golden brocade. The tea bowl was black Raku ware and the tea was served by Nagamasa. This gathering was the beginning of the relationship of Kamiya Sōtan with the Kuroda clan, the new lord of the domain.

As it turns out, there are extant letters from Josui to Kamiya Sōtan from around this period and the name of Sōtan is written in the same low position as Josui, the sender; by the usual conventions of respect, the name of the recipient is written closer to the top of the page than the name of the sender. (Old Documents of Chikuzen [*Chikuzen Komonjo*], held in the archives of Fukuoka Prefectural Library). What is especially worthy of mention is that this letter is dated the twenty ninth day of the eleventh month of 1600 (Keichō 5). In this letter, in addition to mentioning that his legitimate son Nagamasa had become the feudal lord of Chikuzen province, Josui wrote that he warned the Hakata merchants that no mercy would be discerned should there be any immoral deeds. Josui also wrote that he would like to have a detailed interview with Sōtan when he arrived in Chikuzen around the seventh or eighth day of the next month (volume 5 of *The Historical Materials of Fukuoka Prefecture* [*Fukuoka Ken Shi Shiryō*]). Even just reading the content of these letters and observing the way they were composed makes it quite apparent that Josui and

¹⁰ As there are generally no *cha tsubo* containers holding harvested tea leaves in private houses, and because tea is rarely ground at home with a stone mill (*cha usu*), it is extremely unusual to have the *kuchi-kiri* tea procedure in the true sense of the word these days. The event tends to be held in early in the eleventh month around the first day of winter (*rittō*), when we open the *ro* hearth in exchange for portable *furo*. For your reference, the *furo* is a kind of brazier that holds ash and charcoal and is used to boil water with a kettle in tea gatherings. They are made of Chinese bronze, iron or clay and used from summer to autumn.

Nagamasa, the new lords of Chikuzen province, did not consider Sōtan to be an exceptional entrepreneur: he was merely a Chikuzen merchant. This treatment must have been a humiliating experience for Kamiya Sōtan who had once received special hospitality from Hideyoshi amidst the warlords in the main hall of Ōsaka-jō castle.¹¹

After the establishment of this relationship, Sōtan appears to have held New Year celebratory tea gatherings with Josui in the first month of every year. On the fifteenth day of the first month of 1602 (Keichō 7), Josui, Nagamasa and Terasawa Hirotaka, the lord of Karatsu-jō castle, were invited to the gathering and the fifteenth day of the same month the following year Sōtan hosted a tea gathering with Josui as the guest of honor.

On the twentieth day of the third month of 1604 (Keichō 9), Josui died of illness at the age of 59. Concerning the place of death, the official record of Fukuoka domain, The Genealogical Table of the Kuroda Family (*Kuroda Kafu*), notes that “the body of Josui was buried in Sōfuku-ji temple, located in Jūri Matsu-no-uchi, Naka-gun”, from which some suggest that his hometown Fukuoka was the place of his death. However, the majority opinion is that he probably died in his Fushimi residence in Kyōto (Miura Akihiko, *Kuroda Josui*. And other publications.).

Josui’s Buddhist name is Ryūkōinden Ensei Koji and Nagamasa built a sub-

¹¹ TN: Andrew Maske provides some details of the wider context:

As newcomers determined to assert their control over the province of Chikuzen, the Kuroda apparently wanted to keep Kamiya Sōtan’s considerable influence and economic power in check. ... Sōtan was an enthusiastic practitioner of *chanoyu*, and because of this, as well as his entrepreneurial prowess and economic resources, he was reputed to be a great favorite of Toyotomi Hideyoshi. After the Kuroda took control of Chikuzen, however, Sōtan found the scope of his trading activities severely restricted, and his knowledge of tea reduced to a skill for the exploitation of his new domain lord. Despite the disappointment he must have felt at the treatment he received at the hands of Kuroda Nagamasa, it appears that Sōtan continued to actively support the new *han* administration, and his thorough knowledge of the Karatsu region suggests that it may have been his idea to introduce Hizen technology to improve the ware of Takatori.

Andrew L. Maske, *Potters and Patrons in Edo Period Japan: Takatori Ware and the Kuroda Domain* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 58, 9.

temple within the precincts of Daitoku-ji called Ryūkōin which was named after his Buddhist name. The founder was Shun'oku Sōen who was the Buddhist mentor of both Josui and Nagamasa. Sōen was the 111th head priest of Daitokuji and had friendly relations with Rikyū and Imai Sōkyū.

Josui's grave in Fukuoka is located in Sōfuku-ji in Hakata-ku, Fukuoka-shi, the family temple of the Kuroda clan and in Nishi-kōen, Josui and Nagamasa are enshrined a shrine called Terumo Jinja. The shrine used to be at the foot of the base of the castle's keep (*honmaru tenshudai*) but was moved to the ruins of Kisshōin at Kogarasu (in the vicinity of present day Kego-kōen) in the Meiji era and later relocated to the present location in the fourth month of Meiji 42 (volume 1 of Record of Shrines in Fukuoka Prefecture [*Fukuoka-ken Jinja Shi*]). Terumo Jinja (光雲神社) was named by combining two characters: 'kō (光)' from Ryūkō-in-den Ensei Koji, the Buddhist name of Josui; and 'un (雲)' from Kōun-in-den Koshin'in Dōboku Koji, the Buddhist name of Nagamasa.

4. Josui at the Samegai Residence Tea Gathering

Incidentally, there is one tea gathering that Josui attended which raises some concerns. It is the gathering hosted by Sen no Rikyū. This gathering is recorded in Excerpts from the Tea Diary of Imai Sōkyū (*Imai Sōkyū Chanoyu Nikki Nukigaki* (included in volume 10 of The Complete Collection of Classic Literature on the Way of Tea [*Sadō Koten Zenshū*]), excerpts from the tea diary of Imai Sōkyū, one of the Sadō tea masters employed by Hideyoshi.

In the morning of the thirteenth day in the sixth month of the same year (Tenshō 15) At Samegai residence, a gathering of Sōeki (Rikyū)

Lord Hideyoshi, Kuroda Kageyu, Yūsai and Sōkyū were present

- On the long board (*nagaita*), there was a bronze brazier (*furo*) [only charcoal without fire], transferred fire from a *handa* earth ware pot and then placed the *unryū* tea kettle while wet. A well bucket shaped water container (*tsurube mizusashi*) [with the water from Samegai well], ladle

stand (*hishaku tate*), a rest for the lid of tea kettle (*futa oki*) and a rest for the lid of tea pot (*hikikiri*)

- In the *tokonoma* alcove, a *tanzaku* with Hideyoshi's poem in his own hand writing hung in the alcove through the gathering. It was said to be given in the previous year.

It is the time you can scoop up the detached mind when you can be recognized as a real tea master.

(*Sokoinaki kokoro no uchi wo kumite koso ocha no yusha towa shirare tari ken.*)

- Tea caddy, Mossō (wooden mold for shaping rice), a tea-bowl stand (*tenmoku dai*) is an Amagasaki *dai*, *oritame* and a small container with a lid (*gōsu*).

After the tea, all moved to the drawing room to have a weak infusion of powdered tea (*usucha*) and Lord Hideyoshi ordered the two of them to compose *waka* poems.

Because this is the age free of defilement, the spring water can keep calm and clear.

(*Nigori naki kono miyo toteya ashihiki no iwai no mizu mo yasuku sumu ran.*)

Perhaps the voices from ancient times tell us that the clean stream of pure spring water has died.

(*Bandai no koe mo kyō yori mashimizu no kiyoki nagare wa taeshi tozo omou.*)

In the morning of the thirteenth day of the sixth month of 1587 (Tenshō 15), in

Rikyū's residence at Samegai, Kyōto, a tea gathering with Hideyoshi was hosted by Rikyū. The *shōban* attendants were Kuroda Kageyu, the formerly mentioned Hosokawa Yūsai and Imai Sōkyū.

It was a morning gathering in summer. The water container was a well bucket shape (*tsurube mizusashi*) filled with the water from Samegai, an area well-known for its notably excellent natural water and a wet *umryū* tea kettle is in place. In the *tokonoma* alcove, a *tanzaku* written by Hideyoshi, featuring his poem beginning with "Sokoi naki" is displayed. It is written that this poem had been received by Rikyū from Hideyoshi the previous year. For your information, this poem is attributed to Hideyoshi in this record but now it is considered to have been written by Rikyū.

After the tea gathering, all moved to the drawing room to have a weak infusion of powdered tea (*usucha*) and Lord Hideyoshi ordered Yūsai and Sōkyū to compose *waka* poems. Respectively, their poems began with 'Nigori naki' and 'Bandai no'. As it was previously mentioned, Yūsai was a *waka* poet and that must be why Hideyoshi ordered them to compose *waka* poems once the tea gathering had been concluded.

By the way, as this tea gathering was held in the sixth month of the year 1587 (Tenshō 15), however, it was directly following the Kyūshū Conquest and Hideyoshi was supposed to be staying at Hakozaki Hachimangū after arriving in Hakata from Sendai, Satsuma province. It was at this time that Hideyoshi granted rewards after examining battlefield service in the Kyūshū Conquest. As previously mentioned, Josui received six counties of Buzen province. Rikyū was also staying at Hakozaki. As for the activities of Hideyoshi and Rikyū at Hakozaki, on the thirteenth day of the sixth month, the same day as the tea gathering at Samegai, Hideyoshi attended the tea gathering of Tsuda Sōkyū. It was the gathering held at the tea house improvised in imitation of a salt-making hut. The next day, on the fourteenth day of the sixth month, Rikyū held a tea gathering at around noon in Lantern Hall (Tōrōdō) within Hakozaki Hachimangū. Rikyū invited three prominent members of Hakata's senior vassals handling government affairs (Toshiyori-shū): Kamiya Sōtan, Shimai Sōshitsu and Shibata Sōjin.

According to these descriptions from authentic documents, Hideyoshi and Rikyū

were both staying at Hakozaki in the sixth month of 1587 (Tenshō 15). Judging from this evidence, the Excerpts from the Tea Diary of Imai Sōkyū (*Imai Sōkyū Chanoyu Nikki Nukigaki*) assertion that Tenshō 15 was the year in which the tea gathering at Samegai residence (*Samegai yashiki ni okeru chakai*) was held appears to be a mistake. As this record of tea gatherings is a collection of *excerpts*, as the title of the book makes clear, and given that the whereabouts of the original text is unknown, it is impossible to compare the extracts with their original documents. There may have been a transcription error made when the date was incorrectly written. Although such weaknesses are part of the challenge of working with an edited manuscript, it would be an overstatement to claim that the entire content of the book is compromised. (The Annotated Bibliography of Excerpts from the Tea Diary of Imai Sōkyū (*Imai Sōkyū Chanoyu Nikki Nukigaki* by Nagashima Fukutarō).

The latter part of this chapter explores when the tea gathering at Samegai residence (*Samegai yashiki no chakai*) could have taken place, if it was not in 1587 (Tenshō 15).

5. The timing of the tea gathering at Samegai residence (*Samegai yashiki no chakai*)

As depicted in the record of tea gathering previously mentioned, the tea gathering on thirteenth of the sixth month was hosted by Rikyū and the guest of honor was Hideyoshi with Yūsai, Kageyu and Sōkyū as accompanying guests.

Imai Sōkyū died on the fifth day of the eighth month of 1593 (Bunroku 2). As it is written in the *Metsugo* volume of *Nanpōroku*, Sōkyū's *temae* (tea serving method) was so wonderful that he was appointed Sadō (the person in charge of the tea gathering) by Hideyoshi. But Sōkyū gradually came to be treated coldly by Hideyoshi since he was perceived to be 'the tea master without strong feelings (*omoiiretaru koto naki chajin*)'. According to the Encyclopedia of Rikyū (*Rikyū Daijiten*), Sōkyū had very little involvement with any of the major tea ceremonies after the Great Kitano Tea Gathering at Kitano Tenmangū on the first day of the tenth month of 1587 (Tenshō 15) (from the Imai Sōkyū section of the Encyclopedia). Rumor has it

that there was no intention to even prepare a seat for Sōkyū at this gathering.

In the case of Yūsai, he rejected the offer from Akechi Mitsuhide to join him in Honnō-ji incident (the rebellion against their lord Nobunaga). After the incident, Yūsai took the tonsure, and assumed the name of Yūsai Genshi to seclude himself in Tango Tanabe-jō after he had handed the reigns of the family over to Tadaoki (aka Sansai). Concerning the official title of Kuroda Kanbē, he received the title of Kageyushi-jikan (Vice-Minister of the Office of Investigators of the Records of Outgoing Officials) when he was appointed Jugoi-no-ge (Junior Fifth Rank, Lower Grade).

As explained above, the time when the pseudonym Yūsai was started to be used was later than 1582 (Tenshō 10) and the time Josui was given the official title Kageyushi was the third month of 1586 (Tenshō 14). Rikyū's death was in the second month of 1591 (Tenshō 19). If Yūsai and Kageyu were present and Rikyū was alive as suggested by record of *Imai Sōkyū Chanoyu Nikki Nukigaki*, the timing must be between the third month of 1586 (Tenshō 14) and the second month of 1591 (Tenshō 19).

Within that period, the sixth month of 1587 (Tenshō 15) was the middle of the Kyūshū Conquest and, as a result, Hideyoshi as well as Rikyū were staying at Hakozaki. In the second month of 1588 (Tenshō 16), Josui went off to the Kumamoto region to suppress the Higo riot and in the seventh month, he was engaged in the construction of Takamatsu-jō castle in Sanuki province. He was not in Kyōto. Josui later followed Hideyoshi and participated in the attack of Odawara-jō castle in the third month of 1590 (Tenshō 18) and entered the castle to advise Hōjō Ujimasa and Ujinao to make peace with Hideyoshi. At this time, Rikyū was also following in the military entourage.

Therefore, the possible timing for the above-mentioned men to be present at the Samegai tea gathering in Kyōto was either 1586 (Tenshō 14) or 1589 (Tenshō 17). Both options are before the attack on Odawara-jō when Josui was taught the benefits of *chanoyu* by Hideyoshi, but even if it precedes that moment, it is not such an issue.

If these two years are compared, 1586 (Tenshō 14) and 1589 (Tenshō 17),

considering that Hideyoshi was starting to treat Sōkyū coldly and Sōkyū was beginning to avoid attending Hideyoshi's tea gatherings after the Great Kitano Tea Gathering in 1587 (Tenshō 15), it is may be reasonable to speculate that the Samegai gathering took place in 1586 (Tenshō 14) rather than 1589 (Tenshō 17).

1586 (Tenshō 14) is the year of the Kyūshū Conquest. Josui received the title of Kageyushi in the third month and was appointed Gungen (Deputy Commander) of the Kyūshū Conquest troops and left Kyōto with four thousand soldiers. The tea gathering at Samegai residence (*Samegai yashiki no chakai*) might have been held about one month prior to Josui's dispatch to the Kyūshū Conquest.

6. The artificiality of Tachibana Jitsuzan

One more doubt about the tea gathering at Samegai residence (*Samegai yashiki no chakai*) remains to be discussed.

In the Genealogical Table of the Kuroda Family (*Kuroda Kafu*) written and edited by Kaibara Ekken by order of the Fukuoka Domain, and in *Nampōroku*, a tea book edited by Tachibana Jitsuzan, there are tea gatherings which closely resemble the Samegai gathering in Excerpts from the Tea Diary of Imai Sōkyū (*Imai Sōkyū Chanoyu Nikki Nukigaki*). They are tea gatherings held at the Samegai residence of Rikyū on the morning of the thirteenth day of the sixth month using the water from Samegai well. The guest of honor was Hideyoshi with Kuroda Kageyu, Hosokawa Yūsai and Imai Sōkyū as accompanying guests. The differences of the tea gathering in the Genealogical Table and *Nampōroku* with the Sōkyū Excerpts are that the years of the events are unidentified and that the composer of the '*Bandai no*' poem was attributed to Josui, not Sōkyū.

Ekken was 25 years senior and the teacher of Confucianism to Jitsuzan. However, Jitsuzan was a close adviser of Kuroda Mitsuyuki, the third lord of Fukuoka domain and one of the senior vassals who received a high enfeoffment worth 2,750 *koku* of rice. Jitsuzan and his family were one of the important patrons of Ekken.

Furthermore, in recent years, it is widely believed that *Nampōroku* was edited and written by Jitsuzan. Especially, the 'Kai' (Tea Gatherings) volume of *Nampōroku*

has many descriptions of tea gatherings in common with or resembling those of The Record of Hundred Tea Parties of Rikyū (*Rikyū Hyakkaiiki*) and Excerpts from the Tea Diary of Imai Sōkyū (*Imai Sōkyū Chanoyu Nikki Nukigaki*) (Reading Nampōroku [*Nampōroku Wo Yomu*] by Kumakura Isao).

However, the historical documents Jitsuzan relied on to edit the 'Kai' volume are disputable. Since documents related to tea gatherings are thought to have been hard to come by because in the early Edo period, unlike the situation of those documents today which have been released to the public by publishing, they must have been owned privately.

Even with Excerpts from the Tea Diary of Imai Sōkyū (*Imai Sōkyū Chanoyu Nikki Nukigaki*) which were excerpted from the manuscript of the Tea Diary of Imai Sōkyū (*Imai Sōkyū Chanoyu Nikki*) in eighth month of 1820 (Bunsei 3), it seems that the excerpt itself was transcribed later in 1822 (Bunsei 5) and in 1847 (Kōka 4) (volume 10 of The Complete Collection of Classic Literature on the Way of Tea [*Sadō Koten Zenshū*]). This happened more than 100 years after the death of Jitsuzan. He would never know the existence of the Sōkyū Excerpts. Could he get the missing manuscript of Tea Ceremony Diary of Imai Sōkyū (*Imai Sōkyū Chanoyu Nikki*)? There remain doubts about how he came to know of the tea gathering at Samegai residence (*Samegai yashiki no chakai*).

In the meantime, The Genealogical Table of the Kuroda Family (*Kuroda Kafu*) and *Nampōroku* are both written and edited around the same time. The artificiality of Jitsuzan, and his intent on switching the composer of the Sōkyū poem to Josui in both documents becomes apparent if the influence of Jitsuzan on Ekken is considered (The Expansion of Nampōroku [*Nampōroku No Tenkai*] by Toda Katsuhisa, and the above mentioned book by Kumakura).

When *Nampōroku* and Excerpts from the Tea Diary of Imai Sōkyū (*Imai Sōkyū Chanoyu Nikki Nukigaki*) are compared, there are some tea gatherings in which the date, the guests and tea utensils match, such as the gathering held on the sixteenth day of the twelfth month and twenty sixth of the twelfth month. Among those gatherings, the tea gathering at Samegai residence (*Samegai yashiki no chakai*) on

the thirteenth day of the sixth month is the only one in which the name of Kuroda Josui appears. Is it possible that Jitsuzan assigned the role of a composer of a *waka* poem to Josui because he was driven by the sentimental considerations for Josui who is the founder of his master clan, the Kuroda clan. Jitsuzan could influence Ekken to write the same article as the *Nampōroku* in The Genealogical Table of the Kuroda Family (*Kuroda Kafu*). Ekken might have known that the article was manipulated by Jitsuzan but it is possible to think that he didn't dare to resist even if he knew it.

Although the above opinions are only speculative, there is one more example in which Jitsuzan made Ekken write a false description. In the topography treatise *Gazetteer of Chikuzen Province, Continued* (*Chikuzen no kuni shoku fu-do-ki*, 1708) which Ekken edited by the order of the Kuroda Domain, he introduces the remains of Shōgetsu-an (*Shōgetsu-an Kyūseki*) as the historic site on which a monk and *waka* poet in Muromachi period named Shōgen Shōtetsu resided near Sumiyoshi Shrine. But in fact, Shōgen never visited Kyūshū (A Study of Shōtetsu [*Shōtetsu No Kenkyū*] by Inada Toshinori). Jitsuzan built himself a hermitage on the site and called it Shōgetsu-an. This is a fiction made out of the respect Jitsuzan felt for Shōtetsu as a *waka* poem master. It seems Ekken was at his wits' end when he was asked to put Shōgetsu-an on *Chikuzen no kuni shoku fu-do-ki* that he asked Jitsuzan's brother Neisetsu (a.k.a. Minemura) to write the article. In addition, in his letter, he wrote "Now that I have written about Jitsuzan's hermitage, I have to write about villas of other senior vassals." (A letter to Takeda Shun'an on third day of the twelfth month, included in volume 1 of 'Letters' in volume 4 of 'Materials on Ekken'.)

Historians in later years didn't seem to doubt it, perhaps because they mixed up Shōtetsu's pupil Shōkō's coming down to Suō province and Kyūshū. In an appendix of *Chikuzen no Kuni Shoku Fudoki* edited by Katō Ichijun and Takatori Chikashige and *Dazai-kannai-shi* edited by Itō Tsunetari, the remains of Shōgetsu-an are introduced (reported in the Matsuoka Hirokazu article 'The remains of Shōgetsu-an: resolving its fictionality', published in No. 299 of *Nishinihon Bunka*).

When Jitsuzan created fiction, he didn't start from scratch. As seen in the example of the remains of Shōgetsu-an, it seems that he intentionally utilized Shōkō,

the star pupil of Shōtetsu, coming down to Kyūshū. That may be why the historians in later years like Ichijun, Chikashige or Tsunetari overlooked the fictionality of Jitsuzan.

Concerning the tea gathering at Samegai residence (*Samegai yashiki no chakai*) which Josui attended, considering that Josui was a man of culture fond of *waka* and *renga* poems, there is no odd feeling about the poem of Josui being written side by side with the poem of Hosokawa Yūsai. Furthermore, as Josui was said to be a descendant of Ingetsusai, the teacher of *waka* poems of Konoe family (A Biography of Kuroda Josui [*Kuroda Josui Den*] by Kaneko Kentarō), it is almost natural to conclude that the poem was composed by Josui rather than to assert that it was written by Sōkyū who hadn't achieved any results as a *waka* poet. Jitsuzan must have reached the same conclusion.

When it comes to the Josui view of *chanoyu*, he emphasized that the mental attitude toward *chanoyu* was the same as the attitude toward the divinity straightforwardly expressed in The Three Rules. In addition to that, although rather elementary, it is all the more basic and important to keep tea things clean and not to waste water. It is also strangely coincidental that his pseudonym has a character representing water and the rules are prescribed mainly for water.

Being a close adviser who contributed to the unification of the whole country under Hideyoshi, the Josui appreciation of the mental attitude toward *chanoyu* was very simple. By insisting that he was following the way of Rikyū, Josui must be another tea master who embodied the *chanoyu* of Rikyū symbolized by *wabi* (taste for the simple and quiet) and *sabi* (subdued refinement).

Tachibana Jitsuzan, a clansman of Fukuoka domain who lived almost 100 years after Josui, left a mark of his considerations for his predecessor maybe out of his respect for being the founder of the domain when he edited *Nampōroku*, the tea book.