

# Scribal Copying of *Nanpōroku* and Kasahara Dōkei

(An annotated translation of the tenth 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 Nanpō 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 *Nanpōroku*, 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. Nine previous papers are translations of the first nine 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. 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. Chapter 7 surveys the Niten Ichiryū lineage of sword-fighting, and explains the similarities between The Book of Five Rings (*Go Rin no Sho*) of the Niten Ichiryū lineage and the tea text *Nanpōroku* 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. Chapter 8 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. Chapter 9 examines the relationship between Kaibara Ekken and the Tachibana clan, and the *Charei Kuketsu* book of tea rules for samurai authored by Ekken. The preference of Ekken for *sencha* green tea rather than powdered green tea, an account of a tea gathering, and his relationship with his wife Tōken are also mentioned. This chapter surveys transmission-by-copying of the 'Nanpōroku' manuscript that began with permission being given by Tachibana Jitsuzan in 1705, the 1675 birth of Kasahara Dōkei into the Tachibana Kozaemon family, the spread of Nambō Ryū tea practices that accompanied the transcription of 'Nanpōroku', and notes the fact that 'Yatsunashi Baisaō', aka Kasahara Hōgan, was a grandson of Dōkei.

## Keywords

published edition of *Nanpōroku* (『南方録』), 'Nanpōroku' manuscript (「南方録」), published edition of *Nambōroku* (『南坊録』), 'Nambōroku' manuscript (「南坊録」), Tachibana Jitsuzan (立花実山 1655-1708), Nambō Sōkei (南坊宗啓), Tachibana Neisetsu (立花寧拙 1671-1746, aka Tachibana Minehira 立花 峯均, Tanji Hōkin 丹治 峯均), Tachibana Michiakira (立花道髡 ?-1734, aka Tachibana Fuhaku 立花不白), Ōga Nyoshin (大賀如心 ?-1734, aka Ōga Sōon 大賀宗恩), Ibi Katamoto (衣非固本), *Kokusho sōmokuroku* (国書総目録), Andō Sadafusa (安藤 定房 1672-1743), Bekki Akitsura (戸次鑑連, 1513-1585, aka Tachibana Dōsetsu 立花道雪), Tachibana Muneshige (立花 宗

茂 1567-1643), 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), Kaibara Ekken (貝原 益軒 1630-1714), 'Surugadai Nambō' manuscript (「駿河台南坊」), 'Edo Nambō' manuscript (「江戸南坊」), Nampō Ryū (南方流), Yatsunashi Baisaō (八橋 売茶翁 1710-1828), Nambō Ryū school of tea (茶道南坊流), Dai Nihon Chadō Gakkai (大日本茶道学会), Chadō Bunka Gakujutsu Shō (茶道文化学術賞)<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Translator's note (hereafter TN): This paper is a translation and adaptation of the tenth 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 Japanese 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). 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. The repetition in previous chapters where the original text includes quotations from archaic documents that Matsuoka renders into contemporary Japanese has been eliminated: only the Matsuoka paraphrase is translated. 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 the Soto-shū 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 an office bearer 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 the eleventh month 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* or speaks about other matters related to Jitsuzan. 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 commence 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

## 1. Background of the transmission-by-copying of ‘Nanpōroku’ manuscript

As mentioned in previous chapters of *Cha no yu to Chikuzen*, ‘Nanpōroku’ takes the appearance of tea writings in which a zen monk and a leading disciple of Sen no Rikyū called Nambō Sōkei transcribed the secrets of *chanoyu* told to him by Rikyū and includes records of one year of Rikyū tea activity.<sup>2</sup> But recently, it is assumed that Tachibana Jitsuzan arranged and wrote the book himself, based on collected materials about the *chanoyu* of Rikyū.<sup>3</sup>

Later, in the twelfth month of 1705 (Hōei 2), Jitsuzan allowed 4 people to copy ‘Nanpōroku’: his brother Tachibana Neisetsu, his son Tachibana Michiakira, Hakata merchants Ōga Nyoshin and Ibi Katamoto. Along with the transmission of *chanoyu* practices and knowledge, permission to copy the ‘Nanpōroku’ manuscripts was granted as well. Currently in Fukuoka, however, only the original copy of Jitsuzan and the handwritten Neisetsu version are found. On the other hand, many copies, mainly transcribed in the city of Edo (modern day Tokyo), have been found. Even when limiting to what is listed in *Kokusho sōmokuroku* (published by Iwanami Shoten), 21 copies exist, and remembering that additional transcriptions are occasionally found on the old book market, it can be expected that there could be more copies. One school of tea which practices *chanoyu* based on ‘Nanpōroku’ is called Nambō Ryū,<sup>4</sup> and it can be thought that such copies proliferated along with the

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<sup>2</sup> TN: As will become obvious shortly, there is a distinction being drawn between ‘Nanpōroku’ manuscripts (『南方録』) and published editions of *Nanpōroku* (『南方録』).

<sup>3</sup> Author Footnote 1 (hereafter AF) : There are numerous examples, including the Kōdansha publications 『南方録の行方』(戸田勝久) and 『南方録を読む』(熊倉 功夫). According to the Toda publication, “Tachibana Jitsuzan possessed a large quantity of high-quality historical material, and although that body of material could arguably be called “*The Original Nanpōroku*”, it was used as the basis for the editorial authorship by Jitsuzan to create “*Nanpōroku*.”’

<sup>4</sup> TN: Nambō Ryū (茶道南坊流), is a tea school that operates outside the dominant

transmission of Nambō Ryū *chanoyū*.

In 1917 (Taishō 6) *Nambōroku*, 『南坊録』, (divided into 6 booklets) which used these copied versions as the *teihon* original text, was published by the Kyoto firm Hosokawa Kaiekidō.<sup>5</sup> In the autumn of 1952 (Shōwa 27), when more than 240 years had passed since the original text was written, those widespread copies of ‘Nambōroku’ (『南坊録』) and the original ‘Nanpōroku’ text (『南方録』) handwritten by Jitsuzan in the possession of Hakata Enkakuji temple, were first compared.<sup>6</sup> Professor Hisamatsu Shinichi of Kyōto University verified that every ‘Nambōroku’ could be traced back to this Enkakuji version. And in December 1956, (Shōwa 31) *Nanpōroku* 『南方録』 (*Sadō koten zenshū*, volume 4), based on the original Enkakuji version, was published.

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paradigm of the grand master system. Nambō Ryū is administered by the board of directors of Nambō Kai, and the office of Nambō Kai is located inside Kushida Shrine (櫛田神社). As will be explained in the fifth section of this chapter, Nambō Ryū should not be confused with the Nanpō Ryū school (南方流), which is affiliated with the Hakata temple Enkaku-ji (圓覚寺). For an overview of the formation of the Nambō Ryū and the Nanpō Ryū schools, see 廣田吉崇, 『お点前の研究：茶の湯 44 流派の比較と分析』 (A study of *o-temae*: comparison and analysis of 44 schools in *chanoyū*, Ōtsu: Ōsumi Shoten 2015), pp. 164-166.

<sup>5</sup> AF 2: Although the structure of ‘Nanpōroku’ consists of these seven manuscripts, ‘Oboegaki’ (覚書), ‘Kai’ (会), ‘Tana’ (棚), ‘Shoin’ (書院), ‘Daisu’ (台子), ‘Sumibiki’ (墨引) and ‘Metsugo’ (滅後), there are an additional two manuscripts, ‘Hiden’ (秘伝) and ‘Tsuika’ (追加). However, no examples of these two additional manuscripts from the brush of Jitsuzan exist. As was previously mentioned in Chapter 7, in the case of ‘Hiden’, although there was a Jitsuzan draft of nine articles of profound tea secrets that he selected and combined into one manuscript, that was later found to be been a clean copy made by Tachibana Neisetsu. Additionally, in the case of ‘Tsuika’, Jitsuzan combined the portions omitted from the seven-manuscript structure into one additional instalment and this too was found to have been a clean copy made by Tachibana Neisetsu. In the case of identifying something as ‘Nanpōroku’, although there is some debate as to whether these two manuscripts should be included or excluded, there is the point of view that those two additional instalments are integral to the seven manuscripts and should also be included. (The previously cited Toda publication takes this position). Further, as the Hosokawa Kaiekidō *Nambōroku* (『南坊録』) publication includes ‘Hiden’ and ‘Tsuika’, it is a nine-volume series.

<sup>6</sup> TN: In addition to the previously mentioned distinction between ‘Nanpōroku’ manuscripts (『南方録』) and published editions of *Nanpōroku* (『南方録』), there is the additional complication of the second character of the title being different: 南方録 and 南坊録. ‘Nambōroku’ is the rendering of 『南坊録』.

*Nambōroku* 『南坊録』 of Hosokawa Kaiekidō lists the chronology of written copying at the end of each roll of the manuscript. It is notable that in manuscript roll 7 it shows series of the names of the scribes. They are as follows:

The twelfth month of 1705 (Hōei 2), from Jitsuzan to Neisetsu, Michiakira, Ōga Nyoshin and Ibi Katamoto.

28th day of the second month of 1718 (Kyōhō 3), from Neisetsu, Michiakira, Nyoshin to Kasahara Dōkei.

28th day of the fourth month of 1724 (Kyōhō 9), from Dōkei to Ando Tadafusa.

11th day of the third month of 1744 (Enkyō 1), from Sadatoshi, the son of Tadafusa to Miyake Bizen no Kami Yasutaka, the Lord of Tahara.

Of the men who appear in this list, this chapter focusses on Kasahara Dōkei. Although he was a member of the Fukuoka domain, it was he who permitted shogunal vassal (*hatamoto*) Andō Tadafusa to make a manuscript, and that was the beginning of the 'Nanpōroku' duplication. What follows is an introduction of Kuroda *kashin* retainer Kasahara Dōkei.

## 2. The transcription, from Neisetu to Dōkei

On the 28th day of the second month of 1718 (Kyōhō 3), Tachibana Neisetsu and three others permitted Kasahara Dōkei (referred to below as Shishi-saigetsu-sō Dōkei) to make a transcription. At the end of the seventh manuscript roll of the previously mentioned 'Nambōroku', it explains the background as follows:

While Yūkoji was alive, Shishi Saigetsu Sō Dōkei Koji was attracted to tea and received the benefit of a close association with him. Although he hadn't had time to transcribe 'Nanporoku', Yūkoji unfortunately passed away. Keikoji still had high motivation and was enthusiastic about learning it, finally he was able to enter Yūkoji's room. At this point, he asked to be allowed to copy all volumes of 'Nanporoku.' Katamoto has already passed away. We three gathered together and reported this to the spirit of Yūkō and gave permission to his plea. May Yūkō's spirit smilingly ratify our act.

Kyōhō 3 (Year of Bojutsu), second month, 28th day

Jitokuan Jikei (red stamp)

Hangen'an Gan'ō (red stamp)

Kyokusai Fuhaku (red stamp)

Addressed to Shishisai Dōkei Koji

Presented to staff of addressee

In this extract, the name Yūkoji or Yūkō in this text means Jitsuzan who used Sōyū as his pseudonym, and Keikoji means Dōkei. In addition, Jitokuan means Nyoshin, Hangenan means Neisetsu and Kyokokusai means Michiakira.<sup>7</sup>

Although Dōkei was learning tea from Jitsuzan, regrettably his teacher died before Dōkei was permitted to make a copy of 'Nanpōroku.' The death of Jitsuzan was the eleventh month of 1708 (Hōei 5).<sup>8</sup> Jitsuzan had worked for the third domain lord Mitsuyuki and served loyally for all of his life, but when Jitsuzan became entangled in political turmoil of the Fukuoka domain after the death of Mitsuyuki, Jitsuzan was imprisoned and killed.<sup>9</sup>

After Dōkei was granted permission to transcribe, when he was stationed in the Fukuoka Domain Edo (Tokyo) residence, Dōkei gave permission to Andō Sadafusa to

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<sup>7</sup> TN: An excerpt of 'Nambōroku' appears here in the original text and is precisely paraphrased in the following section. As the following section does nothing more than translate the original text into contemporary Japanese by Matsuoka Hirokazu, by not rendering the original 1718 text directly into English, unnecessary redundancy is avoided. Such redundancies will be avoided in all following quotations.

<sup>8</sup> TN: This eleventh month death explains why the Nambō Ryū school holds commemorative tea rites (供茶式) at the Soto-shū Tōrinji temple for Tachibana Jitsuzan each November.

<sup>9</sup> AF 3: In Fukuoka, the general understanding of the death of Jitsuzan is that he was beheaded with a sword, following the orders of Kuroda domain lord Tsunamasa (1659-1711). However, five years after the death of Jitsuzan, on the first day of the fifth month 1713 (Shōtoku 3), the priest Tesshō from the Fukuoka Myōkōji temple reported the death of Jitsuzan to Manzan, and in the eighth month of the same year made an additional report. Based on that report, under the title 「松月庵主ノ靈二告ル文」, Manzan wrote 「遂令其自殺」, followed by 「(綱政) 遂にそれをして自殺せしむ」, in *Takagamine Manzan Oshō Kōroku* 『鷹峯卅山和尚広録』.

make a transcription. At the end of the seventh roll of the previously mentioned 'Nambōroku', in 1724 (Kyōhō 9) Dōkei wrote as follows (原文). [An excerpt of 'Nambōroku' appears here on pages 205-206 and is paraphrased in the following section.]

According to the description of Dōkei, although Sadafusa was firmly refused permission to make a copy at first, but because Sadafusa had some family connection with Dōkei, it appears that it was impossible to continue to deny the wish of Sadafusa.

Matsuoka renders the 'Nambōroku' excerpt into modern Japanese as follows. Lord Sadafusa had a taste for tea, and although he questioned Sen Sōsa (of Omote Senke) about the *okugi* deep tea esoterica, when Sadafusa heard that 'Nanpōroku' was the authentic transmission of the teachings of both Rikyū and Nanbō Sōkei, Sadafusa asked Dōkei for permission in a letter when Dōkei was staying in Chikuzen (Fukuoka). Later, in the spring of 1724, when Dōkei was stationed in Edo, Sadafusa payed him a visit and made a further appeal. Since Sadafusa had some close connection with the family of Dōkei, permission was given to copy those seven volumes. Since that time, copies of 'Nanpōroku' (『南方録』) were gradually made in Edo, appearing one after the other.

As Dōkei was apparently unable to reject Sadafusa's request, what was the reason, and what kind of circumstances was there between the clans of Kasahara and Andō?

It is worth noting that by the time when Andō Sadafusa had been promoted to Jugoinoge and Wakasa no Kami (the Junior Fifth Rank, Lower Grade, and the Governor of Wakasa Province) in 1723, the offices he had held included being a *hatamoto* (shogunal vassal) who served as *okachi gashira* (commander of foot soldiers), *shinban gashira* (person in charge of guarding the shogun and inspecting arms), and *nishinomaru orusui* (caretaker of the west compound of the main castle). After being appointed as *hata bugyo* (flag magistrate) in the fourth month of 1741 (Genbun 6), he died at the age of 72 on the 13th day of the fourth month of 1743 (Kanpō 3) (*Dainihon kinsei shiryō, Ryūeibunin*, Institute for the Compilation of Historical Material, Tokyo University). The following year, on the 11th day of the



third month of 1744 (Enkyō 1), Tsugiemon Sadayoshi, the legitimate son of Sadafusa, permitted Miyake Bizen no Kami Yasutaka, who was Governor of the Tahara Domain of Mikawa Province (present day Tahara City, Aichi Prefecture), to make a copy of the book.

### 3. Dōkei was born into the Tachibana Kozaemon family

Tachibana Jitsuzan, regarded as the editor of 'Nanpōroku', was commonly referred to as Gorōzaemon, was initially named Shigemoto, and was granted an annual rice stipend of 2750 *koku*. Jitsuzan is his pseudonym. Heizaemon, his father, was held in great confidence by the third lord Mitsuyuki and was a *karō* chief retainer granted an annual rice stipend of more than 10,000 *koku*.

According to *Komono kafu*, written and edited by Tachibana Masuyoshi, Tachibana Mikawa no Kami Masutoki, the grandfather of Heizaemon, lived in Komono area of Kasuya county (now Koga City, Fukuoka Prefecture) during the Age of Warring States and used Komono as his surname. Later, when the Ōtomo clan of Bungo advanced into Chikuzen,<sup>10</sup> Masutoki was serving under Bekki Akitsura (Tachibana Dōsetsu, 1513-1585), who was famous for his intrepidity, and Masutoki became the *karō* chief retainer under the son of Dōsetsu, Muneshige (1567-1643), when Muneshige was assigned to Yanagawa Province. Mikawa no Kami Masutoki was as brave a military commander as Dōsetsu and was bound by such deep bonds of trust to Dōsetsu that he was permitted to use the Tachibana surname.

Later, as Muneshige had belonged to Western Army which was defeated in the Battle of Sekigahara in 1600 (Keichō 5) and had to leave Yanagawa Castle, the sons of those including Mikawa no Kami Masutoki who had become masterless *rōnin* were employed by Kuroda Nagamasa as mercenary forces. Inside the Kuroda domain, they were collectively referred to as the Shinzanshū (Newcomers). But as the *bunji* principle of governing by law and reason rather than by military force advanced, the Tachibana family, commencing with Heizaemon, began to produce many talented

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<sup>10</sup> TN: The area then referred to as Bungo now includes Oita Prefecture, and the Chikuzen area now includes Fukuoka Prefecture.

members of the administrative bureaucracy who occupied the central pillar of the Kuroda domain. This development was described earlier.

According to *Chikuzen Tachibana Keizu* (Genealogical Chart of the Tachibana Clan of Chikuzen, Fukuoka Prefectural Library Archives), Kasahara is Katsuhisa, a biological child of Tachibana Kozaemon Narimasu of the Tachibana clan. This is illustrated in Figure 2, Genealogy of the Kasahara Clan 笠原家系譜, which is adapted from the Genealogical Chart of the Tachibana Clan of Chikuzen and included later. From the position of Jitsuzan, Dōkei was a second cousin. (Please refer to Figure 1, Genealogy of the Tachibana Clan 立花家系譜, which is on p. 218 in the Matsuoka volume and included later.) Following is a translation of the modern Japanese paraphrase of the original Chinese *kanbun* text:

Tachibana Katsuhisa 立花勝久

Born in 1675 (Empō 3) or the Year of Itsubō. Kasahara Shirōemon. Childhood name Jūgorō, later Yozaemon. Shirōemon Ichio adopted him and raised as his child. Served Lord Tsunamasa, Lord Nobumasa and Lord Tsugutaka, and later became an official responsible for oversight *sōtsukasa* (惣司) under the direction of a chief attendant (大扈從). Retired and became a monk in the name of Shishi Saigetsu Sō Dōkei. Passed away on the 9th day of the tenth month in 1764 (Meiwa 1) or the Year of Kōshin. Buried in Jōtenji. 90 years old. Liked the *chaji* tea rites of Nambō from his prime years, gained the experience of many years in his old age.

Further, with regard to the father of Katsuhisa, Tachibana Kozaemon Masunari, it reads as follows:

Tachibana Masunari 立花増成

Tachibana Kozaemon, childhood name Kosuke. Closely served Lord Mitsuyuki. Master of Heki Ryū archery. In 1656 (Meireki 2), honored with additional 200 *koku* and appointed leader of archery troop. After death of father Masatoki, inherited 800 *koku* stipend of father and appointed Ōgumi (senior rank retainer). Later appointed as head of Umamawari (horse guards). Died on 15th day of the seventh month in 1677 (Empō 5) or the

Year of Teishi at the age of 58. Buried in Myōtenji with the Buddhist name Enkōin Tsuneharu.

Masunari appears to have been an accomplished master of Heki Ryū archery. The year he died was the 1677 (Empō 5), the Myōtenji death registry shows that he died at the age of 58 (according to Maeda Yoshi, 'Fukuoka-han karōshoku Tachibana-shi no kakei'). Since Katsuhisa was born in 1675 (Empō 3), Masunari was 55 when he was born, which means Katsuhisa was only 3 when his father passed away.

As Kozaemon Masunari appears to have been unable to have a son for a long time, he adopted Masutake, the younger brother of Jitsuzan, before Katsuhisa was born. Masunari married his daughter to this adopted son. After being adopted, Masutake inherited the 800 *koku* territory of his father as well as the name Tachibana Kozaemon and served two lords, Mitsuyuki and Tsunamasa. Masutake later earned an additional 1000 *koku* and worked for Kaibara Ekken, a Confucian scholar of the Kuroda domain, to procure stationery and submit various applications for survey permission when Ekken was ordered by the domain government to compile *Chikuzenkoku shoku fudoki* (description of regional climate, culture, etc. of present-day Fukuoka area). In addition, although drafts prepared by Masutake were reviewed by Jitsuzan, the intermediary agent between these two men was again Kozaemon Masutake.

Incidentally, in 1703 (Genroku 16), Jitsuzan payed a visit to Baiganji Temple (Shingū-machi, Kasuya-gun, Fukuoka-shi) at the foot of Tachibana Yama. In his book *Tachibana Yama yuki no ki* (Fukuoka Prefectural Library Archives), Jitsuzan wrote "I visited the temple accompanied by my elder brother Masutake and Kasahara Katsuhisa on the 11th day of the third month", and this documents that Jitsuzan made a trip to the ancestral locale he shared with Tachibana Dōsetsu, the master of Komono Mikawa no Kami Masutoki who is the founder of the Tachibana clan, his son Muneshige, and others. At this time, Jitsuzan was 49 years old, Masutake was 39 and Katsuhisa was 28. Baiganji was maintained by Tachibana Dōsetsu as the *bodaiji* family temple housing the family grave in memory of his mother Yōkōin, and the graves of Mikawa no Kami Masutoki, Dosetsu and Yōkōin are lined up behind the

main temple building.

#### 4. The genealogy of Kasahara Dōkei

In the Genroku era, the Kuroda clan began to research their genealogy and the military exploits of their ancestors, and Kaibara Ekken was ordered to edit *Kuroda kafu* (Kuroda Clan Genealogical Chart). The Kuroda clan also ordered their *kashin* retainers to investigate their own origins and genealogies to organize them into those books such as 'Kurodaka shinden' and 'Kurodahan gokenin senzo yurai no ki.' Similar materials are collected in 'Zōeki Kurodaka shinden' ("Fukuokaken shihensan shiryō", Fukuoka Prefectural Library Archives), which can be thought of as an enlarged edition of *Kuroda kashinden*, and the details of the Kasahara clan are recorded here. In the Fukuoka domain, the distinctions that divided the retainer groups were as follows. Those who were retained from the time Kuroda clan were in Harima were called Daifu-daishū, those who were retained in Buzen Nakatsu were called Kofu-daishū and those who were retained after they moved into the Chikuzen area were called Shinzanshū. The Kasahara clan is one of the so-called Shinzanshū and 'Zōeki Kurodaka shinden' shows their lineage as follows.

Kasahara Saemonza, the original head of Kasahara clan, owned the land of Kasahara, Saitama county in Musashi. Ten generations later, Shinzemon died in the battle in the service of shogun Ashikaga Yoshiteru, and his son Chūtaemon served Nobunaga and lived in Azuchi. Shirōemon, the great grandson of Chūtaemon, initially served Kyōgoku Tadataka but later when he was a lordless *rōnin*, on the recommendation of Nakane Iki no Kami, he was put in service of the Kuroda clan and given the territory of 500 *koku*. Later in the era of the third Kuroda lord Mitsuyuki, he was appointed *tsukaiban* (responsible for order and patrol in the battlefield) and awarded an additional 100 *koku* to his territory for a final total of 600 *koku*. After retirement in his old age, he called himself Issen. The family estate was inherited by his legitimate child Shinbē who changed his name to Shirōemon. As he had no child of his own, Shirōemon adopted the son of Tashibana Kozaemon and called him Yozaemon. Shirōemon, the adoptive father, called himself Ichio after retirement.

Yozaemon, too, changed his name to Shirōemon and called himself Dōkei after retirement.

As described above, the heads of Kasahara clan used the name Shirōemon as their pseudonyms. Since it is confusing to have different people with the same name, this can be remedied by making a comparison with this document: 'Sensōhikyū Jūgokanokeizushū' ('Chikuzen sōsho 145', an *utsushi* copy is held by Fukuoka Prefectural Library) (see below 'Kasaharake keifu', p. 219). After becoming a masterless *rōnin*, Shirōemon Naoharu, the first to serve Kuroda clan received 600 *koku* and called himself Issen after retirement. He was succeeded by his legitimate son Shinbē Katsunao. Katsunao was later called Ichiō and as he did not have a son, he adopted Katsuhisa, the son of Tachibana Kozaemon Masunari and Ichiō changed his name to Yozaemon. Yozaemon again changed his name to Shirōemon and called himself Dōkei after retirement.

In addition, regarding how Naoharu began to serve the Kuroda domain, Kaibara Ekken gave a precise description in the above cited *Kurodahan gokenin senzo yurai no ki*, which was edited in the twelfth month of 1691 (Genroku 4). What follows is an extract from that manuscript:

Kasahara Shinbē 笠原新兵衛

In the era of Lord Tadayuki, the father Shirōemon was recommended to Lord Tadayuki through the good offices of Andō Tsugiemon by Nakane Iki no Kami. In Seiho 4, before the Black Ships arrived, he was told to be ready to serve. On hearing that the Black Ships had arrived, he hurried to Nagasaki and Lord Tadayuki heard of it. While his lord was staying in camp, he served diligently. After the lord went home, Shirōemon thanked Lord Tadayuki about being granted a position and receiving 500 *koku* worth of territory. Later, he became Ashigaru-gashira and Otsukaiban before he was rewarded another 100 *koku*. Several years later, he was granted the right to retire and hand over his family estate of 600 *koku* to his son Shinbē. Shirōemon took the pseudonym Issen, lives to the present.

In the sixth month of 1647 (Seiho 4), two Portuguese ships came by way of their

colony Goa into the port of Nagasaki with a written request from the King of Portugal to establish trade relations with Japan. It was the domains of Fukuoka and Saga who were the first in Kyushu to send soldiers and warships to Nagasaki on full alert. From Fukuoka, with as many as 11,730 soldiers, Lord Tadayuki himself went to Nagasaki. As it turned out, war did not break out, and the Black Ships left Nagasaki on the 6th day of the eighth month 1647 (*Shintei Kuroda kafu*, vol. 2, revised by Kawazoe Shōji and Fukuoka Kobunsho wo yomu Kai).

At this time, Shirōemon Naoharu, the father of Kasahara Shinbē, was recommended by *hatamoto* Nakane Iki no Kami and Andō Tsugiemon to be retained by the Kuroda clan. As soon as Shirōemon heard about the arrival of the Black Ships, he hastened to Nagasaki. After Tadayuki went home, Shirōemon was rewarded 500 *koku* worth of territory and became Ashigaru-gashira and Otsukaiban before he was rewarded with additional 100 *koku*. He retired with the pseudonym Issen and his son Shinbei Katsunao was granted permission to inherit the whole family estate of 600 *koku*.

When the Hosokawa Kaiekidō publication *Nambōroku* records that Dōkei wrote at the end of the manuscript that “Lord Sadafusa had something close to do with our family and out of kindness I allowed him to transcribe those 7 books,” it means that when Naoharu, his ancestor by two generations, was masterless, Naoharu was fortunate enough to be retained by the Kuroda domain at the recommendation of Andō Tsugiemon. This is one of the reasons why Dōkei couldn’t decline Sadafusa’s earnest request for transcription of ‘Nanpōroku.’

## 5. Nambō Ryū and its spread along with ‘Nanpōroku’

After the 1718 transcription by Dōkei, a succession of ‘Nanpōroku’ copies were made in Edo. According to the Kawahara Shoten publication edited by Suehiro Hiroshi, *Chajin Keifu*, the people who made those copies after Dōkei were: Andō Sadafusa; his son Sadami; Miyake Yasutaka, Lord of Tahara in Mikawa Province; his *kashin* vassal Hirayama Naokazu; Seizō, chief priest of Edo Entsūji; and Tokuzan, chief priest of Edo Kōgenji. Later, one copy was transmitted to *hatamoto* vassal Ōkubo Tokumoto

and another copy was transmitted to Maeda Shuzen Yoshitane (aka Baikaan Tokuju), a *karō* chief retainer of Daishōji Domain in Kaga Province. It appears that transmission of Nambō Ryū tea culture was accompanied by the permitted copying of 'Nanpōroku.'

It is worth noting that as Ōkubo Tokumoto resided in Edo Surugadai, his manuscript came to be called the 'Surugadai Nambō' version, and later near the end of the Edo era, Kushihashi Sesshin, a clansman of Fukuoka domain, received transmission from Tokumoto and brought this 'Surugadai Nambō' back to Fukuoka. In Fukuoka, this 'Surugadai Nambō' was called 'Edo Nambō' to distinguish it from the local transmission from Jitsuzan which has been called 'Ji Nambō' or 'Chikuzen Nambō.'

Over the course of roughly 150 years, it appears that differences seemed to have been arisen between these two Nambō Ryū, and the person who struggled to unify them from the late Edo period to the middle of the Meiji era was the *chajin* man of tea, Tachibana Yū (Tsuda Sozan, 'Kissa Nanpō Ryū dentō zen', included in *Zencharoku*, vol. 2). Yū was a descendant of Shigeoki, the uncle of Jutsuzan, a *sakuji bugyo* (magistrate of building construction) with an allotment of 530 *koku*, and his real name Handayū Takayoshi. Yū later established a distinction from Nambō Ryū by using the name Nanpō Ryū. Nanpō Ryū is based at Hakata Enkakujī temple.

These days, in addition to Nambō Ryū being practiced in and around Fukuoka City, the Edo transmission has resulted in Toyohashi City, Aichi Prefecture and Kaga City, Ishikawa Prefecture also being places where Nambō Ryū is practiced. In the case of Nambō Ryū in Toyohashi, it was introduced by the Tahara Domain Lord in the Mikawa area, Miyake Bizen no Kami Yasutaka, and having spread among his *kashin* vassals has continued to be transmitted ever since. The Nambō Ryū of Daishōji Domain in Kaga Province was introduced by Maeda Shuzen, a *karō* chief retainer of the clan, and the practice was almost extinct in the early postwar period but in recent years some efforts have been made to revive it. In addition, Edo Nambō Ryū, the so-called Surugadai Nambō, is discontinued.

Unlike many other tea schools, Nambō Ryū does not follow the *iemoto* system

(the grand master system of licensing the teaching of a traditional Japanese art) and instead, under their system of transmission, even the authority of issuing licenses as well as teaching the details of *temae* (artistry of tea-serving procedures) and style is permissible. This mode of transmission is the so-called complete transmission. Once an individual become a licensed professor, they are permitted to issue licenses to their pupil under their own name. As a result, Nambō Ryū has developed independently in its birthplace Fukuoka, and such places as Toyohashi, Kaga and Kyōto.

Note that the Chikuzen schools of Nambō Ryū were organized as Sadō Nambō Ryū Nambō Kai on the eleventh month of 1951 (Showa 26) and have been granting licenses under the name of that organization ever since.<sup>11</sup>

## 6. Dōkei and “Yatsunashi Baisaō”

When the genealogy of Nambō Ryū is examined, the transcription of ‘Nanpōroku’ from Kasahara Dōkei to Andō Sadafusa in Edo then advanced the later transmission of ‘Nanpōroku’ and the local expansion of Nambō Ryū.

As has previously been seen, the relationship between Kasahara Dōkei and Andō Sadafusa goes back to the grandfather of Dōkei, Kasahara Shirōemon Naoharu, who was retained by Fukuoka domain as a result of the recommendation of *hatamoto* Andō Tsugiemon. This is exactly what Dōkei called ‘the circumstances of a close family connection’ and this is the reason why Dōkei couldn’t refuse the request and finally gave permission to transcribe ‘Nanpōroku’ to Andō Sadafusa.

However, regardless of even if Dōkei noted ‘the circumstances of a close family connection,’ that must not be the only reason why he permitted the Sadafusa copy. Dōkei acknowledged that in years gone by, Andō Sadafusa was enough of a tea man who held such a deep interest in tea that he had asked Sen Sōsa about the *okugi*

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<sup>11</sup> AF 4: In the case of Sadō Nambō Ryū Nambō Kai, licenses granted by individual professors are certified by the senior professors (*riji no sensei*) who constitute the Board of Directors of Nambō Kai, and the licenses are issued in the name of Sadō Nambō Ryū Nambō Kai.



esoterica of tea ceremony. It stands to reason that it was after Sadafusa had passed through a strictly examined screening that the genuine transmission of Nambō Ryū tea practices had occurred. Starting with Edo Nambō that later began from 'Surugadai Nambō', those transmissions were all passed through Andō Sadafusa.

On the other hand, the men received the Nambō Ryū tea practices in the Chikuzen area from Dōkei included Tachibana Shōsai, Tachibana Ryūsui, Tsuchiya Hōen, Konomi Sekisui, and others. ('Tencha Seiden', owned by Hakata Tōrinji and *Chajin Keifu*, edited by Suemune Hiroshi). Although 'Nanpōroku' was supposedly transcribed when tea practices were transmitted, the only extant copies are one made by Jitsuzan himself and another one written by Neisetsu.

Dōkei died on the 9th day of the tenth month of 1764 (Meiwa 1) and was buried in Banshōzan Shōtenji. He died at the age of 90, which was outstanding longevity for that time. In the previously mentioned *Chikuzen Tachibana keizu*, it reads that he 'liked the *chaji* tea rites of Nambō from his prime years, gained the experience of many years in his old age.' Dōkei must have spent his later years absorbed in tea culture.

One thing, however, discovered in the course of this research was that 'Yatsunami Baisaō' was Kasahara Hōgan, a grandson of Dōkei.<sup>12</sup> According to the previously mentioned 'Sensōhikyū Jūgokanokeizushū', the lineage chart of the Kasahara family reveals that the heir of Dōkei is Shirōemon Katsutomi, the eldest son of Katsutomi is Shinbē and his daughter is the wife of Yamanaka Shuma (Kyūma?).

The description of 'Muryōjuji Kakochō' (included *Chitashi shi*, vol. 1, edited by Chitashishi Hensan Iinkai) says that the father of Hōgan was Kasahara Shirōemon Katsutomi, a feudal retainer of Fukuoka Domain and his mother was a daughter of Fujiwara clan, and she became the second wife of Katsutomi. His eldest brother was Shinbē Katsufumi, second elder brother was Genroku Naotsune, his elder sister was the wife of Yamanaka Kyūma. Hōgan was once adopted by Kuze Hanshichi, his childhood name Orinosuke, and he died on the 5th day of the second month in 1828

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<sup>12</sup> TN: 八橋 壳茶翁 (1710-1828)

(Bunsei 11) at the age of 70. In 1772 (An'ei 1), when he was 14, his father and mother died one after the other. Further before Hōgan reached the age of 20 he lost all his flesh and blood relatives, including his elder brother, elder sister and younger sister.<sup>13</sup>

Kasahara Hōgan grew up with this kind of adversity, he went on to leave many poems, calligraphic works and paintings, and gave himself the 'Baisaō' name to cherish the memory of Kō Yūgai. In the last years of his life, he restored the Muryōjuji temple in Mikawa no Kuni Yatsushashi (present day Chita City, Aichi Prefecture), residing there as the head priest and has been known as Yatsushashi Baisaō ever since.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> AF 5: According to the municipal history *Chitashi shi*, vol. 1, edited by Chitashishi Hensan Iinkai), Kasahara Hōgan was born in Chikuzen Fukuoka, went up to Kyoto around the age of 27. He became a monk at the Kyoto Myōshinji temple, and learnt the serving style of Kō Yūgai Baisaō from Daiten Genjū (大典顯常 だいてんけんじょう 1719-1801) and made its *okugi* tea esoterica his own. He then left for Edo and built a life plan around selling tea in Umetani. Around the age of 46, Hōgan moved to Mikawa Yatsushashi, and he restored Zaigenji temple as well as Muryōjūji temple. In his final years, he embarked on a pilgrimage to Hokuriku, going to Echigo on the way to Edo, and while staying in the Kishū Domain Hōgan fell sick and returned to Yatsushashi to die. An accomplished poet and artist, he also had interactions with the tenth generation Kishū Domain Lord Tokugawa Harutomi.

<sup>14</sup> AF 6: According to 'Kasaharake keifu', although the details of his children only list as far as his third child, according to Muryōjūji temple records, Hōgan was the fifth of seven children. Further, around the time of Hōgan, those same temple records mention his adoption by Kuze Hanshichi, the childhood name of Orinosuke, and death on the 5th day of the second month in 1828 (Bunsei 11) at the age of 70.

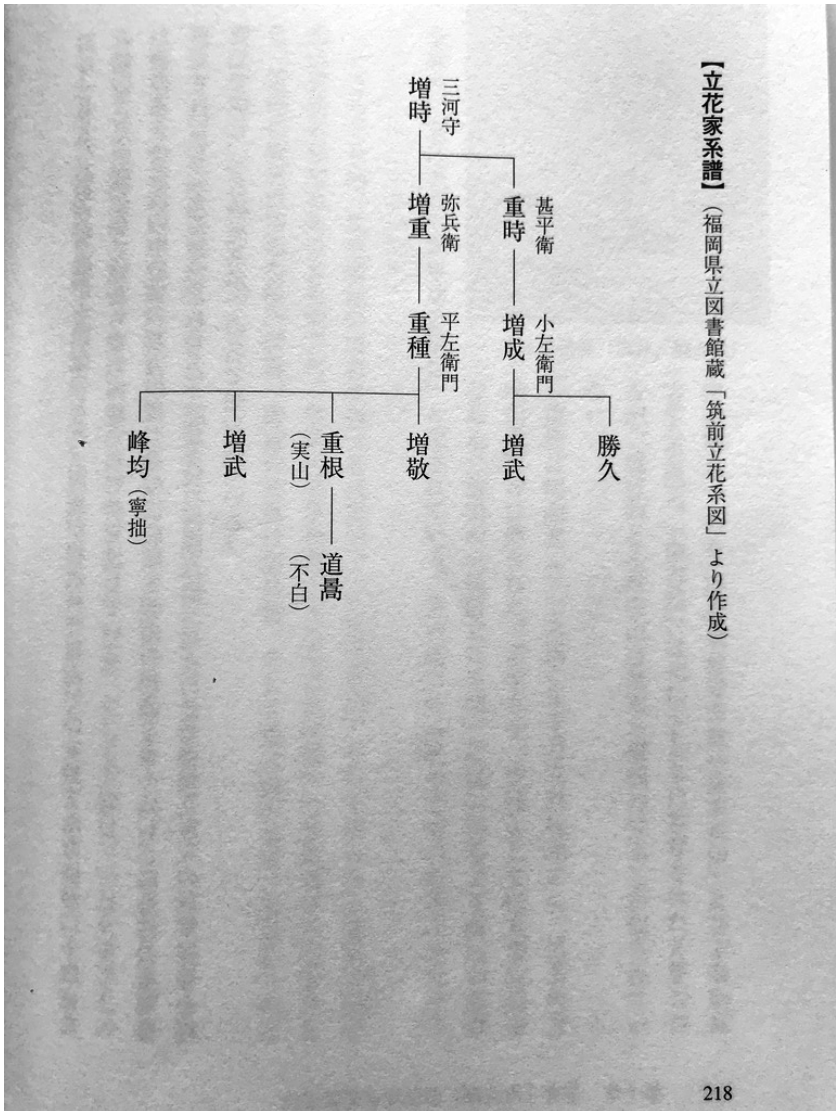


Figure 1: Genealogy of the Tachibana Clan 立花家系譜

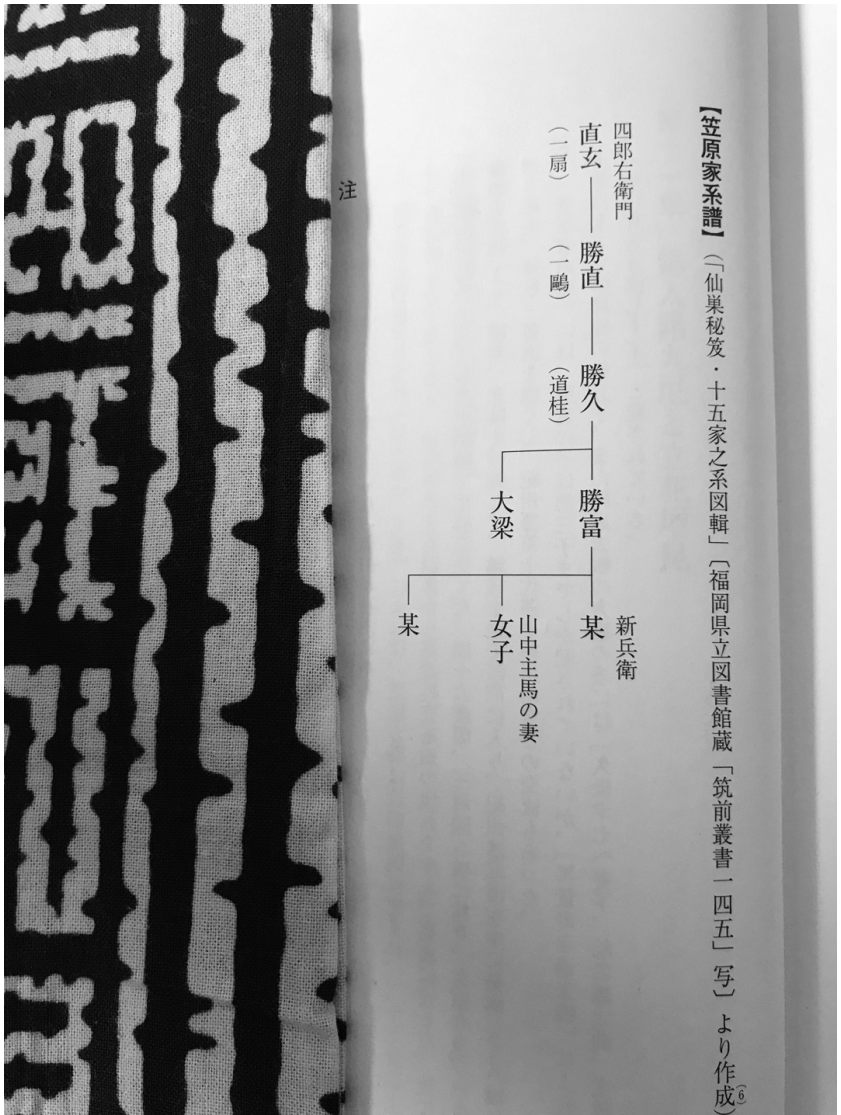


Figure 2: Genealogy of the Kasahara Clan 笠原家系譜