

Kobori Enshū, Feudal Lord and Tea Master

—The Development of Tea Rooms in the Keicho and Kan’ei Period—

Noboru YAMASHITA

Center for Language Studies, Nagasaki University,
Leiden Institute for Area Studies, Leiden University

Abstract

In the second half of the sixteenth century, a commoner named Sen no Rikyū became the foremost tea master to Toyotomi Hideyoshi, ruler of Japan. In 1591, Rikyū was forced to commit ritual suicide and was succeeded by Furuta Oribe, one of his students. Unlike Rikyū, Oribe was not a commoner but a feudal lord. Oribe would later become tea master to the second Tokugawa shogun Hidetada, and after he himself was forced to commit ritual suicide in 1615, he was succeeded as tea master of the realm by another feudal lord, Kobori Enshū.

This paper will discuss the role Enshū played in the development of the tea ceremony, then known as *chanoyu*, during the Kan’ei period, and will focus on the development of the *sukiya* 数寄屋 or tea room.

Keywords: *chanoyu*, Furuta Oribe, Kobori Enshū, Toyotomi Hideyoshi

1. Outline of Kobori Enshū’s Life

Kobori Enshū 小堀遠州 (1579–1647) was a feudal lord of the beginning of the Edo period (1624–1645). During the Kan’ei era 寛永 (1624–1645), he achieved great fame both as a supervisor of architectural constructions for the shogunate and imperial court, and as a master of *chanoyu*.¹ Preceded by his own *chanoyu* master Furuta Oribe 古田織部 (1544–1615) and succeeded by Katagiri Sekishū 片桐石州 (1605–1673), Enshū in particular became famous as one of the three consecutive feudal lords and *chanoyu* masters of the realm, who after the untimely death of Sen no Rikyū 千利休 (1522–1691), were responsible for the development of *chanoyu* to the form that we still know today.

To understand the influential role Enshū played in the development of *chanoyu* and the tea room it is necessary to first examine the rise of the Kobori family to power under the government of the Toyotomi and Tokugawa families, and in particular Enshū's own relationship to both the court of the Tokugawa shogun and the imperial court.

Enshū was born the eldest son of Kobori Masatsugu 小堀正次 (1504–1604) in Ōmi Province 近江国 (present Shiga Prefecture) and his father was a vassal of the Azai clan that ruled the northern part of Ōmi. After the defeat of the Azai at the hands of Oda Nobunaga in 1573, Masatsugu became a vassal of Toyotomi Hidenaga 豊臣秀長 (1540–1591), a younger half-brother of Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1537–1598) and the latter's most trusted advisor.² The historical developments that would follow brought the Kobori family close to the center of political power.

In 1582, Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534–1582) was ambushed by his vassal Akechi Mitsuhide 明智光秀 (1528–1582) at Honnō temple 本能寺 in Kyoto. Hideyoshi avenged his lord and took control over the country.

In 1585, Hideyoshi appointed Hidenaga lord of Yamato, Izumi and Kii, and the Kobori accompanied him to Kōriyama castle 郡山城 (present Nara prefecture). Masatsugu moved up the ranks and became county magistrate 群奉行 of Yamato, receiving a stipend of 3,000 *koku*.³ Although Masatsugu did not achieve the fame his son later would, he was also supervisor of a number of works of construction under Hidenaga.⁴

After Hidenaga died in 1591, Masatsugu became a vassal of Toyotomi Hideyasu 豊臣秀保 (1579–1595), who had been adopted by Hidenaga as his heir.⁵ When Hideyasu died only four years later,⁶ Masatsugu became a direct vassal of Toyotomi Hideyoshi and in 1596, moved to Rokujizō in Fushimi 伏見六地藏.

It was probably around this time that Enshū became acquainted with Furuta Oribe, who as a vassal of Hideyoshi also had a residence in Rokujizō, and started his study of Zen Buddhism with Rinzai priest Shun'oku Sōsen 春屋宗園 (1529–1611).

In 1597, Enshū married the daughter of Tōdō Takatora 藤堂高虎 (1556–1630) who, like the Kobori, had served the Azai, Hidenaga, Hideyasu and at the time of this marriage served Hideyoshi. Takatora's military prowess and service to Hidenaga were such that in 1585, Hidenaga had rewarded him with a stipend of 10,000 *koku*, and in 1587, he received the senior fifth lower court rank 正五位下 and the title of Lord of Sado 佐渡守.⁷ Although Kobori Masatsugu had not moved up in the ranks as fast as Takatora, Enshū's marriage to Takatora's daughter can be seen as a confirmation of

the Kobori's rising status. An interesting point that should be noted is that Takatora, next to his military prowess, was also well-known for his skills as an architect and was responsible for the construction of a great number of castles. That Enshū would follow the example of his father-in-law as supervisor for construction works is clearly no coincidence.

After Hideyoshi died, Masatsugu served Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1543–1616) and after the battle of Sekigahara in 1600, he was rewarded for his services with an appointment as lord of Bitchū Matsuyama castle 備中松山城 (present Okayama prefecture), making him a feudal lord or *daimyō* 大名 of 10,000 *koku*.

After Masatsugu died in 1604, Enshū succeeded him as lord of Bitchū Matsuyama. The domain at that time had a value of 14,460 *koku*, but Enshū allocated 2,000 *koku* to his brother Masayuki 正行 (1583–1615) and became a *daimyō* of 12,460 *koku*. He ruled this domain until 1619, when he was transferred to Ōmi Komuro 近江小室. His descendants would rule the Komuro domain until 1788. Enshū was also appointed governor of Bitchū 備中国奉行.

In 1606, Enshū was appointed *sakuji-bugyō* 作事奉行 for the first time. A *sakuji-bugyō* was an official of the shogunate in charge of architectural and construction matters. Enshū was summoned to supervise the construction of the residence of Emperor Goyōzei 後陽成天皇 (1571–1617). After completing this task, he fulfilled a number of positions within the administration of the shogunate and in 1608, was responsible for the construction of the donjon of Sunpu castle 駿府城, for which Ieyasu rewarded him in 1609, with the junior fifth lower court rank 従五位下. Enshū also received the title of Lord of Tōtōmi 遠江守, making his official title Kobori Lord of Tōtōmi Masakazu 小堀遠江守政一, which became abbreviated to Kobori Enshū.⁸

During his career as an official of the shogunate, Enshū was involved in the construction of a large number of buildings for the Tokugawa government, including structures at Sunpu castle 駿府城, Nagoya castle 名古屋城, Osaka castle 大阪城 and Fushimi castle 伏見城. Enshū was also requested to supervise the construction of buildings and gardens for the personal use of third Tokugawa shogun Iemitsu 徳川家光 (1604–1651). In 1629, he was ordered to supervise the redevelopment of Yamazato 山里 in the Western citadel of Edo castle and after completing this work, in 1633 he was requested to build a stately mansion for Iemitsu's personal use at Minaguchi castle 水口城 (present Shiga prefecture). In the same year, Enshū also supervised the building of a residence and garden at the Second Citadel at Nijō castle 二条城二の丸, both the seat of the shogunate in Kyoto and the residence of the shogun

when he visited the area. This garden still exists today.



Kobori Enshū⁹



Enshū's garden at the Second Citadel of Nijō castle



In 1636, Enshū was next summoned to build a palace and tea pavilion in Shinagawa for Iemitsu. That the shogun was satisfied with his work can be concluded from the fact that after the completion of this palace, Enshū was summoned to perform a *chanoyu* ceremony at the tea room he had designed.

From the above examples, Enshū's close relationship to the inner circle of the shogunate is clear, but on orders of the shogunate, Enshū also oversaw the construction of a number of imperial palaces and gardens, most notably that of Sentō Imperial Palace 仙洞御所 and garden for Emperor Go-Mizunō 後水尾上皇 (1596–1680), of which a part, although in an altered form, still remains today.¹⁰ Enshū's involvement in the construction and rebuilding of palaces and his design of gardens for the imperial court also led to a cordial relationship with members of the imperial court like Prince Hachijō no Miya Toshihito 八条宮智仁親王 (1579–1629). Prince Toshihito at an unspecified occasion presented Enshū with a tea jar called 'Odaimyō' 於大名. To showcase this tea jar, Enshū built a new tea room he named 'Tengō-an' 転合庵 at his estate in Fushimi to which he invited the prince for a *chanoyu* ceremony. This tea room still exists and will be discussed later as one of the rare remaining examples of Enshū's tea room design.

It is often thought that Enshū was involved in the construction of the famous Katsura Imperial Villa 桂離宮 and garden, regarded as absolute masterpieces of Japanese architecture and garden design, for prince Toshihito. There is however no proof of his involvement, nor are there any sources remaining that can be used to clearly identify other specialists that could have been involved. The garden does resemble others designed by Enshū and considering the cordial relationship Enshū had with the prince, it seems plausible that the prince consulted him. It would be pure speculation to connect the fact that the prince presented Enshū with a valuable tea jar to the construction of Katsura Imperial Villa, but even if Enshū was not directly involved, it is evident that it was strongly influenced by his other designs. As will be shown later, Enshū himself was also greatly influenced by his experiences at the imperial court.



Garden of Sentō Imperial Palace



Hōjō garden at Nanzen temple



'Odaimyō' 於大名 tea jar

Next to his work for the shogunate and the imperial court, Enshū also supervised the construction of buildings and gardens for a number of temples. An example is Kohō-an pavilion 孤篷庵, which he built in 1612 at Ryūkō-in 龍光院,¹¹ at the request of monk Kōgetsu Sōgen 江月宗玩 (1574–1643).¹² This pavilion includes a room used for *chanoyu* that is known as Bōsen-no-seki 忘筌席. Together with the aforementioned Tengō-an, Bōsen-no-seki is one of the few examples of tea rooms designed by Enshū that still exist today and for that reason will be discussed later.

In 1632, Enshū also constructed the Hōjō garden 方丈庭園 at Nanzen temple 南禪寺 in Kyoto, at the request of monk Ishin Sūden 以心崇伝 (1569–1633). Sūden was an advisor to Ieyasu, Hidetada and later also Iemitsu, and played a significant role in the development of the Tokugawa shogunate. This garden remains today.

Enshū had an impressive career as a supervisor of construction works, through which he interacted with the inner circle of the shogunate, the imperial court and the Buddhist clergy. Next to this he also fulfilled important positions within the administration of the Tokugawa shogunate. In 1617, he was appointed governor of Kawachi Province 河内国, in 1622 governor of Tōtōmi, and in 1623 of Fushimi 伏見. In 1642, Enshū was also appointed commissioner in charge of solving the Great Kan'ei Famine 寛永の大飢餓, which would be his last official position within the administration. In 1637, Enshū also took part in the infamous suppression of the Shimabara Rebellion 島原の乱, but although Enshū was born during the Azuchi-Momoyama period 安土桃山時代 (1573–1603), a time of continuous warfare, he did not make a name for himself as a warrior, contrary to his father Masatsugu.

Enshū held various important positions within the administration of the Tokugawa shogunate and interacted with many of its top officials, but he also had another, mostly overlooked, direct connection to the family of the shogun through his concubine Misawa no Tsubone 三沢局 (1611–1656). After giving birth to Enshū's fourth son Masasada 政貞 (1641–?), Misawa served as a wet nurse for fourth Tokugawa shogun Ietsuna 徳川家綱 (1641–1680).¹³ She obtained the rank of *otoshiyori* 御年寄, the second highest rank within the Ōoku 大奥 or Inner Palace of Edo castle.¹⁴

Enshū died in 1647, at the age of 68, at the governor's residence in Fushimi of his own design. He was succeeded by his second son Masayuki 正之 (1620–1674).

2. Kobori Enshū and *Chanoyu*

At the time Enshū was born, *chanoyu* practice had become an integral part of the social life and etiquette of families belonging to the upper-tier warrior class.

In 1585, the Kobori family accompanied Hidenaga to Kōriyama and came to live in an area close to Nara and relatively close to Kyoto and Sakai, where at that time *chanoyu* had become widely popular. It is not clear who first taught Enshū *chanoyu*, but, it was inevitably a part of the education he received.

According to an entry in the *Hōkō-densho* 甫公伝書,¹⁵ Enshū explained that he was told to serve tea to Toyotomi Hideyoshi, when the latter visited the residence of his brother Hidenaga in 1588.¹⁶ Hidenaga had summoned Sen no Rikyū the day before this visit to help him prepare for the occasion and Enshū saw him doing a tea ceremony for Hidenaga. As Enshū was entrusted with the task of serving tea to Hideyoshi, it is likely that by the age of nine, Enshū had already been taught the basic rules of etiquette and had received at least some instruction in *chayonu*.¹⁷ It also seems likely that Rikyū instructed Enshū directly at this occasion, but the latter does not give any details concerning the occurrence of such instruction.

This is the first and only time Enshū met Rikyū, and there was no exchange between the two men after that. Mori Osamu and others assume that this meeting strongly influenced Enshū's attitude towards *chanoyu*, but the above entry, the only existing source concerning this meeting, gives absolutely no indication of that.¹⁸

That the practice of *chanoyu* was a part of the social life of the Kobori family is also clear from other sources like an entry of 1593 in the *Matsuya-kaiki* 松屋会記.¹⁹ This entry shows that in 1593, Masatsugu invited Matsuya Hisayoshi 松屋久好 (?–1633), a lacquer artist and famous *chanoyu* connoisseur from Nara, to a *chanoyu* gathering at his residence.²⁰ This indicates that the Kobori family had more than a superficial interest in *chanoyu* and that Enshū's father not only regarded *chanoyu* as a necessary part of the official etiquettes, but was actively engaging in its practice.

It is not clear from what age Enshū developed a personal interest in *chanoyu*, but he himself first appears in an entry concerning a gathering of 1594,²¹ when at age fifteen, he accompanied his father to the house of Hisayoshi's father, Hisamasa 久政 (1521–1598). Interestingly, Rikyū also first appears in the same *chanoyu* record by Hisamasa at age fifteen, albeit 57 years earlier and as the host of that gathering, not as a guest.²²

In 1596, following the death of Hidenaga and his successor Hideyasu, the Kobori moved to Rokujizō in Fushimi 伏見六地藏, to serve Toyotomi Hideyoshi. It was probably around this time that Enshū became acquainted with Furuta Oribe, who also had a residence in Rokujizō, and that Enshū started his study of Zen Buddhism with Rinzai priest Shun'oku Sōsen 春屋宗園 (1529–1611). Sōsen was the abbot of the Daitoku temple 大徳寺 in Kyoto and befriended many famous *chanoyu* masters like Imai Sōkyū 今井宗久 (1520–1593), Rikyū, and feudal lords like Kuroda Yoshitaka 黒田孝高 (1546–1605), chief strategist to Hideyoshi. He is also known as the instructor of Takuan Sōhō 沢庵宗彭 (1573–1645), who was exiled by Tokugawa Hidetada, but pardoned by Iemitsu, who took a great liking to him.

As Mori points out, some sources say that Enshū started his study of Zen Buddhism as early as age fifteen or sixteen.²³ This is very well possible, as it is also quite certain that he started his study of *chanoyu* before moving to Fushimi; it is however not likely that at such a young age he would have regularly travelled from Kōriyama to either Kyoto or Fushimi. It is therefore more plausible that he started his study with both men after moving to Fushimi, around the age of seventeen.

The first record of a tea gathering organized by Enshū himself dates to the 24th day of the second month of 1599, three years after he moved to Fushimi, and can be found in the record of Hisamasa's son Hisayoshi 久好 (?–1633).²⁴ Next to this entry, Enshū appears again in Hisayoshi's records as a host in 1601. He also appears as a guest in 1599, and twice in 1602.²⁵

The entry from the sixth day of the third month of 1602 is also the first entry in which Enshū appears with Oribe. They travel to Yoshino 吉野 in Nara to view the cherry blossoms and commemorate Rikyū. During the gathering Enshū performs a Kusemai dance 曲舞 while Oribe accompanies him on the taikō drum.²⁶ As there only exist a limited number of trustworthy sources today that concern tea gatherings, the fact that this entry is the earliest proof of a connection between Enshū and Oribe does not mean that their relationship did not start earlier. It would appear from the purpose and details of their gathering that they were already closely acquainted at that time.

After 1602, there is a gap of 16 years until 1618, during which Enshū does not appear in any of the existing records. The above entries are therefore the only sources concerning Enshū's *chanoyu* activities until his late twenties. Fukuya Nobuko claims in her detailed and informative work, *Kobori Enshū no chakai*, that there are no sources concerning Enshū's activities in the Genwa period 元和 (1615–1624) and that there is a gap of 25 years.²⁷ That is a correct assumption when discussing only the

gatherings Enshū organized himself, but the *Hōkō-densho* and *Matsuya-kaiki* records show that Enshū was a guest at gatherings in 1618 and 1622, and more importantly, performed a *daisu sadō* ceremony 台子茶道, the most official *chanoyu* ceremony, in 1619.²⁸ Enshū performed this at the residence of Doi Toshikatsu 土井利勝 (1573–1644), who in 1610, had been appointed *rōju* 老中 or ‘Elder’ of the shogunate and at the time of this gathering was one of the most important advisors to shogun Tokugawa Hidetada 徳川秀忠 (1579–1632). There is great significance in his participation in this particular gathering as it proves his close connection to the absolute inner circle of the shogun. This entry also shows that although during the Genwa period Enshū did not appear often in the *chanoyu* records of commoners like the Matsuya family, he was clearly regarded as a sufficiently experienced practitioner of *chanoyu* by members of the upper-tier warrior class.

According to Mori Osamu in *Kobori Enshū*, Enshū also assisted shogun Hidetada at a three-day *chanoyu* gathering the latter organized at Edo castle in 1620.²⁹ The source Mori uses, *Edo oshiro osuki no sho* 江戸御城尾数寄之書 is in private possession and cannot be found in any of the national archives or other databases.³⁰ For this reason it is difficult to judge its value, but considering Mori’s status as a member of the Cultural Property Protection Committee it is also difficult to ignore it. If this source is reliable, this would be a strong indication that already at the age of 41, only four years after Furuta Oribe had committed *seppuku*, Enshū was regarded by the shogun as one of the foremost *chanoyu* masters in the country and that he not only served shogun Iemitsu, as is generally known, but also his father Hidetada when the latter was still in office.

The research on the history of *chanoyu* is greatly troubled by a lack of reliable sources and is mostly based on the records of commoners like the Matsuya family. In the Edo period (1603–1868), the Matsuya were still widely recognized as experts on *chanoyu*, but compared to the end of the sixteenth century, they were less often invited to gatherings with participants of the highest level of the shogunate, and they simply did not have the same strong connection with Edo, as they had with Kyoto. The fact that Enshū did not appear much in their records during the Genwa era shows he was not very active in this field, but is also caused by the fact that he just did not take part in those events that were recorded by the Matsuya and others.

From 1626, Enshū starts to appear regularly again in various records, but although he organized 35 gatherings in 1626 and 34 in 1627, there are also years that he does not appear in any records at all.³¹ For some years this can be explained by his personal

circumstances. In 1629 for instance, he was occupied with the redevelopment of the West Citadel of Edo Castle, but for other years there does not seem to be a clear explanation, except for a simple lack of available sources.

Enshū started to organize *chanoyu* gatherings on a larger scale from around 1626, three years after he was appointed governor of Fushimi. It seems that his appointment as governor, which made it necessary for him to associate with people from different classes in the territory he governed, and the increase in the number of gatherings he organized are in some way related. The broad range of guests Enshū invited to his gatherings, ranging from higher ranking officials of the warrior class, to merchants, medical doctors, artists, craftsman and members of the clergy, as is shown by Fukaya,³² seems to confirm this assumption.

Enshū continued to organize tea gatherings until about a month before his death in 1647, and he seemed to have enjoyed its practice at a later age.³³

3. Kobori Enshū, *Chanoyu* Master of the Realm

Almost every work concerning Kobori Enshū mentions that he was the official *chanoyu* master of Tokugawa Iemitsu,³⁴ but in the *Tokugawa Jikki* 徳川実紀, the official record of the Tokugawa family, there is no entry indicating that he held such a position. The simple fact is that there did not exist an official position as ‘tea master of the shogunate’ in the Tokugawa administration.

Chanoyu practice had become an integral part of the social life and etiquette of families belonging to the upper-tier warrior class and already during the time of Ieyasu, the Tokugawa employed officials known as *chadō* 茶堂, who took care of the shogun’s tea houses, utensils, *chanoyu* instruction, ceremonies and so on. In 1632, under the rule of Iemitsu, the shogunate implemented a new system in which officials known as *osukiya-gashira* 御数寄屋頭, supervised all of these tasks at Edo castle.

In the records of Enshū’s own *chanoyu* gatherings, five men appear who are called *chadō* of Edo castle 江戸城茶堂, and whose names are given as: Kyūsei 休盛, Risai 利齋, Kyūmu 休務, Yōko 養古, and Sōen 宗円, without any other specification of who they were.³⁵ The word *chadō* was used at this time to refer to the *osukiya-gashira* and these five men were the officials responsible for everything having to do with *chanoyu* at Edo Castle. Of these five *chadō* only Sōen appears more than once in these records. None of these men appear in other sources related to Enshū and there is no evidence that suggests that Enshū instructed them or was in any way involved in supervising their professional activities.

The idea that Enshū was the *chanoyu* master of the shogun is mainly based on the fact that in 1636, at age 57, Enshū was summoned to perform a *chanoyu* ceremony for shogun Iemitsu at the shogun's Shinagawa Villa. It seems justified to question why one official ceremony for Iemitsu would make Enshū in particular the shogun's official *chanoyu* master, because there are a number of other officials of the shogunate whom Iemitsu met with for the purpose of engaging in *chanoyu* gatherings. Examples of this are Elder Kutsuki Tanetsuna 朽木種綱 (1605–1660) whom he met 12 times and Hotta Masamori 堀田正盛 (1606–1651), another key figure of the shogunate, whom he met no less than 22 times for this purpose.³⁶ Iemitsu met with these men considerably more than with Enshū, yet these men are not considered to have been Iemitsu's tea instructors. This may be due to their elevated position within the shogunate or the fact that they did not leave a name for themselves as *chanoyu* masters in the way Enshū did. Nevertheless, in comparison to Iemitsu's many visits to them, it seems justified to question why one official ceremony for Iemitsu would make Enshū his official *chanoyu* master. None of the works about him give a satisfying answer to that question. To the author it seems more likely that he was granted that honour for his work on the design and construction of the villa.

Next to this occasion, there is only one other record of Enshū being summoned by Iemitsu to perform a ceremony, which was in 1643. Although it is very well possible that there were a number of unrecorded gatherings, two recorded ceremonies for Iemitsu seems a meager number compared to the 22 times Iemitsu summoned Hotta.

Enshū was obviously not Iemitsu's official *chanoyu* master, but it is clear from the *Sadōshiso-densho* that Enshū was counted among the four fathers of *chanoyu* by his contemporaries and was regarded as the greatest *chanoyu* master of his generation.³⁷ As a high-ranking official of the shogunate, architect, garden designer and *chanoyu* master, he had a close connection to the imperial court and also to the inner circle of the shogunate, maybe already as early as in 1620 when he supposedly assisted Hidetada. Moreover, since 1624, when he became governor of Fushimi he had been one of the people responsible for the area of Uji 宇治 where most tea was cultivated and almost all *daimyō* had their private tea plantations.

Enshū was in many ways connected to the world of *chanoyu* and the *Hankanfu* 藩翰譜, a work written by Arai Hakuseki 新井白石 (1657–1725) in 1702, describes him as someone with unparalleled skills in the way of *chanoyu*, calligraphy, poetry, and with an eye for rare utensils.³⁸ Arai based this work mainly on tradition and many of its entries are incorrect, but this does give an impression of the way in which Enshū was

viewed by his contemporaries.

In the less than two years that Enshū was appointed commissioner in charge of solving the Great Kan'ei Famine, he organized fifty *chanoyu* gatherings in which essentially everyone of importance in the shogunate participated. This is the ultimate proof of Enshū's elevated position in the shogunate and the world of *chanoyu*. Enshū's ideas about *chanoyu*, its utensils and architecture consequently spread nationwide and made him the most influential *chanoyu* master of his generation.

Enshū did not occupy an official position as *chanoyu* master of the shogun, an office that in the Kan'ei period was fulfilled by lower ranking officials that were known as *chadō* or *osukiya-gashira*. He was, however, widely acknowledged by his contemporaries as the foremost *chanoyu* master of the realm.

4. Tea Rooms before Enshū, Rikyū's Time Period

One of the most distinctive features of *chanoyu* gatherings is arguably the usage of rooms that are specifically designed for this purpose. For a correct understanding of the role that Enshū played in the development of the tea room, it is necessary to start with an explanation of the tea rooms that were designed and used by his predecessors, but an almost complete lack of contemporary sources seriously complicates this kind of discussion.

At present, there exists only one tea room that is attributed to Rikyū, a two-tatami room with a *sumi-ro* 隅炉 that is known as Tai-an 待庵. At present, Tai-an is located at Myōki-an temple 妙喜庵 in Yamazaki, Kyoto, and it has been designated a national treasure. There is no actual proof that this tea room was designed by Rikyū himself and it is also not exactly clear in what year it was constructed. The value of this tea room lies in the fact that it is both the oldest remaining tea room with a *nijiri-guchi* 躡口, and the oldest remaining two-tatami tea room, and as such it represents the developments in the tradition of *chanoyu* at the end of the sixteenth century.

There are two sources that are used to support the claim that Rikyū designed Tai-an. The first is the oral tradition of Myōki-an, that says that it was built by Rikyū for Toyotomi Hideyoshi at the time of the Battle of Yamazaki 山崎の戦, in 1582. At that time, Rikyū possessed a house in the vicinity of Myōki-an and according to this tradition, Tai-an was moved to its present location after Rikyū had left the area.

The other source that is used to support this claim is a map of 1606, known as the Hōshakuji-ezu 宝積寺絵図.³⁹ This map, dating from 24 years after the Battle of Yamazaki, indicates that there was possibly a tea room at the spot of the present

temple, but it does not show the size or structure of this construction and is therefore far from a direct link to Rikyū. Later records also show that there was a tea room at Myōki-an, but that this structure did not match the present Tai-an and further weakens this theory.⁴⁰



Whether Tai-an is or is not a tea room designed by Rikyū, it is a good example of the simple and rather rough tea rooms of just two and three tatami known as *sukiya* 数寄屋 that came into fashion at the end of the sixteenth century.

Yamanoue Sōji 山上宗二 (1544–1590), a student of Rikyū, explains in his own tea record, the *Yamanoue Sōjiki* 山上宗二記, that Rikyū told him that these small rooms were the essence of the tea ceremony and this seems to have been the general consensus at that time.⁴¹ This statement is often misunderstood as meaning that Rikyū was the first to design these kind of rooms, but there is no proof of that. There is a lot unknown about this period and there seems to be a tendency to credit Rikyū, the most famous *chanoyu* master of this period, with almost every development that occurred and can not be explained. It is important to realize that according to the same *Yamanoue Sōjiki*, Hideyoshi employed no fewer than eight tea masters and it is inconceivable that only one of them had the aptitude to develop and innovate.⁴²

Another new development at the end of the sixteenth century was the usage of the so-called *daime-datami* 台目畳, a tatami of approximately 3/4 the length of a standard tatami. The *daime* is the minimum size of space needed to prepare tea, but as a consequence of its smaller size, the *daisu* shelf used for official ceremonies cannot be used. This meant a separation from the official ceremonies performed in the stately rooms or *shoin* 書院 of the warrior class and the nobility.

Rikyū was not the only tea master who designed small rooms, and it is clear from the *Matsuya-kaiki* and others that their usage was widely spread. He did, however experiment with extremely small rooms and Sōji explains that Rikyū surprised the people of Kyoto when he designed what is called a ‘one-and-a-half’ tatami room. This seems to imply that he was the first to have done that. His example was, however, not followed by many and it is difficult to find a room of that size in later times.

What is clear is that at the end of the sixteenth century, alongside the performance of *chanoyu* in *shoin* rooms for more official occasions which continued as before,

there was also a movement towards the development of smaller and simpler tea rooms. It became common to use clay walls 土壁 without wallpaper, to make windows by leaving a part of the building's walls unplastered, showing its structure, known as *shitaji-mado* 下地窓, to show the structure of a part of the roof instead of having a closed ceiling, a practice known as *keshō-yane-ura* 化粧屋根裏, and the pillar and style of the alcove or *tokonoma* 床の間 were made of natural wood instead of lacquered and square-shaped treated timbers as was the case with *shoin* rooms.

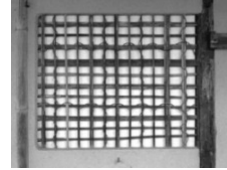
The rooms became smaller, simpler, rougher and in a way resembled a romanticized version of the dwellings of a recluse. This was a new development and this type of design became known as 'sōan' 草庵. *Sōan chanoyu* did not replace *shoin chanoyu*, but was performed by the same people at different occasions: The *shoin chanoyu* at official gatherings to entertain important guests, and the *sōan chanoyu* as a more aesthetic pursuit.



sōan alcove with *daiame*



keshō-yane-ura (right)



shitaji-mado

5. Tea Rooms before Enshū, Oribe's Time Period

Oribe's usage of materials for tea rooms did not differ much from his mentor Rikyū, except for his incidental usage of bamboo as room pillars, but as previously discussed by the author in *Furuta Oribe, Feudal Lord and Tea Master; The Development of Chanoyu after Rikyū*,⁴³ the tea rooms designed by Furuta Oribe had a number of characteristic features that were not found (or less so) in the tea rooms preferred by Rikyū and his contemporaries. The most noticeable difference is that he did not follow the trend of designing extremely small tea rooms. On the contrary, Oribe actually designed an extra space known as *shōban-seki* 相伴席 that enlarged the room without changing its fundamental structure. This *shōban* space was used by the retainers who accompanied a feudal lord, so that they could assist their lord without actually being present in the tea room itself. Another function of the *shōban* space was to give the somewhat confined room (in Oribe's case usually about three tatami) a larger appearance when thought necessary. It was the most noticeable innovation Oribe made to the tea room, but it was not widely followed by others.

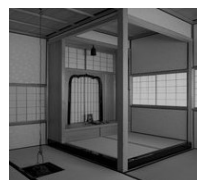
Oribe also started a new custom of changing rooms during the tea gathering. After

the first stage usually taking place in a *sukiya*, he would have his guests move to a room known as *kusari-no-ma* 鎖の間, of which the design was a mix of an official *shoin* room and a *sukiya*. The gathering would typically end either in that room or the guest would move to a *shoin* room. The usage of this kind of room gained wide popularity among the members of the elite of the warrior class, not in the least because the use of an extra room offered the possibility to display more artifacts. It is often claimed that Rikyū opposed this practice but there is no proof of that except for a widely quoted entry in the *Nanpōroku* 南方録, which is unreliable.⁴⁴

Another characteristic is Oribe's use of windows. He made use of the effects of light-fall by placing windows strategically around the tea room and made the room considerably brighter than was the case with the designs by Rikyū and his contemporaries.



En-an 燕庵

(the *shōban-seki* can be seen on the left)a *kusari-no-ma*

Oribe, a feudal lord himself, took into account the needs of the upper-tier warrior class. In the *Furuta-Oribe-tsukasadono-monsho* (古田織部正殿聞書), a collection of writings concerning Oribe's *chanoyu* collected by his students, it is explained that when entertaining guests of high social status known as '*kijin*' 貴人, the smallest room to be used was that of three-tatami-daime.⁴⁵ Miyashita Harumasa gives a list of 26 designs of tea rooms that were designed by Oribe and out of these, 13 were of a three-tatami-daime rooms and not one was smaller than two-tatami-daime.⁴⁶

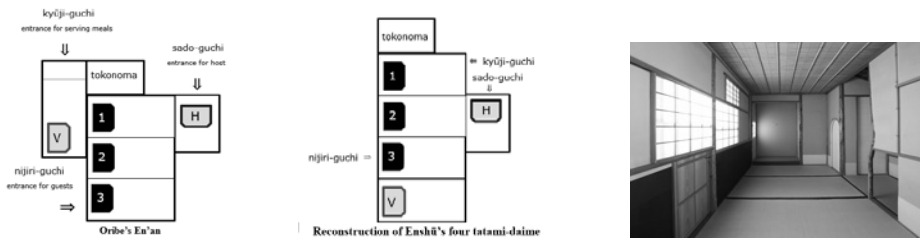
En-an 燕庵 which appears in the above pictures, is the only tea room designed by Oribe that still exists today. He gave it to his brother-in-law Yabunouchi Kenchū 藪内 剣仲 (1539-1627) and it was moved to Hiroshima, in 1814. It is a three tatami-daime *sukiya*, with a *shōban-seki*, is connected to a *Kusari-no-ma* and has ten windows. It is a splendid example of all the characteristics of Oribe's tea room design.

As Murai Yasuhiko concludes, Oribe was very much aware of the fact that at the beginning of the Tokugawa period under the reign of Hidetada, social conventions had become stronger and the Tokugawa tried to establish a strict social hierarchy that would strengthen their control over the country.⁴⁷

6.1 Enshū's Tea Rooms, Four-tatami-daime Sukiya

The rooms that Enshū designed can be divided in smaller *sukiya* rooms in the *sōan*-style, and rooms of four-and-a-half tatami and larger, that are best described as *shoin* rooms with a *sōan*-style twist. This chapter will discuss the first category.

From the *Matsuya-kaiki* and other records, it is clear that Enshū preferred to use four-tatami-daime rooms, but none of the rooms he designed have survived until the present.



Oribe preferred to attach a *shōban-seki* to his room (left; V), but Enshū incorporated that one-tatami space into it, without a *fusuma* to close it off (bottom; V). Above this tatami he placed a *keshō-yane-ura* ceiling to indicate its humble position in the room.

Enshū also moved the *daime temae-za* 点前座 on which the tea was prepared, in front of the seat of the second guest. This way, all guests had a good view of the tea ceremony and it also created a space in the wall in front of the *tokonoma* that he used to add a *kyūji-guchi* 給仕口, an entrance to serve the meals that are part of the ceremony. In Oribe's room the *shōban-seki* had been used for this, which meant the guests had to move to the further side of the room to eat and later after they that finished, they had to move back again. Enshū avoided this situation through this rather practical innovation.

Enshū kept the *nijiri-guchi* in the same spot in front of the space for the third guest, but because the size of the room had changed, this was no longer the corner of the room, as was until then the usual place for a *nijiri-guchi*, but had become its center.

Enshū had created a room that was practical to use and took in account the needs of the members of the upper-tier warrior class, who were usually accompanied by their retainers.

6.2 Enshū's Tea Rooms, Sukiya Remaining at Present

There are four *sukiya* designed by Enshū that remain today; Tengō-an 転合庵 at Tokyo National Museum, Hassō-an 八窓庵 at Nakajima park in Sapporo, Yōsui-tei 擁翠亭 at the Museum of Furuta Oribe in Kyoto and Konchin-in Hassō-seki 金地院八窓

席 at Nanzen temple, also in Kyoto.



Tengō-an is a two-tatami-daime room with a *mukōgiri* 向切, that Enshū designed after he was presented with the tea jar ‘Odaimyō’ by Prince Toshihito as was discussed in chapter 1. Tengō-an is an extremely small room and it shows that members of the upper-tier warrior class and the imperial court enjoyed the smaller *sukiya* rooms and that notwithstanding their elevated status, it was not necessary to create larger rooms to welcome them. Enshū did, however, make one adjustment to welcome the prince: He added a so-called *kijin-guchi* 貴人口. This was an entrance of two paper sliding doors next to the *nijiri-guchi* which was used by guests of high status who could walk into the room and did not have to ‘crawl’ into it. The *kijin-guchi* itself was not an invention of Enshū, but already existed.



Hassō-an was moved to Nakajima park in Sapporo, in 1935. It has the exact same floorplan as Tengō-an, and the only important difference between the two rooms is that Hassō-an does not have a *kijin-guchi*. This seems to indicate that Enshū made this addition in honour of the visit of the prince. Together with Tengō-an, Hassō-an is also proof of the fact that Enshū designed rooms smaller than three-tatami-daime.



Yōsui-tei is a standard *sukiya* of three-tatami-daime, but it is in two ways characteristic of Enshū’s taste: firstly, it has the *nijiri-guchi* situated in the center of the wall and not in a corner, and second, the room has a large number of windows. Yōsui-tei has no less than thirteen windows, which is a larger number than any other

sukiya in the country. Yōsui-tei was kept in storage for 140 years and only in 2015 was it re-discovered and rebuilt under supervision of Nakamura Masao 中村昌生, a well-respected specialist on the history of Japanese tea rooms.



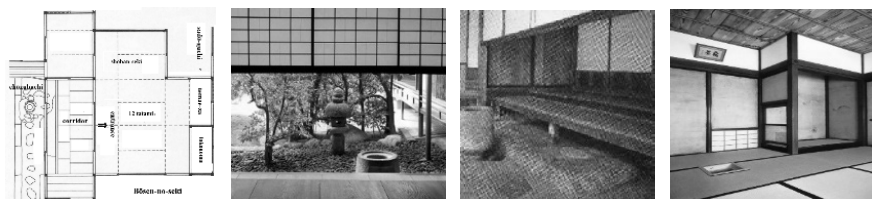
Konchin-in Hassō-seki is a room, that although it is called the ‘eight window room’, does not have eight windows. It actually has windows over the whole outside wall, which makes it exceptionally bright. It was not originally built by Enshū, but he refurnished an existing room at the request of monk Ishin Sūden. Nevertheless, of all the rooms introduced in this chapter, it is the one closest to Enshū’s image of court inspired elegance. Hassō-seki is a three-tatami-daime room, with the *temae-za* next to the *tokonoma*. For the posts of the *tokonoma* a pine tree and an oak were used, and for the pillar of the *temae-za*, a cherry blossom tree. The style is black lacquered and altogether this room is a singular surviving example of how Enshū brought elegant and refined elements of the *shoin* into the *sukiya*. The entrance to the room is a *nijiri-guchi*, but it is entered from a corridor which is a fusion of *shoin* and *sōan*. The complete wall on the inside of the room consists of white doors that can be used as *kijin-guchi*.

Because of the lack of sources concerning Enshū’s design of *sukiya*, it is difficult to come to a firm conclusion. The existing sources show that he often used four-tatami-daime rooms, but his example was not widely followed and none of these remain. At first glance, Enshū’s *sukiya* look quite traditional and not very different from his predecessors or contemporaries, but the *tokonoma* of Hassō-seki and the fact that both Hassō-seki and Tengō-an combine the use of a *nijiri-guchi* and *kijin-guchi*, shows that Enshū had the needs of the upper-tier warrior class and the imperial court in mind when designing them. All of his *sukiya* have many windows, or else a few large windows, making the rooms light and pleasant; his example was also followed by many.

7. Enshū’s Tea Rooms, Shoin

More than for his design of *sukiya*, Enshū is known for his use of elements of the *sukiya* in *shoin* rooms and vice versa. He incorporated the *temae-za* into the *shoin* and

he brought the shelves of the *shoin* into the *sukiya*. An example of the first is Bōsen-no-seki and of the latter Mittan 密庵, both situated at Daitoku temple.



Bōsen-no-seki is arguably the most famous room designed by Enshū. It is part of Kohō-an which he built in 1612, on the request of monk Kōgetsu Sōgan. The building was named after the Buddhist name of monk Shunoku Sōen, who was the founder of Ryūkō-in temple, and was also Enshū's Zen instructor. It was first built next to Ryūkō-in, but later moved one kilometer west of the main hall. Enshū himself was buried here.

The original Bōsen 忘筌 tea room was destroyed in a fire in 1793. It was carefully rebuilt by Matsudaira Fumai 松平不昧 (1571 – 1818), *daimyō* of Matsue, and a famous *chanoyu* master himself.

Bōsen is a *shoin* of twelve tatami, with a *temae-za* and a *ro* cut next to the *tokonoma*. The *tokonoma* itself, the ceiling and the walls of the room are in accordance with *shoin* architecture, but by adding a *temae-za* and *ro* to that, Enshū created an unconventional fusion of *sōan* and *shoin* style architecture. This room is therefore an excellent example of Enshū's unique and innovating sense of design.

The room is entered from an outside corridor and through a sliding door, not a *nijiri-guchi*. It has a *chōzubachi* 手水鉢 water basin for purifying one's hands before entering the tea room, which is a common feature of the *sukiya*. This basin is, however installed in such a way that even though the corridor is partly lowered, it is difficult to use. Next to the *chōzubachi* are stepping stones and if one approaches the room from this side, the *chōzubachi* could be used, but that is not the intention which it seems to have been designed.

A paper window is installed over the whole length of the corridor, but the lower part of it is open, and if one were to use the stepping stones this could function as a *nijiri-guchi*, but that, again, is not the purpose of this setting.

The whole landscape is made to look like the garden of a *sukiya*, but is in fact an excellent example of the unique way in which Enshū played with the conventions and introduced a new concept of appreciation of *chanoyu*, combining both the elegance of the *shoin* room, with the pure simplicity of the *sukiya*.

There is one more existing example of how Enshū brought the *sukiya* to the *shoin*, or rather brought the *shoin* to the *sukiya*, and that is a room called Mittan.



Mittan is a room of four tatami-daime that has all the elements of a *shoin* room. The sole reason for the construction of Mittan was to display a scroll by the hand of the Chinese monk Mittan Kanketsu 密庵咸傑 (1188-1186), and for that purpose the room has a prominent tokonoma. But it not only has a *tokonoma*, it also has both a *chigaidana*-shelf 違棚, and a *tsuke-shoin* shelf 付書院. Its walls are papered with paintings by Kanō Tanyū 狩野探幽 (1602–1674) and the doors of the *chigaidana*-shelf were painted by Shōkadō Shōjō 松花堂昭乗 (1584-1639), two of the most famous painters in Japanese history. It would be a perfect example of a most elegant and refined *shoin*, except for the fact that it has a daime *temae-za* and a *ro* added to its design.

Enshū's design combining *sukiya* and *shoin* architecture, like that of the above two rooms, has been copied and innovated in many ways. Not only in the world of *chanoyu* or by members of the warrior class, it has had a lasting influence on Japanese architecture as a whole.

9. Conclusion

At the end of the sixteenth century, *chanoyu* practice had become an integral part of the social life and etiquette of families belonging to the upper-tier warrior class. In the seventeenth century, under the rule of the Tokugawa, Japan transitioned from a state of continuous warfare, to a rigidly hierarchical society in which social movement was discouraged and strict rules and etiquettes were enforced for all social classes.

Rikyū was succeeded as tea master of the realm by Furuta Oribe, a feudal lord who was in turn succeeded by another feudal lord, Kobori Enshū.

Oribe implemented the rules that were created for the different social classes into his *chanoyu*, but there is no evidence that he intentionally designed a form of *chanoyu* especially for the elite of the warrior class and he certainly did not exclude commoners from its practice. What occurred instead was an institutionalization of differences in the treatment of individual guests depending on their social status in which he just followed the conventions of Tokugawa era.

Oribe designed larger rooms, with a greater number of windows than Rikyū and his contemporaries. To fit the needs and interests of the members of the upper-tier warrior class and their entourages, he also designed the *shōban-seki* and the *kusari-no-ma*, a room in between a *sukiya* and a *shoin* that was soon adopted by the members of the elite.

By adjusting *chanoyu* to the conventions of his time and adding his own sense of design, Oribe laid the basis for a new style of *chanoyu* practice for the elite of the warrior class, that was continued by his student Kobori Enshū.

Enshū had a great talent for architectural and garden design, and through his work as a *sakuji-bugyō* he became acquainted with and appreciated by members of the clergy, the imperial court, the warrior class and even shogun Iemitsu.

Enshū moved up the ranks and when he was appointed governor of Fushimi, he obtained an important position within the administration of the shogunate, and at the same time in the world of *chanoyu*, as the magistrate responsible for Uji.

He interacted with most of the people of political and cultural importance of his time, and his way of *chanoyu*, and his ideas concerning architectural and garden design spread nationwide and set a new standard of *chanoyu* appreciation.

From the design of his tea rooms, it is clear that he regarded *chanoyu* as an aesthetic pursuit that was to be performed in smaller *soan*-style rooms, albeit not as small and rough as those of Rikyū and his contemporaries, but that he also understood its importance as a part of the lifestyle and social etiquettes of the upper-tier warrior class.

Like Oribe, he used a large number of windows and experimented with the effects of light, but unlike Oribe he incorporated elements of *shoin* architecture to the *sukiya* like the lacquer styles he used for the *tokonoma*. Conversely, he applied the rules of the *sukiya* to the more official *shoin*, creating a *sōan* influenced *shoin* which made it easier to combine *chanoyu* practice with other aesthetic pursuits and the social events of the elite. This was an example that was widely followed and has had a lasting influence on Japanese architecture.

Enshū did not set out to create a practice of *chanoyu* for the warrior class, and he often associated with members of other classes, as is clear from the records of his gatherings. He was however, strongly influenced by the delicate and refined culture of the imperial court, and made the tea rooms less rough and more elegant, a form of design that was widely appreciated by the warrior elites and the imperial court. Enshū also played a profound role in the development of *chanoyu* utensils, but, this will be the subject of a forthcoming article by the author.

Enshū greatly influenced Japanese architecture and garden design, and although he was not officially the *chanoyu* master of the shogun, he was widely regarded as the foremost *chanoyu* master of the realm and was in that sense the successor of Rikyū and Oribe.

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- 1 At the time of Kobori Enshū the tea ceremony was usually referred to as ‘*suki*’ 数奇 (寄) or ‘*chanoyu*’ 茶湯.
 - 2 Hidenaga was a brother of Hideyoshi from, according to most sources, a different mother. There is also a theory that they had different fathers. Owada Tetsuo 小和田哲男 (1985). *Toyotomi Hideyoshi* 豊臣秀吉. Chūōkōronsha 中央公論社, Tokyo. p.67
 - 3 Mori Osamu 森蘊 (1967). *Kobori Enshū* 小堀遠州. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, Tokyo.p.19.
 - 4 Idem. p.16.
 - 5 Hideyasu was the second son of Hidenaga’s elder sister sister Tomoko 智子 (1524–1625).
 - 6 According to Kuwata Tadachika, Hideyasu died of smallpox or measles. Kuwata Tadachika 桑田忠親 (1971). *Taikōkashindan* 太閤家臣団. Shinjinbutsu-ōraisha 人物往来社, Tokyo. p.25
 - 7 After the death of Hideyoshi, Takatora served Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1543–1616) and would in 1600 become lord of the Imabari domain 今治藩 at Shikoku (70,000 *koku*, later increased to 200,000). In 1608, he was transferred to the Tsu domain 津藩 (220,000 *koku*).
 - 8 Enshū is another name for Tōtōmi province.
 - 9 Left: with courtesy of the Kobori Enshū-ryū School of Tea Ceremony. Right: by the author.
 - 10 The building of Sentō Imperial Palace were destroyed by a fire in 1854. The gardens remain, but large parts were later altered by Go-Mizunō.
 - 11 Ryūkō-in is a sub-temple of Daitoku temple 大徳寺 in Kyoto.
 - 12 Sōgen was a child of Tsuda Sōgyū 津田宗及 who with Sen no Rikyū and Imai Sōkyū 今井宗久 (1520-1593) was known as one the three *chadō* 茶堂 or *chanoyu* masters of Hideyoshi.
 - 13 Misawa no Tsubone fulfilled this task together with Yajima no Tsubone 矢島局 (?-?), who in 1656, became the second lady to reach the rank of *Jōrō Otoshiyori* 上臈御年寄, the highest rank at the Inner Palace, but was exiled in 1675 after poisoning two of her rivals. This rank was the equivalent of that of *rōjū* 老中 or ‘Elder’ for man.
 - 14 Urabe Noriko 卜部典子 (1988). *Jinbutsujiten: Edo-ōoku-no-onnatachi* 人物事典 江戸城大奥の女たち. Shinjinbutsu-ōraisha 新人物往来社, Tokyo. p.203.
 - 15 The *Hōkō-densho* 甫公伝書 is part of the *Sadōshiso-densho* 茶道四祖伝書, which was written by Matsuya Hisashige 松屋久重 (1567-1652). It discusses Rikyū, Furuta Oribe 古田織部 (1543–1615), Hosokawa Sansai 細川三斎 (1563–1646) and Enshū as the four fathers of *chanoyu*. Hisashige also wrote part of and edited the *Matsuya-kaiki* (see note 19) on which the *Hōkō-densho* is largely based. Overall, these two records are regarded as reliable sources, although there is some discussion about the accuracy of some dates.
 - 16 Matsuyama Ginshōan 松山吟松庵 (1974). *Sadōshiso-densho* 茶道四祖伝書. Shibunkaku 思文閣, Kyoto. p. 299.

- 17 In the original text, Enshū says that he was ten years old when he met Rikyū, but this is his age according to the *kazoedoshi* 数え年 calculation method, including the year of birth.
- 18 Mori (1967), p.32.
- 19 The *Matsuya-kaiki* is a collection of records of *chanoyu* gatherings written by three members of the Matsuya family from Nara, The Matsuya were a family of lacquer artists and *chanoyu* connoisseurs. The *Matsuya-kaiki* consists of the records of Matsuya Hisamasa 松屋久政 (1521-1598), starting in 1533, his son Hisayoshi 久好 (?-1633), and Hisashige himself, who edited their records after Hisayoshi died and attached his own. The *Matsuya-kaiki* ends in 1650. Hisashige also wrote the *Sadōshiso-densho* (note15), Overall, these two records are regarded as reliable sources, although there is some discussion about the accuracy of some dates.
- 20 Sen Sōshitsu 千宗室 *et all* (1967). *Sadō-koten-zenshū part 9 Matsuya-kaiki* 茶道古典全集 9 卷 松屋会記. Tankōsha 淡交社, Kyoto. p.182, entry of the 17th day of the eight month, 1593.
- 21 Matsuyama (1974). p.247. Entry of the third day of the second month. Interestingly, this entry does not appear in Hisamasa's own record.
- 22 Sen Sōshitsu 千宗室 *et all* (1967). p.2, entry of the thirteenth day of the second month, 1537.
- 23 Mori (1967). p.36.
- 24 Sen Sōshitsu *et all* (1967). P.169. / Matsuyama (1974). P.248.
- 25 Matsuyama (1974). P.249-254. As a host on the eleventh day of the twelfth month, 1601; as a guest on the sixth day of the third month of 1599, the twelfth day of the fifth month of 1602 and the eleventh day of the twelfth month of the same year.
- 26 Kusemai 曲舞, is a form of dance originating from the beginning of the Muromachi era.
- 27 Fukaya Nobuko 深屋信子 (2009). *Kobori Enshū no chakai* 小堀遠州の茶会. Kashiwa Shobō 柏書房, Tokyo. P.202.
- 28 Matsuyama (1974). P.254-257. Entries of 1618, third month, third day; 1619, ninth month, sixth day; 1622, tenth month 29th day.
Sen Sōshitsu *et all* (1967). P.222. Only the entry of 1619, ninth month, sixth day.
- 29 Mori (1967). p.19.
- 30 Mori passed away in 1988 and the author has not been able to obtain access to this source.
- 31 Based on Fukuya (2009).
- 32 Fukuya (2009). p. 27.
- 33 Yamashita Noboru 山下龍 (2017). *Oribe, Feudal Lord and Tea Master, The Development of Chanoyu after Rikyū*. Journal of Center for Language Studies Nagasaki University 長崎大学言語教育研究センター論集. Nagasaki University 長崎大学.
- 34 Iguchi Kaisen 井口海仙 *et all*. (2010). *Sadō daijiten* 茶道大辞典. Tankōsha 淡交社, Kyoto.p.453. There are a large number of sources that state this, but the example of a leading encyclopedia like the *Sadō daijiten* shows that this theory is generally accepted.
- 35 Fukuya (2009). p. 568-583.
- 36 Fukuya (2009). p. 562-565.
- 37 See note 21.
- 38 Arai Hakuseki 新井白石 (1702). *Hankanfu* 藩翰譜. National Archives of Japan, Digital Library. p.69-71.

- 39 Suzuki Tsutomu 鈴木勤 et al. (2000) *Ketteiban Ochanokokoro 6, Chashitu to Roji* 決定版お茶の心 6. 茶室と露地. Sekaibunkasha 世界文化社. p.18.
- 40 Ibid.
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