

【翻訳】

Tachibana Minehira: Master of the
Niten Ichi Ryū Art of the Sword

(An annotated translation of the seventh 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 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. Six previous papers are translations of the first six 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. Chapter Five surveys the tea activities of

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Kuroda Josui (1546-1604) by examining the records of tea gatherings he supposedly 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. Chapter Six focuses on the activities of Tsuda Sōkyū and Kōgetsu Oshō by examining the history of Sōfuku-ji temple, the family temple of Kuroda clan. It also pays some attention to the famous waters for tea of Handō-sui in Mishiuro and the various wells and spring water in the Chikuzen area called Taikō-sui. This chapter surveys the Niten Ichiryū lineage of sword-fighting, beginning with Miyamoto Musashi and including the contribution of the Tachibana clan. The Oronoshima exile and return of Tachibana Minehira and his tea activities are examined. Similarities between the *The Book of Five Rings (Go Rin no Sho)* of the Niten Ichiryū lineage and the tea text *Nambōroku* are noted and explained in terms of the role of Tachibana Jitsuzan. Nambō Kai is briefly introduced and the Nambō Ryū model of complete transmission is contrasted with the incomplete transmission of grand master model.

Keywords

Miyamoto Musashi (宮本 武藏 c. 1584-1645), Tachibana Minehira (立花峰均 1674?-1746), Niten Ichi Ryū swordsmanship (二天一流), Nambō Ryū school of tea (茶道南坊流), Terao Magonojō Nobumasa (寺尾孫之丞信正 1611-1672), Shibatō Sanzaemon Yoshinori (柴任 三左衛門美矩 1626-1710), Yoshida Tarōemon Sanetsura (吉田太郎衛門実連), Tachibana Jitsuzan (立花実山 1655-1708), Kuroda Mitsuyuki (黒田光之 1628-1707 福岡藩 3代藩主), Ōtomo Sōrin (大友宗麟 1530-1587), Tokugawa Hidetada (徳川秀忠 1579-1632 江戸幕府の第2代征夷大將軍), Kuroda Tsunamasa (黒田 綱政 1659-1711), Manzan Dōhaku (円山道白 1636-1715), 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 seventh 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

1. The Miyamoto Musashi biography “Transcripts of Tanji Hōkin (*Tanji Hōkin Hikki*)”

Miyamoto Musashi (1584-1645) was a swordsman in early Edo period and the founder of an art of swordsmanship variously called Nitō Ryū (two-sword style), Enmei Ryū (Enmei style), Miyamoto Ryū (Miyamoto style) or Niten Ichi Ryū (Niten Ichi style).² Musashi was mindful of the art of warfare since a young age and after he

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. As a member of the Board of Directors of Nambō Kai, Matsuoka Hirokazu often delivers a report on his research prior to the beginning of the *kucha shiki* rites for the Jitsuzan-ki Cha-kai held in November and the Rikyū Nambō Sōkei-ki Cha-kai held in March. On March 10 2019, I had the honour of performing the *issu ni wan* procedure for the *kucha shiki* (供茶式) of the Rikyū Nambō Sōkei-ki Cha-kai. The *issu ni wan* procedure uses one *chaire* tea caddy and two *tenmoku* tea bowls: the first bowl is offered to the memory of Sen no Rikyū and the second to Nambō Sōkei. Once the bowls have been offered on the altar of Tōrin-ji, the priests commencing chanting. Included in this service is a recitation of the names of deceased directors of Nambō Kai, aligning the Nambō Ryū school of tea with Rikyū. 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.

² TN: A For an accessible overview of the seminal 1645 work of Miyamoto Musashi, see Alexander Bennett, *The Book of Five Rings: The Definitive Translation of the Timeless Masterpiece by Japan's Greatest Samurai Miyamoto Musashi* (North Clarendon: Tuttle, 2018). For a summary of the how the five chapters of *Go Rin no Sho* of Miyamoto Musashi, each named for one of the Buddhist elements (earth, water, fire, wind, sky), relate the Way of Combat to these natural principles, see Gauvain Leconte, 'A case of relationship between Eastern and Western philosophy:

won the duel against Arima Kihei of Shintō Ryū when he was 13, Musashi fought more than 60 duels without a single loss.

When discussing Musashi, it is common to quote from the Musashi biography called “Transcripts of Tanji Hōkin (*Tanji Hōkin Hikki*)”³. Among those people interested in Musashi, some consider the book as “one of the oldest biographies of Miyamoto Musashi with the most substantial contents” (Unpublished Documents of Miyamoto Musashi [*Miyamoto Musashi Mikan Shiryō*] edited by Motoyama Kazuki). On the other hand, some have noted that it is partially trustworthy and considerably incorrect (‘Discover Musashi & Kojirō, The Compact Dictionary of History’ [*Rekishi Shōjiten, Hakkutsu! Musashi & Kojirō*] supervised by Owada Tetsuo and Kubota Eiichi, 101 mysteries of Miyamoto Musashi [*Miyamoto Musashi 101 no Nazo*] by Kawaguchi Sunao).

Tanji Minehira (Hōkin) (1674?-1746), the author of the transcripts, was a retainer of Fukuoka domain from the Genroku era to the Hōei period with the retainer name Tachibana Sendayū Minehira. The Tanji surname is an older surname of the Tachibana clan. In fact, Hōkin was a biological brother of Tachibana Jitsuzan (1655-1708), the well-known compiler of *Nambō Roku*, and a man of tea who was instructed in the *sadō* of Nambō Ryū directly by Jitsuzan and permitted by him to transcribe *Nambō Roku*. The Hōkin transcript of *Nambō Roku* (Private Collection,

concepts of rhythm and habit in Miyamoto Musashi’s *Gorin no Sho*,
<https://univ-paris1.academia.edu/GauvainLeconte> (accessed 2020/03/10)

The occasional discussion of the need to study other arts, including tea (and noh), throughout the Leconte paper are thematically important to the analysis made by Matsuoka later in this translation of the points of similarity between the swordsmanship advocated by *Go Rin no Sho* and the Nambō Ryū school of tea reliance on *Nambō Roku*.

³ Fukuoka City Public Library owns *Heihō Taiso Bushū Genshin-kō Denrai* (Miyake Chōshun-ken library). The front cover is labelled *Bushū Denrai-ki Zen* and on the front page *Bushū Denki* is written, but as the title at the beginning of the main text *Heihō Taiso Bushū Genshin-kō Denrai* is written. The content of the book is the same as “Transcripts of Tanji Hōkin” (*Tanji Hōkin Hikki* included in Unpublished Documents of Miyamoto Musashi [*Miyamoto Musashi Mikan Shiryō*] edited by Motoyama Kazuki). Throughout this chapter “Transcripts of Tanji Hōkin” is used as the unified title.

deposited at Fukuoka City Museum) has been designated as a Cultural Asset of Fukuoka City, along with the Jitsuzan transcript of the same manuscript. This chapter introduces the vestiges of Hōkin as a Nambō Ryū man of tea and also a warrior of the Niten Ichi Ryū style of warfare.

2. Three generations of master swordsman genealogy from Miyamoto Musashi

“Transcripts of Tanji Hōkin (*Tanji Hōkin Hikki*)” is the journal outlining the behavior of Miyamoto Musashi, the founder of Niten Ichi Ryū (Niten Ichi style) swordsmanship and the record of the initiation into swordsmanship from Musashi to Minehira by way of Terao Magonojō Nobumasa, Shibatō Sanzaemon Yoshinori and Yoshida Tarōemon Sanetsura of the Fukuoka domain.

Concerning Terao Magonojō Nobumasa, the second transmitter of Niten Ichi Ryū and Shibatō Sanzaemon Yoshinori, the third transmitter of Niten Ichi Ryū, they are described in Transcripts of Tanji Hōkin as follows.

Although he was a vassal of the Hosokawa clan, Terao Magonojō Nobumasa, the second master swordsman of Niten Ichi Ryū, was cultivating the fields in the village near the castle town of Kumamoto instead of entering government service. As there were probably many pupils wanting to receive his coaching, Magonojō was said to have been apparently untroubled by concerns about money and rice. Magonojō was also said to be small but physically strong.

Shibatō Sanzaemon Yoshinori, the third master swordsman of Niten Ichi Ryū, was taught that style by Terao Magonojō when he was living in Higo province. Sanzaemon later left Kumamoto, seeking a position as a vassal in another domain, and he visited Shimamura Jūzaemon in Buzen Kokura province. Sanzaemon then went to Edo but was appointed as a vassal of the Fukuoka domain after being introduced to Tachibana Heizaemon Shigetane, the father of Minehira, by Jūzaemon.

Shigetane was a confidant of Kuroda Mitsuyuki, the third lord of Fukuoka domain, and with his recommendation Shigetane successfully arranged for Shibatō to be employed for 300 *koku* a year as a bodyguard of the lord. Many clansmen,

including Shigetane, studied swordsmanship under the direction of Shibatō. However, it seems that Shibatō was a big man and that “his behavior and speech were clumsy.” Shibatō eventually asked to be released from domain employment because he was demoted to being a horse guard after he incurred the wrath of Mitsuyuki with his garish appearance, overstated posture and showy deportment. In his later years, Shibatō retired to the port village of Banshū Akashi and became a monk called Kogakudōzui. Shibatō succumbed to illness on the twentieth day of the eighth month of 1706 (Hōei 3). It should be noted that Shibatō was the only disciple whom Terao Magonojō Nobumasa, the second master, inducted into the Niten Ichi Ryū art of swordsmanship.

3. Yoshida Tarōemon Sanetsura, the fourth master swordsman

Yoshida Tarōemon Sanetsura earned mastery of the Niten Ichi Ryū style of swordsmanship from Shibatō Sanzaemon when Shibatō was hired by the Fukuoka domain. In addition to the evidence of “Transcripts of Tanji Hōkin”, there is also The Record of Yoshida Family (*Yoshida-ke Denroku* included in the first and second volume of The Record of Yoshida Family in Fukuoka Domain [*Fukuoka-han Yoshida-ke Denroku*] supervised by Higaki Motokichi) as the local historical document which references Sanetsura.

The Yoshida family served as *chūro* (advisors to the domain lord) in the Fukuoka domain and successively held several important positions during Edo period. The Record of Yoshida Family was a historical record of Yoshida family edited by Yoshida Shikibu Harutoshi, the fifth head of the family, from the year of his retirement from the position of *karō* (chief retainer) in 1721 (Kyōhō 6) at the age of 62, and completed in 1733 (Kyōhō 18). Yoshida Tarōemon Sanetsura was a member of a branch family of the above-mentioned Yoshida family and in The Chapter of Descendants of Yoshida Iki Nagatoshi (Yoshida Iki Nagatoshi Matsuyō no Shō), the achievements of Sanetsura are noted. The details of hereditary succession of the Niten Ichi Ryū style of swordsmanship are described as follows.

Musashi was born in Banshū (the former name for a part of Hyogo

Prefecture) and in the middle years of his life, he went down and stayed in the Kokura domain in Buzen province before going to the Kumamoto domain in Buzen province where he was supported by Hosokawa Ecchū no Kami Tadatoshi until he died there. He was famous for his swordsmanship. He handed down the art to Terao Magonojō Nobumasa, a retainer of the Hosokawa clan in Higo province and Terao transmitted it to Shibatō. Shibatō moved to Chikuzen province from Higo province. Lord Mitsuyuki gave him a land grant and hired him as a bodyguard. Sanetsura learned the swordsmanship closely from Shibatō and with his rigorous training, he mastered the orthodox art of the founding master Musashi Genshin.

Concerning the achievements of Yoshida Tarōemon Sanetsura as a clansman, The Record of Yoshida Family (*Yoshida-ke Denroku*) describes them as follows. Those contents confirm the description of “Transcripts of Tanji Hōkin”.

He was born on the seventeenth day of the second month of 1638 (Kan'ei 15) in Tōren-ji (present day Nōgata, Fukuoka Prefecture, and its surrounding area). His father Tarōzaemon Toshisada was serving Kuroda Katsuyuki, the first lord of Tōren-ji domain which was a branch of the Fukuoka domain, with a stipend of 200 *koku* in rice. It was in the middle of the Shimabara War and Toshisada died on the twenty second day of the same month, right after the birth of Sanetsura, when he was participating in the attack on Hara-jō castle. Tōren-ji domain gave Toshisada's stipend to Sanetsura's sister and made her husband, Yoshida Godayū Sadanari, become the head of the family and then ordered him to transfer the family stipend to Sanetsura when the boy turned 15.

However Sanetsura started serving close to the Lord Yukikatsu at the age of 13 and was granted 20 *koku* for 6 people when he celebrated his coming-of-age at the age of 17. After the death of his father Yukikatsu, he was called to serve in the main domain as a horse guard with a new stipend of 200 *koku* by the third lord Mitsuyuki. Later, he was awarded 100 *koku* when he was ordered to be an inspector of Nagasaki (Nagasaki Metsuke) and received an additional 100 *koku* when he was ordered to

serve as *Edo-rusui* (a retainer representing the master during his absence),⁴ eventually receiving a total of 400 *koku*. Yoshida Harutoshi, the author of *The Record of Yoshida Family (Yoshida-ke Denroku)*, praised Sanetsura from his own private point of view saying that “it was an ambitious idea of his to double the stipend of his father by advancing his position year by year through his own efforts while not being content with the order of his lord to inherit the family stipend.” The original name of Sanetsura was Toshiharu (利翁) and after retiring in old age he made his real name his pseudonym and called himself Riō (利翁). He died on the third day of the eleventh month of 1709 (Hōei 6) at the age of 73 and was buried in Shōfuku-ji temple.

According to “Transcripts of Tanji Hōkin” (*Tanji Hōkin Hikki*), when Sanetsura was in Edo at the age of 18, he made a contract to become a student of Shibatō when Shibatō was still a masterless *rōnin*. Later, Shibatō became a vassal of the main Kuroda domain but as Sanetsura was residing a considerable distance from Fukuoka in Tōren-ji, Sanetsura directly received master-student training only once or twice a year because they couldn’t meet frequently.

Tachibana Heizaemon Shigetane, the father of Hōkin and a strongly trusted chief retainer of the third lord Mitsuyuki, heard that Sanetsura was a satisfactory swordsman and successfully requested that the lord call Sanetsura to the main domain from the Tōren-ji domain. Sanetsura was handed down the secrets of Niten Ichi Ryū swordsmanship when he visited Shibatō in Akashi on twenty second day of the fourth month of 1680 (Enpō 8) on his way up to Edo to serve as a *rusui-yaku* (the post representing the master during his absence) in the Edo residence.

Sanetsura was small but very strong and was so skillful in swordsmanship that he was once said to be the reincarnation of Miyamoto Musashi. In addition, some drawings by Musashi from his later years survived and Sanetsura was also good at calligraphy and drawing and even skillful at craftmanship, including seal engraving. Among the hundreds of pupils taught by Shibatō, Sanetsura was the only one who received the secret of Niten Ichi Ryū swordsmanship.

⁴ TN: For an account of the life as *Edo-rusui yaku*, see 山本 博文 『江戸お留守居役の日記』 講談社 2003.

4. The genealogy of Tachibana clan

To begin, a survey of the literature documenting the genealogy overview of Tachibana clan. According to the “Komono Genealogy” ([*Komono Kafu*], a photocopy is in the possession of the Fukuoka Prefectural Library), edited by Tachibana Masuyoshi, a cousin of Jitsuzan, in 1705 (Hōei 2), and the genealogical tree of the Tachibana family, is as follows.

The distant ancestors used Tajihi (多治比) as their family name, and later they used Tanji (丹埴) which was followed by Tanji (丹治) and when they came down from Kantō to Kyūshū to settle down in present day Komono, Koga City, they started using Komono (薦野) as their family name.

When Ōtomo Sōrin, a warlord in warring states period in Bungo area, invaded Chikuzen province and positioned his senior vassal Bekki Akitsura (later Tachibana Dōsetsu 1513-1585) in Mount Tachibana, Komono Mikawanokami Masutoki, a local clansman of the Komono area performed meritorious deeds under Tachibana Dōsetsu. After the Kyūshū conquest of Hideyoshi in 1587 (Tenshō 15), when Dōsetsu's adopted son Tachibana Hidanokami Muneshige (1569-1642) moved to Yanagawa, Mikawanokami Masutoki followed him to be a chief retainer with a stipend of 5000 *koku* and Masutoki was permitted to use the name Tachibana. From then on, the family surname changed from Komono to Tachibana.

Since Tachibana Muneshige joined the West Army in the in the Battle of Sekigahara in the ninth month of 1600 (Keichō 5), he had to yield Yanagawa-jō castle to the victorious East Army. Many of the clansmen who became masterless *rōnin* then served Katō Kiyomasa in Higo province but Minehira and others who had Chikuzen-based Tachibana Mikawanokami as their ancestor, were requested to serve as retainers of Kuroda Clan. As Mikawanokami was advanced in years when he served Kuroda clan, he soon retired with a stipend for 200 people and called himself Genga, his legitimate son Kichiemon Nariie was granted 4000 *koku* and his brother Hanemon was granted 1000 *koku*.

On the other hand, Muneshige went up to Edo and become a *hatamoto* retainer of the second Tokugawa shogun Hidetada with a stipend of 10,000 *koku* in Tanakura

of Mutsu province in 1606 (Keichō 11). He then returned to Yanagawa province in 1621 (Gen'na 7) after performing meritorious deeds in the Siege of Ōsaka in winter (Ōsaka Fuyu no Jin) in 1614 (Keichō 19) and in the the Siege of Ōsaka in summer (Ōsaka Natsu no Jin) in the next year. However, by this time the former *kashin* vassals of the calibre of Tachibana Mikawanokami had already become Kuroda clansmen.

Concerning the genealogy of Kuroda family, there is also a report titled The Genealogy of Tachibana clan, a Chief Retainer of Fukuoka Domain (*Fukuoka-han Karō Shoku Tachibana Shi no Kakei* included in the sixteenth issue of the Journal of the Fukuoka Local History Forum [Fukuoka Chihō-shi Konwa-kai] published in 1976 [Shōwa 51]). In the article, three versions of the genealogy of Tachibana clan are introduced, namely, “The Komono Clan Lineage with the Surname Tanji” (*Tanji* [丹墀] *Sei Komono Shi Kei*), “The Simplified Lineage of the Surname Tanji” (*Tanji* [丹墀] *Sei Ryaku Kei*), “The Simplified Lineage of the Komono Clan, Part II” (*Komono* [薦野] *Shi Keifu Ryaku II*). “The Komono Clan Lineage with the Surname Tanji” (*Tanji* [丹墀] *Sei Komono Shi Kei*) is the oldest record which is said to have been re-written by Tachibana Jitsuzan in 1706 (Hōei 3). As a well-established family with a lengthy lineage, the Tachibana clan owns a significant number of genealogical manuscripts and the contents vary in substantiality depending on which family was responsible for its production. In addition to the genealogies mentioned above, other sources include Komono Clan Linage (*Komono-shi Kei*) or Genealogy of Chikuzen Tachibana (*Chikuzen Tachibana Keizu* owned by Fukuoka Prefectural Library).

Using the Fukuoka domain categorization of vassal families into large hereditary vassal families (Daifudai), old hereditary vassal families (Kofudai) and the new vassal families (Shinzan), Tachibana clan would be classified as one of so-called new vassal families. Although the Tachibana clan was one of the new vassal families, backed by the progress of civilian government, many talented bureaucrats appeared from the Tachibana clan and became the core members of the domain during the time of the third Kuroda daimyo Mitsuyuki. Heizaemon Shigetane, the father of Hōkin and Jitsuzan was one such leader, earning a stipend more than 10,000 *hoku*, and his

brother Masuhiro founded the Kanzaemon family and both the Heizaemon and Kanzaemon family took over the *churō* post of deputy retainers of the domain until the Meiji Restoration.

5. The exile of Hōkin to Oronoshima island

(1) The background of the transmission of Niten Ichi Ryū style of swordsmanship

In the Simplified Lineage of the Komono clan part II (*Komono* (薦野) *Shi Keifu Ryaku II* included in the formerly mentioned Maeda report), the achievements of Hōkin are introduced as follows:

Hōkin, Tachibana Hisatarō, later Sendayū, his mother was a sister of ^(マヅ)□
Mokusuke. Deceased. Adopted by Hanafusa Sukenoshin, but for an uncertain reason he separated and returned to the place of his father. On this occasion, Sukenoshin gave a part of his land worth 500 *koku* of rice to Hisatarō. Sukenoshin retired and gave his legitimate son Shichijūrō land worth 500 *koku* from his 1000 *koku* stipend. Hōkin served Lord Tsunamasa with a stipend of land worth 500 *koku*. Hōkin later returned to civil life and called himself Kakugen'ō [廓巖翁]. Hōkin was a master of Niten Ichi Ryū style of swordsmanship. On the fifteenth day of ninth month of 1707 (Hōei 4, the year of Teigai [Yin Fire Pig year]), his salary was reduced by 100 *koku* and he was put in the *ōgumi* squad [a group of guards]. In around 1708 or 1709 (Hōei 5 or 6), he was exiled to an island. He died on fifteenth day of the twelfth month of 1745 (Enkyō 2, the year of Icchū [Yin Wood Ox year]) but following a request made in his will, he is recorded to have died on the nineteenth day. He was 73 when he died and was buried in Tōrin-ji temple. His Buddhist name is Mukasai Kakugen Sōboku Koji.

The childhood name of Hōkin was Hisatarō but his birth year couldn't be found in any records. Judging from the year of his death, 1746 (Enkyō 3) at the age of 73, it must be 1674 (Enpō 2).

Hōkin was adopted by Hanafusa Sukenoshin, a castle keeper (*gojōdai*) who had a stipend of 1000 *koku* but he was divorced and Hōkin returned to his biological

father for an uncertain reason. On this occasion, 500 *koku*, half of the stipend of 1000 *koku* owned by Sukenoshin, was given to Hisatarō (that is, Hōkin) and the other half was allowed to be inherited by Shichijūrō, his biological son. The age of Hōkin at that time is not recorded, nor is the reason for their separation. If Sukenoshin had Shichijūrō, a biological son, it would not have been necessary to adopt Hisatarō in the first place. Sukenoshin must have divided his stipend in half for some good reason.

In “Transcripts of Tanji Hōkin” (*Tanji Hōkin Hikki*), Hōkin wrote that when he served Lord Tsunamasa, the fourth lord of Fukuoka domain, he was 19 years old. It is thought to be around 1692 (Genroku 5). In regards to the Niten Ichi Ryū style of swordsmanship, he became a disciple of Yoshida Sanetsura. As the house of Hōkin backs onto Sanetsura’s, they did swordsmanship training in each other’s yard whenever they had time. When Hōkin accompanied his lord to Edo for *sankin-kotai* (the alternate-year residence in Edo requirement imposed on the daimyo by the central government) or to Nagasaki as a guard of the city, he never missed a day training his swordsmanship as soon as he reached the destination and even when he was on the way, he gave every spare moments to practice.

In the fourth month of 1701 (Genroku 14), Hōkin once left service on Lord Tsunamasa’s way back home from Edo to visit Shibatō at Hyōgo, Settsu and practiced swordsmanship all day. Later, Sanetsura fell ill, lost strength year by year and felt that he could not teach swordsmanship any more. He told Shibatō about that and make Hōkin inherit the art of swordsmanship.

In the spring of 1703 (Genroku 14), on the way back home from Edo again, the party of the Fukuoka domain had to stay in Ōsaka for two days because the ship the lord was on couldn’t pass under Ōsaka bridge due to the river being swollen with the continuous hard rain. Although this two days was said to have been planned, Hōkin took leave and headed directly for Akashi on a small boat. The house of Shibatō was said to be located on the outskirts of Suishō-chō, a place near the seashore. Just as happened two years before, the family of Shibatō welcomed him. Hōkin used a waiting *gozabune* (a roofed pleasure boat) to board another vessel that would take him home.

The lord and his party left Akashi for home on the fourteenth day of the fourth month. They then left Fukuoka for Nagasaki to make guard house inspections right after they got back home. They came home on the third day of the fifth month. Hōkin apparently went with them and on the twenty eighth day of the same month, when all the missions were done, his inheritance of the swordsmanship was also formalized by receiving The Scroll of Nothingness (*Kū no Maki*) from Sanetsura.

Thus, Hōkin received the transmission of the Niten Ichi Ryū style of swordsmanship finally on the twenty eighth day of the fifth month of 1703 (Genroku 16) after training for it night and day, devoting every spare moment for 13 years since he became a disciple of Sanetsura when he was 21.

(2) The exile to Oronoshima island

According to the Registers of Vassals of Fukuoka Domain in the Genroku Era (*Fukuoka Genroku Bungenchō* included in the Collection of Registers of Vassals of Fukuoka Domain [*Fukuoka Han Bungenchō Shūsei*] edited by the Historical Research Society of Fukuoka Area [*Fukuoka Chihōshi Kenkyū-kai*]), Shigetaka, the eldest brother of Hōkin and the heir of Shigetane was allowed to use the family name Kuroda and received hereditary stipend of 11,719 *koku*. Jitsuzan, the second eldest brother also known as Gorōzaemon Shigemoto received 2,150 *koku*. Shigemi, his younger brother received 800 *koku*. And Tachibana Sendayū Hōkin himself received 400 *koku* and 100 bales of warehouse rice. Kichiemon Masuhiro, Hōkin's uncle received 6,370 *koku* and Tsuneshige, his elder cousin received 2,000 *koku*. In this way, all members of the Tachibana clan were clearly honoured by the domain.

Concerning the stipend of Hōkin, they say that it was 500 *koku* in The Simplified Lineage of the Komono clan part II (*Komono* (薦野) *Shi Keifu Ryaku II*) but as seen in the Registers of Vassals of Fukuoka Domain in the Genroku Era, officially it seems to be 400 *koku* and 100 bales of warehouse rice.

In the Fukuoka domain, Mitsuyuki, the third lord retired in the twelfth month of 1688 (Genroku 1) at the age of 61 and Tsunamasa succeeded his father. Mitsuyuki, however, provoked various feuds or emotional oppositions with Tsunamasa because

of Mitsuyuki's austerity until his death at the age of 80. Especially in the years before his death, their dissensions and conflicts became fierce. They fell out with each other over the succession of the family headship or the wedding of Yoshiyuki, Tsunamasa's adopted son around the fourth month of 1705 (Hōei 2). In Nagano Diary (*Nagano Nikki* included in Vol. 1 of Historical Materials of Modern Fukuoka and Hakata [*Kinsei Fukuoka Hakata Shiryō Dai 1 shū*] edited by Hidemura Senzō) written by Nagano Gendayū who was working in the retirement quarters of Mitsuyuki in those years, he wrote that Ogasawara Sado-no-kami mediated the meeting between Lord Mitsuyuki and Lord Tsunamasa on the twenty fifth day of the eighth month of that year as they hadn't met since the spring of the same year. They were temporarily reconciled through the mediation of a third party that time.

In this sort of situation, Jitsuzan, Fujii Kan'emon and Nemoto Kindayū who were working in the retirement quarters of Mitsuyuki were ordered to retire on the fifteenth day of the ninth month of 1707 (Hōei 4), right after Mitsuyuki died on the twentieth day of the fifth month of the same year. Hōkin was demoted to the Ōgumi (a group of guards) with his stipend reduced by 100 *koku*.

Nagano Diary also wrote that Hōkin was entrusted to Saitō Jin'emon, Jitsuzan to Nomura Tarobē and Tazaemon Michiakira, Jitsuzan's son to Yoshida Kyūdayū and that they only confiscated their martial arts tools, not their household tools. They were also ordered to relocate on the same day and Konishi Yoemon moved into Hōkin's residence. However, concerning the charges, Nagano Gendayū, the author of the diary only wrote that he didn't know about the crime they committed.

In the afterword of the Later Story of Tōrin-ji (*Tōrin-ji Nochi Nochi no Kī, Jibatsu* included in Vol. 3 of *Zen Cha Roku*) which he wrote along with *Bonjisō* during his confinement, he wrote closer details of the situation when he was told to be confined as follow. In the early morning of the third of the sixth month of 1708 (Hōei 5), several messengers sent from the Lord Tsunamasa, including Mōri Chōbei, came to the residence of Jitsuzan, Shōgetsu-an. A messenger said "The way you served Lord Mitsuyuki doesn't please Lord Tsunamasa. You are sent into exile to the territory of Nomura Yūshun Tarobē in Namazuda-mura, Kama-gun." In response to

this, Jitsuzan inquired the reason for the charge. But the messenger just replied “No details are provided.” Not knowing the reasons for his penalty, Jitsuzan was transferred to the place of exile and killed in prison in the evening of the tenth day of the eleventh month of the same year. Only because Jitsuzan had been true to Mitsuyuki, he incurred Tsunamasa’s hatred.

On the other hand, Tazaemon Michiakira, the legitimate son of Jitsuzan was confined to Murayamada-mura, Munakata-gun and Hōkin was confined to Kamitsukiguma-mura, Mushiroda-gun (present day Hakata-ku, Fukuoka-shi). Kozaemon Masutake, a young brother of Jitsuzan discharged from the post and Chōzaemon Shigetsune, a cousin of Jitsuzan and a top deputy retainer (*chūrō jōza*) was ordered to retire and his stipend was halved. Furthermore, on the twenty first day of the ninth month of the same year, Jirōdayū Shigemasa was ordered to retire and Tokudayū Masutaka, his legitimate son, was demoted to deputy retainer (*chūrō*) with reduced stipend of 4,000 *koku* and was changed his family name back to Tachibana.

Among these purges of Tachibana clan, only three of them, Jitsuzan, Michiakira and Minehira were punished by confinement, the severest of the charges.⁽²⁾

Incidentally, once confined to Kamitsukiguma-mura, Mushiroda-gun, Hōkin was deported to Oronoshima island (aka Daija-jima) which is located about 50 kilometers north of the city of Fukuoka. It is a small island in the middle of Genkai-nada sea. Fukuoka domain was placing guards of the island (*shimamori*) for the surveillance of foreign ships and it also made the island a place of banishment. The population was said to be less than 100 (*Chikuzen no Kuni Shoku Fudoki*, edited by Kaibara Ekiken)

As a reference, Hōkin confessed his true feeling in “Transcripts of Tanji Hōkin” (*Tanji Hōkin Hikki*). The following is the summary:

When I started serving Lord Tsunamasa, I thought I had to requite the great favour we received since my father Shigetane, even partially by working faithfully through life, by giving up my hereditary stipend after 100 years and by shaving my head afterwards. While I am serving, Lord Tsunamasa advised me to marry from time to time through my father Shigetane, my eldest brother Shigetaka, elder brother

Shigemoto and my uncle Masuhiro. I declined all his advice because I wanted to serve my Lord unhindered by the weight of marital ties and to achieve higher goals in swordsmanship. But the way to pay back the favour was closed unexpectedly by being convicted and banished to Oronoshima island on the third of the sixth month of 1708 (Hōei 5).

(3) Hōkin, after returning from exile on Oronoshima island

The punishment on Hōkin and others were severe. As mentioned earlier, Jitsuzan was banished to Namazuda-mura village, Kama-gun and killed by a clansman sent by Tsunamasa. Tazaemon, confined in Yamada-mura village, Munakata-gun, hadn't been pardoned for 5 years until the twenty first day of the seventh month of 1713 (Shōtoku 3). He then lived in Netabi-mura village, Kasuya-gun and was granted a stipend for 5 people as an allowance in need from Lord Nobumasa in the fifth month next year (Vol. 3 of Newly Revised Genealogy of Kuroda clan [*Shintei Kuroda Kafu*]).

Hōkin was released from the prison on the twenty first day of the seventh month of 1713 (Shōtoku 3), the same day Tazaemon was pardoned but it was only the freedom within the island (Nagano Diary [*Nagano Nikki*]). The permission to leave the island for home was granted two years later in the sixth month of 1715 (Shōtoku 5) ("Transcripts of Tanji Hōkin" [*Tanji Hōkin Hikki*]). He was 42 years old at that time.

After returning home, Hōkin lived in Aoki-mura village, Shima-gun (present day Nishi-ku, Fukuoka-shi). It was within the territory of Masutake, his elder brother. In Nagano Diary (Nagano Nikki), we can find a description suggesting Hōkin's situation in 1723 (Kyōhō 8), 8 years later than his return.

On the second day of the ninth month in the place called Nagatare, Chūzaemon, a son of Harada Yaemon killed a merchant from Meinohama. The situation was as follows: he and 3 or 4 of his young friends were on their way back home from the place of master Tachibana Gen in Aoki-mura for their swordsmanship training. Those young samurai told the four

merchants from Meinohama walking ahead of them to make way. And as the answer a merchant made was so rude, one of the young men thrashed him and passed through. The merchant started chasing after them and as Chūzaemon was in the rear, he was hung on to by the merchant. After all, Chūzaemon was obliged to slay him.

Master Gen was an instructor of Musashi Ryū style swordsmanship and young men attended his training from Fukuoka.

On the second day of the ninth month, a young man called Chūzaemon, a son of Harada Yaemon killed a merchant from Meinohama in the place called Nagatare (present day Nishi-ku, Fukuoka-shi). The place Chūzaemon attended was the place of Hōkin, aka master Gen, the instructor of Musashi Ryū (Niten Ichi Ryū) style swordsmanship.

According to “Transcripts of Tanji Hōkin” (Tanji Hōkin Hikki), Hōkin handed down Niten Ichi Ryū swordsmanship to Takekatsu, the son of Hōkin’s younger brother Shigemi, Takekatsu’s younger brother Taneakira and Kiriya Tan’ei. Hōkin handed down the art of swordsmanship by giving all three of them the Book of Five Rings (*Go Rin no Sho*) on the seventeenth day of the first month of 1722 (Kyōhō 7). He gave the versions of his own handwriting to Takekatsu and Tan’ei but to Taneakira, in addition to the transcript given by Hōkin’s master Sanetsura with his postscript, he also handed down a *naginata* (Japanese halberd) inherited from Musashi.

Hōkin died on the fifteenth day of the twelfth month of 1745 (Enkyō 2). According to his will, it was stated that the date of his death was the nineteenth day of the same month in The Simplified Linage of the Komono clan part II (*Komono* (薦野) *Shi Keifu Ryaku II*), but it is thought to be his preference for Musashi’s deathday, which is the nineteenth day of the fifth month. He was 73 when he died and buried in Hakata Tōrin-ji temple. His Buddhist name is Mukasai Kakugen Sōboku Koji. He had not married and his family line died out.

Incidentally, Hōkin called himself Kakugen-ō after returning from Oronoshima island. He uses other pseudonym such as Neisetsu (寧拙), Neisetsu (寧雪), Sōboku

(宗樸), Sōboku (宗朴), Hangen'an (半間庵) and Mukasai (無華齋) in his lifetime. His pseudonym as a tea master was mainly Neisetsu (寧拙).

Hōkin practiced zen under Manzan Dōhaku (1636-1715) who is famous for leading the restoration of the tradition of Sōtō sect zen style and Hōkin's pseudonyms are mainly conceived by Manzan. Here I want to quote a part of the section A Guidance for Sōboku Koji (Sōboku Koji ni Shimesu) in Sermons of Yōhō Manzan Oshō (*Yōhō Manzan Oshō Hōgo* included in Volume of Manzan/Menzan, 18 Zen Analects of Japan [*Nihon no Zen Goroku 18 Manzan/Menzan*] by Kagamishima Genryū). The original text is classical Chinese.

Tachibana Sōboku asked me to give him a Buddhist name. I responded by giving Muka (無華). In old saying, they say we would rather be clumsy than ingenious, artless rather than decorative, coarse rather than weak and unsophisticated rather than worldly. It meant that they used to dislike gorgeousness and mundanity. But not today. He who is not ingenious cultivates wisdom. He who is not decorative cultivates mercifulness. He who is not weak cultivates courage. He who is not worldly cultivate truthfulness. Concerning these four things, I used Muka (無華, no decorativeness) as his humble name. Thus, when he cultivate mercifulness in simple and plain manner, wisdom, courage and truthfulness all lie in him. (The rest is omitted.)

Mazan-oshō had many non-priest disciples as well as priest disciples. In relation to Fukuoka domain, the wife of fourth lord Tsunamasa and Tachibana Jitsuzan were a few examples. People in diverse fields appear in Sermons of Yōhō Manzan Oshō (*Yōhō Manzan Oshō Hōgo*) such as feudal lords and their wives, clansmen, confucians, doctors and merchants. People from Tachibana clan other than Hōkin, like Jitsuzan, his son Tazaemon and his uncle Kanzaemon appear in the book.

Hakata Tōrin-ji temple, the family temple of Hōkin and Jitsuzan was built by Sochiyū *jōza* (supervising priest) and Jitsuzan in 1697 (Genroku 10). In the next year, Manzan was invited to be the founder. In the temple, there is a portrait of Miyamoto Musashi supposedly donated by someone of the Tachibana clan. It is

drawn with that famous composition of Musashi standing, holding two swords in his hands.

6. Hōkin as a tea master

As mentioned earlier, Hōkin was a tea master of Nambō Ryū, founded by Tachibana Jitsuzan, and his most notable achievement is the passing down of *Nambō Roku* which comprehensively and systematically transmits the outstanding tea of Sen no Rikyū to later generations.

It was 1690 (Genroku 3), conveniently the year of the hundredth anniversary of the death of Rikyū, when Jitsuzan transcribed the seven volumes (Oboegaki, Kai, Tana, Shoin, Daisu, Sumihiki and Metsugo) of *Nambō Roku*. The original texts were written by a zen priest called Nambō Sōkei and the first five volumes, excluding Sumihiki and Metsugo, are said to be authenticated by a Rikyū postscript stating that there is no difference between the contents and his teachings. Jitsuzan explained the background of how he obtained those original texts into *Nambō Roku* and that it is the unquestioned masterpiece of secrets of Sen no Rikyū's tea ceremony (from Kirobengi 「岐路弁疑」, included in the *Nambō Roku* held in the possession of Iwanami Bunko). However, in the world of tea ceremony, on the one hand *Nambō Roku* is considered to be the “Bible of the Way of Tea of Rikyū” (Nambō Roku, The Bible of Tea Ceremony [*Sadō Seiten Nambō Roku*] by Nakamura Naokatsu), and on the other hand, it is bitterly criticized as being a stone and nothing but merely historical references when compared to the jewel of The Record of Yamanoue Soji (*Yamanoue Soji Ki*) (The Study of The Record of Yamanoue Soji [*Yamanoue Soji Ki no Kenkyū*] by Kuwata Tadachika). But as previously mentioned, in recent years, it has been widely accepted that the book was written and edited by Jitsuzan based on high quality tea-related documents he obtained (Where does ‘Nanpōroku’ go? [*Nambō Roku no Yukue*] by Toda Katsuhisa, Reading Nambō Roku [*Nambō Roku wo Yomu*] by Kumakura Isao, etc.)

Jitsuzan may have given some consciousness to the idea of a school of tea after he finished editing *Nambō Roku*. Jitsuzan wrote that he thought of transmitting the

book more widely as a response to the emergence of followers who practiced tea in Fukuoka and Hakata based on *Nambō Roku* (from *Kirobengi* mentioned above). Jitsuzan chose four of his pupils, his younger brother Hōkin (Neisetsu), Hōkin's son Tazaemon Michiakira, Ebi Kohon and Ōga Joshin to receive the Nambō Ryū Way of Tea by allowing them to transcribe *Nambō Roku* in the twelfth month of 1705 (Hōei 2). However, in the sixth month of 1708 (Hōei 5), Jitsuzan, Hōkin and Tazaemon were incarcerated and Jitsuzan died in prison.

Incidentally, after the first transcription, *Nambō Roku* was copied serially by many tea masters. The background of this copying is discussed in the Hosokawa Kaieki-dō *Nambō Roku* which consists of nine scrolls published in six volumes in 1917 (Taishō 6). The 「方」 character used in the title was changed into 「坊」 and the title of this version became 『南坊録』, presumably, because in the process of repeated transcription, it was the character used in the name of the author of the original text, 南坊宗啓. The remainder of this chapter surveys the situation around the transcription by considering the postscripts of each scroll of *Nambō Roku*.

Hōkin ended up living in Aoki-mura, Shima-gun, after being pardoned and returning from Oronoshima island during the sixth month of 1715 (Shōtoku 5). As he wrote in “Transcripts of Tanji Hōkin” (Tanji Hōkin Hikki), “As supplies to stave off starvation, I thankfully receive monthly rations from Lord Tsugutaka and live in a mountain hut”, Hōkin was apparently given enough to sustain six people by the sixth lord Tsugutaka (The Achievements of Tachibana Jitsuzan [*Tachibana Jitsuzan no Jiseki*] included in the sixth volume of Recollections of Chikushi History [*Chikushi Shidan*] by Takahara Kenjirō, eighth month of 1915 [Taishō 4]).

He made fair copies of two scrolls of *Nambō Roku* 「南方録」, Confidential (*Hiden*) and Supplementary (*Tsuika*), in Aoki-mura. In the the eighth volume of the Hosokawa Kaieki-dō version of *Nambō Roku* 『南坊録』, at the end of Nine Confidential Articles 「秘伝九ヶ条」, it says that there was a draft of nine articles about the deep secrets selected from the seven scrolls by Jitsuzan made into one volume and that Hōkin made a fair copy of the volume in the twelfth month of the same year. This volume is the Confidential (*Hiden*).

(abbrev.) Before making a fair copy of the draft of Confidential Nine Articles, Jitsuzan had the misfortune to pass away. My grief was unfathomable. To tread in my master's footsteps, I decided to make a fair copy myself with the draft I found in the bottom of the letter box. The world renounced me and I also renounced the world. I live peacefully in this hut in the mountain and find it precious to read the writings alone here in the thatched hut. It is sinful to make a copy without the man who knows the subtlety of the writings. I pray to the spirit of the deceased master and beg forgiveness for the gross sin of making a copy of this writing. It is absolutely not for someone else to see. Keep it secret.

1715 (Shōtoku 5) 龍次乙未臘月 written by Master Jitsuzan's own younger brother Mukasai Genō

Following this, he finished copying 'Supplementary (*Tsuika*)' and in the second month of 1716 (Shōtoku 6), he allowed Kasahara Dōkei serving in the Edo residence of Fukuoka domain to transcribe these two volumes. Hōkin said that he made copies himself and sent them to Edo. This is why *Nambō Roku* in Hosokawa Kaieki-dō version consists of nine series.

Dōkei used to learn tea ceremony from Jitsuzan in the first place but couldn't inherit it because Jitsuzan had been incarcerated and killed in prison. So, Dōkei further asked Hōkin to make copies of the original seven volumes. As Katamoto had already died on the twenty eighth day of the second month of 1718 (Kyōhō 3), Hōkin, Tazaemon and Joshin prayed sitting at the tomb of Jitsuzan and allowed Dōkei to make the transcription.

Bringing the copy back to Edo, Dōkei allowed shōgunal retainer Andō Sadafusa to make the copy of the book. This is the beginning of transfer of *Nambō Roku* in Edo. Then, on the eleventh day of the third month of 1744 (Enkyō 1), it was transferred from Andō Sadatoshi, the son of Sadafusa to Miyake Bizen no kami, the lord of Tahara domain and it kept on being transferred along with the inheritance of Nambō Ryū tea, which eventually leads to the book *Nambō Roku* published in 1917 (Taishō 6). As to the transfer of *Nambō Roku* after Dōkei, I shall reserve the

explanation for chapter 10, Scribal Copying of *Nambō Roku* and Kasahara Dōkei.

7. People of Tachibana family who inherited Niten Ichi Ryū swordsmanship

The people who inherited Niten Ichi Ryū swordsmanship was two nephews of Hōkin and Kiri-yama Tan'ei. In the rest of this paragraph, I will introduce people in Tachibana family who inherited Niten Ichi Ryū swordsmanship.

Shigemi, a younger brother of Hōkin has two boys. The elder is Takekatsu and the younger is Taneakira. Both are Hōkin's nephews and both of them inherited Niten Ichi Ryū swordsmanship from Hōkin. Takekatsu was in fact a tea master with the pseudonym Ryūsui. According to *Tencha Seiden* (owned by Hakata Tōrin-ji) which is the pedigree record of Nambō Ryū tea masters in Chikuzen area, Ryūsui inherited Nambō Ryū tea ceremony from Kasahara Dōkei and handed it down to Iseki of Tachibana family.

The one who inherited the Book of Five Rings (*Go Rin no Sho*) and the *naginata* (Japanese halberd) handed down from Musashi was Taneakira (1701-1770), the younger brother of Takekatsu. He was adopted by Tachibana Yahei Shigenao from the same Tachibana family and later changed his first name to Masutoshi. In Komono Clan Linage (*Komono - shi Kei*), it is said that he inherited his father's stipend of 1,300 *koku* at the age of twenty four and served the sixth lord Tsugutaka and that he learned Nitenichi Ryū swordsmanship from his uncle Hōkin and mastered the secret of the art at the age of twenty one. He was also said to be good at Ōtsubo Honryū equestrianism and have mastered the secrets of the art at the age of twenty two.

The eldest son of Masutoshi, the sixth founder of the swordsmanship was Yahē Taneyasu. "He learned Niten Ichi Ryū swordsmanship from his father and he mastered the secrets of the art on nineteenth, the day of Teigai, of the fifth month of 1754 (Hōreki 4) after a long time of traineeship. He inherited the Book of Five Rings (*Go Rin no Sho*) and Engetsutō handed down from the first founder Musashi (Komono Clan Linage [*Komono - shi Kei*])" Engetsutō means the *naginata* (Japanese halberd) which Musashi was said to use in Shimabara Rebellion.

It was Heizaemon Masuhide, a Tachibana clansman who served as a senior vassal of the domain who inherited the swordsmanship from Tachibana Yahē Taneyasu. He was the eighth founder from Musashi and he handed down the secrets to Yoshida Rokurōdayū.

Judging from the fact that they have been inheriting the *naginata* which was handed down from Musashi, the founder of Niten Ichi Ryū swordsmanship and the Book of Five Rings (*Go Rin no Sho*), the line of swordsmanship Taneyasu inherited can be regarded legitimate.

Besides being a swordsman, Masuhide is also known as a tea master and a *haiku* poet as introduced in Chapter 11 of this book (Shokyū-ni, the haiku poet and Tachibana Masuhide).

8. Niten Ichi Ryū swordsmanship and the Nambō Ryū school of tea

Tachibana Sendayū Minehira (Hōkin) was a man of tea associated with *sadō* Nambō Ryū as well as a swordsman who mastered the secrets of the art of Niten Ichi Ryū swordsmanship. The conclusion of this chapter discusses the similarities between Nambō Ryū tea and Niten Ichi Ryū swordsmanship. This includes a contrast between the historical and contemporary characteristics of the Nambō Ryū school of tea, and the similarities between Niten Ichi Ryū swordsmanship and Nambō Ryū tea in their use of the *kanewari* measurement system.

Firstly, the forms of transmission of these two arts are very similar. When Hōkin handed down the secrets of the art of swordsmanship to his three disciples, to one of them, he gave a transcript of the Book of Five Rings (*Go Rin no Sho*), a manuscript received by Hōkin from his own master, with additional notation written by Hōkin himself, and to the other two disciples, he gave transcripts of the Book of Five Rings manuscript in his own handwriting which acted as the evidence of having received the transmission of the Niten Ichi Ryū tradition. In the Nambō Ryū tea school of that day, *Nambō Roku* performed the role of the Book of Five Rings (*Go Rin no Sho*). As evidence of transmission, the master directs the disciple to transcribe *Nambō Roku* and the master then adds a handwritten declaration which certifies that the

transcription is without errors.

Today, beginning with the *sadō* art of tea, it should be said that almost all traditional arts of our country employ the *iemoto* system (the grand master system of licensing the teaching of an art) and the *iemoto* transmits the style and the authorization of licensing to one selected student. It is for this reason that even if someone becomes a *sōshō* (a master) by being licensed by their *iemoto*, that person has no authority to transmit the art to students using their own name because it is necessary to ask the *iemoto* to issue the qualification of the license. This style of transmission doesn't include the authority of licensing as part of the transmission. On the other hand, there are models of transmission without an *iemoto* in which they transmit everything, including the authority to issue licenses under one's own name. The former grand master system of licensing is an example of incomplete transmission and the latter is complete transmission, and complete transmission used to be the dominant way to transmit the arts in Japan (included in Grand Master Research [*Iemoto no Kenkyū*], Volume 1 of *The Works of Nishiyama Matsunosuke* series).

The Nambō Ryū tea school operates with complete transmission because it doesn't employ the *iemoto* model. Before WWII, the master used to transmit the art to an inheritee under their own names as long as they were licensed legitimately, in the manner of Niten Ichi Ryū swordsmanship, but Nambō Ryū teachers began issuing all licenses under the name of the Nambō Ryū Society (*Nambō Ryū Nambō-kai*) which was formed in 1953 (Shōwa 28). Nonetheless, Nambō Ryū is considered to be a unique school of tea because it doesn't employ an *iemoto* system.

Another presumable influence Nambō Ryū received from Niten Ichi Ryū swordsmanship is *kanevari* (a measurement system in tea ceremony using *kanejaku*). The system is unique to *Nambō Roku* in the world of tea ceremony. Sekishū Ryū Isa Ha is another school of tea which has the same measurement system. It is probably because Isa Kōtaku, the founder of Sekishū Ryū school of tea, was allowed to transcribe *Nambō Roku* from Andō Tadafusa.

The *kanevari* measurement system instructs where and how many tea utensils

should be placed in the tea room according to the theory of Yin-Yang five elements (*in-yō*). The serving procedure in tea gatherings includes *shoza* (the first sitting) and *atoza* (the latter sitting) and the system makes it a rule to put tea utensils in even numbers (*ying*) in *shoza* servings and odd numbers (*yang*) in *atoza* servings. The *kanewari* measurement system calls the numbers of tea things in the *tokonoma* alcove, on the floor and shelf into question. These items should never total all odd numbers or all even numbers. For example, if an incense container and a haboki feather brush on the shelf, a scroll on the alcove and a kettle on the floor, namely one even number and two odd numbers, which makes four, the *ying*. By comparison, two even numbers and one odd number make *yang*. In addition, concerning the layout of tea things, there are two ways to layout, *nanatsu-kane* (literally, 7 divisions by *kane-jaku*) and Go-yō roku-in no Ōkane (wide measurement with 5 *yang* and 6 *ying*). Taking the *daisu* tea stand as an example, when the longer side of the top board of the shelf is divided into 6, you see 5 Yang lines and in between 6 ying lines. This is how Go-yō roku-in no Ōkane (wide measurement with 5 yang and 6 ying) is considered and they layout tea things with these 11 lines in all. Further, they should use ying and yang properly taking account if it's the daytime ceremony or nighttime one or if it's for the funeral service or for auspicious occasion. These are not mechanical, though. They also have secrets orally transmitted coming along with these measurements like *tsuzuki-kane*, *kukuri-kane*, *kane-hazushi* or *minezuri*.

Incidentally, it has been pointed out that *kanewari* appeared in The Book of Five Rings (1645 [Shōhō 2]) which is older than *Nambō Roku* (1690 [Genroku 3]) (*Nambō Roku* commented on by Nishiyama Matsunosuke, Iwanami Bunko). In 'The Scroll of Earth' (Chi no Maki), it is said that the general should understand the measurement (*kane*) of the universe and establish it for the country and know it for home. That is the way a leader should be. A leader of carpenters should comprehend the measurement of temple towers or buildings. And in 'The Scroll of Sky' (Kū no Maki), it is said that when viewing things from the point of larger measurement of the world, and do on.

I was personally intrigued by the relationship between the tea book, *Nambō*

Roku, and the book of swordsmanship, The Book of Five Rings (*Go Rin no Sho*), until I was convinced by realizing that Minehira (Hōkin) or Neisetsu deeply involved in both arts. Concerning the establishment of *Nambō Roku*, Jitsuzan claimed that it was recorded by Nambō Sōkei, one of the outstanding disciples of Rikyū. However, today, many believe that Jitsuzan edited and wrote *Nambō Roku* by collecting materials of substantial quality. Jitsuzan may have incorporated the ideas of measurement (*kanewari*) from The Book of Five Rings (*Go Rin no Sho*) which was explained by Hōkin with tea theory in the process of editing *Nambō Roku*, and established a unique theory of his own.

Author notes:

⁽¹⁾ Fukuoka City Public Library owns *Heihō Taiso Bushū Genshin-kō Denrai* (Miyake Chōshun-ken library). On the front cover, *Bushū Denrai-ki Zen* is written and on the front page *Bushū Denki* appears but the title given at the beginning of the main text is *Heihō Taiso Bushū Genshin-kō Denrai*. The content of the book is the same as “Transcripts of Tanji Hōkin” (*Tanji Hōkin Hikki* included in Unpublished Documents of Miyamoto Musashi [*Miyamoto Musashi Mikan Shiryō*] edited by Motoyama Kazuki). “Transcripts of Tanji Hōkin” is used as the unified title in this chapter.

⁽²⁾ The family of Jitsuzan was restored in the days of Tsugutaka, the sixth lord of the domain. In the third month of 1749 (Kan'en 2), a stipend for 15 people was given to Jitsuzan's grandson Taichi. At that time, the remains of Jitsuzan which had been buried in Seiun-ji in Namazuda were relocated to Tōrin-ji in Hakata and memorial rice fields of 4 *tan* 5 *se* (approximately 4,500 m²) were donated by the domain (included in Registers of Vassals of Fukuoka Domain in Keiō era [*Fukuoka han keiō bungen-chō*] in Registers of Vassals of Three Domains of Kuroda edited by the Historical Research Society of Fukuoka Area [*Fukuoka Chihōshi Kenkyū-kai*]). Furthermore, a shrine called Tonomori Gongen-sha was built within Ryūka-in which was located next to Kego shrine and Jitsuzan was enshrined there as a loyal subject of Mitsuyuki.