

【翻訳】

Daimonjiya Gohei, A Prominent Merchant
of Kyoto, and Tachibana Jitsuzan

(An annotated translation of the eighth 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. Seven previous papers are translations of the first seven 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 Mishiro and the various wells and spring water in the Chikuzen area called Taikō-sui. Chapter 7 surveys the Niten Ichiryū lineage of sword-fighting, and explains the similarities between the The Book of Five Rings (*Go Rin no Sho*) of the Niten Ichiryū lineage and the tea text *Nambōroku* 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. This chapter examines the relationship between Daimonjiya Gohei and Tachibana Jitsuzan by surveying the role of the Tachibana house in serving the Kuroda clan, interactions between Tachibana Jitsuzan and the Urasenke tea lineage, and the 1708 death of Tachibana Jitsuzan.

Keywords

Kamiya Sōtan (神屋宗湛 1551-1635), Tsuda Sōkyū (津田宗及、aka Tennojiya Sōkyū 天王寺屋宗及 died 1591), Kidō Chigu (虚堂智愚、1185-1269), Kidō Bokuseki (戲堂墨跡、aka Yabure Kidō 破れ戯), Daimonjiya Ēsei (大文字屋榮清、aka Yōsei 養清), Kokei Sōchin (古溪宗陳 1532-1597), Muzō Jōshō (無相静照), Tachibana Jitsuzan (立花実山 1655-1708), Kuroda Nagamasa (黒田 長政 1568-1623 福岡1代藩主), Kuroda Takayuki (黒田忠之 1602-1654 福岡2代藩主), は Kuroda Mitsuyuki (黒田光之 1628-1707 福岡3代藩主), Kuroda Tsunamasa (黒田綱政 1659-1711 福岡藩4代藩主), 「梵字艸」 *Bonjisō*, Nambō Ryū school of tea (茶道南坊流), Dai Nihon Chadō Gakkai 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 eighth 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 Chadō Gakkai in Heisei 22

1. The Kidō Bokuseki scroll and Daimonji-ya

‘Sōtan Tea Diary’ (*Sōtan Chanoyu Nikki*) starts with the scene in which Kamiya Sōtan, a prominent Hakata merchant departs from Karatsu for Kyōto in the tenth month of 1586 (Tenshō 14) in response to the invitation of Hideyoshi.² When Sōtan arrived Kyōto on the twenty-fourth day of the eleventh month, he was ushered by

(2010). Translations of later chapters will follow. The referencing conventions of non-specialist Japanese publications often list only the author and publication, without any precise page numbers being given. Although I initially follow the referencing conventions of the original text where the cited work is listed parenthetically (author, *title*) in the body of the chapter to give a sense of the flavour of the original Japanese text, I later include the author and title information in parentheses in the footnotes. There is some repetition as the original text includes quotations from archaic documents that Matsuoka renders into contemporary Japanese. Although the Japanese convention is to list all of any multiple number of points as 一, I have listed them as 1, 2, 3, etc. The translation of the Matsuoka book is part of a larger project that addresses the persistence and pleasures of local history in the tea practices of the Nambō Ryū school. These practices include rites performed at Kushida Shrine as part of the Hakata Gion Yamakasa (献茶式) and ceremonies at Tōrinji temple dedicated to the memories of Sen no Rikyū, Nambō Sōkei and Tachibana Jitsuzan (供茶式), as well as the *kencha* rites performed at Munakata Taisha by Takiguchi Sōhō on the third day of the tenth month each year. 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 the occasion of the Jitsuzan-ki Cha-kai, Matsuoka sensei sometimes reads extracts from the Jitsuzan prison diary *Bonjisō*. On March 10 2019, I had the honour of performing the *isshu ni wan* procedure for the *kucha shiki* (供茶式) of the Rikyū Nambō Sōkei-ki Cha-kai. The *isshu 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: For an account of the Kamiya family lineage as captains (*sentō*) responsible for the sixteenth century tally trade expeditions to Ming China and an overview of the tea practices of Kamiya Sōtan, see my Horimoto Kazushige translation ‘Chanoyu in Hakata: Zen, Karamono and the Reception of Tea Ceremony’, in Andrew Cobbing (ed.), *Hakata: The Cultural Worlds of Northern Kyushu* (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2012), pp. 83-118.

Tsuda Sōgyū, a tea master (*sadō*) employed by Hideyoshi, to a serving of tea in the residence of Daimonjiya Ēsei (Yōsei), one of the prominent merchants in Kyōto. In the *tokonoma* alcove, Sōtan inspected the Kidō *bokuseki* calligraphy. Sōgyū told Sōtan that the calligraphy was the best in the land, so Sōtan recorded details, including the mounting, the size of the work, the numbers of letters and even made sketches of the three artist seals (*Sōtan Tea Culture Diary* [*Sōtan Chanoyu Nikki*]). Later, Sōtan had his head shaved by Kokei Sōchin to become a priest and on the third day of the first month of the next year, he met Sen no Rikyū for the first time. At the tea gathering in the main hall of the castle, Sōtan was addressed by the name 'Chikushi no bōzu' by Hideyoshi in front of the assembled war lords, and was given special treatment.

Kidō Bokuseki is the piece of calligraphy of a Buddhist sermon given to the Japanese priest Muzō Jōshō, written by Xutang Zhiyu (Kidō Chigu), a high priest of the Southern Sung Dynasty. This scroll came to be in the possession of prominent Kyōto merchant Daimonjiya through the hands of Takeno Jōō and it was also named Yabure Kidō (Frayed Kidō) because it was in a torn condition when Daimonjiya acquired it. After Daimonjiya sold it to Matsudaira Fumai in Izumo city for 1,500 *ryō* (approx. 180,000,000 yen) in the Bunka era (1804-1818), it was donated to Tokyo National Museum by the Matsudaira family in 1938 (Shōwa 13) and it has been designated as a national treasure. The details of the breakage of the calligraphy are written in 'The Records of Ancestors of Daimonjiya' (*Senzoki*) included in 'The Records of Ancestors and Daimonjiya' (*Senzoki to Daimonjiya*) by Tani Akira in the ninth volume of the *Research Report of Nomura Art Museum* [*Nomura Bijutsukan Kiyō*]). The accident was happened in the time of Sōmai, the legitimate son of Yōsei. The following account is an outline of the incident.

A former Daimonjiya magisterial official named Hachibei broke into Daimonjiya in the daytime on the eighth day of the leap third month of 1637 (Kan'ei 14). While Hachibei was employed by Daimonjiya, there was considerable friction with Chōbei, a child of the second wife of Sōmai, and Hachibei was dismissed following a verbal report by Chōbei. Further, as a document that prevented Hachibei from being employed in magisterial duties was circulated in Kyoto, he once ventured up to Edo

but returned to Kyōto again. His grudge being embittered, Hachibei broke into Daimonjiya with the intention of killing Sōmai, but he couldn't find Sōmai and his wife, and Hachibei escaped into a storehouse when he was discovered by a Daimonjiya employee. A rash raid on the storehouse would have been ill-considered because along with the Daimonjiya treasures of the Kidō Bokuseki and Hino Katatsuki thick tea container, it contained goods entrusted by *daimyō* lords as collateral for their debts. The mother of Hachibei was summoned in an unsuccessful attempt to encourage Hachibei to come out of the storehouse and he committed *seppuku* inside after tearing the Kidō Bokuseki scroll. The torn Kidō Bokuseki was restored by Kobori Enshū through the good offices of Itakura Suōnokami Shigemune, the Shogunate's military governor in Kyoto.

When Sōmai died on the sixth day of the eleventh month of 1639 (Kanei 16), Gonbei Sōshu assumed the duties of the head of the Tsuda family and Gohei Sōsei and Chōbei Sōtei established branch family households. In fact, Sōmai had five children with his former wife and five children with his later wife. Gonbei Sōshu and Gohei Sōsei were among the children from the first wife, and Chōbei Sōtei was one of the children from the second wife.

At the time of this division into three families, by order of the second wife, the Kidō Bokuseki along with Hino Katatsuki tea container were both inherited by her son Chōbei Sōtei. After that, in the time of the grandson of Chōbei, the calligraphy was bought for 1,000 *ryō* by Sanemon, a grandson of Gonbei Sōshu and the head of the main Tsuda family. Now, as previously mentioned, it is held by Tokyo National Museum.

Daimonjiya had a close relationship with the Fukuoka domain and was also deeply linked to Tachibana Jitsuzan. Especially, among the three branches of the family after Sōmai, Daimonjiya Gohei Sōsei continued in the position of his father as a purveyor to the Kuroda family and was given a residence in Nishi-iru Kitagawa in Shinmachi, Shimotachiuri, Kyōto. This chapter will introduce the relationship between Daimonjiya Gohei and Fukuoka domain man of tea, Jitsuzan.

2. Daimonjiya and Kuroda family of Fukuoka domain

As previously mentioned, the history of Daimonjiya is closely described in 'Records of Ancestors of Daimonjiya' (*Senzoki*) included in 'Records of Ancestors and Daimonjiya' (*Senzoki to Daimonjiya*) by Tani Akira. On a piece of paper attached to the reverse side of the *chitsu* paper (帙), the protective cover of Japanese-style books, of *Senzoki*, 'Daimonjiya, Purveyor to Lord Kuroda' (*Kurodakō Yōtashi Daimonjiya*) is written in ink, showing that the relationship between Kuroda clan and the Daimonjiya family is close. *Senzoki* was written by Sōseki, a grandson of Sōmai in whose time the Kidō Bokuseki was torn, in the ninth month of 1709 (Hōei 6).

In the time of Eisei when the fortunes of Daimonjiya began to decline, there are anecdotes that record the demands of Kuroda Nagamasa to receive either the Kidō Bokuseki scroll or the Hino Katatsuki thick tea container. Further, there is one tale of how when Nagamasa went to worship at Kuramayama, Sōmai came out to meet him, and another relates that how Tadayuki, the second Lord of Kuroda clan (*Senzoki* erroneously notes that it was Mitsuyuki), was summoned to appear at the litigation tribunal of the shogunate with regard to the building of a large ship named *Hōō-maru* in contradiction of a *bakafu* ordinance. During this so-called Kuroda Affair, Daimonjiya supported Tadayuki financially while he was in Edo. It is recorded that on his return to Fukuoka after he was cleared of suspicion, Tadayuki expressed his gratitude with a visit to the residence of Sōmai.

On the other hand, according to the 'New Sequel to the Genealogical Table of the Kuroda Family' (*Kuroda Shin Zoku Kafu*, Vol. 2 of the 'New Edition of Genealogical Table of the Kuroda Family' (*Shintei Kuroda Kafu*) emended by Kawazoe Shōji, a member of Ancient Documents Reading Group of Fukuoka), the official record of Fukuoka domain, the Lord and his escort frequently paid visits to Daimonjiya on the way to his alternate-year residence in Edo (*sankin kōtai*). As they had to take turn guarding Nagasaki with the Saga domain from 1641 (Kan'ei 1), after 1648 (Keian 1), the Fukuoka domain made the alternate-year residence in Edo in November of the year that the Nagasaki guard was off duty until February next year.

On the twelfth day of leap second month of 1667 (Kanbun 7), Mitsuyuki, the

third lord, left Edo for Fukuoka. Mitsuyuki reached Ōtsu on the third day of the third month and early in the morning the next day he left there and entered Kyōto for sightseeing. Mitsuyuki visited the residence of Daimonjiya Hēbei Sōtetsu after touring Seigan-ji temple, Nijo-jo Castle, Kitano, Ryūkō-in within Daitoku-ji, Hōon-ji and Myōken-ji. Even the wife and child of Hēbei had an audience with Mitsuyuki and in the afternoon he visited the imperial palace, Shimogoryo Shrine and Chion-in temple on the way to Maruyama before borrowing a villa from Neiami for the evening meal where he was praised by every last person.

In the 'New Sequel to the Genealogical Table of the Kuroda Family' (*Kuroda Shin Zoku Kafu*) the concrete details about the beginning of the relationship between Daimonjiya and Kuroda family, along with the description of the Mitsuyuki Kyōto tour, are noted. What follows is a summary of the main points.

Yōsei offered up a tribute of gold, silver and rice to the campaign headquarters of Nagamasa when he was engaged in the Battle of Sekigahara. In the era of Tadayuki as the second lord of Kuroda, the Kuriyama Taizen incident happened and when Tadayuki confined himself to Hasedera temple in Edo Shibuya, Sōmai, the son of Yōsei, secretly sent his child Sōsei there and donated clothes and money to Tadayuki. On his way back to Fukuoka after he was cleared of suspicion, Tadayuki paid a visit to Daimonjiya and is said to have expressed his gratitude to Sōmai by saying "As long as our family lives, we will always cherish you and your coming generations."

With this relationship, the third lord Mitsuyuki, was said to have come to visit Daimonjiya on the way to his alternate-year residence in Edo. Following the example of Yōsei donating steamed rice with red beans (*sekihan*), buns with bean paste filling (*manjū*) and boiled meat and vegetables (*nishime*) to the lord of the Kuroda clan in the battlefield of Sekigahara, it is said that Mitsuyuki offered up such food in Fushimi on his way home when the lord of Fukuoka domain was to enter his home country for the first time.

Two years later in 1669 (Kanbun 9), Mitsuyuki went home by way of Nakasen-

dō Road, not the usual Tōkai-dō Road.³ Sōgan and his father Sōtetsu paid a visit to the lodging in Moriyama with refreshments. In the ninth month of this year Sōtetsu died at the age of 42. Sōgan succeeded his father and assumed his common name Gohei. After this, the common name Gohei was taken by each generation of successors, Sōgin, Tēkai, Riō, Tēin and Tēshin.

3. Tachibana family in Fukuoka domain

Mitsuyuki became the third lord of Fukuoka domain in the fourth month of 1654 (Jōō 3) and on the twenty-eighth day in the eleventh month of the next year, the second boy was born to Tachibana Heizaemon Shigetane, a senior vassal of the domain. This boy was later called Jitsuzan. In the era of Mitsuyuki, the Tachibana family came to hold increasingly more important positions. According to the 'Domain Record of the Kanbun Era' (*Kanbun Kanroku* 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*]), Shigetane became the second chief retainer with seven thousand *koku* of rice and was permitted to refer to himself by the family name Kuroda. His younger brother Kanzaemon Masuhiro was also promoted to the head of senior advisor (*onando gashira*) with one thousand three hundred and fifty *koku* of rice.

According to the 'New Sequel To Genealogical Table of the Kuroda Family', coming back from Edo, Mitsuyuki ordered Tsunayuki who came back earlier to be confined to the second bailey (*ninomaru*) in the third month of 1675 (Enpō 3). Right after that on the twenty-fifth day of the third month, Mitsuyuki formally inquired to Ogawa Gonbei Naotsune, the chief retainer and Kuroda Matazaemon Hisatake (his

³ Tōkaidō was one of the five highways constructed during the Edo period. Since ancient times, its numerous scenic spots and historic sites along the way have often been referenced in *ukiyo-e*, *waka* poems, and *haiku*. Nakasendō, also called the Kisokaidō, was one of the five routes of the Edo period, and one of the two that connected Edo (modern day Tokyo) to Kyoto in Japan. There were 69 stations between Edo and Kyoto, passing through the provinces of Musashi, Kōzuke, Shinano, Mino and Ōmi.

real surname was Kishimoto, and that is how he is referred to below) about the misconduct of Tsunayuki and their responsibility as his supervisor.

Hoping for peaceful domain administration free from fear of the shogunate, Mitsuyuki tended to question Tsunayuki's dissipation and debauchery related to alcohol and ordered the two chief retainers (*karō*) to supervise him. Mitsuyuki impeached them for Tsunayuki holding drinking parties against the prohibition or their holding parties for their own pleasure by saying that their unscrupulous words and deeds showed contempt for the orders of Mitsuyuki.

The 'Memoirs of Ogawa Gonbei' (*Ogawa Gonbei Shuki*) included in 'In Regard to the Domain Administration in Early and Mid-Modern Period' [*Kinsei Zenchūki ni okeru Hansei no Tenkai ni tsuite*] in Fukuoka Domain (1) in 'The History of Fukuoka Prefecture, The Study of Modern Period' [*Fukuoka-ken-shi, Kinsei kenkyū hen, Fukuoka-han (I)*] shows that Gonbei was patient with Tsunayuki, saying that he is still young, and on the other hand, Mitsuyuki was rigid in following the shōgunate instruction.

In the early morning of the next day, the twenty sixth day of the third month, both Ogawa Gonbei and Kishimoto Matazaemon were sentenced to the confiscation of their provincial fiefdom along with confinement.

On the other hand, as ordered by 'Estate addition to senior vassals', the domain granted more than 200,000 *koku* of rice yield to their retainers, including additional 3500 *koku* to Shigetane, the father of Jitsuzan, and 2000 *koku* to Yoshida Shichizaemon. It was the redistribution of the stipend of the two punished vassals. In particular, Heizaemon got the most favour among them, resulting in a fief of 10,500 *koku* in addition to the grant of ownership of the land of the Komono clan and the Netabi clan who are the ancestors of the Tachibana clan. From this, it can clearly be seen that Shigetane and Jitsuzan were deeply implicated in the punishment of Tsunayuki. The influence of Shigetane over the domain greatly increased after this incident.

On the first day of the second month of 1677 (Enpō 5), Mitsuyuki asked the council of the shogun for permission to designate the second son Tsunamasa as the next family head because of the illness of Tsunayuki and his consequent inability to

carry out the assigned duties. He received a writ of summons to Edo Castle on the twelfth day of the same month and on the next day, he went to Edo Castle along with Tsunamasa. In front of the members of the shōgun council, Sakai Uta no Kami announced the declaration of the shogun that Mitsuyuki could do as he wished. Thus, Tsunayuki was disinherited and Tsunamasa became the successor of the house of Kuroda.

The event was followed by a rather hurried discussion of the marriage of Tsunamasa. It was decided to receive Rokuko, an adopted daughter of Tachibana Hidanokami Akitora, the lord of the Yanagawa domain, as the wife of Tsunamasa. In the aftermath of the disinheritance of Tsunayuki, they decided to take the daughter of the Tachibana clan in Yanagawa whom the ancestors of the Tachibana clan in Fukuoka had served, as a wife of the next lord Tsunamasa. Rokuko (aka Shinkū-in) was in fact the second daughter of Tadashige, a legitimate son of Tachibana Muneshige, which makes her a younger sister of Akitora but upon marrying Tsunamasa she was reported to be the adopted daughter of Akitora. She was twenty years old, two years older than Tsunamasa then. In the second month of 1679 (Enpō 7), Mitsuyuki had an audience with the shōgun and received permission for the marriage, which was held on the third day of the twelfth month of the same year.

On the fifth day of the twelfth month in 1688 (Genroku 1), Mitsuyuki visited Abe Bungonokami, a councillor of the shogun, and requested permission to retire for the reason of his old age. On the ninth day of the first month of next year, the permission of the shōgun for the succession of Tsunamasa was announced through Bungonokami within Edo Castle. Mitsuyuki was sixty-one and Tsunamasa was thirty at that time. Jitsuzan was thirty-four and he ended up serving Mitsuyuki as the head of attendants and was a close advisor until Mitsuyuki died at the age of eighty.

The era of the third lord Mitsuyuki was the beginning of the prosperity of Tachibana family headed by Jitsuzan's older brother Shigetaka whose stipend was 11,719 *koku* of rice yield.

4. A child of Nomura Kanemon Tamesada

On the twenty-second day of the eighth month of 1676 (Enpō 4) in Kyōto, Daimonjiya Sōgan died at the age of twenty-nine. As he didn't have a successor and it seems he couldn't find one among his relatives, Daimonjiya asked the Fukuoka domain to introduce an adoptable child ('Records of Ancestors and Daimonjiya' [*Senzoki to Daimonjiya*]). The adopted child was Tomosada, the second son of Nomura Kanemon Tamesada. It was in the third month of 1675 (Enpō 3) that Mitsuyuki ordered his son Tsunayuki to be confined, and in the second month of 1677 (Enpō 5) he was granted permission to make his second son Tsunamasa the successor. Fukuoka domain was in the middle of turmoil at that time.

A description introducing Nomura family in can be found in volume 1 of 'The History of Yoshida Family' (*Yoshida-ke Denroku*) compiled under the supervision of Higaki Motoyoshi. The distant ancestor came from Ōmi province. Nomura Hizen'nokami Nagasada served the chancellor (*kanpaku*) Hideyoshi and was granted territory of 16,000 *koku*. His son Kanemon Naosada first served Hideyoshi and came to Chikuzen province at the invitation of Nagamasa. He was appointed deputy retainer (*chūrō*) with the assigned territory of 5,600 *koku*. The son of Naosada, Kanzaemon Toshisada, was granted 3,000 *koku* by Tadayuki at the request of his father and Toshisada's son Kanemon Masasada was granted a 1,500 *koku* as well. Toshisada was also assigned to deputy retainer (*chūrō*).

As Masasada was given a 1,500 *koku* before the death of his father, he didn't receive the property of his father. Masasada was later appointed to head of feudal government (*daikan gashira*), head of horse guard (*umamawari gashira*), head of inspectors of foot soldiers (*metsuke gashira*), head of foot soldiers (*ashigaru gashira*) and so on. His son was Kan'emon Tamesada. Tamesada received 1,300 *koku* out of his father's 1,500 *koku* and was appointed to head of the mid-level senior vassal group (*ōgumi gashira*). On the second day of the twelfth month of 1686 (Teikyō 3), Tamesada died in his retreat at Hakata Yaguramon. His Buddhist name is Betsuden Bokugai.

Tamesada had three children. The eldest was his legitimate son named

Takesada, the second was a girl named *Take* and the third was a boy named Tomosada. The legitimate son of Tamesada, Kan'emon Takesada, took over the family and was granted as much property as his father and appointed to chief commander of foot soldiers (*ashigaru ōgashira*) and later the head of inspectors (*metsuke gashira*).

Takesada inherited his father's family. Received the same fief. Appointed at first the chief commander of foot soldiers, then the head of inspectors. Died on the second day of the tenth month of 1718 (Kyōho 3 and the year of *bojutsu*) at his retreat on Shōji-machi, Hakata-shi.

The second child with the childhood name *Take* became the wife of Tachibana Gorōzaemon Shigemoto, aka Jitsuzan. Historical documents which show the time when she married to him are not known to exist but Tarōzaemon Michitaka, their only child was born on the eighth day of the tenth month of 1680 (Enpō 8).

Born to the same mother as Tamesada. She, being named *Take* as a child, she became the wife of Tachibana Gorōzaemon Shigemoto. Shigemoto was the second son of Kuroda Gorōzaemon Shigetane. Lord Mitsuyuki appointed him as head of senior advisors with the territory of 2,700 *koku*. He later became a chief retainer at the retreat of Mitsuyuki. He retired with the pseudonym Sōyū and lived in Shōgetsu-an in Sumiyoshi-mura, Naka-gun. Although Shigemoto's legitimate son Tachibana Tazaemon assumed family leadership, Lord Tsunamasa accused his father of misdeeds and put Shigemoto under the charge of Nomura Tarobei Sukeharu. Shigemoto was exiled to his Namazuda-mura territory, Kama-gun and finally died there. Tarōzaemon, with his territory being confiscated, was put under the charge of Yoshida Kyūdayū and lived in his territory Yamada-mura, Munakata-gun. But he was pardoned when lord Nobumasa succeeded the domain and now leads his retired life in Kamitsukiguma-mura, Sekita-gun.

Tazaemon Michiakira died on the nineteenth day of the fifth month in 1734 (Kyōhō 19). Restoration of the Tachibana clan was realized in the era of Masuichi (aka Taichi), the legitimate son of Michiakira. Masuichi was appointed castle keeper with stipend for fifteen people by the sixth lord Tsugutaka, on the fifteenth day of the third month in 1749 (Kan'en 2).

The third children and the second son of Tamesada was Tomosada, later Gohei Sōgin, the stepson of Daimonjiya.

Daimonjiya Gohei Tomosada was born to the same mother (as Takesada and Take). He was called Yahei at first. He was adopted to the draper and purveyor of the Imperial household Daimonjiya Gohei. Original surname of Daimonjiya was Hikita. Tomosada died in Kyōto on the twenty-fifth day of the seventh month in 1710 (Hōei 7 and the year of Kōin). His Buddhist name was Bokuhō Sōgin Koji.

However, Takesada's legitimate son Kin'emon Tsunesada, married to the third daughter of Daimonjiya Gohei Tomosada, died of illness on the third day of the third month of 1704 (Hōei 1). The Nomura family, not having a legitimate child, adopted the first son of Sōgin. This is Nomura Kan'emon Tomosada (朋貞). The mother of Tomosada was the concubine of Tomosada (知貞).

The first child of Takesada was Nomura Kin'emon Tsunesada. He was called Kinjūrō at first. His mother was a daughter of Itō Gorōdayū and his wife was the third daughter of Daimonjiya Tomosada (知貞). Tsunesada died young of illness on the third day of the third month in 1704 (Hōei 1 and the year of *kinesaru/kōbokunosaru/kōshin*)

Thus, Daimonjiya and the Nomura family in Fukuoka had a close relationship by exchanging their sons and daughters as brides and bridegrooms. Seen from the

position of Jitsuzan, Daimonjiya Gohei Sōgin was the real younger brother of his wife.

5. Tachibana Family seen from Shibata Fūzan

There is a diary called ‘Sonken Diary’ (*Sonken Nikki*, included in ‘Historical Documents of Ekiken’ [*Ekiken Shiryō*] corrected and annotated by Inoue Tadashi) which is written by Kaibara Ekiken while he was calling himself Sonken. In the section dated the twenty-sixth day of the fifth month in 1705 (Enpō 2), he wrote “I broke off with Shibata Fuminojō.” Ekiken declared a breakup with Shibata Fūzan, his disciple and a Confucian scholar. The personal name of Fūzan was Nariakira and his nickname was Bun’noshin or Bun’nojō. Fūzan, Zuian, Bokuō and Zensai are all his pseudonyms. It seems that he had been a genius since he was very young. Studying under Ekiken, he was given an important post and finally became a Confucian scholar of the domain in 1671 (Kanbun 11) (‘Fukuoka Prefecture Biographical Dictionary of Wise Ancestors’ [*Fukuoka-ken Senken Jinmei Jiten*] edited by Mimatsu Sōichi).

In his work called ‘Goryū Diary’ (*Goryū Nikki*), Fūzan branded Jitsuzan as a cunning retainer who only schemed for the prosperity of his family and denounced Ekiken caustically as a corrupt Confucian who achieved advancements depending on this cunning retainer Jitsuzan. On the contrary, he praised Tsunayuki as an upright and honest hero.

Being written like the actual record, ‘Goryū Diary’ is a merely light reading material lacking credibility. It can only be a reference that gives some understanding of the opposing sides of the domain.

Taking their circumstances into consideration, in regard to the successor issue, it is certain that Jitsuzan and Ekiken strongly advised Mitsuyuki to disinherit Tsunayuki and that Fūzan opposed them. Having Jitsuzan and Ekiken who were in power at the time for enemies, Fūzan had no chance and by command of the domain was exiled to Oronoshima. He was pardoned and returned to Hakata after 17 years in the seventh month of 1699 (Genroku 12). He since made a living as a calligraphic instructor and died at the age of 74 in 1728 (Kyōhō 13) (‘Fukuoka Prefecture Biographical Dictionary of Wise Ancestors’ [*Fukuoka-ken Senken Jinmei Jiten*]).

According to ‘Epilogue for the Record of Difficulties’ (*Nandaiki-batsu*, included in ‘History of Hichikuhou-shū’ [*Hichikuhou-shū Shi*] written and edited by Nakamura Hiromasa), written by Katō Ichijun in 1711 (Shōtoku 1), the reason for the exile of Fūzan was as follows: “When master Ekiken went to Edo, Zuian (Fūzan) accompanied him. Zuian was so loose in morals that he sold books in public to earn his entertainment expenses. Ekiken was furious and sent him home, and he was ultimately exiled to Oronoshima.” But in reality, there is the view that Fūzan was expelled by Ekiken for his covert denunciation of Jitsuzan and Ekiken who supported the disinheritance of Tsunayuki and therefore was exiled by the order of the domain, with the pretense being stealing books and loose morals.

In addition, in ‘Record of Difficulties of Kuroda Family’ (*Kuroda-ke Nandai-ki*, included in the previously-mentioned book written by Nakamura), Fūzan blamed the tyranny of Tachibana Heizaemon, Jitsuzan’s father, by writing “A vassal called Tachibana Heizaemon Shigetane dominates the domain and with his evil scheme, he drove Tsunayuki, the legitimate heir, into a corner and compelled his wife to remarry Tsunamasa.” He claims that Shigetane domineeringly forced Rokuko, the fiancé of Tsunayuki, to marry Tsunamasa. Although the book was written anonymously for the purpose of criticizing domain administration and was considered to be one of three forged books on the Fukuoka domain (‘A Bibliographical Guide to view Local History of Chikuzen Province’ [*Etsushi Sentei Chikuzen Kyōdoshi Kaidai*] by Nagano Makoto), it may not be wrong to conclude that the Tachibana clan was particular about establishing marriages between the Yanagawa Tachibana family and the Chikuzen Kuroda family.

By the way, in the modern era, a book called ‘A Story of Hakata’ (*Hakata Monogatari* by Takeda Shūrō) was published in 1920 (Taishō 9) and was based on documents including *Goryū Nikki* and *Kuroda-ke Nandai-ki*. Being such a publication, it may have had a big influence in the field. The evaluation of Jitsuzan in later years has been muddled by these entertaining stories.

6. The exchange between Urasenke school and Jitsuzan

Mitsuyuki ordered Tsunayuki to be confined to the second bailey (*ninomaru*) in the third month of 1675 (Enpō 3). The shogunate permitted the disinheritance of Tsunayuki and inheritance of Tsunamasa in the second month of 1677 (Enpō 5). In the eighth month of 1676 (Enpō 4), Sōgan, the head of Daimonjiya family died and the second son of Kan'emon Tamesada of the Nomura family was adopted as the next head. It was Sōgin. That was in the middle of the fuss over the disinheritance of Tsunayuki.

In the twelfth month of 1688 (Genroku 1), the lord of the domain Mitsuyuki was permitted to go into retirement. He visited the shōgun even after he resigned the lordship in favor of Tsunamasa. Being a close advisor to Mitsuyuki, Jitsuzan accompanied Mitsuyuki every time he visited Edo. Jitsuzan wrote that he visited Edo 38 times with Mitsuyuki (from his prison diary *Bonjisō*). He frequently got leave and went separate ways at such times.

Incidentally, regarding the acquisition of the original copy of *Nanbōroku*, Jitsuzan wrote that the beginning was a letter sent to him on a boat at anchor in Aki Kamakari port on the way to Edo in the autumn of 1686 (Jōkyō 3), approximately a hundred years after the 1591 death of Rikyū (*Kirobengi*). Jitsuzan acquired copies of the five volumes at that time and was allowed to transcribe *Sumihiki* and *Metsugo* by Naya Sōsetsu, a blood relation of Sōkei in the first month of 1690 (Genroku 3). A year later, Jitsuzan asked Daimonjiya Gohei to let him buy those two volumes but it was said to have been confiscated (*Nanpa Chaden Shū*, included in 'Where does *Nanbōroku* go?' (*Nanbōroku no Yukue*) by Toda Katsuhisa). At the most this can be said to be the claim advanced by Jitsuzan, but the appearance of Daimonjiya Gohei here should be noted.

There is a travel diary by Jitsuzan called *Saiki Dokkō*. In the autumn of 1700 (Genroku 13), Jitsuzan and his party acted separately under the permission of Mitsuyuki due to the convalescence of Jitsuzan. According to the book, being behind the entourage of Mitsuyuki, they left Edo on the fifteenth day of the tenth month and arrived at the lodging of Minami Ōsakaya Ichizaemon in Sanjōkōji, Kyōto in the

evening of the twenty-fifth day of the same month. Behind the lodging, ships were coming and going on Takase River.

It was drizzling from the morning and the rain got heavier as the sun went higher. Jitsuzan stopped by the residence of Daimonjiya Gohei on his way to an invited tea party held by the Urasenke school. The head of Daimonjiya was Gohei Sōgin who was adopted from Nomura family, a retainer of Chikuzen Kuroda clan.

Later that day, Jitsuzan visited the Urasenke residence with three men accompanying him. They arrived at the place at around eight in the morning. Rain was falling incessantly in the garden of the tea house. Sōan received them as promised. This Sōan was Jōsō Sōshitsu, the sixth grand master of the Urasenke school of tea. Sensō, Sōshitsu's father and the fourth grand master died on the twenty-third day of the first month of 1697 (Genroku 10) and Jōsō succeeded the grand master. He also called himself Sōan or Fukyūsai but Jitsuzan usually referred to him as Sōan.

In 1700 (Genroku 13), the year Jitsuzan visited him, Jōsō was 28 and his son, later to become the sixth grand master, Taisō was only 7. Taisō also called himself Sōan or Rokkansai.

- Around 8 in the morning (*itsutsu doki*), I went to have tea at Sen no Sōan. Rain was falling incessantly.
- Sōan was sitting on the bench and greeted us with a bow. After the bow, he went inside. When the three of us gathered, Sōan opened the lattice shutter (*hajitomi*) and came outside to receive us. Before him purifying water was brought in. Garden was good. Paving stones were smooth and good.
- It was four and a half tatami mat room.
- Entry to the room

The hanging scroll was the large calligraphy done by Seigan (* This is Seigan Sōi, a monk of Rinzaï sect in early Edo period) written

“ 懈怠比丘不期明日 ”.

The backdrop of this scroll is as follows: When Sōtan built this tea house and when it was not quite completed, Seigan visited the place. Sōtan requested a scroll with the words above. Seigan told him to send the finished scroll the next day, but Sōtan insisted by saying that tomorrow was not suitable for the tea house named Kon'nichi-an (hermitage of today). Thus Seigan was said to have written those words with eyebrow ink.

*Tea kettle; the kettle was made by Ittan Yojirō with *daisu* bottom. It was with Kamatsura hanging rings.

*The things taken out of the *dōko* tea shelf were

#a charcoal-scuttle (*sumitori*) made of gourd (*fukube*)

#chopsticks for the charcoal (*hibashi*) taken out and put underneath.

#a Raku ware earthen bowl (*hōroku*)

an ash spoon (*haisukui*), large

#bird shaped incense container (*kōgō*) made of wood, formerly belonging to Rikyū, rather big, shape of Mandarin duck.

#feather brush (*haboki*), feathers tied to a wooden stick.

Covered with rain, paving stones were beautiful. The tea room they were received was four and a half tatami mat room. The hanging scroll on the alcove wall was the large calligraphy done by Seigan. The words written “ 懈怠比丘不期明日 (For this lazy monk, there may be no tomorrow).” As Jitsuzan wrote, this is known to be the origin of the name Kon'nichi-an (hermitage of today).⁽¹⁾

7. The death of Jitsuzan

Visiting Edo in 1704 (Hōei 1) became the last trip to Edo for both Mitsuyuki and Jitsuzan. Mitsuyuki died on the twentieth day of the fifth month of 1707 (Hōei 4) and his death triggered a sudden change of the situation. On the fifteenth day of the ninth

month of the same year, Jitsuzan along with Fujii Kan'emon, who was Mitsuyuki's attendant and Nemoto Kindayū, were commanded to retire. In the evening of the same day, the brother of Jitsuzan Sendayū Hōkin got his fief reduced by 100 *koku* from 500 *koku* and demoted to upper-class samurai (*Ōgumi*).

The next day, Jitsuzan entered the priesthood by having his head shaved by priest Jōwa of Tōrin-ji temple, changing his name to Sōyū as he prepared to move to Shōgetsu-an, built next to Sumiyoshi shrine.

In the early morning on the third day of the sixth month of 1708 (Hōei 5), the messenger from Tsunamasa visited Shōgetsu-an and announced the words of Tsunamasa to Jitsuzan that the way Jitsuzan had served lord Mitsuyuki didn't please lord Tsunamasa and that he was to be relocated to the territory of Nomura Sukeharu Tarobē in Namazuda-mura, Kama-gun. Jitsuzan inquired about the reason for the punishment but the answer was that the detail was not written. On the same day, Jitsuzan's legitimate child Tazaemon Michiakira and his younger brother Sendayū Hōkin were also incarcerated. Later, Jitsuzan was confined in Namazuda and was killed and buried in nearby Seiun-ji five months later on the tenth day of the eleventh month of 1708 (Hōei 5). He died at the age of 54.

According to *Bonjisō*, the prison diary of Jitsuzan, he was informed of the death of the wife of Tsunamasa from a prison guard. Given that he wrote "Since this lady exists, I have hope to be offered a hand of mercy. I feel like I live in the world of a benevolent saint," Jitsuzan expected to be released from the confinement by the help of the lady. But with her death, his last hope was destroyed. Jitsuzan was killed by the command of the domain in the evening of the tenth day of the eleventh month.

In the ninth month of next year (1709, Hōei 6), Daimonjiya in Kyōto compiled the 'Record of Ancestors' (*Senzoki*) and on the twenty-fifth day of the seventh month of next year, Gohē Sōgin died at the age of fifty.

Incidentally, some believe that Sumida Shigetoki, a close advisor to Tsunamasa, took the initiative in eliminating close advisors of Mitsuyuki from the Tachibana clan (in the formerly mentioned 'In Regard to the Domain Administration in the Early and Mid-Modern Period' [*Kinsei Zenchūki ni okeru Hansei no Tenkai ni tsuite*] by

Matsushita). In the promotion in the eighth month of 1709 (Hōei 6), Sumida received the most of all, an additional 1,500 *koku*, which made the total of 6,600 *koku*.

In the establishment of Tōrin-ji, Jitsuzan's family temple, Nomura Kan'emon again had some deep involvement. Jitsuzan along with Sochū, a retainer for Tamesada founded Tōrin-ji at the former site of retired residence of Tamesada in Hakata Yaguramon in 1697 (Genroku 10). The founder was Manzan Dōhaku, invited from Daijō-ji, Kaga province. He stayed at Tōrin-ji from the twenty-sixth day of the eighth month of the same year to the twenty-ninth day of the first month of the next year. He was the zen master of Jitsuzan and Tsunamasa's wife and she founded a Kan'on-dō hall within Baigaku-ji at the foot of Mt. Tachibana (Shingū-machi, Kasuya-gun, Fukuoka-ken) with the statue of her great grandfather Tachibana Dōsetsu enshrined there.

Tōrin-ji was relocated to its present location (Hakata Ekimae 3-7-21, Hakata-ku, Fukuoka-shi) when former Hakata station was constructed in 1889 (Meiji 22). In the precinct of the temple, the graves of Jitsuzan and his wife are located. On Jitsuzan's *muhōtō* (tombstone for a priest) the inscription reads *Nishōsai Jitsuzan Sōuanshu* and on his wife's *gorinto* (a gravestone composed of five pieces piled up one upon another) the inscription reads Sōshu Daishi. His prison diary *Bonjisō* is also owned by the temple.

Author Note:

⁽¹⁾ Kon'nichi-an is a tea-ceremony house built by Sen no Sōtan. Sōtan invited Seigan Ōshō for the opening ceremony but the priest wasn't in time, so he left the place tired of waiting. When he came back, he found Seigan's handwritten memo on *koshibari* (paper pasted on the lower part of the clay wall in a tearoom) which reads 「懈怠比丘不期明日」 (For this lazy monk, there may be no tomorrow). It is said that Sōtan named the tea-house Kon'nichi-an (hermitage of today) on this occasion. It has become the synonym for Urasenke school of tea.⁴

⁴ For an authoritative introduction to the history of tea as the legacy of Rikyū, how the tea world is organized, and an example of a model chaji, see Jennifer Anderson, *An Introduction to Japanese Tea Ritual* (New York: State University Press, 1991).