

5/2016



Polskie Stowarzyszenie  
Badań Japonistycznych

# Analecta Nipponica

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JOURNAL OF POLISH ASSOCIATION FOR JAPANESE STUDIES

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## EDITOR'S PREFACE

Sending the present volume to the printers, we reached the first “round anniversary” of our journal the first issue of which saw the light of the day with the date 2011. The consecutive number of this volume (‘five’) indicates that the journal conceived as a yearbook proved to function as such despite our fears of being unable to manage to produce one book per year. As initiators and editorial board, we feel relieved, cautiously optimistic, and motivated to continue with our sincere wish and hope to improve as much as possible this undertaking of ours. Constructive criticism and support on the part of our potential readers will always be welcomed and cherished, and we shall feel very much obliged for good advice on the one hand, and your contributions (be it articles, communications, reports, fieldwork data, reviews, etc., proposed for publication, or opinions on the journal, suggestions, polemics with what has been published).

This volume opens with our Japanese guest writer touching the problems eternal in Japanese studies – the aesthetics and essence of the tea ceremony perceived as one of the representative traditional arts of Japan. It so elegantly coincides with the paper concluding the “Articles” section, also inviting readers to the realm of *chanoyu*. Moreover, two other papers have as well been devoted to the Way of Tea, one anchored in philosophy, the other in poetry, making thus the entire book a kind of anthology of texts, or a new small monograph, on the subject. Papers on *bushido* (another representative and eternal subject in Japanology) and on Japanese influence on modern Korean theater enrich the subject matter.

The volume continues our two other sections present since the commencement of the *Analecta*, namely “Interviews” (this time, with a *rakugo* master and a world class specialist on tidying (*sic* !)) and “Reprints” of out-of-print works of Polish Japanologists (the present volume offers the second installment of a 1990 monograph on General Jinzaburo Masaki, introduced in volume four).



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# ARTICLES

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## 「日本の伝統芸術—茶の美とその心—」

### 1. はじめに

日本の伝統芸術の代表的なものに「茶の湯」がある。この茶の湯は、「奠茶・奠湯」に起因し、茶を奠じ、湯を奠じて「神仏にお供えをする」ということが本源的な姿である。そして「道としての茶湯」すなわち「茶道」は、心の茶を目指す珠光の出現により開花される。珠光（1423-1502）は、一休宗純和尚（1394-1481）に参禅して禅を修め、孔子の道つまり儒教を学び、三十年茶の道に専念しており、当時から芸術家としても人としても偉大な人物であると評されていたことは周知の通りである。珠光の目指す茶は、「茶から心へ、心から茶への道」であり、それを換言すれば「心茶」であり、また「禅茶」にほかならない（『珠光』倉澤行洋著）。珠光は、これまでの茶会が宴会式の華やかなものであったのに反して、落ち着いた簡素なものへ転換し、日本最古の書院造りである東求堂同仁斎にみられるような四畳半の狭い空間や、広座敷を屏風で仕切り囲ってその中で茶法を行なうなど、いままでの形式に対して大変革を行なっている。これより囲いの茶が始められ、この後武野紹鷗（1502-1555）そして千利休（1522-1591）へとその道統が受け継がれることになる。その過程で茶室は四畳半を重視しながらも、利休によって縮小傾向に向かうことになる。利休は悉く空間の不要な部分を削ぎ落とし、二畳ほどの極小空間を好むことになる。これにより茶の湯に新たな変革がなされ「わび茶」が大成された。

このような利休以前の茶の歴史、そして利休歿後四百年以上に亘り茶道の根幹をなすものの要素としてあげられるのが「用の美」、「不完全の美」そして「きよめ（清め・浄め）」である。尤もこれらのみで茶道のすべてを語ることは困難であるが、今回はこれらに焦点を絞り、「露地」、「茶室」、「茶道具」、「茶の点前」の四つの分野の「用の美」、「不完全の美」、「きよめ」について論をすすめることとする。

まず「用の美」とは、亭主と招かれた客ともに使い勝手がよく、それと同時に無駄がなく美しいということである。利休が大成したわび茶の美意識とは、この不要な部分をぎりぎりまで削ぎ落とし、極めて完成度の高い美の追求をしている。そしてこの美意識の究極は、「不完全の美」へと

繋がり、完全を超えた不完全の姿となる。これは決して未完の意味するところの不完全ではなく、完全を超えた不完全の姿というところにわび茶の徹底した非対称の美の追求がある。またそこにのみ表現される独特な美意識であり、形によって語らずして表現されることが茶の美の特徴の一つである。

そして精神的には終始一貫して「きよめ」という行為を意識し、世俗の塵や埃を祓うことから始まり、空間をきよめ、道具をきよめ、主客の心をきよめ整える。これらのきよめの所作は、一つの結界を越えることで、俗なる世界を脱するものと考えられ、そして茶室の中でのきよめの行為は、すべてをあらわにするという、心をあきらかにするもので「主客の直心の交わり」へと繋がる行為でもある。このきよめの所作は、不要なものが削ぎ落とされ、語らずして多くの事柄を表現するのに重要なものである。

## 2. 茶の湯のための庭―「露地」

茶の庭は茶の湯の舞台とも言える茶室と一体となって空間を形成し、特に「露地」と呼ばれている。露地は茶室への伝いであり、「用の美」、「不完全の美」の調和によって構成され、茶の湯空間の根幹をなす。

露地には一重露地・二重露地・三重露地とあるが、最も基本的な露地は、二重露地といって、内露地と外露地の二つの領域に分かれている。

外露地側には、寄付・待合・外腰掛（腰掛待合）・下腹雪隠などの建築物があり、中門を挟んで内露地へと続く構成となっている。そして内露地側には、内腰掛・砂雪隠・蹲踞・燈籠・塵穴・茶室（水屋）などが存在し、これらを飛石・延段や垣根・植栽（苔）が繋いでおり、露地の風情を醸し出すとともに、主客の動線を円滑に導いている。これらの構成は、まさに「用の美」を追求し、その意匠は非対称の景を採り入れて自然に配されている。

露地の源は室町時代後期に創始され、『山上宗二記』に記されているように「坪ノ内」と呼ばれており、「坪ノ内」から、ただ単に茶室への通路としての「路地」、「路次」などと呼ばれ、更に深化し清浄で無一物の仏教精神を込めた「白露地」から、「露地」の文字があてられたといわれており、清浄・無垢であり、心をすべて露にするという意が込められている（『法華経』「比喻品第三」）。

千利休は「露地ハ只忼世ノ外ノ道ナニ心ノ塵ヲ何チラス」(『南方録』)と露地の真相を示したといわれており、露地のあり方は山道、野辺の自然のままの趣を表現して、自然な姿の中にこそ、白露地に共通する清浄さがあると説明しようとした。この精神は禅思想に通ずるもので、自然風景の中に仏を感じ宇宙間の新羅万象はすべて仏門に入るという思想と同一のものである。

例えば茶室前の蹲踞で清浄な水を使い、周辺を清め亭主も客もともに手や口そして心をも清める動作は、入席するために世俗の塵を払い心身を一

新する行為であり、露地での深い意味が凝集されている。また茶室の躡口（入口）付近にある塵穴は、その傍らに掛けられた露地箒とともにきよめを示唆するものと考えられている。塵穴は亭主が客を迎える直前に木の葉などを拾い入れる実用的なものであると同時に、主客が蹲踞できよめた後に、最終的に心の塵・埃を祓い入れる精神的な意味合いも含まれているのである。それゆえ塵穴の近くには露地箒が掛けられている。心からの自浄作用を確認して茶室へ席入することになる。このように徹底してきよめの所作が行なわれる。茶道において「用の美」は、使い勝手と美しさだけに留まらず、「実用と精神性」というところまで意識して構成され、そこには自然な姿の「不完全の美」の存在も見逃すことはできない。侘びた草庵の世界は「市中の隠」とか「市中の山居」と称され、喧噪の街中であってなおかつ、山中に居るような風情を大切にする。その理想とするところは山川の境の趣にあると言えるであろう。

桃山時代に渡来した宣教師ジョアン・ロドリゲスはその著書『日本教会史』で露地について「市中の山居」であり、その中を歩くと「林なり、自然が調和と優雅さを保ちながら無造作にそこに造り出している」様子が窺われ、更に「僻地の山寺に行ったようにして一種隠遁の気分」を感じ、「すべての構成が、全体としてその目的に適応」している等、的確に露地の印象を述べている。露地を歩きながら、大自然に身をおいた時のような清浄感を、表現できたらその露地は成功といえるのである。

露地の構成要素を繋ぐ代表的なものに飛石や敷石がある。一見何の変哲もない露地の飛石は、客が露地草履を使って、歩きやすい様に考えられて据えられている。この飛石は客に不安を与えないように、大部分地中に埋め、安定感を持たせている。また、飛石の据え方は歩幅や歩行に合わせて自然に据えられた千鳥かけ、景色を少し強調した二連打ち、雁行等々、数多くの意匠と技法が存在する。飛石は自然石であって一つ一つどの角度をとっても、裏側にひっくり返しても表情が異なる。また着物を着た人、洋服を着た人の歩幅も当然違う。様々な条件に適応した組み合わせの妙は意匠を凝らす醍醐味とも言える。客の動きを充分に配慮した露地の飛石の据え方を、千利休は「わたり六分に景気四分」といって歩きやすさを六分とすれば景色（デザイン）は四分に考えればよいと規定し、それに対し古田織部は「わたり四分に景気六分」と表現しているが、この利休と織部の違いはよく知られているところである。これは、飛石の据え方と露地の風情が深く関連しており、飛石の据え方に、それぞれの人の茶道観が現れると言ってもよい。またこのことは利休と織部の茶室のあり方にも当然現れている。利休の茶室は極めて簡素で無駄がなく、織部の茶室は斬新な意匠であるといえ、茶室と一体である露地の「景気四分」、「景気六分」との調和が窺える（『露地聴書』）。

しかし最も重要なことは、露地本来の意義である。露地に出る際、露地口で履物を履き替え、外露地・内露地を通り蹲踞を使い席入をするという行為は、すべてが「きよめ」の所作に繋がり、茶室での一会の前段であ

るということである。式正の茶事は、この露地でのきよめなくしては直心の交わりは考え難いものである。露地のきよめ、そしてきよめの場というものは、茶道にとって不可欠な存在である。

### 3. 茶の湯のための建築―「茶室」

茶室は四畳半を基本とし四畳半以上を広間、四畳半以下を小間（席）と分けている。「以上」「以下」は、その語意から「含む」という約束である。よって四畳半は広間であり小間（席）でもあるという独立した基本空間ととらえられている。また踏込んだ畳（踏込畳）で点前をするのが小間（小間据えも含む）、踏込んだ次の畳で点前が行われれば広間という考え方もある。

茶室（数寄屋）を四畳半に定めて真の座敷と成したのは、一説に珠光が足利時代に十八畳を四分の一に囲んで茶室としたといい、珠光の庵にも真の座敷四畳半を構えたと伝えられている（『数寄屋構造法』）。足利時代の会所の主室は十八畳の広さの三間四方の部屋で、「九間」と呼ばれていた。この頃部屋の大きさを数えるのは、畳の数ではなく、一間四方を「間」とする単位が用いられていた。

四畳半は、約一丈（3m）四方である。この一丈四方の広さを仏教の方では方丈という。むかし、釈迦の弟子の維摩居士が方丈の庵に座して、文殊菩薩と八万四千もの仏陀の弟子に説教をしたという故事にならって、今でもお寺の住職や居室を方丈と称している。囲い（茶室）も方丈にならって四畳半の囲いの中に、宇宙の森羅万象すべてが納められるという意を含んでいると考えられる。それは広狭に拘らず、大小にとらわれず、すべて無限の可能性を秘めている空間である。それゆえ四畳半という基本的空間は、空（無）であり伸縮自在で、広くもなれば狭くもなると捉えられる。このような考え方からも四畳半は広間であり、小間でもある空間として位置づけられており、広間などの書院台子等の点前から、小間のわび茶の点前まで可能な茶の湯空間で、すべての点前ができる基本的空間とされている。

またこの茶室の意義として、岡倉天心は著書『茶の本』の第四章に「茶室」の章を設けて述べている。そのなかで数寄屋（茶室）の原義は「好き家」であるといい、それは「空き家」、「数奇家」の意味にもなると説いている。詩趣を宿すための仮の住み家であるためには「好き家」であり、ある美的必要を満たすためにおく物のほかは、いっさいの装飾を欠くからには「空き家」であり、不完全崇拜にささげられ、故意に何かを仕上げずにおいて、想像の働きにこれを完成させるからには「数奇屋」であると述べている（岩波文庫、村岡博訳）。これら天心の解釈は、方丈と解されている茶室の捉え方と共通するところがあるといえよう。

きよめの露地ときよめ所作が行なわれる茶室を繋ぐ役割として躡口がある。この露地と茶室を繋いだのは利休である。客は、精神的にも意味深

い、躡口という約70cm四方の小さな戸口から頭を下げて入席し、ここより別の世界へと進むことになる。この躡口の板戸を開けた瞬間、客は茶室の床の間に掛けられた軸（初座の場合）、或いは花（後座の場合）を目にすることになる。軸はその日の茶事・茶会のテーマをあらわすものともいわれ、席入した客が最初に拝見する茶道具である。利休は、茶室の床の間について「床のつけよう心得て作事すべし、掛物ほど第一の道具はなし」と説き、床の間は茶室の構造の中でももっとも精神的な要素を秘めた部分と考えられている。そのため床の間の構成要素である床柱、床框や落掛の材料の吟味がとくに重要になってくる。

また茶室の窓も同様で、意匠性や実用性、精神性などの多面性を有している。これは、季節感や時間の移り変わりを楽しむことにつながるものでもある。茶室の窓は一般の建築と異なり、壁面や天井のどの部分であっても設けることが可能な建築である。これは茶事の陰の座（初座）と陽の座（後座）という精神的な演出にも対応できるように考えられている。光量の抑制のため、窓の配置と意匠にはとくに細かい注意が払われる。それは窓の微妙な高さや大きさや設ける数で茶室の雰囲気は大きく変わってしまうからである。ここに茶の湯者の茶道のあり方や理念が示されるものと言えよう。それゆえ、茶室には壁を塗り残した下地窓をはじめ、連子窓、突上窓などと呼ばれる窓があり、限られた小さな壁面の中でそれぞれが重要な役割を果たしている。

これら茶室の意匠は、客のために最善を尽くしていることも知っておかなければならない。それは、利休が茶室の化粧屋根裏（斜めの天井）に突上窓を開けたのは、席中のデザインや明かりをとるためだけではなくたのである。狭い茶室では炭酔いしてしまう人もいる、また病者はなおさらのこと、煩い出す人もいる。よって化粧屋根裏も突上窓もうつとうしい雰囲気を和らげる客への心からの配慮のためのものでもあると利休は伝えている（『茶譜』）。このような本意を知らないで突上窓も化粧屋根裏も茶室のデザインとばかり心得る人が極めて多い。利休の客への最善の配慮は、現代において特に学ぶべき点が多く、茶室の意匠に込められた想いの深さを再認識させられる。

また天井に関しても客への細かな配慮がなされていることがわかる。それは、ある茶家の数寄屋は炉や道具置の上を化粧屋根裏（斜めの天井）にしているが問題ないのか、という茶湯者の問いに対して藪内竹心（1678-1745）の答えは、茶席の天井を張る場所は床の上・上座の上・道具置の上で、上部を覆って不浄を禁ずるためのもの、わびた化粧屋根裏などにするのは下座や勝手の方だけにするもの。当世、諸方に宗匠好みの茶席といってこのようなものが造作されているが、伝える人の誤りが多いものである。今なお正しく利休の遺構である山崎の妙喜庵を参考にして正しくわきまえておくべきであると伝えている（『源流茶話』）。

これは草庵茶室の化粧屋根裏についての記述である。化粧屋根裏天井は建築的には化粧の屋根裏天井なので、その上にもう一つ屋根裏天井があ

る。実例として、妙喜庵の待庵の天井は、上座と道具置の上部を平天井で覆い、不浄を禁ずるという形式となっている。さらに客座の下座側に化粧屋根裏が構成されており、炉や道具置の上ではないことが分かる。茶室の天井はただ構造やデザインだけで構成されるものではなく、「不浄を禁ずる」ということから、機能性と精神的な意味合いも込められている。これも客への最善の配慮からである。

露地と茶室、そこにしつらえられた茶道具、さらに主客が一体となって、はじめて茶の湯の精神が具現された空間となる。意味ある意匠が施されている茶の湯空間は、様々な客への配慮が成されている。茶の湯の空間は、一会ごとに変わり得るものである。利休は、小座敷の茶の湯は、修行得道する事、家はもらぬほど、食事は飢ぬほどにてたる事なりと説いている。つまり小座敷の茶の湯は、本来、余分なものを削ぎ落とした、極めて求道的な茶の湯の空間なのであると言えよう。

(注)「初座と後座」茶事は中立(席中をあらためる)をはさんで前席を初座と呼び、床には軸が掛けられ、懷石が中心。また採光が抑えられた陰の席。後席は後座と呼ばれ、床には軸にかわり花がしつらえられ、濃茶、薄茶がおこなわれる。後座は採光を充分にとり入れた陽の席となる。引用は『南方録』。

#### 4. 茶の湯のための道具―「茶道具」

茶の湯の一会に使用されるものとして「茶道具」がある。この茶道具には、茶室内で一会の中心となる「主たる茶道具」、露地で扱う「露地道具」、そして水屋仕事で使う「水屋道具」がある。例えば「主たる道具」には、掛物、花入、香合、炭道具、風炉、釜、炉縁、茶入、薄茶器、茶碗、茶杓、建水、蓋置、香道具、水次などがあり、「露地道具」には手燭、水屋桶、湯桶、蹲踞柄杓、露地草履、露地下駄、円座、露地傘、露地箒、塵取、塵箒、露地行燈、足元行燈などがあり、「水屋道具」には水壺、茶巾盥、切藁、釜据、水漉、搔器、茶掃箱、箱炭斗、火箸、板釜敷、水屋鑊、掴箒、台十能、半田などの多くの道具がある。

「茶の湯とはただ湯を沸かし茶をたててのむばかりなる事と知るべし」と利休百首にもあるように、まず茶道具といえは主客が手にする茶碗が身近な道具としてあげられる。そのなかでも「楽茶碗」は特別な存在である。なぜなら、楽茶碗は利休が茶の湯のためだけに陶工長次郎に作らせたものであり、利休の茶の理念が凝縮されていると考えられるからである。長次郎を初代とする楽家十五代目の楽吉左衛門氏はそれを次のように述べている、「長次郎茶碗には、侘びの理念というべき厳しさが、虚飾を削ぎ落とした端正な姿の中に語られている。我々は長次郎の茶碗を掌に納めるとき、その深々とした見込みのさらなる奥に、まさに掌の内の宇宙というべき深淵

を感じ、利休居士自身と対座する緊張感に震える。まさに長次郎の茶碗は利休居士の茶碗、居士そのものといえる」。

楽茶碗は手捏ねで成形し、そののち不要な部分を悉く削ぎ落として焼成され、無作為の作為の造形の典型といわれている。それは、利休が最晩年に達し好んだ二畳の極小空間と同様の理念が根底にあるといえるであろう。

楽茶碗は、茶の湯のために作られた茶碗であり、茶が点てやすく、ねりやすく、湯を入れても茶碗がほどよい温もりをもち熱くならず、茶が冷めにくく、手に馴染みやすい。小さな宇宙を抱えているような、そんな茶道具である。ここに「用の美」、そして手捏ねからなる非対称という「不完全の美」の追求が完結されているといえよう。

## 5. 茶の湯のための所作—「茶の点前」

茶の湯の所作の主たるものとして、点前がある。茶の湯の点前には、「点前の三要素」というものがあり、一「位置の決定」、二「順序」、三「動作、個々の美、働き」というものがある。

まず「位置の決定」は、亭主の座る位置と茶道具を置く位置が正確に定められた位置に存在するということである。それによって点前の順序や動作に無駄な動きがなくなり、円滑な点前を行なうことができるのである。また「順序」は、点前の一連の動作を合理的に美しく行なえるように定められている。そして「動作、個々の美、働き」は、茶道の稽古によって磨かれる自然体の動作であり、それが個々に美しく、余裕のある動作には心を伴った働きの動作が可能になるということである。これら点前の三要素が揃ってこそ、茶の湯のための所作、茶の点前が成り立つのである。それはまさに「用の美」であり「きよめ」の所作であり、招かれた客に無言で清らかに語りかける所作である。心を伴う茶の点前は、捨てきったときに表れる自然の姿であり、ありのままの姿である。それは言葉ではなく所作が語ることであり、無駄を削ぎ落とした姿は大変に美しいものである。

このように茶の湯のための所作を整えることは心を整えることに繋がっており、所作を磨くことは心を磨くことになる。それは禅でいうところの「白珪尚可磨」や「時々勤払拭」と共通するところで、禅にも茶にも完成はなく、心に煩惱の塵をつけないように綿密に修行や稽古に勤めなければならないという意味をもつ。

茶の湯の点前のなかに「帛紗捌き」という重要な「きよめ」の所作がある。帛紗捌きには、真・行・草の捌き方があり、器物によって捌き方が異なる。そして四方捌きや、いわゆる二方捌きは「きよめ」の所作の代表的なものである。四方、二方とは東西南北、春夏秋冬、天と地や乾と坤などの二つを合わせ、自然界の森羅万象すべてを用い道具をきよめるものである。それは道具のみならず、自分自身の心をきよめ、客の心をきよめ、空間をもきよめる行為である。

茶室でのきよめの行為は、茶入や薄器をきよめる、茶杓をきよめる、茶碗や茶筌をきよめる、茶巾できよめる、畳をきよめる、羽簀や座簀できよめる、香を焚ききよめる、湯気によってきよめる、露を打ってきよめる、炭火によってきよめる、灰をきよめ整えるなど様々なきよめの行為がおこなわれる。

「きよめ」ということは、本来清めること、けがれやよごれを取除くこと、不浄を取除くものとして、水・火・塩・香などを用いて行うものである。これによって茶の湯・茶道は、心茶であり、禅茶として「茶から心へ、心から茶への道」として直心の交わりを貫徹することで「わび茶」の大成が成就したものと言えよう。

## 6. 結語

以上の「露地」、「茶室」、「茶道具」、「茶の点前」を「用の美」、「不完全の美」、「きよめ」に焦点をあてて論じてきた。茶道の本意が、「心からの茶」であることを少し理解していただけたかと思う。そしてこの茶の道の根幹を成すものとして、多くの人が聞き覚えのある言葉に「和・敬・清・寂」の四文字がある。あまりにも有名な利休居士の四規（四つの規範）であるが、実践することは大変困難である。「和」は平和の意味であり、お互い同士が仲良くし和しあうということ。「敬」は尊敬の意味であり、好き嫌いを超えた敬である。「清」は清らかという意味であり、目にみえるだけの清らかさではなく、心の中が清らかであるという意味である。最後の「寂」は寂然不動の寂であって単なる静寂の寂ではない。それは心がどっしりと落ち着いていて何事にも動じない心のことである。それは信念に基づいた行動へと繋がるものである。

日本の伝統芸術である茶道は、総合的な文化体系である。そしてその茶の美とその心は、この「和・敬・清・寂」なくしては語ることの出来ないものである。よって「和・敬・清・寂」を心底におき、一碗の茶を点てる・喫するという実践こそが、茶の美とその心を理解する第一歩であると言えよう。

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## English Summary of the Article

Iijima Teruhiko

### Japanese Traditional Art – The Beauty and Essence of the Tea Ceremony

The tea ceremony (*chanoyu*) is one of the representative Japanese traditional arts. It derives from *tencha* and *tentō*, meaning making tea as an offering. In the history of the tea ceremony, the efflorescence of the Way of Tea namely *sadō*, was led by Murata Jukō (1423–1502) who pursued the heart of tea. The Way of Tea he aimed at was nothing but the way that associates tea with the heart, in other words, *shincha* (tea of heart) and *zencha* (tea of Zen). Jukō preferred a calm and simple tea style rather than the showy tea-parties that were popular at the time, and carried out radical reforms. Later, Takeno Jōō (1502–1555) and Sen no Rikyū (1522–1591) inherited the way Jukō started.

Jōō simplified the tea inherited from Jukō, and Rikyū furthered the change. Rikyū filtered out the space and preferred the smallest tearoom, a space that has only two *tatami* mats. Not only the tearoom but also the garden of a teahouse *roji*, utensils, manners and movements, especially the heart of tea were reconsidered and developed by Rikyū. He finally established the new style of tea called *wabicha*.

More than 400 years after Rikyū's death, tea people still believe that the aesthetics of *yō no bi* (the beauty of use), *fukanzen no bi* (the incomplete beauty) and *kiyome* (purification) are the immutable essences of the Way of Tea. Although we cannot describe everything about tea with only these three keywords, I shall focus on studying these three aesthetics in the four different fields given: the garden of a teahouse, the tearoom, the utensils, and making tea.

Key words: *chanoyu*, the Way of Tea aesthetics, tearoom, Sen no Rikyū, *wabicha*

## The Oneness of Zen and the Way of Tea in the *Zen Tea Record* (*Zencharoku*)

The *Zen Tea Record* was published in Edo (today's Tokyo) in 1832 based on previously existing versions. It is difficult therefore to determine the time it was written. The authorship is attributed to the Zen monk Jakuan Sôtaku. The author proves to be a rather mysterious person. There is no record of him in either the Daitokuji or Tōkaiji Zen temples' documents even though Tōkaiji was founded in Edo by the Zen master Takuan (1573–1645) and Jakuan Sôtaku did refer to Takuan's teachings on multiple occasions. The text itself was written most likely no earlier than the beginning of the 17th century. It is valuable since it also contains critical notes on the *Nampōroku* (*Southern Records*) written by Sen Rikyū's (1522–1591) student, Nambō Sōkei, who was writing down his master's teachings. Some researchers state that at least part of the *Zen Tea Record* teachings must be attributed to Rikyū's grandson, Sôtan (1578–1658) who was an advocate of the "Tea and Zen – One Flavor" (*cha-zen ichimi*) theory<sup>1</sup>. Sôtan practiced with Zen master Shun'oku Sōen from Daitokuji temple<sup>2</sup>. Sôtan's father was Rikyū's wife, Sōon's, son from her first marriage. Sôtan who contributed greatly to the spread of tea in the 'noble poverty' (*wabi*) style did not care about fame and riches<sup>3</sup>. He criticized the lavishness of feudal lords' tea and was himself scorned for not caring about social status<sup>4</sup>. Itō Kokan agrees with the opinion that Sôtaku, who often quotes Takuan, was Takuan's student. According to Itō, in his writings Sôtaku also refers to Sôtan's teachings.

According to Sôtaku, the spirit of tea (*cha'i*) is the spirit of Zen (*zen'i*) – there is no spirit of tea outside of Zen<sup>5</sup>. With the admonition though, not to draw a contrary conclusion, that the Way of Tea is in itself Zen enlightenment – not every tea ceremony expresses the spirit of Zen. Sôtaku criticizes those who only superficially relate to the Zen teachings about the inexplicability of the essence of Zen

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<sup>1</sup> Sen 1985: 61.

<sup>2</sup> Haga 1997: 38.

<sup>3</sup> Furuta 1997: 85–86.

<sup>4</sup> Tanaka 1998: 74.

<sup>5</sup> Jakuan 1980: 246.

in words or to the concept of “Transmission beyond Teachings” (*kyōge betsudēn*)<sup>6</sup>. Such people abide by their haughtiness, rely on their own taste, and criticize others though they have no recognition of the essence of Zen. The tea ceremony they practice is not “Zen tea” (*zencha*), but “secular tea” (*zokucha*)<sup>7</sup>. It is Sōtaku’s belief, that it is those people that the following verse of the *Lotus Sutra* refers to: “They suffer unceasingly, since in their blindness they entertain a predilection for fulfilling their yearnings and desires”<sup>8</sup>. Sōtaku is not alone in his belief. Haga Kōshirō also stresses that the person who wishes to fully plumb the spirit of tea ceremony should endeavor to religious practice under the guidance of a Zen master<sup>9</sup>. Only the Way of Tea that is inextricably interlinked with Zen is worthy of the name of the “True Way of Tea” (*shinsadō*)<sup>10</sup>.

This article is aimed at the analysis of Sōtaku’s *Zen Tea Record* from the perspective of the teachings of the Zen masters included within it. In my book entitled *Estetyka zen* (Aesthetics of Zen)<sup>11</sup>, in relation to the ideas of Nishida Kitarō (1870-1945), a philosopher who was also a Zen practitioner, I explained how in Zen art there must be conveyed certain aspects of reality grasped in the act of enlightenment. Nishida called this reality the “absolutely contradictory self-identity” (*zettai mujunteki jikodōitsu*), meaning such a paradox unity of all that does not exclude the distinctiveness of singular elements. The aspects mentioned above are: surpassing the dualism of the subject and object of cognition (“one is all and all is one”, *ichi soku issai, issai soku ichi*)<sup>12</sup>, affirmation of the common perspective of perception of reality (“form is emptiness and emptiness is form”, *shiki soku ze kū, kū soku ze shiki*)<sup>13</sup>, internally contradictory unity of oppositions (like motion–motionlessness, sacred–profane), “eternal now” as paradox unity of past and future, state of “no-self” (*mushin*) as the creative act and absolute freedom of the enlightened person (for example braking the rules and canons of artistic creation). In the article I want to show that Sōtaku in his treatise included most of those aspects.

<sup>6</sup> Ibidem. *Zokucha* can also be interpreted as “unmannerly, common tea”.

<sup>7</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>8</sup> Ibidem: 247.

<sup>9</sup> Haga 1997: 45.

<sup>10</sup> Ibidem, p. 47.

<sup>11</sup> Kozyra 2010.

<sup>12</sup> The vision of reality grasped in the act of enlightenment as the state in which „All is One and One is All” was included in the *Flower Garland Sutra* (Jap. *Kegongyō*) in the description of the enlightenment of Gautama Buddha. The transmission “from Mind to Mind” (*ishin denshin*) starts precisely with Gautama Buddha.

<sup>13</sup> Teachings included in the *Heart Sutra* (Jap. *Hannya shingyō*).

## Tea ceremony as meditation

Sōtaku starts his deliberations on the relationship of tea and Zen with the strong statement that it was Zen master Ikkyū Sōjun who considered tea ceremony to be a kind of Zen practice<sup>14</sup>. Ikkyū reinstated the Way of Tea as one of the “expedient means”, so that all sentient beings can discover their true nature that is one with “Buddha nature”<sup>15</sup>. Following tradition, Sōtaku considers Murata Shukō to be Ikkyū’s disciple.

According to Sōtaku all the actions of the tea ceremony have a tight relation to Zen. He recalls the verse of Zen master Dairin Sōtō inscribed on the portrait of Takeno Jōō: “It can be said that our goal is to know the taste of tea and the taste of Zen” (*chami to zemmi o chiryō suru mune ieru*)<sup>16</sup>.

The goal of the Way of Tea is getting to know one’s own nature (*jishō o ryōge suru*), an important Buddhist truth meaning “there is no dharma outside of mind [nothing exists outside of mind – A.K.] (*shingai muhō nari*)”<sup>17</sup>. The above words in the context of Zen masters’ teachings relate to the truth about “absolutely contradictory self-identity” of subject (singular mind) and objects of cognition, therefore the internally contradictory oneness of the human being and the world.

Sōtaku states that the Way of Tea is one of the “expedient means” (*hōben*) leading to enlightenment. That is why the “Zen tea” (*zencha*) is a religious practice, expressing the “Great Way, subtle and deep, that existed before anything emerged, before one could talk about the beginning of all things”<sup>18</sup>. This kind of practice is a completely spontaneous expression of human nature.

The Way of Tea has to be the way of the true tea, therefore “Zen tea”<sup>19</sup>. Hence the Way of Tea has to be a form of meditation.

Sōtaku explains the meaning of the word *sammai*. The word is mostly interpreted in texts about Buddhism as meditation or contemplation, but according to Sōtaku it means the “right perception” (*shōju*). The right perception means concentrating the whole mind on a certain object. For Sōtaku, the Way of Tea is a “practice that consists of entering into meditation by the means of tea utensils and seeing one’s own original nature (*chaki o atsukau sammai ni irite honshō o kanzuru shugyō nari*)”<sup>20</sup>. Sōtaku recites here Zen master Huineng, who taught,

<sup>14</sup> Jakuan 1980: 243.

<sup>15</sup> Ibidem. Verbatim: „so that they could see their own mind dharma” (*jiko no shinbō o kan-zeshimuru*)

<sup>16</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>17</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>18</sup> Ibidem: 244.

<sup>19</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>20</sup> Ibidem.

“*sammai* is thinking only about the aspect of tranquility (*jakusō*)”<sup>21</sup>. Sōtaku states, however, that the mind during meditation constitutes a unity in which there is no duality (of subject and object of cognition), and the aspect of tranquility relates to the empty and unblemished state in which the highest wisdom can freely enlighten all. Meditation perceived in such a way is the “right perception”, not limited by time or space. Sōtaku compares the person who conducts tea ceremony in the state of “right perception” to the meditation lasting an inconceivably long period of time described in the *Lotus Sutra*<sup>22</sup>. This kind of “right perception” should be preserved during any activity, also during walking or sleeping<sup>23</sup>.

The most important is the state of mind of the person who prepares tea during tea ceremony – the host should be completely focused on the utensils and immersed in each movement. He cannot think about anything else and nothing should break his concentration. The focus is intensified by the fact that all movements should be performed according to a decided pattern<sup>24</sup>. Full focus on the utensil suggests a state in which the subject is absent, as if it was absorbed by the object. Hence the “right perception” can be considered surpassing the duality of subject and object that happens effortlessly. Concentrating fully on performed gestures, the practitioner forgets about himself. This forgetting about oneself is experiencing the state of “no-self” (*mushin*).

Therefore the most important is not proficiency gained in the course of years of practice, but rather to gain a strong volition (*kokorozashi*)<sup>25</sup>. Volition yearns for concentration and upholds it. When the will is strong, the practitioner can devote himself to practice with full determination.

Sōtaku describes “right perception” during tea ceremony as “practice in the sitting position” (*ichiza*)<sup>26</sup>. He clearly relates to meditation in the sitting position (*zazen*), with admonition against wrong meditation called “silent illumination Zen” (*mokushō zen*), that entitles dampening cognitive functions and attachment to motionlessness. To convey “tranquility” here he uses the word *seimoku*, stressing that attachment to stillness is wrong – “right perception” has to be upheld also in motion<sup>27</sup>. Sōtaku enlists the advantages of active meditation and he places tea ceremony under this category. Sitting still during Zen meditation that is not related

<sup>21</sup> Ibidem: 245.

<sup>22</sup> Ibidem. The long meditation mentioned is that which lasts for 84 thousand calps, with one calp (Jap. *kō*) equal to the metaphorical time needed to clean a city covered with poppy seeds by removing one poppy seed every three years.

<sup>23</sup> Ibidem. Sōtaku cites here the words of master Youtan (Jap. Udon, died 1330), who wrote about the contemplation of Amida Buddha in his work *Renshū Hōkan* (Precious mirror of Lotus Sutra teachings).

<sup>24</sup> Ibidem: 244.

<sup>25</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>26</sup> Ibidem: 245.

<sup>27</sup> Ibidem.

to subjected contemplation, the practitioner encounters difficulty in avoiding the flow of thoughts that disturbs his focus. Such thoughts do not appear during tea ceremony, a kind of active meditation, since the practitioner is fully immersed in performing gestures according to certain patterns. Sôtaku states that Zen master Ikkyû noticed precisely this aspect of tea ceremony and that is why he considered it to be an effective Zen practice<sup>28</sup>.

Haga Kôshirô in his deliberations on tea ceremony as meditation aimed at enlightenment clearly relates to Sôtaku's ideas<sup>29</sup>. He uses the term "right perception" (*shôju*), a focal concept for Sôtaku, which he interprets according to the logic of paradox as the "right perception that is non-perception" (*fujû*). For Haga, meditation during tea ceremony has to be the state of non-duality of subject and object of cognition<sup>30</sup>.

## The Way of Tea and moral discipline

Sôtaku's opinions on ethics and etiquette should be examined from the perspective of the teachings of Zen masters who rendered individual attempts of moral self-improvement to lead to even deeper entanglement in discrimination, the base for the dualism of the subject and object of cognition. We have to remember that discrimination is an obstacle in the course of Zen training since it forces the practitioner to stray away from enlightenment seen as the state of "non-discriminatory discrimination". It is also the case with the discrimination of good and evil. Sôtaku stresses that there is no true good in the world of men who are mostly intent on satisfying their own desires. "The so-called evil and good deeds of people submerged in ignorance are evil" (*Bompu no okonau tokoro wa zenaku tomo ni aku nari*)<sup>31</sup>. Sôtaku cites here the following phrase by the Daoist wise-man Laozi: "Everybody knows that good is good, but it is not good for real"<sup>32</sup>.

Zen masters stressed that one has to surpass the duality of all oppositions; including the opposition of good and evil, since it is only then that one can attain enlightenment that is a source of great compassion. The great compassion (*daihi*) embraces all, good and evil – according to the rule of non-duality. The great compassion, the ethical ideal of Buddhism, is indeed the "spirit of law", not the "letter of law", therefore the one who achieved enlightenment can evince great compassion in any form. He helps others on their way to enlightenment using any "expedient means" that fit the circumstances. That is why a practitioner should first of all focus

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<sup>28</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>29</sup> Haga 1997: 39.

<sup>30</sup> Ibidem: 40.

<sup>31</sup> Jakuan 1980: 245.

<sup>32</sup> Ibidem: 248.

on achieving enlightenment, not on abiding by ethical rules at all costs. The ultimate ethical ideal of Buddhism, the great compassion, is an outcome of enlightenment, although the way to achieve this ideal is not through moral self-improvement.

## The criticism of collecting precious utensils

Sōtaku stresses that collecting rare and valuable tea utensils has absolutely nothing in common with Zen<sup>33</sup>. Those who accumulate great collections prove that they did not understand the important Buddhist teaching about the impermanence of all things. Instead of freeing themselves from all attachment, they indulge in amassing goods that are no more than an obstacle on the way to enlightenment<sup>34</sup>.

Sōtaku proposes his own interpretation of *suki*<sup>35</sup> that was first written with a Chinese character in the context of tea ceremony, meaning mastering one's taste in the choice of utensils. To differentiate this sort of predilection for desiring material objects, with time, the word *suki* started to be written with characters that bring to mind the odd number<sup>36</sup>. Such notation appears in the word *sukiya* meaning teahouse, where asymmetry and dissonance between certain elements was introduced on purpose. The pinewood support pillars preserve the natural, irregular shape of their trunk and branches<sup>37</sup>.

The character *ki* can be interpreted as “strange, uncommon”, it then suggests something incomplete or irregular, hence it represents fully the spirit of tea ceremony. The person who evinces *suki* in tea ceremony does not place more value on the things that are perfect, complete and commonly considered to implement good taste<sup>38</sup>. Tea utensils in *suki* style should not be selected so that they uphold one style – the objects, both light and heavy, old and new, wide and slim should be brought together. Utensils once broken can be fixed and still used. Even and symmetrical elements should be matched with the odd and asymmetrical (*kigū ichidō*)<sup>39</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> Ibidem: 243.

<sup>34</sup> Ibidem: 246–247.

<sup>35</sup> In the Heian period the word *suki*, used mostly in poetry composed by noblemen, related to passions in amorous relationships. In the Kamakura period it stopped having erotic connotations since it started to signify an uncanny predilection for art. According to Izutsu Toshihiko, *suki* in the context of the Way of Tea signifies a unique subjective attitude of a man who through his lifestyle shows that he values aesthetic impressions and sensitivity much higher than the pragmatic sense of usefulness. Such a trend could evolve towards either “aesthetic luxury in abundance and totality of external expression” or “aesthetic idealism in its nature in accordance with the metaphysical and ethical austerity of a hermit”. Izutsu Toshihiko 2005: 190.

<sup>36</sup> In this word the order of characters is rearranged – odd number in Japanese is *kisū*. See: notation of *suki* in Appendix 2.

<sup>37</sup> Jakuan 1980: 251.

<sup>38</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>39</sup> Ibidem.



Sōtaku regrets that the true meaning of *suki* has been lost and contemporarily it is being treated the same as the word *konomu* that signified predilection towards utensils commonly considered valuable – such an attitude is moving away from the spirit of the “thatched roof hut” (*sōan*)<sup>40</sup>. Sōtaku stresses that *suki* implies the lack of will to express individual preferences (therefore the lack of attachment to earthly life), that shows in freely matching various styles. It could be said that Sōtaku’s definition of *suki* preserves the meaning given to the word by Kamo Chōmei, who chose the life of a hermit away from the capital. Karaki Junzō rightfully points out that *suki* initially meant individual aesthetic inclinations, but with time it stopped to be associated with indulging one’s own desires and started to be used to mean the renunciation of earthly delights and gains<sup>41</sup>.

Sōtaku criticizes tea gatherings (*chakai*) during which the guests indulge in splendid dishes and drinks. He regrets that so many teahouse or garden owners go out their way to impress the guests<sup>42</sup>. They spend a great deal of money for that purpose and the tea ceremony they perform becomes a mere form of past time and an occasion to boast of one’s riches. Sōtaku claims that the most valuable utensil in Zen tea ceremony is the “vessel of Buddha mind” (*busshin*), and not the antiques, the precious porcelain imported from China or utensils made in rare shapes<sup>43</sup>.

Sōtaku strictly criticizes traditional tea families for paying too much attention to defined sizes and forms of utensils and for preferring utensils of certain styles, like pieces in the style of Rikyū (*Rikyū gonomi*) or in the style of Sōtan (*Sōtan gonomi*)<sup>44</sup>. He deplores that there are new types of utensils constantly being created, so that “one has not enough time to even count them all”<sup>45</sup>, while initially, it was mostly the everyday utensils that were used during tea ceremony. The standardization of measurements and manners of producing tea utensils has gone so far, that it applies to the least important objects used in the teahouse or the tea garden. It is commonly acknowledged that the host has to be a connoisseur of tea utensils. Kobori Enshū<sup>46</sup> was considered to be an ideal connoisseur. Sōtaku did not share this belief – for him predilection towards valuable utensils and attachment to them is not in accordance with the spirit of *suki*<sup>47</sup>. The spirit of *suki* should be an expression of freedom from all attachment, should manifest in accep-

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<sup>40</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>41</sup> Karaki 1983: nr 35: 34.

<sup>42</sup> Jakuan 1980: 243.

<sup>43</sup> Ibidem: 249.

<sup>44</sup> Ibidem: 252.

<sup>45</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>46</sup> Also, in modern times, during the ceremony guests examine and admire the utensils. The connoisseurs exhibit vast knowledge of their poetic names and can recognize makers of valuable utensils. The host should not only master the order and manner of the performed movements during various kinds of ceremony, but also gain a near encyclopedic knowledge about the utensils.

<sup>47</sup> Ibidem.

tance of all forms, also those irregular, incomplete, austere and plain, unfitted to the common perception of canons of beauty. The tea practitioner has to remember that the mania of collecting precious utensils comes from the vanity of human nature, a nature that knows no appeasement. Acquiring one precious utensil does not bring peace. It only arouses the appetite for more. One is ready to lose one's health trying to satisfy one's unquenchable desires. Only once brought down by sickness and exhaustion one discovers what is important in life – but by then it is already too late<sup>48</sup>.

Collecting precious utensils takes the practitioner away from enlightenment and brings forth suffering. “On the brink of death, has no regrets he who acted according to the rules of *suki*, devoted himself fully to Zen tea and discovered his own nature attaining the state in which ‘nothing is born and nothing dies’ (*fushō fumetsu*)<sup>49</sup> [meaning a state of nirvana, identical to enlightenment]”.

Sōtaku was not the only one who criticized collecting precious utensils. Zen master Takuan was against it and Sōtaku invoked his opinion. Takuan was a disciple of Kobori Enshū and was himself a tea utensil connoisseur, but did not collect them. Takuan deplored the degeneration of the Way of Tea that once again became a kind of past-time and an occasion to boast of precious collections<sup>50</sup>.

### The metaphor of Zen tea utensils (*zenchaki*)

Tea ceremony utensils are not beautiful objects that can be considered unique or valuable. Aesthetic discrimination also belongs to the sphere of discriminatory knowledge that takes one away from enlightenment.

According to Sōtaku the true Zen tea utensil is “one mind” – ultimate, empty and unsullied (*enkyō shōjō no isshin*). Only when such a mind is the vessel there can exist Zen tea<sup>51</sup>. The vessel of “one mind” is the vessel of the universe, including all that exists. It is the “Buddha nature” (*busshō*) that can be compared to the clear moon shining bright in the sky<sup>52</sup>. The metaphor of “mind-vessel” containing all existence expresses the Buddhist truth that “one is all”.

Sōtaku stresses that “Buddha nature” is empty<sup>53</sup>, which brings forth the concept of *mubusshō* (verbatim “not Buddha nature”), therefore the paradox negation of “Buddha nature” in the Zen masters’ teachings. Using the term *mubusshō*, they tried to make their disciples realize that “Buddha nature” is “emptiness” and not

<sup>48</sup> Ibidem: 252–253.

<sup>49</sup> Ibidem: 253.

<sup>50</sup> Nishibe 1981: 41.

<sup>51</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>52</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>53</sup> Ibidem.

some yet unknown marvelous feature that can be obtained through diligent religious practice. Sōtaku recalls the imagery of the full moon symbolizing enlightenment, stressing that everybody has “Buddha nature” although most people are not aware of that. This situation can be compared to the moon covered with clouds. A person who never saw the moon, gazing upon the cloudy night sky would never believe the stories of travelers who had their path illuminated by the moonlight. The ones that lose their way, suffering from the three poisons (*sandoku*): greed, anger and ignorance; cannot see their true “Buddha nature”<sup>54</sup>.

Sōtaku strongly stated that a person who practiced tea ceremony according to Zen spirit, would become an “originally unblemished vessel” (*honrai shōjō no utsuwa*), meaning the vessel of “one mind”<sup>55</sup>. It is also true about practitioners who do not show any talent for this art. They should fully concentrate on Zen practice and not be influenced by the ones who treat the Way of Tea as past-time or an occasion to entertain one’s pride.

Sōtaku therefore does not consider the “technical” aspects of tea ceremony, like the order and manner of performed movements, important. However it is what matters for various tea schools’ traditions in Japan. The practitioner for many years attains consecutive stages of initiation allowing him to study various ways of conducting the ceremony, depending on the placement of the brazier or the season of the year.

Sōtaku associated such concepts with “the posture, constituting the base” (*tai*) and “activity that arises from the base” (*yō*)<sup>56</sup>. He criticizes the interpretation in which *tai* are the objects that are still during the tea ceremony (for example the kettle with hot water), and *yō* are the utensils that are in motion (for example a bamboo tea scoop). For Sōtaku the true “base constituting the essence” is the sprit of Zen, and a manifestation of this essence – Zen tea. One could also compare this base to motionlessness and tranquility, and the activity to movement and all forms of human activity<sup>57</sup>. It is worth noting that Sōtaku points out two different aspects of “absolutely contradictory self-identity” – motion and motionlessness. He recalls the concepts from the *Doctrine of the Mean* saying that there is no dualism in the relation between *tai* and *yō*, as well as the *Lotus Sutra* teachings explaining that “base constituting the essence” is identical to enlightenment, and the “activity arising from the base” could be interpreted as the strife to free all sentient beings<sup>58</sup>.

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<sup>54</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>55</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>56</sup> *Tai* (verbatim “body”) can be interpreted as “substance”, and *yō* as “function”.

<sup>57</sup> Jakuan 1980: 254.

<sup>58</sup> Ibidem.

## Symbolic meaning of the tea garden

Sōtaku points out that many have forgotten the true symbolism of the tea garden (*roji*). The garden is divided into outer and inner. According to Sōtaku, *ro* signifies “manifestation, disclosure” and *ji* – the ground, foundation, base, in this context identified as “mind” (*shin*). Therefore *roji* is the manifestation of one’s mind, one’s true nature (*jishō o arawasu*)<sup>59</sup>. In this sense *roji* refers not only to the garden alone but the whole space of the teahouse where the initial nature of man (*honshō*) should manifest. The term *hakuroji* also ushers thought in the same direction – manifestation of an unblemished mind, since the teahouse should be a place of practice leading to enlightenment, where one is freed from all lusts and desires. In this place one should attain enlightenment and manifest the true nature of the mind, the true nature of Thusness as the reality in itself (*shinnyo jissō*)<sup>60</sup>.

The concept of *roji* is most often tied to the untainted sphere of enlightenment that is described in the *Lotus Sutra*. The children who ran out of the burning house expecting to be rewarded with toys came to the “dewy ground”. To ultimately absorb the essence of enlightenment is compared to coming out to the open ground after being lost in the thicket. However Sōtaku points out that even though the teahouse is believed to belong to the sphere of enlightenment, entering the *roji* should not be seen as forsaking the sphere of the profane. Here Sōtaku cites the following words from the *Diamond Sutra* that clearly show the logic of paradox, meaning the logic of the “absolutely contradictory self-identity” of sacred and profane: “[Our] world is not the world and that is why it is the world”. The essence of Zen practice is “awakening the mind that has no abode” (*ōmushōjū nishōgoshin*)<sup>61</sup>. Those words, from the *Diamond Sutra* (Jap. *Kongōkyō*), became the catalyst for the enlightenment of Huineng, the sixth patriarch of Zen in China. An enlightened mind is not detached from the earthly, sullied world. According to the rule that “one is all and all is one” it resides everywhere and nowhere – in that sense it does not possess its own fixed place, and yet it is present.

Because of “absolutely contradictory self-identity” that which is unsullied is also that which is sullied; therefore, Sōtaku does not give much attention to the purification rites undertaken before entering the tea garden, seemingly so important to Sen no Rikyū. There is no need to purify oneself from the “dust of this world”, since all things, including those things that we consider impure, have “Buddha nature”.

The same as Sōtaku, Hisamatsu Shin’ichi also states that *roji* does not signify “dewy ground”, but a “disclosed / manifested” nature of reality<sup>62</sup>. The garden sho-

<sup>59</sup> Ibidem: 253.

<sup>60</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>61</sup> *Masa ni jū suru tokoro nakushite shikamo sono shin o shō subeshi.*

<sup>62</sup> Hisamatsu 1987: 107.

uld look natural; as if it was not touched by a human hand, and at the same time evoke an atmosphere of calm.

According to Rikyū, the teahouse as a “pure and unsullied world of Buddha” is a place where the host as well as the guest should shake off the “dust” of earthly life<sup>63</sup>. Recalling these words of Rikyū, Hisamatsu compares the teahouse to a Buddhist temple<sup>64</sup>. But such an attitude does not take into account the Zen masters’ teachings about the “everyday mind being the Way”. Entering the Zen garden is a symbolic entering into the sphere of enlightenment that is no different from profane. Upon realizing the paradox Hisamatsu strives to show that Rikyū created a new, lay form of Zen, inextricably tied to the earthly sphere of culture and art<sup>65</sup>.

### Freedom from form in Zen tea ceremony

In *Zencharoku*, Sōtaku states that to express the spirit of Zen during tea ceremony is much more important than the etiquette. Etiquette in comparison to the mysterious dharma of the Buddha (*myōhō*) is a mere “lonely island in the universe”<sup>66</sup>. The proper behavior is not the most important – etiquette can be compared to “branches and leaves” with the root and trunk being the Way of the Buddha<sup>67</sup>. Etiquette cannot be something ultimate and indisputable in the Way of Tea since it is only a form that cannot overshadow the spirit of Zen. It does not mean treating lightly the ways of conduct in society. Sōtaku states that the one who preserves “right perception” in a natural and spontaneous way will uphold the etiquette and excel in fulfilling his social obligations<sup>68</sup>. Sōtaku quotes the *Diamond Sutra* to prove, that paying too much attention to etiquette can be an outcome of attachment to form, therefore misunderstanding of the essence of “emptiness”<sup>69</sup>. He also quotes an admonition by Laozi, not to deviate from the Way because of the rules designed by men.

Sōtaku pays little attention to such elements of the tea ceremony as the guests appreciating the value of the utensils used by the host or adjusting the course of the ceremony to specified conditions (like the time of day or time of year)<sup>70</sup>.

The most controversial fragment of *Zencharoku* is Sōtaku’s criticism of some of Rikyū’s recommendations as recorded by his disciple, Nambō Sōkei, in the *Nampōroku*. Sōtaku points out the following teachings of Rikyū:

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<sup>63</sup> Hisamatsu 1993: 19.

<sup>64</sup> Ibidem: 23.

<sup>65</sup> Ibidem: 24.

<sup>66</sup> Jakuan 1980: 244.

<sup>67</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>68</sup> Ibidem: 245.

<sup>69</sup> Ibidem: 244.

<sup>70</sup> Ibidem.

The teachings of masters considering the placement of utensils during tea ceremony and the manner of performing specific movements are full of detailed descriptions and it cannot be avoided. However when the practitioner internalizes them thoroughly, when he masters the basic rules, taking into account the mysterious balance between *yin* and *yang*, he will be absolutely free, although there will be ceaseless changes<sup>71</sup>.

Rikyū believed that only a true master could allow himself to go beyond the decided canons – usually treated as absolutely binding, and new practitioners would put significant effort into interiorizing them. Sōtaku has objections to this statement, since he does not agree that only those who mastered all the techniques can introduce changes.

It is due to be noted that it is not about a dispute between following the two statements: whether to change the canon after mastering all techniques, or to change it before one masters them all. This is not the problem. The changes in the canon cannot be a conscious act performed in some previously planned time. Sōtaku clearly stresses that this is not how Zen tea works. There cannot be any conscious introduction of change, since Zen tea demands surpassing the duality of subject and object of cognition, going beyond cognitive, conscious action. All changes have to be absolutely spontaneous and there can be no trace of intention of the subjective or cognitive argumentation. Sōtaku cites the following verses by Takuan Sōhō:

Tea ceremony initially has no form.  
According to Heavens' teachings  
it is one mind, disturbed by nothing.  
There are rules, and at the same time there are no rules –  
change signifies the self-identity of specific reaction  
and a mysterious functioning [of Buddha nature – A.K.]<sup>72</sup>.

Sōtaku continuously underlines the need to surpass the epistemological dualism of subject and object (surpassing the cognitive thinking). A condition necessary for Zen practice aimed at enlightenment. If a practitioner decides that he became a master and is now fit to bring about a change in the canon, or waits for another master to confirm his mastership and allow him to introduce changes, he is proving he did not surpass the dualism of subject and object just yet. He does not enter the state of “no-self” understood as “absolutely contradictory self-identity” of subject and object. Here there is no “right perception” of Zen tea, the source of spontaneous creation coming from the experience of unity with the universe. The moment of attaining enlightenment cannot be planned, so the moment the

<sup>71</sup> Ibidem: 250.

<sup>72</sup> Ibidem. „Self-identity of specific reaction of mind and mysterious functioning [of Buddha nature – A.K.]” (*tōi soku myōyō*).

freedom coming from enlightenment will manifest cannot be planned either. That is why Sōtaku writes about “ultimate trust in the creativity of the Heavens, final rejection of one’s knowledge, so that the ‘emptiness’ can manifest in a human”<sup>73</sup>. Negation of the independent “self”, understanding the “emptiness of individual nature” (*jishōkū*), is essential for Zen practice.

Sōtaku, relating to his own experience of enlightenment, even criticizes the statements of respected figures if they are not in accordance with the spirit of Zen. I do not believe though that he is criticizing the essence of Rikū’s teachings, rather one statement that could be wrongly understood by practitioners. In his statement, Rikyū tries to warn beginning tea practitioners not to imitate the “true freedom” of accomplished masters. Traditional manners of performing certain gestures during the ceremony are usually the most efficient, precise movements of high aesthetic value. Sōtaku appreciates this aspect since it is indispensable for active meditation, like tea ceremony. A practitioner can forget about himself, being fully immersed in the actions performed according to decided patterns. Sōtaku does not agree however with the conclusion that being spontaneous comes with mastering all techniques, since spontaneous creativity is linked with the state of “no-self” that can manifest at any time, even if the practitioner in question is a beginner. Sōtaku did not suggest that anybody should change the canons of tea ceremony whenever feeling like it. He wanted to point out, that everywhere where “no-self” manifests there is ultimate freedom evincing itself through spontaneous creativity. “No-self” does not manifest itself as a result of mastering all techniques, so it can manifest even in a beginner. From the point of view of Zen teachings it is obvious that any change in the canon has to be introduced as a spontaneous expression of enlightenment, not as an objectified strategy.

The above deliberations of Sōtaku became the cause for which *Zencharoku* was rendered a work not in accordance with Rikyū’s tea spirit. For me, however, it seems it was rather his other conclusions that were more upsetting for the majority of his contemporary Way of Tea advocates than the issue of the interpretation of Rikyū’s words. Sōtaku writes:

In Zen tea there are few names (*meimoku*), also there are no secret procedures. If you get caught up in names [learning the procedures – A.K.] and you study written instructions, you will go astray from the true Way of Zen tea<sup>74</sup>.

One has to remember about the whole system of teaching that was created by various schools of tea ceremony (originating in the need to learn multiple procedures and utensil names) and about the existence of a secret transmission addressed to chosen disciples. This system solidifies the organizational stability of tea cere-

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<sup>73</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>74</sup> Ibidem: 250–251.

mony schools and this foundation Sôtaku undermines directly, saying that joining the system equals drifting away from the true Zen tea.

It is my opinion that Sôtaku is right, from the perspective of Zen teachings on freedom of enlightenment. In such freedom there is no place for activity of some subjective intentional “self”. Sôtaku’s conclusions are the natural following of his previous deliberations relating to tea ceremony as active meditation during which a practitioner is in a state of “no-self” since he forgets about himself fully engulfed by the utensils. “Zen tea” does not mean breaking it off with the *chanoyu* schools’ canons. It is only important not to treat those canons as specific knowledge and skills, something like a magician’s tricks that, as they become more complicated and diverse, the more they entertain the viewer. On the other hand there is nothing more misguided than the arrogant attitude of a beginning practitioner who decides he can lightly treat all the rules of tea ceremony because it is not those rules that express the Zen spirit. As is common with Zen, again we deal with a specific equilibristic procedure necessary for preserving the unity of oppositions – the tea ceremony canon cannot be accepted and it cannot be negated.

We have to also remember that Rikyū himself taught about the state of “no-self” during tea ceremony:

During a formal ritual in the *shoin daisu*<sup>75</sup> style, everything has to be arranged in the most precise order. [...] But finally the host puts aside all rules, forgets all the techniques and it all comes down to thinking without thinking<sup>76</sup>.

Rikyū clearly stresses that the tea ceremony has to be performed in the state of “no-thought” (*munen*), meaning “thinking without thinking” that is indeed surpassing the duality of subject and object of cognition. In this sense tea ceremony has no set laws or rules. It is clear if we take the example of Rikyū’s deliberations on tea ceremony organized outdoors, the “tea in the field”:

As for the actions while preparing tea or for the multiple kinds of utensils – there are no set laws. But precisely because there are no set laws, the great law is the law. It means that one has to pursue the way with his whole heart, and since it is an art that goes beyond the boundaries of form, somebody who does not inquire deeply, should not go into it<sup>77</sup>.

Rikyū warns practitioners not to allow the harmony between the participants of the ceremony to be the result of conscious effort.

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<sup>75</sup> *Shoin daisu* – a highly formal style of preparing tea using Chinese utensils and a specific shelf for the utensils (*daisu*).

<sup>76</sup> Sen XV 1998: 171.

<sup>77</sup> Nambō 2005: nr 3: 44.



It is the most proper for their hearts to be in accord. But it is not right for them to desire to attain agreement. When both the host and the guest are people who attained the Way, a good feeling between them appears naturally. If immature people only strive to attain this state of harmony, if one of them deviates they will both be led astray. Hence it is right for them to be in harmony, not right to aspire to attain it<sup>78</sup>.

Just as one cannot achieve enlightenment as an objective goal, true harmony cannot be achieved in this way. True harmony only appears in the state of „no-self”.

### **Tea ceremony of no host, no guest (*muhinshu no cha*)**

Sōtaku is critical towards the deliberations recorded in *Nampōroku* regarding the secret teaching of Rikyū about the “tea ceremony of no host, no guest”<sup>79</sup>. In the quoted paragraph Rikyū explains that the space of the teahouse and the tea garden (*hakuroji*) is Thusness (the essence of reality) that is empty and free from all disturbance (*buji anshin*).

Then follows the ultimate liberation from all: mountains and rivers, trees and grasses, thatched roof hut, host and guest, tea utensils, all rules and canons. Such is the Great Way transmitted by master Rikyū<sup>80</sup>.

Sōtaku does not agree with such interpretation of the “tea ceremony of no host, no guest” in which the master who gained all secrets of the tea ceremony no longer has to concentrate on the movements he performs<sup>81</sup>. He stresses that such ceremony is not a secret teaching and should not be studied after mastering all its techniques. He points out that the concept of the “tea ceremony of no host, no guest” comes from Zen teachings, but he does not offer the source<sup>82</sup>. Rikyū most likely was quoting famous verses by Daitō Kokushi that were supposed to express his enlightenment:

By the twilight I rest, by the dawn I wander,  
there is no host, there is no guest –  
with every step  
I feel the refreshing breeze<sup>83</sup>.

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<sup>78</sup> Nambō 2004: nr 2: 25.

<sup>79</sup> Jakuan 1980: 243.

<sup>80</sup> Ibidem: 255.

<sup>81</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>82</sup> Jakuan 1980: 255.

<sup>83</sup> Kobori 1988: 8.

It is worth remembering, that in Zen tradition the juxtaposition of host and guests, or master and vassal, is a metaphor to express the relationship between subject and object. The lack of “host and guest” points at going beyond the dualism of the subject and object of cognition, a necessary condition for enlightenment.

According to Sōtaku the paragraph from *Nampōroku* relating to the “tea ceremony without host nor guest” does not convey the true meaning of “nothingness” (*mu*). Sōtaku uses the term “nothingness”, not “emptiness”, although in this context both terms are synonyms<sup>84</sup>. In Rikyū’s deliberations on the “tea ceremony of no host nor guest” Sōtaku sees “silent illumination Zen” (*mokushō zen*), criticized by many masters as the manifestation of “one-sided emptiness” (*henkū*), seen as negation of existence. Meanwhile the “true emptiness” (*shinkū*), as experienced in the act of enlightenment, is an internally contradictory oneness of negation and affirmation. It is in the context of “silent Zen” that Sōtaku states that rejecting all forms is not a true “ceremony of no host nor guest”. Quite similarly dampening all consciousness functions in meditation is not “true emptiness”. What is the purpose of tea ceremony if host and guest are no more?

It is my opinion that the “tea ceremony of no host nor guest” corresponds with the third category of Zen master Linji, meaning, “taking away the man and the environment” (Jap. *ninkyō gudatsu*), so negating the subject and object of cognition (“form is emptiness”). However this category describes only one out of two important aspects of enlightenment, the second aspect being the fourth category, which is “leaving the man and the environment” (Jap. *ninkyō gufudatsu*) – “emptiness is form”. Hence the third category of Linji expresses that “form (including subject and object) is emptiness”, while the fourth category states that “emptiness is form”.

Does Sōtaku attack Rikyū or is he merely pointing out a wrong interpretation of his words by posterity? The answer is not easy, but we should pay attention to a wider context of Zen masters’ polemics. There are discussions in which one master does not recognize the enlightenment of the other and accuses him of heresy (so called “heretic Zen”, Jap. *jazen*). Many of those discussions though concentrate on faulty interpretation of certain verses, taken out of their wider context in Zen teachings. It is often the case that some Zen master in a given statement was referring to just one aspect of enlightenment. For example Dōgen, the same as Rikyū, wanting to stress that “form is emptiness”, would state that during meditation one must “be liberated of his body and mind” (*shinshin datsuraku*). His other statements, however, contain the truth that “emptiness is form”. It is most likely that Sōtaku was reprimanding Rikyū for not expressing the essence of “nothingness

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<sup>84</sup> More about the Daoist concept of „nothingness” (*mu*) and the Buddhist concept of “emptiness” (*kū*) in: Kozyra 2004: 223–224.

/ emptiness” for in his interpretation of the “tea ceremony of no host nor guest” there is no mention of the inseparability of emptiness and form.

Sōtaku believed that tea ceremony has nothing in common with Zen unless it expresses “nothingness”. Without it tea merely becomes an exclusive past time that can easily evoke pride and arrogance and lead a household to ruin<sup>85</sup>. One must practice ceaselessly and then the “right perception” will appear, his state of “one mind”<sup>86</sup>.

Haga Kōshirō seems to be convinced by Sōtaku’s arguments. He states that Zen tea is not the “tea ceremony of no host nor guest”, but the “direct residing of the mind in the state of Thusness, so a mind in which there is no duality of host and guest (subject and object)” (*shukaku no funi ichinyo no jikishin no majiwari*)<sup>87</sup>.

## Characteristics of Zen art in *Zencharoku*

The first characteristic feature of Zen art that we find in Sōtaku’s treatise is the statement, that in the state of “no-self” an individual experiences such unity with the world when “one is all and all is one”. Sōtaku refers to this Buddhist teaching when he writes that nothing exists except mind – “there exists no dharma except mind”<sup>88</sup>. Pure, perfect and empty “one mind” is a vessel that contains the whole universe. Sōtaku quotes a famous passage from the *Diamond Sutra* (Jap. *Kongōkyō*) about awaking the mind that has no abode, meaning a mind that is everywhere and nowhere, precisely because “one is all and all is one” (*ichi soku issai, issai soku ichi*).

An important feature is also affirmation of the everyday mind (*byōjōshin*) from the point of view of an inconceivable oneness of the relative sphere (samsara) and absolute sphere (nirvana). It is worth noting that tea appears in Zen koan as an affirmation of the everyday, common perspective. Zen practitioners might ask questions concerning the essence of enlightenment and hear an answer like: “drink a bowl of tea”. The underlying message of this koan is a reminder not to look for the sacred separately from the profane – realizing “Buddha nature” can happen with any given daily activity – also while drinking tea.

The next characteristic is the oneness of oppositions coming from the fact that in enlightenment one experiences the essence of reality in which “one is all and all is one”. In tea ceremony, the absolutely contradictory self-identity of movement and motionlessness has to be experienced. Sōtaku stressed that it is wrong to consider the calmness during tea ceremony to be motionlessness / stillness – the “right perception” also has to be kept in action<sup>89</sup>. To describe tranquility during tea ceremony the

<sup>85</sup> Jakuan 1980: 255.

<sup>86</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>87</sup> See: Haga 1997: 53.

<sup>88</sup> Jakuan 1980: 243.

<sup>89</sup> Ibidem: 245.

word *jaku* is used. This word in the context of Buddhist teachings describes nirvana as the fading of urges and desires – that is only possible after passing beyond the world of “birth and death”<sup>90</sup>. Tranquility in such an interpretation is not just the mere antithesis, the lack of motion. Suzuki Daisetsu wrote, that tranquility in Zen means “calmness in the midst of boiling oil, amongst raging waves, in the fire’s blaze”<sup>91</sup>.

The oneness of oppositions excludes favoring only one side of the pair. In the architecture of the teahouse, symmetry is not common but irregular elements are often used – crooked poles instead of neat and straight ones. The stones in the tea garden (*tobiishi*) are never put in symmetrically and they differ in size and shape. As Daisetsu rightfully points out, symmetry draws attention, is connected to grace, dignity. Asymmetry disturbs balance and that is why its usage is crucial for discovering a new dimension of reality<sup>92</sup>. It is worth notice that Sōtaku does not prefer asymmetry. According to the logic of paradox he does not choose one of the pair of oppositions. He writes about using both regular and irregular elements simultaneously (*kigū ichidō*)<sup>93</sup>.

In Zen art it is also necessary to express surpassing the linear perception of time flowing from the past to the future and showing the unity of both those times in the “eternal now”. Disturbing the time continuum that comes from the “eternal now” as seen in the tea ceremony is also described in the *Zencharoku*. Sōtaku compares a tea ceremony performed by a person in the state of “right perception” to meditation lasting an inconceivably long period of time described in the *Lotus Sutra*<sup>94</sup>. It could be concluded that for the person in the state of “no-self”, a person who experiences that “One is All and All is One”, every moment is eternity, and eternity is just a moment.

It is extremely important to treat the state of “no-self” (*mushin*) as a creative act. Sōtaku considered tea ceremony to be a kind of active meditation designed to discover the “true self”. According to him the “right perception” should be upheld during any activity – also during walking or even sleep. It is in accordance with Zen masters’ teachings explaining that one should meditate during any activity.

Zen master Yongjiajiao (Yōka Genkaku, 665-713) taught:

*Walking is Zen, sitting is Zen.  
Whether you speak or remain silent  
Whether you move or remain motionless –  
The essence in itself remains undisturbed.*<sup>95</sup>

<sup>90</sup> Suzuki 1959: 309.

<sup>91</sup> Ibidem: 356.

<sup>92</sup> Ibidem: 27.

<sup>93</sup> Jakuan 1980: 251.

<sup>94</sup> Ibidem: 245.

<sup>95</sup> Suzuki 1960: 94.

A person fully submerged in the actions performed, for example during tea ceremony, is “engulfed” by the utensils and then stays in the state of “no-self” (*mushin*), understood as surpassing the dualism of the subject and object of perception. The state of “no-self” is a source of spontaneous creativity and that is why a tea master who performs tea ceremony in this state has no equal.

The last characteristic feature of Zen art that can be observed in Sōtaku’s treatise is absolute freedom, also freedom from rules and canons. Tanikawa Tetsuzō rightfully points out a substantial difference in attitudes towards the formal laws of tea of Sōtaku and Rikyū – an undisputed authority in the field of tea ceremony. Sōtaku does not recognize “mastering the techniques according to set canon as a prerequisite for entering the sphere of freedom”.<sup>96</sup> Sōtaku stresses that everybody who is in the state of “no-self” reaches the source of spontaneous creativity, regardless of whether or not he mastered tea ceremony canon. Sōtaku quotes the words of Takuan Sōhō that remain in accordance with the logic of paradox: “there are rules, and at the same time there are no rules”<sup>97</sup>. In the state of “no-self” there is a complete reliance on the “creativity of Heavens”<sup>98</sup>, since the source of true creativity is a feeling of oneness with the universe. Sōtaku believed that a practitioner of the Way of Tea, just as a practitioner of Zen, could not fall back on any set of written rules or strive to realize any objective goal, even if it were the Zen ideal he aimed at. Everyone who consciously (objectively) practices the “Way of Zen” practices a heresy (*jahō*)<sup>99</sup>. A practitioner has to ceaselessly strive toward surpassing the dualism of the subject and object of perception and not set it anew over and over again while subjectively exerting himself to obtain an objective goal.

Only one who has experienced the ultimate freedom of enlightenment can express beauty in any form. In this day and age many utensils of crude, irregular shapes<sup>100</sup> are indeed considered to be classic masterpieces and it is easy to oversee how shocking their first usage must have been. Where elaborate Chinese porcelain once reigned, irregular tea bowls of porous texture started to take precedence. Takeno Jōō using a simple well bucket or a bamboo lid rest during a tea ceremony must have been seen as the peak of extravagance.

Sōtaku’s treatise, the *Zencharoku*, differs greatly from other works in which Zen is only sporadically mentioned and the main topic is to describe the flow of tea ceremony or the most important rules related to its conduct. Sōtaku’s discourse can be seen as polemical, since the author does not only describe tea ceremony as a kind of Zen meditation, but also tries to discern those of its elements that have nothing to do with Zen. The differences between Sōtaku and Rikyū’s ideas that are

<sup>96</sup> Ibidem: 13.

<sup>97</sup> Jakuan 1980: 250.

<sup>98</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>99</sup> Ibidem: 246.

<sup>100</sup> Utensils in the *wabi* style – more about *wabi* in chapter seven.

evidenced in the *Zencharoku* could also be explained by the fact that Rikyū – in contrast to his successor Sōtan – did not put so much stress on *chanoyu sammai*, meaning meditation during tea ceremony, and did not consider the ceremony to be solely a form of religious practice<sup>101</sup>.

Tea ceremony often has nothing in common with Zen and still provides aesthetic experiences, teaches discipline and concentration. It allows a practitioner to enjoy many aspects of Japanese tradition – architecture, artisans' works, painting, and flower arrangement. Still it does not change the fact that it is Zen that provides the spiritual depth of the Way of Tea. To express this depth Zen practice is necessary, since only then tea becomes “no-tea”, and “everyday mind” – the Way. It was Sōtaku, in his *Zencharoku* treatise that expressed this truth most thoroughly.

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<sup>101</sup> Horiguchi Sutemi 1951: 217–218.

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## English Summary of the Article

Agnieszka Kozyra

### THE ONENESS OF ZEN AND THE WAY OF TEA IN THE *ZEN TEA RECORD (ZENCHAROKU)*

This article is aimed at the analysis of Jakuan Sôtaku's *Zen Tea Record* from the perspective of the teachings of the Zen masters included within it. In my book entitled *Estetyka zen* (Aesthetics of Zen), in relation to the ideas of Nishida Kitarô (1870–1945), a philosopher who was also a Zen practitioner, I explained how in Zen art there must be conveyed certain aspects of reality grasped in the act of enlightenment. Nishida called this reality the “absolutely contradictory self-identity” (*zettaimujunteki jikodôitsu*), meaning such a paradox unity of all that does not exclude the distinctiveness of singular elements. The aspects mentioned above are: surpassing the dualism of the subject and object of cognition (“one is all and all is one”, *ichi soku issai, issai soku ichi*), affirmation of the common perspective of perception of reality (“form is emptiness and emptiness is form”, *shiki soku ze kū, kū soku ze shiki*), internally contradictory unity of oppositions (like motion–motionlessness, sacred–profane), “eternal now” as paradox unity of past and future, state of “no-self” (*mushin*) as the creative act and absolute freedom of the enlightened person (for example braking the rules and canons of artistic creation). In the article I want to show that Sôtaku in his treatise included most of those aspects.

**Key-words:** *Nishida Kitarô, Jakuan Sôtaku, tea ceremony, Zen art, Zen aesthetics, Sôtan*



## Expressing the Essence of the Way of Tea: *Tanka* Poems used by Tea Masters

### The writings on the way of tea – *chasho*

The way of tea, called *chadō* or *chanoyu* in Japanese, is a comprehensive art and philosophy that unites a very rich material culture with a deep spiritual tradition. This tradition, the teachings of the way of tea have been passed down to modern times mostly by way of oral instruction, from a master directly to his pupil, who in turn passed the knowledge to his pupils.

In this article I want to show how tea practitioners have been using *tanka* poems, either composed by themselves or borrowed from the earlier, classical authors, to express their knowledge of *chanoyu*, and especially, to express what they considered to be the essence of tea philosophy.

In the Edo period (1600–1868) the writings about *chanoyu*, called *chasho*, started to appear. Tsutsui Hiroichi (2003: 134) counts as many as 249 *chasho* published in this era. The first of these, published in 1626, is *Sōjinmoku*; the title can be translated simply as *Grass, man and tree*, and these are the elements from which the *kanji* character for the word *cha*, tea, is composed. Out of the three volumes, the first is devoted to the manners of both the host and the guests, the second explains the rules for the tea room and tea making procedures, and the third is concerned with making tea using the *daisu* shelf.

One of the most important writings of the way of tea is the *Nanpōroku*, or the *Southern Records*, purportedly discovered and then published at the end of the 17th century. It is a seven volume long treatise ascribed to Nanbō Sōkei (16–17th century), who identifies himself in the text as a disciple of the great tea master Sen no Rikyū (1522–1591).

Another form of *chasho* are collections of anecdotes (*itsuwashū*) about the famous tea masters or memorable tea meetings, for example *Chawa shigetsushū*, or *The Collection of Tea Stories Pointing to the Moon*, which is a collection of stories and sayings of Rikyū's grandchild, Sen Sōtan (1578–1658), recorded by his disciple, Fujimura Yōken (1613–1699), and published in the year 1683.

*Kaiki* (notes on the tea meetings) also belong to *chasho*. They are texts concerned with dishes for *chaji* (formal tea gatherings), collections of images connected with *chanoyu*, books on gardening etc. Tsutsui Hiroichi (2003: 137) divides *chasho* into separate types, of which he counts 26. According to his assessment, the most numerous are texts devoted to *utsuwamono* (the utensils, 26) and *temae* (procedures, 43).

One more, quite different literary genre was used by some to convey the teachings of the way of tea: it was *waka*, Japanese poetry, especially in the form of *tanka*, a short poem, consisting of five verses of 5, 7, 5, 7 and 7 syllables (together it is 31 syllables, and because of this, *tanka* had also been called *misohito moji* – thirty one characters). The oldest *tanka* we now know of were probably composed in the 4th century, and afterwards for many centuries *tanka* have been a main poetic and even literary genre in Japan. From *tanka*, the forms of *renga* and the much better known *haiku* were derived.

### One hundred poems – *hyakushu uta*

Although *tanka* have been basically composed as a single poem, they also came to be either composed or brought together in collections of a set number of poems, and the most popular was *hyakushu uta* – an anthology, or series of one hundred poems. The best known example of *hyakushu uta* is of course *Ogura hyakunin isshu*, or *The Collection from Ogura – A hundred poems by a hundred poets*, attributed to the famous poet and literary man, Fujiwara Teika (1162–1241) in the 13th century. The form of *hyakushu uta* itself is much older, because it can be traced back to the 10th century, when Minamoto no Shigeyuki composed what is probably the first known compilation of one hundred poems. Later, many of these one hundred poem series were composed and among them there appeared those organized by one subject or by one group of creators, for example *Genji hyakunin isshu* – *One hundred poems about The Tale of Genji*, *Nyobō hyakunin isshu* – *One hundred poems by women poets*, or even *Kemari hyakunin isshu* – *One hundred poems about the game of kemari*. *Kemari* is an ancient form of ball game, so this is a collection of poems about football – let us try to imagine modern day football players making poems about the right way of, say, making a corner kick. Fujiwara Teika is also attributed with a collection of *Taka sanbyakushu* – *Three hundred poems about falconry*, additionally there were many other series devoted to one specific subject.

*Kemari hyakunin isshu* was compiled in the beginning of the 16th century and from this collection it is quite close in time to the first *chanoyu* series of one hundred poems. This is probably *Sachō* (or *Sajō*) *hyakushuka*, or *One hundred poems from the tea place*, from the year 1642 (Tsutsui 2003: 392), soon after the publishing of *Sōjinmoku*. The poems were part of the collection called *Usoshū* and they also seem to be closely connected with another *chanoyu* text, *Chagu bitō shū*, *A Collection of*

remarks about tea utensils, which describes *chagu* (tea utensils), their names and shapes. Because these remarks are rather dry and technical, it is probable that the poems were intended as a helpful tool used to remember the very detailed information about the utensils and the rest (Tsutsui 2003: 394). And quite probably the same may be said about the *kemari* and other poems: although in Japanese poetry, *waka*, rhymes were not used, still the poems were versified and the rhythm of the verses made it easier to remember the words and the teachings.

## Poems of the way – *dōka*

In the middle of the 17th century there were already many poems on the subject of tea utensils or the tea making procedures, but among them were also those aimed at expressing much more general ideas connected with the way of tea. Here we should introduce the term *dōka*, which means literally *michi no uta*, “poem of the way”. *Dōka* can be described as poems that convey knowledge or teachings, belonging to a very wide range of arts and ideologies: Buddhism, ethics, arts and crafts, military arts and others. One of the reasons for putting the teachings in the form of *tanka* poems was certainly an effort to make them easier to memorize. We should also remember that *tanka* had been used for communication and entertainment for over a thousand years by then, and composing a *tanka* poem was a very natural method of expressing thoughts for a literate Japanese person.

The name *dōka*, poem of the way, is closely connected to the fact that many arts and ideologies in Japanese are called *dō* – a way: *butsudō* is the way of Buddhism, *budō* – the way of military arts, *shintō* is the way of gods, *chadō* – the way of tea, and *shodō* – the way of writing, i.e. calligraphy. There are also *kadō*, the way of incense, *kadō*, the way of flowers, and *kadō* is also the way of poetry (all three are written with a different *ka* character); to *budō* belong many ways like *kendō*, way of the sword, or *kyūdō*, way of the bow.

The earliest use of the word *dōka* can be traced to the second half of the 15th century, to the early versions of *Setsuyōshū* (*Collection of Words for Everyday Use*, a dictionary of Japanese language with entries organized according to *iroha* order), but the poems expressing some moral instructions, and therefore similar to the later *dōka* genre, can be found already in the songs and poems in *Kojiki* (*Records of Ancient Matters*, 712) and *Nihonshoki* (*The Chronicles of Japan*, 720) (Nihon Koten Bungaku Daijiten Henshū Iinkai 1986: 1301).

The most commonly known *dōka* about the way of tea is the collection known as *Rikyū dōka* (*Rikyū's poems of the way*), or *Rikyū hyakushu* (*One hundred poems of Rikyū*). The same series may also be found as the *Jōō hyakushu* (*One hundred poems of Jōō*; Takeno Jōō, 1502–1555, was a tea master and a teacher of Rikyū) and today it is not possible to determine which one or if any of them was the author or

the compiler of these poems. Sen Sōshitsu (1977: 148) writes that a copy of the text, made by his great great grandfather, Gengensai Sōshitsu 11th (1810–1877), bears the title *Chadō kyōyu hyakushu waka* (*One hundred poems on chanoyu education*). The poems have been circulating amongst tea practitioners for a long time and today they remain widely studied, learned and used as a help in *keiko*, training.

Setting aside the problem of the authorship, let us have a look at the contents: among the poems in *Rikyū hyakushu* we can find both quite technical ones, that can be understood only by those persons who already know utensils and know the ways of handling them, and also poems that can be described as aiming to express the essence of the way of tea. As an example of the first type let me give this one:

*Bokuseki o kakeru toki ni wa takuboku o sueza no hō e ōkata wa hike<sup>1</sup>*  
*When you hang a scroll, you better put the takoboku cord towards the lower hand*  
*[of the tokonoma alcove].*

*Takuboku* is a cord or string attached to a scroll, used to fasten the scroll when rolled up; it is not needed when the scroll is exhibited in the *tokonoma* alcove. It is natural that what is not needed, should be put aside, therefore the cord should be hanging behind the scroll and towards the lower hand of the *tokonoma*. In this way, *chanoyu* practitioners always give thought to matters both big and small, and aim to do things in both a reasonable and beautiful, harmonious way.

The collection starts with five poems devoted to entering the way of tea, learning and teaching it. The following is the first one:

*Sono michi ni iran to omou kokoro koso wagami nagara no shishō narikere<sup>2</sup>*  
*The very wish*  
*to enter this way*  
*should be my master,*  
*as long as my life lasts.*

This is one of the poems endeavoring to express something essential within *chanoyu*: the importance of persistent and conscious effort in practicing the way, an effort that is the base for the practice, which is shown here as lasting a lifetime. Keeping a beginners mind, *shoshin*, fresh and free of prejudice, is valued in the way of tea as much as it is in Zen Buddhism; the poem makes it a master, a teacher, leading the practitioner on the way of tea.

<sup>1</sup> Sen Sōshitsu 1977: 137. *Gdy zwój zawieszasz,/ pamiętaj o tym, żeby/ sznurek takuboku/ przełożyć odpowiednio/ w niższą stronę tokonomy.* Unless otherwise stated, all the poems translated into English and Polish by Anna Zalewska. Polish translations are added for the benefit of Polish language speakers.

<sup>2</sup> Sen Sōshitsu 1977: 133. *Postanowienie/ by na tę drogę wstąpić/ i nią podążać/ niechaj mi będzie mistrzem/ przez całe moje życie.*

The second poem is written from the perspective of the student: it says we should learn and watch, and then learn more, because giving an opinion without proper learning is foolish. The next, third poem, switches to the perspective of the teacher: to a pupil who has deep interest in studying the way of tea, it says, the teacher should explain many times, with compassion. The student, emphasizes the fourth poem, should study without feeling ashamed of himself. Finally the fifth poem explains what qualities a good student of the way of tea should possess: *suki* (aesthetic liking, fascination), *kiyō* (dexterity) and *kōseki* (gaining experience)<sup>3</sup>.

Most of the poems after these five are concerned with the meaning of details of *temae* procedures, handling of different utensils or mutual relations between the host and the guests, and only in the end of the collection again there are few poems conveying more general ideas. Among them there is a version of the well-known *Rikyū shichisoku* (*Seven rules of Rikyū*):

*Chanoyu to wa tada yu o wakashi cha o tatete nomu bakari naru koto to shiru beshi*<sup>4</sup>

*Know that chanoyu  
is simply this:  
boil the water,  
make the tea and drink.*

Here even more than in the first poem we can see the effort of the author to capture what the essence of *chanoyu* is, in the shortest, simplest possible way. Since it is so concise, certainly it can be read in different ways. In my opinion, it shows *chanoyu* as something very simple, drinking tea without thinking of procedures, because the procedures only serve in making the right tea, concentrating on the simplest thing. It resembles the spirit of Zen Buddhism saying:

*Yama kore yama mizu kore mizu  
Mountains are mountains, waters are waters (rivers are rivers).*

At first a person just sees the mountains or the rivers, the physical world. Then, an enlightened person sees that there is no dualism, there are no differences between yes or no, man and woman, old and young, mountain and river. And then realizes that the nature of enlightenment and delusion is the same and he or she can see the mountains again as the mountains and the rivers as the rivers. As for the tea, at first many people ask, what is so difficult in learning *chanoyu*, since it is just making tea and drinking it. Then they learn about procedures and

<sup>3</sup> All five poems in Sen Sōshitsu 1977: 133.

<sup>4</sup> Sen Sōshitsu 1977: 147. *Musicie wiedzieć,/ że chanoyu to tylko:/ zagotować wodę,/ przyrządzić herbatę,/ i pić, więcej nie trzeba.*

utensils and scrolls and the proper ways to walk around the tearoom, and how to behave as a guest or a host, and it all seems that it may be unnecessarily complicated and difficult. But if they practice and learn more, they can see it is all about making and drinking good tea.

Let me cite just one more poem from *Rikyū hyakushu*:

*Kama hitotsu areba chanoyu wa naru mono o kazu no dōgu o motsu wa orokana*<sup>5</sup>  
*If you only have one kettle, it is enough for chanoyu. Having many utensils is foolishness.*

Naturally, it should not be understood literally, because it would be hard to make tea without a bowl and a *chasen* (a tea whisk), not to mention the tea. But this poem reminds us that tea is not about the utensils, not about the detailed knowledge of the utensils or their handling.

## Classical tanka written by famous authors

As a means of expressing the essence of chanoyu, the tea masters not only composed poems, but also used the poems already in existence, composed by ancient poets in times when *chanoyu* was not yet created.

One of the most famous examples of such borrowing is a poem by Fujiwara Teika, illustrious poet and literary man of the Heian (794–1192) and Kamakura (1192–1333) periods, already mentioned above. As *Nanpōroku*, or *The Southern Records* treatise mentions, Takeno Jōō used to say that the spirit of *wabicha*, tea in *wabi* style, is embodied by this poem<sup>6</sup>:

*Miwataseba hana mo momiji mo nakarikeri ura no tomaya no aki no yūgure*  
*As I gaze far about –*  
*there's neither blossom*  
*nor crimson leaf.*  
*At sea's edge: a rush hut*  
*in autumn dusk.*  
*Shinkokin wakashū IV, 363*<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Iguchi Kaisen 1982: 206–207. *Jeden kociołek/wystarczy mieć, abyś mógł/ chanoyu urządzić./ Gromadzić sprzęty liczne,/ to dopiero głupota.*

<sup>6</sup> Nanbō Sōkei 2005: 44.

<sup>7</sup> Hisamatsu Sen'ichi et al. 1961: 101. English translation by Hirota, Dennis 1995: 233. *Gdy w dal spoglądam/ kwiatów ni liści barwnych/ nie ma już wcale./ Jesienny zmierzch zapada/ w mej chatce nad zatoką.*

This is one of the three famous poems about dusk, *sanseki no uta*, called so by the ancient Japanese poetry lovers. Cleverly it first mentions flowers, making us think of spring, then the colorful autumn leaves, and only then the poem says, there are no flowers and no leaves anymore. In the Japanese and Polish versions this order of words is quite clear: the words *nakarikeri*, *there is no*, *nie ma* – only appear as late as the third line. Only after this colourful image there comes the picture of a solitary, sad little hut by the sea, in the evening. The hut does not have to belong to the poet, it may be, but not necessarily, his chosen abode, yet it might also be just a lonely place to stop during the journey, making the image even sadder. So here we have two contrasting images, showing that underlying this cold, dark melancholy of an evening by the sea, as its base, there is a dazzling beauty of colors and forms. This can be taken as a metaphor for *chanoyu*: there are all forms of beauty underlying *wabi* – the loneliness, the simplicity, the feeling of poverty.

This was Jōō's view on the essence of *chanoyu*. *Nanpōroku* says that his pupil, Sen no Rikyū, found another poem, which he often wrote together with the one chosen by Jōō<sup>8</sup>. This second poem, chosen by Rikyū, was composed by Fujiwara Ietaka (1157–1237), who lived in the same epoch as Teika:

*Hana o nomi matsuran hito ni yamazato no yukima no kusa no haru o misebaya*  
*To one who awaits*  
*only the cherry's blossoming*  
*I would show:*  
*spring in the mountain village*  
*with new herbs amid snow<sup>9</sup>.*

This poem can be seen as an extension of the first one: first the flowers are mentioned, and when the word *hana* is used in Japanese poetry, without the specific name of a flower, it generally means cherry blossoms. And what would be the best form of cherry blossom – naturally, flowers in full bloom. Some people might wait only for the flowers in full bloom and see them as the embodiment of spring spirit. Yet spring can be seen and felt not only in magnificent trees covered with flowers, but also in new grass blades when they break snow. Seeing spring in these tiny grasses and herbs is very close to the *chanoyu* understanding of beauty: things do not have to be shown in full for us to appreciate their beauty, a suggestion or hint can be enough.

<sup>8</sup> Nanbō Sōkei 2005: 45.

<sup>9</sup> *Nanpōroku* (Nanbō Sōkei 2005: 45) says the poem comes from the same collection as the previous one, but actually it can be found in *Ropyakuban utaawase* (Six hundred rounds of poetry contest, 1193) and in the collection of Ietaka's poems, not in *Shinkokin wakashū*. English translation by Hirota, Dennis 1995: 234. *Temu kto czeka/ tylko na kwiaty, chciałbym/ pokazać wiosnę/ w trawkach, co wyrastają/ wśród śniegu w górskiej wiosce.*

There is a famous *itsuwa*, anecdote, about morning glory flowers in Rikyū's garden. When Toyotomi Hideyoshi heard that these very beautiful ones were blooming in Rikyū's garden, he expressed a wish to see them. Later, when he visited Rikyū, passing through the garden he could not see any flowers; when he entered the tea room finally there was only one branch of flowers, much more impressive than if it were an entire garden full of them. However, Kurasawa Yukihiro from Takazuka Zōkei Geijutsu Daigaku, professor of art history and a *chajin* (tea person) himself, explained to me once that this story might be only an anecdote created later, because it is hard to imagine that Rikyū would really cut and throw away all those beautiful flowers in order to show only one of them. Nevertheless, as an anecdote it shows well the meaning and importance of suggestiveness in *chanoyu*.

I introduced a poem above, composed by Fujiwara Teika, chosen by Takeno Jōō as explaining the essence of *chanoyu*, and then a poem by Ietaka, with which Rikyū answered to the first one. This poetic dialogue was continued later by Nanbō Sōkei, supposedly a disciple of Sen no Rikyū. To these two poems he was to answer with his own, noted by Seki Chikusen (1791–1801) in his *Chawa mamuki no okina* (*Tea stories of old man looking straight*, published 1718 and 1805):

*Hana momiji tomaya mo uta mo nakarikeri tada miwataseba roji no yūgure*<sup>10</sup>  
 There are no flowers  
 No rush hut, no colorful leaves  
 And even no poem  
 Gazing far about  
 There is only an evening on the dewy path.

A “dewy path” is the *roji*, a path leading through the garden towards the tea room. This poem is significantly different from the previous two and one of the differences is the consciousness of creating poetry, not usually seen in *tanka* poems; mentioning a poem in the poem, and saying there is no poem – it takes this verse on quite another level and makes it resemble Zen Buddhism *kōans*. A *kōan* is a short story or a dialogue, a question, used in Zen to provoke and to stimulate practice; they are often based on seemingly paradoxical statements, like here, when a poem says there is no poem. There is also no poet or a tea lover in this *tanka*, only an evening, so there is no I, no ego consciousness; this poem clearly shows the way of tea as a way towards enlightenment.

Gengensai Sōshitsu 11th changed just one syllable in this poem and took it one step further: Tsutsui Hiroichi (2003: 15) mentions that Gengensai copied it

<sup>10</sup> Tsutsui Hiroichi 2003: 14. Kwiatów, liści barwnych/ chatki i nawet wiersza/ nie ma już wcale. Gdy w dal spoglądam, tylko/ zmierzch na ścieżce do chashitsu.



and made a scroll with this calligraphy, but instead of *uta*, a poem, he wrote *usa*, sadness. Although there are no flowers and no brightly coloured leaves, there is also no sadness: enlightenment is not gloomy.

## Poems composed by chajin

The composing of *tanka* poems has been one of the means of communication and cultural exchange among the Japanese up to the 20th century: it was natural to compose a poem when occasion called for it. Many tea practitioners, who would not be described as poets, left poems expressing their understanding of chanoyu. As the last part of this article, let me cite here a few more examples of such poems, starting from one that might not sound so serious:

*Tetori me yo onore wa kuchi ga sashideta zo zōsui taku to hito ni kataru na*  
*Oh, you kettle*  
*Your mouth is protruding*  
*A little too much.*  
*Don't tell the others*  
*I cooked porridge in you<sup>11</sup>.*

Hechikan who lived in Kyoto in the times of Rikyū, was a tea connoisseur, known for his eccentricities and simplicity of life. One of the most popular anecdotes about him claims that he had only one iron kettle and used it both to cook his meals, and boil water to make tea (after cleansing it thoroughly). This playful little verse of Hechikan is grounded in his firm belief in modesty, even poverty, in practicing chanoyu in *wabi* style.

Tachibana Jitsuzan (1655–1708), a samurai of Kuroda han from Kyūshū, a tea lover and a calligrapher, is the person who purportedly found the text of *The Southern Records*. In his diary he noted the following poem:

*Waga io wa kitaranu hito mo kuru hito mo chikashi utoshi o iu koto mo nashi<sup>12</sup>*  
*Those who come*  
*to my abode and those*  
*who do not come*  
*I never say I like or dislike them.*

<sup>11</sup> Tsutsui Hiroichi 2003: 213. English translation by Chikamatsu Shigenori 1982: 94. *Kociołku z rączką, / a tobie to dzióbek/ trochę wystaje./ Nie mów nikomu, że ja/ zupkę w tobie gotuję.*

<sup>12</sup> Tsutsui Hiroichi 2003: 58. *Ci, co przychodzą/ i ci, co nie przychodzą/ do mej pustelni -/ nigdy nie mówię, że są/ bliscy mi czy dalecy.*

Here we can see another aspect of *chanoyu* pointed out: in the way of tea there should be no choosing, no likes and dislikes, human beings should be treated as equals; the way of tea is not a sphere based on emotions, likes and dislikes, it surpasses them, all people are welcome, whether they come or not.

I wrote above about the value of the suggestiveness in *chanoyu*, and here let us have a look at one more example. Joshinsai Sōsa (1706–1751) was the 7th *iemoto* of the Omotesenke school; his disciple, Yokoi Tansho, wrote down some of his teachings in *Chawashō* (*A short collection of tea stories*), and one of the notes says he asked the master what was the meaning of *chadō*, the way of tea. The answer of Joshinsai goes as follows:

*Chanoyu to wa ikanaru mono o iuyaran sumie ni kakishi matsukaze no koe*<sup>13</sup>  
 If I were to tell  
 what is chanoyu?  
 I would say it is  
 a voice of wind in the pines  
 painted with ink on a scroll.

A comparison to *matsukaze*, wind in the pines, may often be found in *chanoyu*. For example, the sound of hot water boiling in the kettle on the hearth is called the sound of wind in the pines. Among *zenko*, literally, Zen words, or Zen sayings which are often seen on scrolls used in tea rooms, there are the words: *kanka shite shōfū o kiku*, to sit quietly and listen to the sound of wind in the pines; they describe the atmosphere in the tea room, when the tea is served. In the poem above Joshinsai expressess the essence of *chanoyu* as based on suggestion, and at the same time, shows its sensual, audiovisual nature.

*Chawashō* is a short text consisting of 12 paragraphs, the second of which is titled *Cha no kyōka no koto* – *About kyōka devoted to tea*. *Kyōka*, meaning “a wild poem”, is a comical variety of *tanka* poem, identical in form. As Donald Keene (1999: 514) describes it, creation of comical verse “opened a channel for those who sought to describe the ordinary or humorous experiences of daily life”. For us today these poems often do not sound humorous or funny and certainly not wild, yet in pre-modern Japan they differed so much from classical *tanka* as to the subjects and word usage, that they earned the name of *kyōka*. The second paragraph of *Chawashō* contains some *kyōka* devoted to *chanoyu* composed by Sen Sōtan and one of them is:

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<sup>13</sup> Horiuchi Sōkan 1977: 266. „Wrzątek na herbatę”,/ jeśli bym miał powiedzieć,/ co to takiego –/ wiatr wiejący wśród sosen/ namalowanych tuszem.

*Chanoyu to wa mimi ni tsutaete me ni tsutae kokoro ni tsutau ippitsu mo nashi*<sup>14</sup>  
*Chanoyu is*  
*transferred through the ears*  
*and through the eyes*  
*and through the heart*  
*there is nothing to write down.*

In the previous poem we could see the importance of sight and hearing in *chanoyu*, here we learn even more: the teachings are transferred and absorbed by watching and listening and by mutual understanding between the teacher and the pupil, not by studying written materials. *Karada de oboeru*, remembering with your body, is also the method of learning *chadō* in today's world. This poem might be called an easier version of the famous words expressing the doctrine of Zen Buddhism:

*Kyōge betsuden*  
*Furyū monji*  
*Jikishi ninshin*  
*Kenshō jōbutsu*  
*Special transmission outside the teachings*  
*Not depending on words and letters*  
*Directly pointing to the human mind*  
*Seeing one's nature and achieving Buddhahood.*

Yuensai Teiryū (1654–1734), a *kyōka* master from Kyoto, although capable of composing elaborate poems, rich in rhetorical terms, was to instruct his pupils: *Dōka o mune to su beshi* – *You should take dōka as a model* (Nihon Koten Bungaku Daijiten Henshū Iinkai 1986: 486), encouraging them to keep to the simpler measures. Indeed it can be seen in the examples cited above that *dōka*, while keeping the usual rhythm, were much simpler than the regular *tanka*, mostly without any usual *waka* figures of speech (like *makurakotoba*, epithets regularly used with certain words, or *kakekotoba*, pivot words, etc.) concentrating on conveying the message in a style easy to understand, without ornamentation.

Let us look at one last example of *dōka*, composed by Hayami Sōtatsu (1727–1809), a tea master from Kyoto and the founder of the Hayami school:

*Cha no michi wa kokoro yawaragi uyamōte kiyoku shizukani monozuki o seyo*<sup>15</sup>  
*The way of tea:*

<sup>14</sup> Horiuchi Sōkan 1977: 257. *Chanoyu to coś/ przekazywane przez uszy/ i poprzez oczy/ i jeszcze poprzez serce,/ nie ma co zapisywać.*

<sup>15</sup> Tsutsui Hiroichi 2003: 118. *Droga herbaty:/ niech twe serce wypełnią/ harmonia, szacunek,/ czystość, spokój – tak właśnie/ podchodź do chanoyu.*

*let your heart be harmonious,  
respectful, clean and calm,  
and thus you should  
practice chanoyu.*

The subject of the poem is the so-called four teachings, *shikyō*, or four rules, *shiki*, expressing the way of tea of Rikyū: *wa, kei, sei, jaku* – harmony, respect, purity and tranquillity, simply listed as *chanoyu* essentials. Also now they are considered a basic set of terms, used to explain what *chanoyu* is.

We briefly examined poems used by the tea masters, tea lovers, to express their understanding of what *chanoyu* is. The poems were both old and created without any relation to *chanoyu*, which did not yet exist at that time, and new, created by the tea masters. Although aimed at expressing what is most important in the way of tea, they actually showed many different angles and told us about the meaning and usage of utensils, about human relations, about the meditational, buddhist character of the way and about various means of understanding beauty.

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## English Summary of the Article

Anna Zalewska

### Expressing the Essence of the Way of Tea: *Tanka* Poems used by Tea Masters

The Way of Tea, called *chadō* or *chanoyu* in Japanese, is a comprehensive art and philosophy, uniting a rich material culture with a spiritual tradition. Some of the teachings of *chadō* masters can be found in treatises like *Nampōroku*, or *The Southern Records* (17th century, ascribed to Nambō Sōkei, supposedly – a disciple of Sen no Rikyū) or in anecdote collections, like *Chawa shigetsushū*, or *The Collection of Tea Stories Pointing to the Moon* (1683). Most of the *chadō* masters did not leave their respective collected writings or teachings put into treatises, but many of them made the effort to express the essence of the Way of Tea in the much shorter form of *tanka* poems.

First of all, *Rikyū hyakushu*, or *One hundred verses of Rikyū* (called also *Rikyū dōka* – *Rikyū's poems of the way*) must be mentioned. This is a collection of one hundred *tanka* poems, traditionally ascribed to Rikyū himself, although most of them were known since before Rikyū's times and attributed to Takeno Jōō. The final collection of *Rikyū hyakushu*, as we know it now, was assembled probably by the eleventh head of the Urasenke school of tea, Gengensai (1810–1877). Among the poems we can find some very detailed instructions on how to use tea utensils or how to understand some parts of the tea making procedures, but there are also poems endeavouring to express the very essence of the Way of Tea philosophy.

Apart from poems created especially to show the understanding of tea art, many tea masters used pre-existing poems, written originally without any connection to *chanoyu*. One of the most famous examples is a short exchange of poems recorded in *Nampōroku*: to illustrate the essence of the Way of Tea Takeno Jōō used a poem by famous poet, Fujiwara Teika (1162–1241), to which Rikyū answered with a poem by Fujiwara Ietaka (1158–1237). Later, the alleged author of *Nampōroku*, Nambō Sōkei, continued this poetic dialogue with a *tanka* of his own. The aim of this article is to introduce the poems used by the tea masters and to analyse the ways of expressing the essence of the way.

**Key-words:** the Way of Tea, *chanoyu*, *chadō*, *sadō*, Japanese culture, Japanese poetry, *tanka*, *waka*, *dōka*

## SHINPA versus SHINP'A. The Influence of Japanese 'New School' Theater on the Development of Modern Korean Theater

The traditional theater art of old Korea developed chiefly within the plebeian culture<sup>1</sup>. Over the centuries, three basic types of performing arts were formed. They are defined by contemporary historio-theatrical thought as mask dance performances (*t'alch'um* 탈춤, lit. 'mask dance'; *kamyŏn-gŭk* 가면극 假面劇, lit. 'mask theater'), puppet shows (*kkoktu-gakshi-nor'um* 꼭두각시놀음, lit. 'the play of [the character of] a young woman'), and *p'ansori* theater (판소리). Despite the lack of proper facilities, and its condemnation by Korea's intellectual elites during the Chosŏn dynasty (조선 朝鮮 1392-1910), when it was viewed as a source of social demoralization and unrest<sup>2</sup>, traditional Korean theater developed rapidly until the end of the 19th century. In order to present their art, theater groups used whatever natural topographical features were available: they performed in bazaars, near Buddhist temples or inns – anywhere the crowds would gather. Artists, generally referred to as *kwangdae* (광대 廣大), *chaein* (재인 才人), or *pan'in* (반인 泮人), addressed the lower and the lowest class (*chŏn'in* 천인 賤人) that they themselves came from; many of them were even of slave origins. Their performances merged elements of a variety of arts – dance, pantomime, vocal music and naturally, drama. From the very beginning, the word was vitally important as the material of creation, and in time grew to be a vehicle of important, socially charged content. Actors exposed the pressing problems of contemporary Korea: the discrimination against Korean women, demoralization of Confucian scholars and Buddhist monks, as well as the depravity and incompetence of Korean nobility (*yangban* 양반 兩班). The main subjects of their critique were the patriarchal system of Confucian Korea and the distorted social relations that resulted in social inequality and discrimination. Each episode of a given performance presented a different conflict: within soci-

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<sup>1</sup> The Korean terminology, titles and names are Romanized according to the McCune-Reischauer transcription. The names follow the Korean rule of writing a one-syllable family name before the one or two syllable given name.

<sup>2</sup> The first Korean theater was established in 1902. See: Rynarzewska 2013c: 41-55.

ety, family or between generations. The gravity of the message was mitigated by a satirical, ribald and sometimes downright iconoclastic style of expression that was an aesthetic determinant of folk art in old Korea. The entertaining elements of native theater performances attracted audiences that gladly enjoyed the same plots, and who were perfectly amused listening to the same dialogues again and again. No one complained about the unchanging repertoire recycled for at least three centuries, as no one had a notion that theater could change. The isolated Korean audience was completely oblivious to the fact that outside of the Korean Peninsula an entirely different theater art was developing.

A shift in awareness occurred only in the beginning of the 20th century, when Japanese 'new school' (*shimpa* 新派) theater groups started coming to the Korean Peninsula. They provided some variety in the Japanese residents' cultural life, entertained, and to a certain degree alleviated the feeling of alienation in a foreign country<sup>3</sup>. Japanese *shimpa* companies also came to Korea to proclaim victory over China and Russia<sup>4</sup>, and thus fulfill the policy of the authorities that treated artistic activity of theater companies as a useful tool to show Japan's power<sup>5</sup> and propagate her cultural achievements<sup>6</sup>. Companies such as Itō Fumio-za (伊東文夫座), Minami-za (南座), Gotō Ryōsuke-za (後藤良介座) and Aizawa-za (愛澤座) performed not only in the Korean capital, but also in the provinces, where local Japanese theaters often invited them<sup>7</sup>. Popular adaptations of famous Japanese sentimental novels and family sagas, such as *Hototogisu* 不如歸 (*The Cuckoo*) by Tokutomi Roka 徳富 蘆花 (1868–1927), *Konjiki yasha* 金色夜叉 (Golden Demon) by Ozaki Kōyō 尾崎 紅葉 (1868–1903) or *Kigiku shiragiku* 黃菊白菊 (Gold and White Chrysanthemums) by Hosoda Tamiki (1892–1972) comprised the core of their artistic program. Also included were: an adaptation of the classic *Shūnen-no hebi* 執念の蛇 (Snake of Vengeance), a comedy *Hatsuonki* 發音器 (Hearing Aid), as well as the most popular morality and history plays and melodramas, and even remakes and travesties of classic Western works such as *Hamlet* and most probably *The Merchant of Venice*<sup>8</sup>.

Performances by Japanese groups were primarily meant for the Japanese residents, but the Koreans were allowed to watch them, even though they were discouraged, at least in the first period, by the foreign theatrical convention and

<sup>3</sup> In 1880, 835 Japanese lived on the Korean Peninsula. Their number grew to 7,245 during the next decade, and when the Japanese occupation began in 1910, there were as many as 171,543 Japanese residents (Yu 1982: 83). The number of Koreans living in the capital in the same period was between 400,000 and 500,000. (Yu 1990: 26).

<sup>4</sup> Yu 1996: 217; Sō 2003: 37.

<sup>5</sup> Powell 2002: 6, 9, 11–12.

<sup>6</sup> Sō 2003: 37.

<sup>7</sup> Yu 1996: 218.

From 1908 to 1910 – in just two years – eight Japanese theaters opened in the Korean capital, and two more in Inchōn and Pusan. See: Sō 2003: 37.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.



language<sup>9</sup>. With time, Japanese *shimpa* theater began to attract the growing attention of both Korean audiences and artists, intrigued by its different style of acting, stunning special effects, stage design and novel plots. It showed the Koreans new possibilities in the theater arts and exposed the parochialism of their native theater groups. It should not come as a surprise that it quickly found its imitators.

## Idealism versus politics

Im Söng-gu (임성구 林聖九, 1887–1921) was a staunch supporter of the Japanese 'new school' theater. In the beginning of the second decade of the last century he initiated the development of the Korean 'new school' theater (*shinp'a* 신파 新派). Im Söng-gu came from a poor but large family that he had to support by selling fruit with his brother at the back of the capital's Myöngdong Cathedral. He got his elementary education in a traditional *södang* school, where he supposedly only mastered "a single volume of Chinese characters"<sup>10</sup>. The Catholic religion, inculcated through numerous Sunday schools run by missionaries, had a bigger influence on his development<sup>11</sup>. As a child he was already showing extraordinary ambition, a sharp mind, determination, open-mindedness, efficiency and a thorough interest in "everything new and different"<sup>12</sup>. At fifteen he saw a performance of a Japanese theater group, left his job and found employment in the private Japanese theaters Keisei-za (Kyöngsöng-jwa 경성좌 京城座) and Kotobuki-za (Su-jwa 수좌 壽座). He did not have any suitable education or artistic experience, so he mostly performed simple physical work<sup>13</sup>. At the same time he observed Japanese *shimpa* actors at work, and thus learned acting technique and memorized plays. Despite the adverse circumstances, he managed to understand the contents of the Japanese *shimpa* plays, translate them into Korean and in a simplified form adapt them for the use of his own group Hyökshindan ('innovation' 혁신단 革新團), established in the beginning of the second decade of the 20th century. Im Söng-gu and his company started to develop a new theater genre, which to Korean audiences, brought up on native theater performances, initially appeared as the crowning achievement of Western theater.

Im Söng-gu was driven by idealism. He wanted to give people living in the capital a new kind of cultured entertainment, and hoped that it would shake his compatriots out of their stupor<sup>14</sup> – stirring up some reaction to the reality of occupation, hardships of life, and political restrictions introduced by the Japanese administration's

<sup>9</sup> Yu 1990: 28.

<sup>10</sup> Yu 1990: 29.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Yu 1990: 30; Yu 2006: 154.

<sup>14</sup> Yu 1990: 29-30.

authorities<sup>15</sup>. He also believed that the idealistic message of Japanese plays, ‘rewarding the good, punishing the evil’ (*kanzen chōaku*, *kwōnsōn ching’ak* 권선징악 勸善懲惡) would positively influence the Korean morale, give them reassurance and renewed faith in the existence of such elementary things as order and justice. Although Im Sōng-gu must have been aware that Japanese plays did not match up with Korean reality and his compatriots’ everyday problems, he decided that their modern convention and new scope of interests would compensate for the cultural discrepancy, and perfectly fit into the revolutionary movement aimed at changing the Korean society, raising its intellectual level, and preparing it for functioning in the modern world. The artistic activity of Hyōkshindan was supposed to be an example of how an ‘educational movement’ (*kyoyuk undong* 교육운동 教育運動) is realized: a socio-educational movement supported by Korean intelligentsia, in a camouflaged way, trying to manifest resistance to the occupant’s restrictive policy<sup>16</sup>. Im Sōng-gu’s patriotic motives were confirmed by his charity activities, in which Hyōkshindan would provide new clothes for the poorest, organize food and haircuts for them, and even pay for their visits to local public baths<sup>17</sup>. The company also gathered funds for Korean schools that were closed en masse in occupied Korea for reasons both political and economic. Im Sōng-gu managed to initiate a unique social movement by combining simple entertainment with philanthropy, an activity that he did not give up even at the peak of his fame, when he enjoyed the privileges of stardom.

The social activity of the Hyōkshindan company comprised a vital part of its fateful artistic activity. By involuntarily exposing how culturally and artistically archaic the traditional theater performances were, the company indirectly played a part in causing their decline. Audiences began to see mask dance performances, puppet shows, *pansori* theater and even the classic *chàng-gŭk* opera (창극 唱劇)<sup>18</sup> as symbols of an era past, and pushed them to the margin of major artistic events. In the new political and social reality these forms were perceived as a cultural relic, and could not rival Hyōkshindan’s repertoire of adaptations of Japanese plays. There is no doubt that Im Sōng-gu opened a new chapter in the history of Korean theater and initiated the development of modern theater. At the same time, he became an involuntary advocate of the Japanese administration that sought to marginalize Korean art and used any pretext to uproot it. Rejection of the native art standards by Hyōkshindan company and its numerous continuators fit neatly in the Japanese authorities’ policy, and was interpreted as an acquiescence to further cultural assim-

<sup>15</sup> Japanese authorities declared a protectorate over Korea in 1905, and occupied the Korean Peninsula from 1910 to 1945.

<sup>16</sup> Yang 1996: 244.

<sup>17</sup> *Maeil Shinbo* (1914.2.4; 1914.3.13; 1914.4.7; 1914.5.2) [in]: *HKYCJ* 1 2001: 247; Yu 1990: 49–50; Yu 1996: 243; Rynarzewska 2013c: 79–80.

<sup>18</sup> The classic *chàng-gŭk* opera is a genre of theater plays created around 1906, that for a couple of years stood as an example of modern theater [*shin-yōngŭk* 신연극 新演劇].

ilation – a process in which Hyökshindan played a significant part. For this reason, the company's activities to this day remain a source of academic disagreement.

## Imitation versus innovation

Im Söng-gu and other members of the group – many of whom had never seen a play in their lives – had no artistic experience, and the first performances of Hyökshindan were “unsuccessful imitations” of Japanese plays<sup>19</sup>. “What happened on stage was so bad it was ridiculous”<sup>20</sup> – remembered An Chong-hwa 안종화 安種和, the theater's chronicler and director, in the thirties of the past century. “[The actors of Hyökshindan] collaborated with [a Japanese *shimpa* actor] Komatsu, but the best he could do was to explain what the play was about and how they were supposed to move [on stage]. He wasn't able to teach them how to present their culture, their native customs and everyday behaviour. The result was such that [the Hyökshindan actors] performed on stage in some bizarre Japanese *kabuki* style that wasn't remotely congruent with Korean sensibilities<sup>21</sup>.

Im Söng-gu was aware of the many imperfections of his group and in subsequent years did his best to improve the quality of their performance<sup>22</sup>. He even attempted to modify his actors' way of performing to match the requirements of the Western theater's realistic convention<sup>23</sup>, introduced to the Koreans first by the Japanese group Geijutsu-za 藝術座, and later, also by amateur groups of academic youth 소인극 素人劇 (*soin-gük*). The changes introduced by Im Söng-gu were not meant to undermine the general artistic foundations of Hyökshindan, which remained faithful to the model of Japanese *shimpa* theater. It became his artistic trademark, and was therefore perceived by some as a typical example of artistic imitation, and an initiator of innovatory artistic changes by others. The truth most likely lay, as it often does, in the middle. Hyökshindan remained in the circle of Japanese 'new school' theater, and for this reason its art may be deemed, particularly by Japanese teatrologists, an attempt of artistic mimesis. On the other hand, one has to take into account the fact that the Hyökshindan group was the first to cut themselves off from the centuries-old tradition of native performative art and propose a completely different model of theatrical art that could successfully claim the name of modern theater.

<sup>19</sup> Yu 1996: 229.

<sup>20</sup> An Chong-hwa, *Chosŏn Chung'ang Ilbo* (1933.8.26) [in]: HKYCJ 6, 2001: 592.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> To do that, he sought the help of a certain Komatsu, a Japanese *shimpa* actor befriended during his stretch of work in the capital theaters: Keisei-za and Kyöngsöng-jwa. Furthermore, in June 1914 he went to Japan, where he spent four months gaining artistic experience and observing Japanese troupes at work (including *kabuki* performers) (Sö 2003: 88).

<sup>23</sup> *Maeil Shinbo* (1916.3.2) [after]: Yu 1996: 286.

## Removing the mask

The novelty that Hyökshindan proposed was without a doubt taking off the mask, deeply rooted in the culture of native theatrical and ritual spectacles, it was used by actors in traditional dance performances<sup>24</sup>. By showing their faces and announcing their names, *shinpa* actors rejected the anonymity of a traditional actor and gave their art a more individual aspect, and with that, initiated the process of reevaluating the social role of an actor. Moreover, by taking the example from the Japanese *shimpa* theater, they abandoned the practice of *emploi*, which tied the traditional actor to the part they played. Traditional actors would play the same character for as long as their physical condition or position in the group allowed. A change of part signified not only more artistic experience, but also increased prestige in the theater world. In this sense the practice of *emploi*, indicating an actor's maturity and their recognition in the theater milieu, was a form of a rite of passage and an artistic expression of the conservative customs of the Koreans<sup>25</sup>. Hyökshindan's actors not only changed their roles often, but were not attached to any of them. Granted, practical factors such as constant changes in the repertoire and lack of time for rehearsals were crucial elements for the adoption of such a scheme, but the worldview of the young amateur artists also played a vital part. Changes proposed by Hyökshindan were more than just an artistic flair – they were a challenge to the old era and its hierarchical structure, conservative customs and developed network of social dependencies<sup>26</sup>.

## The concept of *onnagata*

Hyökshindan embraced the tradition of Japanese theater and adopted the stage practice of *onnagata*, an idea completely novel for the Korean audience. In an account from the thirties, An Chong-hwa remembers the reactions of the Koreans after Hyökshindan's performances: "News of a bizarre theater unlike anything seen before quickly spread around the capital. [In this theater] a hick turned into a maiden, a youth played a greybeard"<sup>27</sup>. Admittedly, in traditional mask dance performances male Korean actors performed the roles of women. Artistically, however, it was a very different practice that resulted from distinct aesthetic concepts, shaped by

<sup>24</sup> The exception being, of course, the *pansori* artists, who never performed in masks, as well as the traditional puppet-show artists.

<sup>25</sup> The arrangement of masks on a ritual table during the opening ceremony preceding mask dance performances (*t'alchum*, *kamyön-gük*) attests to that: central space was taken by the masks of 'Old Woman' (Halmöm) and 'Old Man' (Yönggam). This privileged position was dictated by the old age of the characters represented by the masks.

<sup>26</sup> Rynarzewska 2013c: 165-166.

<sup>27</sup> An Chong-hwa, *Chosön Chung'ang Ilbo* (1933.8.26) [in]: HKYCJ 6, 2001: 591.

the stylistics of plebeian Korean theater, including its signature satire, joviality and a Bakhtinian vision of a 'topsy-turvy' world<sup>28</sup>. Among all the female characters that appear in *t'alch'um*, the most important were the roles of the 'Young Courtesan [*kisaeng*]' 소매 (Somae) and 'Old Woman' 할미, 할멈, 미알할미 (Halmi, Halmöm, Miyalhalmi), although they too were almost entirely subordinate to the actions of the lead characters of the play – 'Old Buddhist Monk' 노장, 노승 (Nojang, Nosung), 'Nobleman' 양반 兩班 (Yangban), 'Confucian Scholar' 선님 (Saennim), 'Bachelor' 취발이 (Ch'wibari) and 'Old Man' 영감 (Yönggam).

The most autonomous was the character of 'Old Woman', who also perfectly represents a fundamental difference between the Japanese and Korean concept of *onnagata*. The former emphasized a realistic portrayal of ideal womanhood. What is more, it required the actor to embody a dramatic character, to wholly and faithfully paint her moral and psychological portrait<sup>29</sup>, to "in a way become unable to tell where reality ends and theatrical illusion begins"<sup>30</sup>. The latter, meanwhile, aimed to make a point of the dissonance between the role played on stage and actor's individual identity. The grotesque, exaggerated acting style of a performer playing the part of the 'Old Woman' was supposed to break the symbiosis between the actor and the mask, and the caricatured portrayal of the character served to increase the distance between them. A Japanese actor playing a female part, consciously tried to create "stylized beauty, and therefore moved and spoke in such a way that the spectator would be completely entranced and start to perceive illusion as truth"<sup>31</sup>. At the same time, a Korean actor emphasized the ugliness of 'Old Woman' and to this end reached for coarse, vulgar, even iconoclastic means. In contrast to a Japanese actor who was seductive and exuded a sensual aura<sup>32</sup>, a Korean actor amused and entertained. Ugly, disfigured 'Old Woman' did not excite aesthetic delight, but served as a vehicle of social critique. The ideological message of scenes in which this character appeared put aesthetic aspects in the background. The Korean character of 'Old Woman' had nothing in common with the subtle, delicate, charming Japanese creation of *onnagata*, which appeared as "the personification of a male vision of the ideal of womanhood"<sup>33</sup>.

The character of 'Young Courtesan' could attempt to play such a part, were it not for her insignificance and marginal nature, reinforced by her silence and

<sup>28</sup> Yu Min-yöng is inclined to identify the tradition of mask dance performances with the Japanese concept of *onnagata*, as evidenced in his comment: "[the concept of *onnagata*] was similar to the tradition of mask dance dramas". The Korean historian does not elaborate, nor does he justify his position. (See: Yu 1990: 41).

<sup>29</sup> Entry: Postać (Character) [in]: Pavis 2002: 363.

<sup>30</sup> Żeromska 2010: 99.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.; Bowers 1954: 50.

<sup>32</sup> Kawatake 2003: 131.

<sup>33</sup> Żeromska 2010: 99.

passivity. She represents an incomplete character, a token of a character, reduced to being an object of ‘Old Monk’s’, ‘Confucian Scholar’s’ and ‘Bachelor’s’ desire. For an actor playing this part it was impossible to bring to life an artistic creation that would match the Japanese *onnagata*. Hidden behind the backs of other characters, ‘Young Courtesan’ could not even present her charms, and indeed that was not her purpose. Both she and ‘Old Woman’ appeared on stage to criticize the faults of old Korea’s social elite’s representatives, and simultaneously entertain the audience and sensitize it to social misdeeds. The educational and entertaining function of these characters had a decisive impact on their portrayal<sup>34</sup>, further influenced by historical and social conditions that Korean actors operated in, different expectations of audiences, and the non-existence of an emancipated middle class that could sponsor its favourite actors and elevate them and their scenic creations to the status of a star. The Korean characters of ‘Old Woman’ and ‘Young Courtesan’, along with the actors that played them, could not lay claim to stardom. It was made impossible not only by their low social status, but also the mask worn on stage. The mask made it difficult to identify an actor, stripped him of his individual identity, emphasized the stereotype, and even deformed his physiognomy<sup>35</sup>.

The suspicion of the Korean audience at the sight of the powdered faces of actors wearing women’s clothes without masks cannot come as a surprise. The Hyökshindan actors themselves were not thrilled by this formula. Kim Sun-han 김순한 金順漢 and An Sök-hyön 안석현, who went down in the history of modern Korean theater as the first male actors performing as female characters, played the parts “under duress”<sup>36</sup>. Protests of Hyökshindan actors prove that the concept of *onnagata*, although familiar due to the performances of Japanese companies, appeared to the Koreans as completely novel.

## Theatrical convention

Another very innovative idea introduced by Hyökshindan was a new theatrical convention. The company attempted to break with the epic tradition of native performances and began to stage plays that were dominated, at least in theory, by acting. These actions were accompanied by a ‘moderator’ 해설자 解説者 (*haesölja*, lit. ‘interpreter’), who combined the functions of a commentator, a narrator and an intermediary host. They welcomed the audience and bid them farewell, explained the plot’s development, announced the repertoire, and invited attendees to see the

<sup>34</sup> Rynarzewska 2013b: 72.

<sup>35</sup> Entry: Maska (Mask) [in]: Pavis 2002: 280.

<sup>36</sup> Yu 1990: 32.

subsequent play<sup>37</sup>. Thus they contravened the mimetic convention of a play and its dramatic Aristotelian form. Whatsmore, they attested to the power of the theater tradition, as they introduced an element of the epic. Furthermore, they clearly connected to the convention of a traditional actor's performance, in which they would spontaneously interact with audience, often addressing it directly and modifying their lines to better fit the context and environment of a given performance<sup>38</sup>. Therefore, the moderator's comments were to some degree in line with native performance tradition and possibly helped to embrace the foreign theatrical convention of Hyökskindan's plays. At the same time, they were something new. Their innovation added to the enrichment of theater performance with an ideological message and numerous educational elements corresponding to the enlightenment ideas of the period that bore witness to the historical and social changes as they occurred. The moderator's comments drew attention to the non-artistic function of a theater performance and gave it the quality of a social manifesto, which distinguished them from the traditional native performances.

Using their intuition and mimetic talents, Hyökskindan actors did their best to create a modicum of an illusion on stage – a concept completely foreign in Korea in the second decade of the 20th century. The epic form of the traditional theater performances made the audience a critical spectator that by necessity was detached, put in opposition to the action, and forced to draw rational conclusions<sup>39</sup>. Even if the Koreans were moved by the plight of eponymous heroines of *Ch'unyang-ga* 춘향가 (The Song of Ch'unhyang) and *Shim Chöng-ga* 심청가 (The Song of Shim Chöng), they were fully aware that the real world and the world of the performance are separate, and they remained outside of the action that took place on stage. There is no doubt that they were invested in the dramas of their favourite characters – they expressed it with stylized *ch'uimsae* 주임새 shouts during the performance, but they knew the plots of the plays they were watching, and therefore were not subject to the effect of the increasing dramatic tension, a critical element of stage illusion<sup>40</sup>. The effect of illusion was further weakened by the episodic format of the traditional performances and a lack of a cause-and-effect motif<sup>41</sup>. The mask dance performances and puppet shows of old Korea were built out of autonomous scenes that could be easily rearranged without doing damage to the plot's logic. Such construction made building dramatic tension more difficult, and the approach of *p'ansori* actors – only showing fragments of a play – made it virtually impossible. The plays presented by Hyökskindan's actors juxtaposed with traditional performances appeared as continuous, complete and coherent literary units formed

<sup>37</sup> Yang 2001: 52.

<sup>38</sup> Rynarzewska 2013c: 168.

<sup>39</sup> Balme 2005: 71.

<sup>40</sup> Entry: Iluzja (Illusion) [in]: Pavis 2002: 192.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

through the cause-and-effect motif and an internal logic of the action<sup>42</sup>. These features made it possible to keep plot continuity and build up tension on the stage, and as a result, also create an illusion of reality. In consequence, Hyökshindan presented a new theatrical form that to a greater degree engaged the emotions of the audience and invited the audience to express them. It was very suggestive and involving<sup>43</sup>. Simply put, Hyökshindan initiated the development of a convention described by modern theater studies as 'dramatic theater'.

The actors of Hyökshindan attempted to create a slice of the real world on stage, and for this purpose they started using various props and elements of scenography<sup>44</sup>. By doing this they rebelled against the tradition of native performances, whose creators appealed to the audience's imagination and used mainly voice or at best fans and drums. Hyökshindan appreciated the value of visual features and tried to develop them as well as they could. In the harsh reality of occupied Korea, without any support or facilities, it was nearly impossible. Hyökshindan often had to perform wearing the uniforms of Japanese soldiers<sup>45</sup>, the only thing that was available and did not raise objections from the Japanese censors. The outfits were often in stark contrast with the contents of the staged plays and Korean language and, on the other hand, they were a clear marker of the reality that surrounded the Koreans. Likewise, their direct relation to the reality of occupation marked by the presence of Japanese police and gendarmerie strengthened the illusion created on stage and reinforced the conviction of the Korean audience that they were witnessing real events.

## Literary sources

Im Söng-gu introduced unusual themes along with the unusual conventions. He reached into the repertoire of Japanese *shimpa* theater and started to stage plays about war, crime and morality. In 1912 alone, he presented over thirty Japanese plays that he had more or less aptly fitted to his own needs and capabilities<sup>46</sup>. By adapting Japanese plays, Hyökshindan offered the Korean audience a new range of motifs that could appear on stage. Scenes of murder and suicide, fights, crime, robberies and acts of vengeance that were the staple of action in most Japanese plays, were unknown in the literary output of old Korea. What is more, they constituted ideas foreign and controversial. Especially unique was, as it turned out,

<sup>42</sup> Rynarzewska 2013c: 166.

<sup>43</sup> Balme 2005: 71.

<sup>44</sup> It is important to note that the first Hyökshindan performances took place on an almost entirely empty stage lit with nothing but lamps, and acting consisted of a small number of conventional gestures whose purpose was to convey the content of the play. See: Yang 2001: 52.

<sup>45</sup> Yu 1990: 40.

<sup>46</sup> For more on this topic – See: Rynarzewska 2013a: 202–208.



the motif of boldly depicted love that in classic Korean works was a taboo, presented at most in underground productions, and which in traditional theatrical performances, was mostly used to convey social critique.

The motif of love was generally tied to the values derived from Buddhist philosophy or Confucian doctrine. It was the only approach acceptable for the readers brought up in the spirit of puritan Confucian doctrine that removed sensual experience from everyday life. In the plays performed by Hyökshindan the motif of love was not only presented openly, but also in the context of an individual, as a manifestation of the lovers' individual dilemmas and an expression of their personal desires. The protagonists of *shinp'a* plays freely expressed their own emotions and granted themselves the right to choose their partner and make decisions about their own future.

It would not be an overstatement to say that in Confucian Korea such content was revolutionary, just as revolutionary was the new approach to creating characters on stage. Whereas the protagonists in traditional native performances were devoid of individual personality traits and represented an abstract idea that served as an artistic vehicle for ethical values, *shinp'a* characters were to a larger degree shaped by psychological and social factors. The appearance of Korean *shinp'a* characters on stage, often simplified and exaggerated, still revealed the connection to traditional theater forms, even as it broke off with the allegorical construction of characters defined by a single trait, typical to native performances.

Moreover, Hyökshindan broke off the uniform language used in traditional performances shaped by dialectal forms and dominated by literary, often archaic vocabulary. Using the repertoire of Japanese 'new school' theater plays, Im Söng-gu and his actors managed to differentiate the way their characters spoke, and convey through speech their different social background, status, even age and gender. In spite of a certain artificiality in dialogues<sup>47</sup> that was an inevitable result of the hasty adaptation of Japanese works, *shinp'a* characters expressed themselves using language close to everyday speech. This made them appear to Koreans as real people embodying the new epoch and its real problems.

### ***Tachimawari* scenes**

Taking an example from Japanese *kabuki* and *shimpa* theater, Hyökshindan introduced scenes of stylized *tachimawari* combat that combines elements of gymnastics and rhythmic dance<sup>48</sup>. Such scenes contradicted the aesthetics of native Korean

<sup>47</sup> Kim 2009: 10–11.

<sup>48</sup> Bowers 1954: 160. Žeromska translates the term *tachimawari* as 'standing in a circle', 'a fight', 'a scuffle' (Žeromska 2010: 165).

performances, where the motif of conflict had an entirely different dimension: it was meant to chiefly express social critique, not the personal grudges of characters.

Furthermore, in traditional Korean theater a scene of conflict was most often presented in a comedic style as a quarrel, dance performance, or as childish, seemingly innocent play. It was meant to mollify the tragic aspect of the characters' death – usually the result of an accident, as opposed to death presented in Japanese theatre where it was the result of the deliberate actions and vengefulness of the characters. It would never occur to the Korean actors of mask dance performances to present a fight scene literally. Instead of swords and clubs, willow and peach branches were held, and the clash and antagonist's defeat were represented by an arbitrary, conventionalized gesture, such as striking the opponent with a sleeve or branch<sup>49</sup>.

Therefore, the *tachimawari* scenes presented by Hyökshindan had to cause great surprise – and confusion; evident in an anecdote that relates how bystanders, upon seeing Hyökshindan's rehearsal, were convinced that the *tachimawari* scene was a real fight. Certain that they were witnessing an assault, they promptly called for the Japanese police<sup>50</sup>. Such reaction proves that *tachimawari* scenes appeared at first as culturally foreign interpolations, but very soon were recognized as having great impact on the audience, and became an extremely attractive artistic device. The distaste of the Korean audience, accustomed to the satirical convention of native performances, turned into delight and adoration. During the subsequent performances, the Koreans were practically cheering actors on, and the theater transformed into the scene of a grand tournament. *Tachimawari* scenes became a source of entertainment and a way to improve audience attendance. They were elevated to the status of the pivotal scenes, and made into a trump card that could fill the audience all on its own<sup>51</sup>. Eager to excite the audience even more, Hyökshindan actors made some small changes: they gave up the sword, carried by Japanese characters<sup>52</sup>, and replaced it, often with fists<sup>53</sup>. This and other examples show that Hyökshindan altered Japanese plays to cater to the tastes of their own audience.

## Melodramatic acting style

The last of the innovations that Hyökshindan introduced onto the Korean stage, one that was possibly the most significant and had the greatest impact, was a melodramatic acting style. Melodrama was completely foreign to the Koreans, not only on stage, but in everyday life as well. Just how far removed such a style was from

<sup>49</sup> Rynarzewska 2013c: 171.

<sup>50</sup> Yu 1990: 32.

<sup>51</sup> No 2009: 104.

<sup>52</sup> Bowers 1954: 160.

<sup>53</sup> No 2009: 104.

what the Koreans were familiar with is attested to by the audiences' reactions: bursting out laughing in the worst possible moments, frequently distracting the actors, conversing loudly, moving around the audience and even leaving the room<sup>54</sup>. Such a reaction is hardly surprising. What Koreans expected from theater was above all entertainment and amusement. Laughter was a way to dispel any negative emotions. The sentimental tone of Japanese *shimpa* theater was incongruous with the exuberant character of the Koreans, their natural spontaneity and optimism<sup>55</sup>.

When the creators of the traditional performances of old Korea presented dramatic scenes, they used elements of satire and homey, rural joviality to minimize their tragic character. A perfect example of such an approach is the 'Old Woman' death scene from the mask dance performances. The tragic import of the episode was strongly contrasted with the actor's stage actions, whose uncoordinated, ridiculous movements caused bursts of spontaneous laughter from the audience. A similar solution was used by the creators of puppet shows. A nude puppet of Hong Tong-ji 홍동지 and its foolish tirades eclipsed the death of 'the P'yŏng'an Governor' 평안 감사 (P'yŏng'an Kamsa) and the tragic aspect of fragile human existence. Hong Tong-ji's enormous phallus employed to support the coffin signified physical and spiritual liberation and evoked joyful laughter. It was precisely this exuberant laughter that brought about the collective cathartic experience. It mollified the dramatic message of native performances, relieved social tensions and lightened the burden of personal issues<sup>56</sup>.

Hyŏkshindan adopted the basic principles of Japanese acting style, but due to the actors' lack of experience these foundations became extremely exaggerated, pretentious, schematic and artificial<sup>57</sup>. The company initiated the development of new means of stage expression and began performing in a pathetic style whose doleful tone was expressed chiefly through stylized wailing, sobbing and hysterical cries. From the very beginning Im Sŏng-gu paid great attention to maudlin scenes<sup>58</sup> and at all costs tried to make the audience cry. This approach was at first met with general resentment, as evidenced by skeptic reviews in the Korean press that published the following after the premiere of *Chinjungsŏl* 진중설 陣中雪 (The Battle in the Snow), an adaptation of a Japanese play *Jinchūsetsu*: "[The play presented] in Yŏnhŭngsa theater was likeable and certainly innovative. However, the stars of the group, Im Sŏng-gu and Ko Su-chŏl, should have cried with more restraint. Their wailing was unbearable. In a dramatic scene one should cry, and in a comedic one – laugh. One cannot cry all the time. It is not the right approach"<sup>59</sup>.

<sup>54</sup> *Maeil Shinbo* (1912.3.31; 1913.1.21) [after]: Yu 1990: 51.

<sup>55</sup> Yu 1990: 52.

<sup>56</sup> Rynarzewska 2013c: 174.

<sup>57</sup> Sō 2003: 110–111; Ko 1990: 18; Kim 2009: 12–13.

<sup>58</sup> Yu 1996: 239.

<sup>59</sup> *Maeil Shinbo* (1912.3.27) [in]: *HKYCJ* 1, 2001: 118.

Despite reviewers' critical opinions the melodramatic acting style of Hyökhshindan actors quickly spread and was accepted by the audience that was already starting to go to the theater not for amusement, but in acknowledgement of their plight. When other *shinp'a* companies realized that sentimental plays matched the prevalent social mood and better met the expectations of audiences, they also adopted the melodramatic style of Hyökhshindan. Soon "drama became a synonym of crying, and one could not go to the theater without a handkerchief"<sup>60</sup>.

The melodramatic acting style of Hyökhshindan had a tremendous impact on a multitude of Korean actors and shaped the art for the following generations of actors, proving the great influence of the first Korean *shinp'a* group and Japanese *shimpa* theater. By transplanting the Japanese art of acting to the soil of Korean culture and transforming it according to his vision, Im Söng-gu achieved a radical reevaluation of aesthetic principles in Korean theatrical art. According to some Korean theater scholars, he also contributed to a shift in the national character of Koreans<sup>61</sup>. The innovative stage experiments of Hyökhshindan came to fruition not only in the artistic field but also outside of it.

## Conclusion

Many Koreans followed in the footsteps of Im Söng-gu and soon there were over a dozen Korean groups of 'new school' (*shinp'a*). Among them the most influential companies were Munsusöng 문수성 文秀星 (lit. 'literature and a unique star'), Yuildan 유일단 唯一團 (lit. '[the] one and only'), Ch'wisöng-jwa 취성좌 聚星座 (lit. 'constellation') and Shingök-chwa 신극좌 新劇座 ('new theater'). The directors of these companies – Yun Paeng-nam 윤백남 尹白男, Yi Ki-se 이기세 李基世, Kim So-rang 김소랑 金小浪 and Kim To-san 김도산 金陶山 – came from different social backgrounds and each had a different vision for the direction in which modern Korean theater should go. Yun Paeng-nam and Yi Ki-se represented the intellectual circles. They gained artistic experience in Japan, where they had the possibility to observe, in person, Japanese actors at work<sup>62</sup>. Kim So-rang and Kim To-san took their first steps as actors in Hyökhshindan; they were Im

<sup>60</sup> O 2002: 214.

<sup>61</sup> This position is supported by Yu Min-yöng (1990: 52), who believes that Japanese theater contributed to a change in the Korean national character, as it suppressed in Koreans their innate optimism, creative attitude towards life, and the ability to overcome any obstacles. Japanese *shimpa* theater, Yu Min-yöng argues, released the experience of *han* (understood as a complex emotional and psychological syndrome that merged negative emotions like regret and bitterness, grudge and sorrow, indifference and disillusionment) into Korean society (Rynarzewska 2007: 154–182).

<sup>62</sup> Yun Paeng-nam took acting classes from Saorikei Ichirō (1869–1943), a Japanese *shimpa* actor; Yi Ki-se was a student of Shizuma Kojirō for over two years, copying the scripts of various plays and familiarizing himself with Japanese 'new school' theater. See: Yang 1996 : 260, 261.

Sŏng-gu's followers and adopted his artistic views. While the former artists were interested in the reformation of 'new school' theater, the latter were striving to strengthen its position and popularize it, and for this end they undertook various endeavors, with varying results.

For example, Kim So-rang developed *intermedia* (*makkan* 막간 幕間), which within a short time became the artistic program's highlight and almost dominated the dramatic arts, in the process, dividing the Korean audience into staunch supporters and opponents. In 1919 Kim To-san initiated the development of 'mixed-drama' (*yŏnsoeae-gŭk* 연쇄극 連鎖劇)<sup>63</sup>, and earlier cooperated with classic *ch'ang-gŭk* opera artists. However, he soon gave up such stage experiments and focused on staging remakes of Japanese *shimpa* theater plays. He and Kim So-rang, also brought up on Japanese art, had no intent to give it up.

Yun Paeng-nam and Yi Ki-se were also vested in the paradigm of Japanese *shimpa* theater, but they undertook a number of important endeavors that served to improve the quality of Korean *shinp'a* theater. First of all, they put great emphasis on improving the literary quality of the plays they staged, and the development of acting and scenographic art. They strived to move away from the schematic copying of Japanese *shimpa* theater and break away from the common practice of staging simplified versions of Japanese 'new school' plays. They also declared a readiness to stage Korean plays<sup>64</sup> and were the first to attempt staging Western plays<sup>65</sup>. Their efforts were only half successful, as neither the actors nor audiences were ready for such radical changes. Japanese *shimpa* theater dominated the stages in Korea during the second and third decade of the 20th century, and in its modified form shaped Korean tastes. Its elements seeped through even to amateur school and student theater groups (*soin-gŭk*) active in the twenties – groups that officially cut themselves off from Korean *shinp'a* companies, used the achievements of Western theater; groups that aimed to change the native theater, and – according to a number of Korean theater scholars – created the foundation of modern Korean theater<sup>66</sup>. 'New school' theater could not be removed from the stage, even by the Institute of Theater Arts (Kŭg-yesul Yŏngu-hoe 극예술연구회 劇藝術研究會). For a couple of years the Institute's theater company presented the crowning achievements of western drama, and made every effort to implement the formula of realistic Euro-

<sup>63</sup> Kim To-san took the Japanese 'mixed drama' (*rensageki*), presented a year earlier by Set-onaikai company, as a model for his art. See: Entry: Kim To-san [in]: SSTYS 2006: 32.

<sup>64</sup> *Maeil Shinbo* (1921.11.19) [in]: HKY CJ 1 2001: 579.

<sup>65</sup> In 1916 they staged a travesty of Alexander Dumas' father's *The Corsican Brothers* and an adaptation of Tolstoy's novel *Resurrection*, the latter taken from the Japanese group Geijutsuza. Not only did Yun Paeng-nam and Yi Ki-se use the Japanese script and title for *Katyusha*, but also the song that was originally performed by Matsui Sumako, the lead performer and the group's star. See: Yu 1996: 288-289.

<sup>66</sup> Yi 1966: 163; Yu 1996: 536; Yang 1996: 45.

pean theater in Korea. It, however, did not manage to change the taste of the average Korean, who preferred *shinp'a* plays for their specific acting style, melodramatic tone, sentimental message and a simplified vision of the world.

After three decades most Koreans forgot the Japanese roots of 'new school' theater and accepted it as a genre of native theater art. It should not come as a surprise, as in the meantime Japanese *shimpa* theater underwent a grand metamorphosis: it adopted elements of modern Japanese theater (*shingeki*) and artistic manifesto of Korean proponents of Western theater (*shin-gŭk* 신극 新劇). In its restructured form, 'new school' theater shaped the modern Korean scene and was close to gaining an artistic monopoly. Its dominance was an inevitable result of historical, political, social and cultural factors. In the second decade of the last century Japanese *shimpa* theater appeared as an important and the only source of artistic inspiration. The geopolitical isolation of Korea did not allow for a free exchange of artistic experiences with the outside world. The restrictive policy of the Japanese authorities blocked all artistic initiatives, turning Korea – especially in the second decade of the 20th century – into a cultural desert. The Japanese administration attempted to eradicate traditional theatrical performances, correctly assuming that they could strengthen the Korean national identity as symbols of national heritage. Ambitious *shin-gŭk* drama ('new drama'), whose creators tried to touch upon the pressing social issues and raise the political consciousness of their fellow Koreans, shared the fate of traditional theatrical performances. Only *shinp'a* companies could count on a concession from the Japanese authorities. Their repertoire, adopted from Japanese *shimpa* groups, complied with the assimilation policy of the Japanese administration, implemented under the slogan of "Japan and Korea are a single body" (*nansen ittai, naesŏn ilch'e* 내선일체 內鮮一體)<sup>67</sup>. Therefore the development of 'new school' theater was a result of a deliberate Japanese policy, one that had recognized the social influence of theatrical art and decided to use it in the process of cultural integration. Political implications played a crucial part in the development of modern Korean theater<sup>68</sup>. Traces of Japanese *shimpa* theater could still be found in the South Korean theater after the war<sup>69</sup>.

<sup>67</sup> No 2009: 124.

<sup>68</sup> Sŏ Yŏn-ho proves that an assessment of Korean art developing during the occupation is not possible without taking into consideration political factors, e.g. Japanese censorship and cultural policy of Japanese administration, which "from the very beginning sought to stymie the creative imagination and liberty of [Korean] artists". See: Sŏ 2003: 44.

<sup>69</sup> *Shinp'a* theater, under a different name and in a changed formula, exerted a significant influence on the South Korean theater of the thirties, forties, and even fifties. It was strongly condemned in North Korea – an assessment dictated mostly by political and idealistic reasons. Chief complaints that North Korean critics had for *shinp'a* groups were 'promotion of reactionary ideas', 'expression of lowliest, animal instincts', 'spreading extreme individualism', 'propagating militarism' and 'depicting robbery and murder'. See: Ogarek-Czój 2007: 37–38.

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## English Summary of the Article

Ewa Rynarzewska

### **SHINPA versus SHINP'A. The Influence of Japanese 'New School' Theater on the Development of Modern Korean Theater**

The traditional theater art of old Korea developed chiefly within the plebeian culture. Despite the lack of proper facilities and its condemnation by Korea's intellectual elites during the Chosŏn dynasty (1392–1910), traditional Korean theater developed rapidly until the end of the 19th century. Traditional actors addressed their art to the lower class and exposed the pressing problems of contemporary Korea, but the gravity of the message was mitigated by a satirical, ribald and sometimes downright iconoclastic style. A shift in awareness occurred only in the beginning of the 20th century, when Japanese 'new school' (*shimpa*) theater groups started coming to the Korean Peninsula. They presented popular adaptations of famous Japanese sentimental novels and family sagas addressing the plays to the Japanese residents. Performances were primarily meant for the Japanese residents, but the Koreans were allowed to watch them, even though they were discouraged, at least in the first period, by the foreign theatrical convention and language. The first, and very staunch supporter of the Japanese 'new school' theater was Im Sŏng-gu (1887–1921). Together with his group Hyŏkshindan ('innovation') established in the beginning of the second decade of the 20th century, he started presenting the Korean audience simplified and adapted versions of Japanese *shimpa* plays, thus developing a new theater genre and initiating the development of the Korean modern theater. The main aim of this article is to describe the process of adapting the Japanese theater: to show which elements were borrowed from Japanese theater groups, e.g. the concept of *onnagata*, the theatrical convention, literary sources, *tachimawari* scenes, melodramatic acting style; to present achievements of Im Sŏng-gu who had to overcome cultural differences between Japan and Korea, political and social barriers and the aesthetic taste of the Korean audience; and finally to point out the consequence of Im Sŏng-gu's artistic activity.

**Key-words:** Korean *shinp'a* theater, Japanese *shimpa* theater, Im Sŏng-gu, Hyŏkshindan, *onnagata*, *tachimawari*

## The Ideals of *Bushidō* Depicted in *Hagakure* (Hidden in the Leaves) and *Chūshingura* (The Treasury of Loyal Retainers)

*Hagakure* ('Hidden in the Leaves') and *Chūshingura* ('The Treasury of Loyal Retainers') are widely known not only in Japan but also around the world. These two texts from the eighteenth century were translated into English and many other languages and became a part of world culture. *Hagakure* and *Chūshingura* are regarded as two sources in which the ideals of *bushidō* ('the way of the warrior') are depicted. Both texts, written in the middle of the Edo period, present an ideal warrior and describe the values of *bushidō* ethics. This article is an attempt to analyze and compare these two texts and the visions of *bushidō* depicted in them. Firstly, I will briefly introduce *Hagakure* and *Chūshingura* and present the circumstances in which they were written. The next part will concern the term *bushidō* and its emergence and also the situation of warriors in the Tokugawa period. The second part will be devoted to Yamamoto Tsunetomo's teachings – the practice of *junshi* he was fascinated with, the concepts of *kage no hōkō* and *shinobu koi* and also his worship of death realized as the idea of *shinigurui*. Then, I will present the ideal of samurai in the second text – *Chūshingura* with its historical background concerning the revenge of the loyal vassals from Akō. The next part will concern Yamamoto Tsunetomo's evaluation of the 46 retainer's deed and other opinions on their revenge. The last part will be an attempt to compare the visions of *bushidō* depicted in these two texts.

*Hagakure* (葉隠れ) – translated as 'Hidden in the leaves' is a compilation of short stories and anecdotes written between 1710 and 1716 by Tashiro Tsunetomo from the oral transmission of Yamamoto Jin'uemon Tsunetomo (1659-1719)<sup>1</sup>,

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<sup>1</sup> Yamamoto Tsunetomo, the author of *Hagakure*, was born in a respected samurai house. His grandfather and father were loyal and influential vassals of daimyō Nabeshima. Even though all his life he aspired to be a real warrior, he never had the chance to because of the times he was born in. He was a personal servant of his lord, Nabeshima Mitsushige and later, his secretary and scribe, but he never had an opportunity to demonstrate his martial skills on the battlefield. After the death of his lord, he left active service and moved to a Buddhist monastery where he became a monk and obtained the name 'Jōchō' (Chinese reading of the kanji from his name Tsunetomo).

a vassal of Nabeshima Mitsushige (1632-1700), daimyō of the Saga han. The original manuscript of *Hagakure* was lost and until contemporary times approximately 40 copies of the text remained which – in various versions and with various commentaries were spread among the vassals of the Nabeshima house. Such a large number of versions caused much confusion regarding the translations – not only into the western languages but even into contemporary Japanese. The text also has a few different titles, such as *Hagakure kikigaki* ‘Overheard stories hidden in the leaves’, *Hagakureshū* ‘Compilation hidden in the leaves’, *Hagakure rongo* ‘Teachings hidden in the leaves’, *Nabeshima rongo* ‘Teachings of the house of Nabeshima’). Also the name of the author is not precise because it can be found written as Yamamoto Tsunetomo or Yamamoto Jōchō, which was the name he had taken after becoming a Buddhist monk. The end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries – the time when Tsunetomo lived – was a time of brilliance in the reign of the Tokugawa shōguns, under which Japan developed for over 250 years as a country free from military conflict. Samurai born in the time of the Edo period were more bureaucrats than warriors. Tsunetomo and other samurai from his generation knew battles only from stories, not from their own experiences, although – paradoxically – it was the flowering time of the schools of *kenjutsu* and other martial arts.

The original corpus of the text consists of 11 scrolls called ‘kikigaki’ – ‘overheard stories’. The book is introduced by a preface entitled ‘Night idle talk’ (*Yain no kandan*) which was written by Tsunetomo himself. Two first scroll deals with short teachings and thoughts of Tsunetomo. The third scroll includes stories about Nabeshima Naoshige, the founder of Nabeshima domain, the fourth – about Nabeshima Katsushige, the first ruler of the domain, the fifth – about Nabeshima Mitsushige and Tsunashige, accordingly the second and the third daimyō. The fifth scroll is almost wholly a chronicle of Nabeshima domain and is often omitted in contemporary editions because it doesn’t have any information interesting for today’s reader. The sixth scroll includes stories compiled from the whole Nabeshima domain and the next three scrolls consist of stories of various vassals of the Nabeshima house. The tenth scroll includes stories about vassals from other provinces and the eleventh is an appendix that consists of texts that don’t consort with the other chapters of the book<sup>2</sup>.

The history of the 46 retainers<sup>3</sup> from Akō, which is known in Japanese culture as *Chūshingura* (“The Treasury of Loyal Retainers”) was incorporated into the col-

<sup>2</sup> Oike 1999: 46–48.

<sup>3</sup> In fact, the group of ‘loyal retainers’ was composed of 46 members, not 47 as it could be found in some sources, because one of the warriors, Terasaka Kichiemon was excluded from the group and he was not arrested (Bitō 2003: 165). Other sources state that Terasaka ran away from the place where the action took place in order to carry the message about what had happened to Akō (Ikegami 1997: 224).

lective consciousness of the Japanese and exists as an epic tale about loyal retainers who in the name of faithfulness to their late master decided to take revenge on his enemy. The history of their action, reinterpreted and re-imagined became the base for innumerable plays, novels, movies, manga, anime and even ballet performances and operas. To the present day the theme of the 46 samurai vendetta seems to be an endless source of inspiration for creators not only in Japan but also abroad. In Japan, *Chūshingura* has gained the status of a national legend and the avengers themselves became heroes called *gishi* ('righteous man', 'righteous warrior'), which was indicating the approval of their deed. *Gishi* were glorified by the masses from the moment of their death.<sup>4</sup> To date, even though over three centuries have passed, the kabuki play *Kanadehon Chūshingura*, based on the story of the 46 samurai, is staged every year on Japanese stages and invariably attracts many viewers. *Chūshingura*, the title under which it was incorporated into the Japanese literature<sup>5</sup> was written by Takeda Izumo II (1691-1756), Namiki Senryū (1695-1751) and Miyoshi Shōraku (1696-1772). Izumo created the outline of the plot and was supervising the entire play. The two other co-authors were responsible for the other parts of the play. Such a system of multiple authorship was often practiced at that time<sup>6</sup>. *Chūshingura* was originally written as a puppet play and soon after that it was adopted into kabuki. The origins in the puppet theater could lead to the stereotyping of characters because by such medium as a puppet and its limited ways of expression, it was very difficult to present subtle differences between the characters. The adaptation of the play by the kabuki theater enabled it to exceed those limits, but the modification of the original text was unavoidable. Such modifications concerned for example, omitting some parts and extending the others in order to exploit the possibilities in kabuki for spectacular stage effects or to make a particular effect on the viewer. Individual actors could also transform each character with their own personal characteristics, something that was not possible in a puppet play<sup>7</sup>. *Chūshingura*, from the moment it was staged the first time as a puppet play, became an immediate success. When it was adopted by the kabuki theater it began to be staged in Ōsaka, Kyōto and then in Edo. As time passed the story of the 46 rōnin from Akō stopped being perceived as a taboo and theaters did not have any problems with the bakufu's censorship. The play was gaining popularity not only in Japan but also abroad. In 1794 it was translated into Chinese and in 1880 – into German and English. The story's power of influence was

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<sup>4</sup> To the present day they are worshipped in the Kagakuji (the Asano House's family temple, at the present time in Hyōgo prefecture), where their graves are located.

<sup>5</sup> The full title: *Kanadehon Chūshingura* literally means 'a copybook of kana' and could refer to the number of retainers who participated in the vendetta (with the 47th retainer who in fact did not take part) or it could suggest that the play was written in kana.

<sup>6</sup> Hattori 2008: 89–94.

<sup>7</sup> Takeda, Miyoshi & Namiki 1971: 22–24.

so strong that Japanese theaters staged it whenever in financial straits because it was a guaranteed success. There always were viewers wanting to see it.

The aim of this article is to analyze and compare two visions of the ideal warrior that emerge from these two 18th century texts and present the differences between them while presenting the values of *bushidō*. In both texts the concept of 'the way of the warrior' is presented as referring to the medieval type of samurai ethics that glorified and legitimized the aggressive and violent actions. However, there are meaningful differences between these two visions and they will be presented during the comparison.

### **The emergence of the term *bushidō* and the situation of warriors in the Edo period**

The term *bushidō* translated as "the way of the warrior" is used in the meaning of samurai ethics or a kind of unwritten code of behavior existing among Japanese warriors. Although it is believed that *bushidō* was created along with the process of the emerging of the samurai class in Japan, in fact until the Edo period it was not in common use. But it does not mean that there was not any code or way of life commonly regarded by warriors as righteous and proper. In spite of the fact that it had not become a systematized ideology, it was always present in collective samurai's consciousness and its evidence was not words but performed actions<sup>8</sup>. Numerous terms were used to name the samurai ethics, for example *shidō* – 'the way of the noble man', *samuraidō*, - 'the way of samurai' *bushi no michi* – 'the way of the warrior', *mononofu no michi* – 'the way of the warrior', *masurao no michi* – 'the way of the hero', *tsuwamono no michi* – 'the way of the soldier', *yumiya no michi* – 'the way of bow and arrows', *musha no narai* – 'the customs of the warrior', *yumiya toru mi no narai* – 'the customs of that who hold the bows and arrows'<sup>9</sup>. Medieval samurai did not contemplate the condition of the warrior and the function he should have in Japanese society because they simply did not have time for that. In the times when no one could be sure what will happen the next day, philosophical considerations were a luxury no one could afford. In such circumstances the only way to express one's values and present opinions was with action. A warrior expressed his own value system by his actions – they were the proof that he was doing right. When the great peace of the Tokugawa period began, warriors engaged thus far in fighting and unsure what the future would bring, were able to put away swords and consider what it meant to be a samurai. An additional impulse for such considerations was no doubt the fact that their role in the

<sup>8</sup> Ikegami 1997: 278.

<sup>9</sup> Takahashi 1987: 38–40.

society had changed diametrically. That new role could be fully expressed with the term *bunbu ryōdō* (文武両道), 'the way of the brush and sword'<sup>10</sup>. The ideal of *bunbu ryōdō* was connected with an entirely new group in samurai society that emerged in the Tokugawa period – a group of warrior-intellectuals who, in spite of the fact that they were still carrying a sword by their sides, did not have many occasions to use it and more often they took up a brush to write<sup>11</sup>. The peace that was brought to Japan for over 250 years with the Tokugawa bakufu initiated a flourishing development of culture and art in every field. The samurai class has also participated in that development, not only as patrons but also as distinguished authors who exchanged their swords with brushes. When they had become bureaucrats in the administrative machine of Tokugawa bakufu, their status and function in Japanese society also has changed. Toward such great change warriors had to redefine their social position and to find themselves a place in that new social order. For this reason the Edo period abounds in numerous literary and philosophical works considering the warrior's condition, his role in society and duties incumbent upon them in that society. Along with the spread of the term *bushidō*, that term began to be used as the name of the set of ethic rules which everyone of righteousness should follow.

A significant impact on the consideration of the warrior's moral code was made at that time by Zen Buddhism and Neo-Confucianism. Zen was associated with samurai from the moment it was brought to Japan in the 12th century. From the warrior's point of view it was a very attractive philosophy that was ideally adapted to his needs and was answering dilemmas emerging in his mind. In turbulent medieval times and the Warring States period teachings calling for an indifferent approach to the matter of life and death, valuing action higher than words was comforting to the warrior's minds. It was also showing them how to follow their path. Because of the fact that the practice of martial art (especially swordsmanship) was one of the ways to achieve enlightenment, even in the peaceful Edo period Zen had many followers and disciples among the samurai class.

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<sup>10</sup> The idea of *bunbu ryōdō* was created long ago before the Edo period for the expression describing the ideal form of warrior's education. This term was used regarding well-educated samurai – the one who was practicing swordsmanship along with the art of poetry, painting or other fine arts. Nowadays this term is used to describe comprehensive education in Japan – the education concerning the mind and the body, the cultivation of the mind along with sports training, generally martial arts.

<sup>11</sup> Although the Edo period warriors did not have any occasion to test their own martial proficiency on the battlefield, paradoxically that period was a flourishing time for the development of schools of swordsmanship and other martial arts schools (Agata Koszółko, *Historia drogi miecza (kendō) w Japonii*, (The history of the way of the sword (kendō) in Japan), [in:] Agnieszka Kozyra (ed.) 2013. *W kręgu wartości kultury Japonii*. W 140. rocznicę urodzin Nishidy Kitarō (1870-1945). Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego. Pp: 355–369).

The other philosophy that had a great influence on the formation of the samurai's ethical code was Neo-Confucianism<sup>12</sup>. In spite of the fact that its role is often exaggerated in that process, it could not be disclaimed that it was a great factor forming the samurai mentality. Neo-Confucianism was entrenched and legitimizing existing social order in Japan of that time with the supreme position of the samurai class. By the affirmation of the virtue of public and collective loyalty and responsibility it was entrenching the feudal structures of bakufu. It was also relocating the focus from the military aspect of samurai culture to the more intellectual aspect aimed at education and administration<sup>13</sup>. On the basis of those two philosophies intellectualists from the Edo period were explaining the role of warrior in society and presenting his privileges and duties. Neo-Confucian philosophers described a warrior as a 'noble man' who because of his inner moral virtues had the right to rule the rest of the society. Zen on the other hand taught how to maintain the military spirit in times when warriors did not have chance to stand on the battlefield. Such considerations on the samurai ethics or the warrior's code which later began to be called *bushidō* could be found in two literary works from the Edo period - *Hagakure* by Yamamoto Tsunetomo and *Kanadehon Chūshingura* which was written by three dramatists - Takeda Izumo, Miyoshi Shōraku and Namiki Senryū. Although the ideas regarding the warrior's condition in some aspects are different, they present important reflections on the Edo period concept of *bushidō*.

### Yamamoto Tsunetomo's teaching in *Hagakure*

For nearly 200 years the contents of Tsunetomo's *Hagakure* were known only among the vassals of the house of Nabeshima, because his views on samurai ethics were too radical to be presented to a larger audience. The radical philosophy of *Hagakure* as well as the unforgiving criticism of the contemporary world of local politics that Tsunetomo stated made *Hagakure* a very 'dangerous' book. It was not allowed to be published or widely known by the bakufu authorities. Because of that the author attached a note to the manuscript: 'After reading, this 11-chaptered book should be burned'. Tsuramoto, the editor, felt that *Hagakure* was too precious and did not obey his teacher's order. In Saga han, reading *Hagakure* was not prohibited, but on the other hand, it was not recommended<sup>14</sup>. In such a way the book was handed down until the end of the Tokugawa period. It was transcribed secretly, by

<sup>12</sup> The term 'Neo-Confucianism' was used in the meaning of philosophical movements that proposed the return to the original teachings of Confucius and the rejection of all the other ideas from Buddhism and Taoism. The representatives of that movement in Japan were the schools of *yōmeigaku* and *shushigaku*. (Blocker & Starling 2008: 80–81)

<sup>13</sup> Ikegami 1997: 299–301.

<sup>14</sup> Ikegami 1997: 279–280.

supporters and volunteers, within the Saga clan and among people who had some relation to the Saga. On the other hand, because of that fact, contained within it, the written history of the Nabeshima house and the Saga han was included, from an educational point of view it was a very valuable literary work for young warriors from the Saga han<sup>15</sup>. Upon the new era of Meiji, *Hagakure* was printed and so made widely available.

### The practice of *junshi*

For Tsunetomo and others like him, looking for bravery and fame on the battlefield was something unrealistic. What is more, Tsunetomo could not even end his life by *junshi* – suicide committed after the death of one's master and was customarily done as the proof of one's lifelong loyalty towards the lord. In Tsunetomo's situation such an act was impossible because Nabeshima Mitsushige prohibited that practice in 1661 after it was discovered in the Saga han that 36 vassals of his uncle were planning to commit *junshi* after their lord's death. Short after that the procedure of *junshi* was officially prohibited by the bakufu. Acts of *junshi* appeared sporadically in the middle ages, but back then they were suicides of samurai who lost their masters in the battle. At the beginning of the 17th century that custom had returned and became kind of a fashion among the warriors. What is more – it was considered normal behavior for samurai whose service was specially appreciated by the master. There are several reasons why *junshi* was committed. First, but rather not praiseworthy, was the calculated desire to gain fame after death by the samurai who wanted to be remembered as a loyal and faithful servant of his lord. It had also material profit, because very often the heirs and the family left behind by such samurai were rewarded for his services. More often *junshi* was the way to demonstrate the military art of a warrior and sometimes it was the only occasion to show one's own martial proficiency in the times of peace, although it was directed upon oneself. *Junshi* could also be interpreted as the most extreme form of protest of the samurai, who – inserted into the frames of control of the Tokugawa bakufu – were forced to refrain from their traditional forms of demonstrating their aggression (eg. while solving conflicts or taking revenge). The moral dilemma of the samurai from that time, considered also on the pages of *Hagakure*, was the fact that the samurai – although he was incorporated into the political structure of the state and did not have any economical base which could maintain his independence (as it was in the middle ages), was obliged ethically to oppose the laws of that organization when they endangered his own sense of honor.

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<sup>15</sup> Yamamoto 2012: 108–109.



It had created a very paradoxical situation when – for example – in the case of conflict (*kenka*)- adhering to the law and abandoning the violence was exposing a warrior to a shameful term of *fukaku* ('lack of attention', 'negligence') and meant the betrayal of one's own honor. On the other hand – behaving according to the sense of samurai honor was the same as breaking the ruling laws. The conflict emerged in situations when the sense of honor collided with the sense of law. The ethical dilemma samurai were facing in such a situation was unsolvable from the logical point of view, because the choice of any of that way had fatal consequences – most often it ended by sentencing on committing seppuku by the authorities of the bakufu or by one's own sense of honor and the desire to avoid shame. That is the reason why Tsunetomo considers *junshi* as the only solution in such situation, because according to him the best decision is to choose death and to leave honorably as a warrior. In his opinion shame is much worse than death. Suicide by *junshi* was the act of relieving that frustration which samurai suffered from in the times of changing social and political circumstances. It was also a manifestation of their absolute freedom and the right to decide about their own life and death in situations that could be perceived as hopeless and unmanageable.

Another reason for committing the act of *junshi* by the samurai in the 17th century could be a homosexual relationship between the vassal and his master and the seppuku committed after the lord's death by his servant was interpreted as a suicide out of love. According to some researchers, homosexual relationships were often helping in creating the sense of solidarity in samurai armies<sup>16</sup> and in such cases the act of *junshi* was the point where love and death met, hidden under the official ideology of loyalty. Such expression of one's personal loyalty towards his senior was blatantly contradictory to the official politics and laws of the Tokugawa bakufu. The bakufu, leaning on the Neo-Confucian philosophy whose principles were modified for its own politics, showed the clear path that the samurai of the new era should follow. Samurai – according to the bakufu– were not only warriors now, but they became bureaucrats incorporated into the administrative machine of the Tokugawa bakufu. They were compared to sages or 'noble men' who had the right to rule Japanese society because of their inner moral virtues. What is more, they were presented as a moral standard for the rest of the society<sup>17</sup>. (Ikegami 2011, p. 313-314) All aspects connected with the martial spirit that was creating 'the way of the warrior' (*bushidō*) have lost their significance from the point of view of new philosophy. Expressing the samurai identity in Neo-Confucian categories caused the reevaluation of moral standards in Neo-Confucian spirit. The teachings of that philosophy and its ideal of 'noble man' were contrary to the traditional samurai identity, for example by prohibiting *junshi*. The major virtues

<sup>16</sup> Leup 1995: 48–51.

<sup>17</sup> Ikegami 1997: 310–312.

stemming from that philosophy and popularized by the bakufu were for example the organizational loyalty, hierarchical social ethics, the sense of social duty, the cultivation of self-discipline or inner integrity and benevolence on which the idea of 'noble man' was based. The virtue of loyalty and faithfulness was totally redefined, because from now on the object of one's loyalty was the impersonal organization that was the country, not the person of one's own master. The ideological obedience towards the superior replaced the emotional bonds between the vassal and his senior. In the society of the Tokugawa period the militant samurai ethos had been successively 'tamed' and toned down by the restrictions and law regulations of the Tokugawa bakufu. Neo-Confucianism was to a certain extent one of the tools to control society.

### The idea of *kage no hōkō* and *shinobu koi*

Yamamoto Tsunetomo was also planning to commit *junshi* when his master passed away, but Nabeshima Mitsushige strongly disagreed and eventually the author of *Hagakure* stayed alive after his master's death, something he deeply regrets on the pages of *Hagakure*. Tsunetomo, criticizing the vision of the samurai popularized by the bakufu: a warrior-bureaucrat, considers the redefinition of the relation between the master and his vassal. He creates the concept of service as a 'hidden love' (*shinobu koi*) or 'service in the shadow' (*kage no hōkō*), which means the service without appreciation. Tsunetomo proposed the return to the typical ideals from the middle ages, alive and emotional bonds connecting a senior and his vassal and depreciated the infiltrated with Neo-Confucian thought, impersonal relation characteristic for the Tokugawa period. However, the vision of the relationships he proposed was not an unconditional copying of the old customs. Tsunetomo rejected the idea of the vassal relationship as exchange: repaying the debt of gratitude to the master (*goon*) with one's service (*hōkō*)<sup>18</sup>. He proposed the total devotion to the master without expecting appreciation from him. The difference between the status of samurai from the middle ages and the contemporary status for Tsunetomo was the social and economical independence like the middle-aged warriors who were not so tightly bound to the bakufu. In exchange of their military service they gained privileges and material profits from the senior. Tsunetomo rejects such kind of relationship as tainted with low motives and being contrary to the selfless, emotional attachment to one's master. He glorifies the totally subordinate position of samurai from the Tokugawa period, who – according to his vision – should serve the master with unwavering loyalty and abandon their own egocentric nature. The other category that should characterize the ideal warrior from the point of view

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<sup>18</sup> Ikegami 1997: 288.

of the author of *Hagakure* was *shinobu koi* – ‘the hidden love’. Tsunetomo explains that it is love without revealing one’s feelings and without expecting any reciprocation. In order to attain such form of service the ideal samurai, servant of his senior, should not expect any reward – material or honorary – from his master. He should not even wish his master to know about his true faithfulness and service. According to some theories the title *Hagakure* – ‘Hidden in the leaves’ comes from that term. *Shinobu koi* could be also interpreted more literally, in terms of homosexual relationship between a lord and his retainer. As it was stated before, such relationships often occurred in samurai armies but they also existed in feudal terms between a feudal master and a servant<sup>19</sup>. ‘Hidden love’ or ‘service without appreciation’ which in *Hagakure* are presented as the ideals of the relationship between the vassal and his master in an unexpected way emphasize the free will of a person who decides to serve the other person. It could be seen as a paradox, because how could someone who subordinates himself absolutely to another person be free? But in fact it is an affirmation of freedom, because the samurai who served his master, was doing it from his own free will. He used his right to decide about his life. It is also an affirmation of individualistic and assertive sense of a warrior’s self-esteem. When the loyalty and service were redefined as ‘hidden love’, the attitude of obedience became the inner virtue of honor and dignity.

### *Shinigurui* and the worship of death

In his opinion it could be attained by *shinigurui*, not very fortunately translated as the ‘death frenzy’, – obsessive thinking about one’s death and mentally preparing for it, which should create the inner discipline characterizing the true warrior. Such practice was not something unknown and strange for the samurai because – considering their role in the society – their life was constantly in danger and they were aware that they could die in every moment : in fight on the battlefield or by the hand of an assassin. From that reason in Japanese poetry a warrior was compared to a cherry blossom because the life of a samurai was short and passing as the beauty of cherry blossom. Warriors found the solace in practicing Zen, which – because of its specific form and teachings perfectly satisfied their spiritual needs. According to Zen thought the enlightenment could be attained by the changing of one’s perspective of perceiving oneself and the surrounding world. In the effect, the fear of death was diminished and the warrior could attain the ideal state of mind - without any thought, emotions or doubts, which was the most important for example during the fight - the most critical moment in warrior’s life. Yamamoto Tsunetomo also practiced Zen, as many other samurai from Edo period. But the

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<sup>19</sup> Leup 1995: 51–55.

significant difference between them and the warriors from for example Sengoku period (15th- 16th century) was that Tsunetomo and him alike did not have to fear for their life because they lived in peaceful times of Tokugawa period when two samurai swords became more the symbol of their status or to some extent just a decoration than a weapon. Tsunetomo was aware of that and that is why he stated that especially in such times warriors should cultivate their martial spirit and preserve their identity. *Shinigurui* was a mean to maintain their samuraihood by constant thought of fight and potential death. *Hagakure* could be interpreted as a book written by disappointed samurai who tries as hard as he can to understand the changing reality of his life by reviving the world which does not exist anymore but which was – in his opinion – the world of the true warriors. But it is not only the criticism of the present and the glorifying the past but an attempt to revive the samurai spirit. Tsunetomo tries to emphasize the moral autonomy of samurai with confirming the absolute authority of his master. In such situation the total loyalty towards one's senior becomes the independent choice of the warrior who decides to serve the master because of his 'hidden love', without expecting any reward or appreciation. Although the ruling laws should be abide – as Tsunetomo states - if the time comes and the law endangers the samurai honor– one should follow the 'way of warrior' and chose death.

## The ideal of samurai in *Chūshingura*

### The revenge of loyal vassals from Akō

That whole story, widely known in Japan as *Akō jiken* ('The Akō incident')<sup>20</sup> can be divided into two parts – two stages or from the other point of view – into the factor which initiated it, the cause, and the after-effects or consequences which it brought about. It all began in the spring of fourteen year of Genroku era, on the fourteenth day of the third month (21th April 1701 according to the solar calendar). On that day the daimyō of Akō han (present Hyōga prefecture), Asano Takumi no kami Naganori (1667-1701) without warning attacked Kira Kōzuke no suke Yoshinaka (1641-1703) in shōgun's Edo castle. On that particular day, Kira Yoshinaka served as *kōke*<sup>21</sup> - the senior bakufu master of ceremony was attacked

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<sup>20</sup> Apart from the term 'Akō jiken' ('the Akō incident'), the name 'Akō ikken' ('the Akō case') was used, but it was known in society also as 'chūshingura' ('the treasury of loyal retainers') and 'chūshingura no jiken' ('the incident concerning the treasury of loyal retainers'). (Hattori 2008: 8)

<sup>21</sup> *Kōke* was a high bakufu official who was responsible for supervising the etiquette and proper ceremony in relations between bakufu and the imperial court. Houses which had been appointed *kōke* were treated as daimyō although they had low stipends.

by Asano with wakizashi<sup>22</sup>. Although Kira's wounds turn out to be superficial and not life-threatening, that incident brought about tragic consequences for Asano and his house, because of the place and circumstances it took place. It was a serious violation of law and etiquette and disruption of order within Edo castle. It could interrupt the course of official ceremony and negatively influence the image of shōgun Tokugawa Tsunayoshi (1646-1709), dedicated supporter of Confucianism. Tsunayoshi was deeply shocked by that incident, imposed penalty on Asano Naganori and his whole house. Naganori himself was sentenced to commit seppuku, his lands and properties were confiscated, his house (lineage) was terminated and retainers dismissed from the service that meant they became *rōnin*, a masterless samurai. The sentence was carried immediately and on the same day, in evening, Asano Naganori committed seppuku. The shōgun's decision was criticized for being too rash and inconsiderate, because he made it by himself, without consulting with the *rōjū*<sup>23</sup>, the elders council. The members of the *rōjū* asked Tsunayoshi for time to investigate the incident, but the shōgun was so enraged at Asano for such behavior that he ordered him to commit seppuku the same day he was arrested. Beside this hastiness, also the strictness of the punishment was criticized, because the sentence of seppuku passed to a daimyō was very severe punishment practiced when really serious crimes were committed<sup>24</sup>. (Matsushima 1964, p. 14-19) But the most serious accusation regarding the sentence, which from the beginning is a matter of discussion, is the fact that the punishment was one-sided and concerned only Asano. It meant that it was incompatible with the *kenka ryōseibai* ('equally severe punishment for both sides of conflict, despite the cause') rule. *Kenka ryōseibai* was a rule which was created in the Sengoku period to prevent the practice of administrating the justice on one's own when it came to conflicts or fights between two warriors. With the beginning of the Tokugawa period it gained the status of a law, widely approved and accepted by samurai society. It is believed that it was a way to subordinate retainers and restrain their autonomy by powerful lords and a process of establishing their rule as public authorities in their provinces<sup>25</sup>. The foundation for the *kenka ryōseibai* rule was the fact that with the application of that rule, there was no space for evaluating what was right and what was not.

<sup>22</sup> Wakizashi is kind of short sword. It was carried with the longer sword daitō and was a subsidiary weapon used in some conditions for fighting in short distance. In the shōgun's castle in Edo carrying the daitō was prohibited so the wakizashi was the only weapon warriors could carry there.

<sup>23</sup> *Rōjū* – 'the elders council' was an administrative organ of bakufu and has numerous responsibilities. It was controlling daimyō, supervising all lower administrative organs and as a supreme court it was arbitrating cases concerning daimyō and temples. Decisions of *rōjū* were announced as collective and depended on the shōgun's approval. (Tubielewicz 1984: 272)

<sup>24</sup> Matsushima 1964: 14–19.

<sup>25</sup> Ikegami 1997: 138–141.

It was not important to consider the motives of the sides, the possible cause of the conflict or to decide where (on which side) to locate the blame. Regardless of the fact of who was responsible for the *kenka* and what the reason was, both sides of the conflict were punished. Because it was only Asano who was punished for that which happened, and Kira was not only declared innocent but also treated with care, as a simple victim by the shōgun. The bakufu offered him words of sympathy, declaring that he would not be charged and tend to heal his wounds<sup>26</sup>. For Asano's retainers and many other samurai the verdict was perceived as unfair and one-sided. The other question is if the incident could be qualified as *kenka* or not and consequently – if the rule of *kenka ryōseibai* should be applied. There are various opinions but the most common states that the conflict between Asano and Kira should not be regarded as *kenka*. The proof confirming that could be the statement of Kajikawa Yoriteru<sup>27</sup>, the eyewitness, who testified that the assaulted Kira was not defending – he did not even touch his sword when Asano attacked him<sup>28</sup>. Although that fact could justify the bakufu's interpretation of the incident and such judgment, it doesn't present Kira and his attitude very well. While it may be true that it does not amount to a fight if one side flees, the basic assumption is that no proper warrior would ever flee. Such behavior could be seen as the lack of martial proficiency or simple cowardice. Kira disobeyed the warrior code and its ethics where the fundamental rule was to defend oneself when attacked. From that aspect his behavior was unworthy of a warrior and he also deserved punishment. But Tokugawa Tsunayoshi, willing to show the society how deeply he valued the law and order, declared Kira innocent and punished only Asano.

It's no wonder that resolving the matter in such way by the bakufu was not approved by Asano's retainers. The shōgun's decision was criticized and hard to acknowledge in Akō han. Public opinion was divided regarding that sentence and some officials even considered it unfair and too severe. Among the various ambiguities concerning that incident the most unclear seems to be the fundamental issue – the cause of the young daimyō attack on an elder *kōke*, which initiated the chain reaction of events. After the incident the authorities probably tried to find out what provoked Asano to such reaction, but no word of explanation that could be the reason of his attack exists in documents that remain from that time.

We know that Asano had been harboring anger against Kira, and we are left to conjecture that his action was probably not the result of a sudden impulse. Even the letter written to his retainers before death does not explain his motives. It is not clear if the samurai from Akō knew the reason that lead their master to such

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<sup>26</sup> Bitō 2003: 153–154.

<sup>27</sup> Kajikawa Yoriteru (known also as Kajikawa Yosobei), an eyewitness, was serving as a supervisory official in the woman's quarters of Edo castle.

<sup>28</sup> Bitō 2003: 153–154.

dramatic action but they were meaningless for them or they did not know them at all. The words Asano shouted to Kira while attacking him, quoted by Kajikawa, could prove that the daimyō from Akō indeed bore some grudge toward Kira. Asano admitted that his action was revenge for something Kira did to him ‘these past days’. What could it be? While precise explanation could not be found in historical sources, numerous hypotheses began to fill this gap and give an answer. The standard explanation has become that Asano failed to give an appropriate bribe to Kira in return for his guidance in matters of etiquette, so Kira became offended and began to treat him disrespectfully. The other theory doesn’t mention the bribe but explains that Kira, from the very beginning treated Asano disrespectfully and with disdain as an unmannered country samurai. Asano could not bear such an offence any longer and attacked him. But the theory that seems to be most accurate and possible is very trivial and simple. The young (he was 34 when he died) and inexperienced daimyō from Akō was known for his impatience and for how easily he could get angry. It may well be that boastful Kira Yoshinaka, who prided himself on his experience and knowledge of court etiquette, had become haughty and acted in such a way that Asano felt offended<sup>29</sup>. He could not halt his anger and wanted to take revenge on Kira, which he almost accomplished.

Whatever the real motives of Asano, it all ended fatally for him, his retainers and the entire Asano house. Such severe punishment was considered a great injustice, and soon after the day Asano committed seppuku, his retainers began to seek out a way to restore the good name of their master.

The shōgun’s decision was considered highly unfair in Akō. The retainers remaining in Edo castle were complaining that staying beneath the same sky with their masters’ enemy was unbearable. At the beginning, two factions emerged among the former Asano vassals. The first, conservative group under the leadership of Ōishi Kuranosuke Yoshitaka<sup>30</sup>, the head of Akō han *rōjū*. That group was aiming at the restoration of the house (*ōie*<sup>31</sup>) of Asano. It could be possible if his younger brother, Asano Nagahiro (Asano Daigaku) was allowed to inherit the title after his late brother<sup>32</sup>. On the other hand, the radical group represented for example by Horibe Yasubei was standing for military action. At first, they were planning to refuse to surrender the Akō castle to the bakufu and follow their master in death by committing *junshi* at Kagakuji, the Asano family temple in Akō. Ōishi oppo-

<sup>29</sup> Matsushima 1964: 10–13.

<sup>30</sup> Or Ōishi Kuranosuke Yoshio as his name could be also read.

<sup>31</sup> *Oie* (literary ‘the great house’, ‘the noble house’) was not only an honorific term used while speaking about the house of the senior but it also meant the organization of the daimyō’s house with his retainers. (Ikegami 1997: 226)

<sup>32</sup> Asano Daigaku, who in the bakufu’s opinion was considered complicit in the crime of his older brother, was sentenced to domiciliary confinement (*heimon*) the same day Naganori committed seppuku. He was released after 7 months (Bitō 2003: 156–157)

sed such a solution and sent a petition to the bakufu inspectors who had been appointed as the receivers of Akō castle. He expressed dissatisfaction with the bakufu judgment and asked to ‘take some sort of measures that the retainers will find satisfactory’<sup>33</sup>. It is not clear what sort of measures it could be – the restoration of the Asano house or some sort of punishment for Kira. Unfortunately, the petition was turned down.

The difference of opinion between the conservative and the radical group existed over the matter of how best to defend their honor. Whereas the radical group was anxious for a quick strike against Kira, the conservative group pointed out that it would preserve their honor if the house of Asano were to be restored. The bakufu did not allow Asano Daigaku to inherit the title after his older brother so it became clear for all the retainers that the only remaining way to vindicate their honor was to carry out their lord’s wishes and kill Kira. For the conservative faction the highest value was the continuity of the Asano house and the honor of *ōie*. They were presenting the ‘organizational’ kind of loyalty towards the *ōie* as an that which was the part of the state. From that point of view the honor of an individual could not exist separated from the honor of the organization they were incorporated into – the house and the state. On the other hand the radical faction was following the individual sense of loyalty separated from any kind of organizational structures and the category of honor in a more private meaning. As Ikegami states, these two different attitudes describe two distinct ideals of samurai-hood – the ideal of the medieval samurai who was characterized by the emotional concept of loyalty and aggressive, militant heroism and modern warrior of Tokugawa period functioning as a part of the state organization who tied his individual sense of honor in with the organizational honor<sup>34</sup>.

This militant heroism could be seen clearly in the text of *Chūshingura*, in act four when the former retainers of Enya Hangan (Asano Naganori) are talking after their master’s death about avenging him by killing Ki no Moronao (Kira Yoshinaka). One of the rōnin, Yuranosuke, states:

“Blood of our late master spilled out on the point of this sword. This *tantō* (short sword) preserves his free spirit. With this sword we will cut off Moronao’s head and accomplish our purpose”<sup>35</sup>.

Although such action was against the law, the retainers were willing to violate it in order to avenge their master’s honor.

<sup>33</sup> Bitō 2003: 158.

<sup>34</sup> Ikegami 1997: 226–231.

<sup>35</sup> 此鋒には。我君の御血をあやし。御無念の魂を残されし九寸五分。此刀にて師直が。首かき切て本意をとげん。(Takeda, Miyoshi, Namiki 1937: 49)



Ōishi was against the plans of the radicals who at the beginning were planning to oppose the bakufu inspectors and commit *junshi* because it could cause further negative consequences for the Asano house and for Asano Daigaku himself who in Ōishi's opinion was the last hope for the Asano house (*junshi* was prohibited by that time)<sup>36</sup>. By petitions he was trying to save the honor of the Asano house but all of them were turned down by bakufu officials and Daigaku was not allowed to inherit the title after his brother. Facing such a turn of events the conservative faction agreed for the solution proposed by the radicals and the preparations for their revenge began.

The preparation took almost two years and at last during the night of December 14th 1702, the group of 46 former retainers of Asano Naganori attacked the mansion of Kira Yoshinaka in Edo. They killed him, took his head and offered it before the grave of their lord in Sengakuji temple. They had written a manifesto in which they explained that their deed were supposed to be an act of honorable revenge (*katakiuchi*) of their master, Asano Naganori and an expression of their loyalty towards him. But the revenge carried out by them could not be described as a classical *katakiuchi* and until the present date there are discussions among researchers if the assassination of Kira from 14.12.1702 should be considered *katakiuchi* and justified as a fulfillment of samurai duties. Where are these differences located? First of all, *katakiuchi*, which was a deep-rooted tradition among the samurai class, was customarily practiced by the close relatives of the victim, for example a son or brother, and was executed after previous registration in an adequate institution<sup>37</sup>. In the case of the 46 retainers such conditions were not met. First of all, the rōnin were not related to Asano Naganori. If someone could have the right to avenge Naganori it would be his brother, Asano Daigaku, not his retainers. Secondly, the attack of such a numerous and well organized group of avengers who for almost two years planned the whole action was something unprecedented in the history of practicing the *katakiuchi*. Because of that some of the bakufu officials who were investigating the incident accused the rōnin of breaking one of the articles from

<sup>36</sup> Bitō 2003: 156–157.

<sup>37</sup> There was an institution of 'registered revenge' in the Tokugawa state. It was a right that allowed for executing an act of revenge for the murder of one's close relative in a situation when the perpetrator avoided punishment (eg. by escaping from the crime scene). The avengers were most often the closest male relatives – sons, brothers, nephews, but the majority of such institutionally registered revenge was carried out by sons of killed parents (especially fathers). In order to act on the revenge, the avenger applied for permission to his daimyō and then the daimyō applied to the shōgunate. After the approval, authorities enrolled the avenger's and his helper's names in the official 'list of avengers' and they in essence received a kind of 'license to kill' – a right to kill the murderer wherever he was because it was respected in the whole country. The right to revenge was a way to defend the honor of one's own family in the Tokugawa state and one of the few occasions to manifest a military power by samurai during those times. (Ikegami 1997: 242–247)

the code *Buke shohatto*<sup>38</sup> concerning the prohibition of forming a conspiracy. But the opinions among the investigators were divided and eventually that accusation was withdrawn because some of the officials were sympathizing with the avengers and were favorable towards them<sup>39</sup>. In the end, on February 4th 1703 they were sentenced to death by seppuku, it was executed on March 20th.

The events named later as the 'Akō jiken' came as a great shock to the entire samurai society of that time. It became clear that values of medieval *bushidō* ethics such as individual sense of honor or loyalty towards the master rather than towards the state were still alive in the society of warriors. The 46 retainers were perceived as the embodiment of those values and soon became glorified for their deeds.

### Yamamoto Tsunetomo's evaluation of the 46 retainers actions

Various opinions concerning the revenge of the 46 retainers appeared during the investigation and after their execution the discussion became even more heated. Society divided into two groups – those who condemned them and the others who praised their deeds. The group of critics consisted mainly of the bakufu officials and Confucian scholars, especially Ogyū Sorai (1666 - 1728)<sup>40</sup>. It is said that his opinion strongly influenced the shōgun's decision concerning the case of the 46 rōnin. The most serious charge was that the avengers broke the law by attacking Kira's mansion and disrupted the order. The retainers avenging their master were not following the law – their deed was against the law. According to the critics opinion, they were not following the principles of loyalty towards the master from the warrior's code either but egoistically wanted to defend their own honor. They were not considering the honor of the whole *oie* that they were part of and which eventually had been damaged even worse by their action<sup>41</sup>. As a result, in the cri-

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<sup>38</sup> *Buke shohatto* ("Laws of Military Households") was a code written for warriors and promulgated in 1615. Originally it consisted of 13 articles. In 1635 it was reissued and 8 articles were added. The code was regulating many aspects of a warrior's social and private life – from aspects concerning marriage and education to the prohibition of forming a conspiracy. (Tubielewicz, 1984: 261–263)

<sup>39</sup> As Eiko Ikegami notices, the statement that the actions of every retainer among the group being caused by the sense of loyalty and personal attachment to Asano Naganori is highly doubtful. Certainly some of them sought to defend his good name but the majority wanted to restore their own honor. (Ikegami 1997: 227–228)

<sup>40</sup> Ogyū Sorai (1666–1728) – Japanese Neoconfucian philosopher and scholar. He was proposing an idea of 'purging' the Confucian thought (from eg. Taoism or Bhuddism influences) and returning to the original teachings of Confucius.

<sup>41</sup> Two weeks after the funeral of the 46 retainers from Akō a kyōgen play entitled *Akebono Soga no Youchi* ("Night attack at dawn by the Soga"), which plot was referring indirectly to the story of 46 avengers, was staged at the Nakamura Theater (Nakamura za) in Edo. The text of that play did not survived to the present times but it is known that after only three performances it was closed by the authorities. It was caused by the bakufu's censorship which prohibited staging

tics point of view they were simple assassins and villains and they should be treated as such. But such harsh opinions regarding the act of the 46 rōnin were in the minority and the general public approved their act of revenge to such extent that soon after their seppuku and funeral they started to be called *Akō gishi* – ‘righteous, noble warriors from Akō’. Their bravery and loyalty were praised and they themselves were glorified as national heroes. Their deed, noble and proper from the point of view of the medieval samurai ethics, where direct loyalty towards one’s own master was the highest value, soon conquered the hearts of the Japanese people at that time. Thus the history of that vendetta started to become fabled.

However, Yamamoto Tsunetomo’s opinion of the deed of the 46 retainers wasn’t so enthusiastic. Although he praised them for their act of revenge and for fulfilling the will of their late master, at the same time he criticized the avengers for their delayed response<sup>42</sup>. He was pointing out in *Hagakure* that instead of immediate revenge they were planning and waiting almost two years with their action. Tsunetomo wondered what would have happened if Kira had died of illness within the period the Akō rōnin were planning their revenge and stated that it would have been “extremely regrettable”<sup>43</sup>. He considered the best way to avenge their master was to take revenge immediately after Asano’s death, without hesitation and planning, even if it would have been unsuccessful. Tsunetomo perceived the Akō rōnin preparation time of almost two years to be a dangerous waste of time that could bring them to shame if Kira would have died in the meantime. Their sense of honor would have been damaged irrevocably and they would have to live in shame to the end of their days.

### *Chūshingura* and *Hagakure* – the aggressive *bushidō* of old warriors in the time of the great peace of the Tokugawa period

The Tokugawa period was a time of stability and peace in Japanese history. The state, under the rule of one dynasty of shōguns, was developing economically and culturally, the arts were flourishing. It was a completely different time from the war turmoil of the previous periods. Because of the changing circumstances,

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plays that concerned the matter of contemporary political and referring to current events. However the dramatists managed to circumvent that rule by changing time, place of the event and the participant’s names (respectively Kō no Moronao as Kira Yoshinaka and Enya Hangan who is referred to Asano Naganori). The next play based on the story of the 46 retainers from Akō was *Goban taiheiki* (A chronicle of great peace played on a board for go”) written in 1706 by Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653-1725. *Goban taiheiki* became the core on which in 1748 the play *Kanadehon Chūshingura* was created. The plot and the cause of the conflict had also been meaningfully changed. (Takeda, Miyoshi & Namiki 1971: 4–7)

<sup>42</sup> Oike 1999: 136–140.

<sup>43</sup> Yamamoto 2000: 35–36.

society also began to change. The townspeople class, which was at the bottom of the social hierarchy, was gaining economical power. The warrior class also began to change. Samurai, from warriors dedicated only to warfare, were transforming into the bureaucrats, officials incorporated into the system of the Tokugawa state. They were like little parts creating that great administrative machine. Because of the fact they were born and raised in peaceful times without wars, they could not experience any real battle and their contact with swordsmanship was probably limited to practicing *kenjutsu* in swordsmanship schools. Possibly some of them were longing for the old times when violent action and military aggression were valued attributes among samurai and personal attachment or direct loyalty were the most important virtues of *bushidō* ethics. Such mental atmosphere surrounded the 46 retainers who carried out an unprecedented act of revenge on the man who, according to them, caused the death of their master. Following the way of the old warriors they consciously decided to break the law because the loyalty towards their master was more important than the loyalty towards the organization and existing law. As it turned out, the majority of society had a similar opinion. Yamamoto Tsunetomo, for whom the loyalty towards his master also was the highest virtue, approved the deed of the 46 retainers but he criticized the way their action was executed. Tsunetomo also stood for the militant samurai ethics that were in fact anachronistic and old-fashioned for modern warriors from the Tokugawa period.

*Chūshingura* and *Hagakure* – texts written in the second half of the 18th century, present the vision of the warrior completely differently from that popularized by the ideology from that time: a vision of warrior, bureaucrat, sage who – even if he did not exchange his sword for the brush – was holding that brush in the other hand, as a symbol of the idea of *bunbu ryōdō*. In the ideals depicted by these two texts the warrior- bureaucrat is replaced by the aggressive, proud warrior, eager to fight for his honor or the honor of his lord and not respecting the laws that might restrain his right to such a fight. In *Chūshingura*'s avengers, and in the ideal depicted in *Hagakure*, a reference to the old, medieval version of *bushidō* could be clearly seen. This may be the source of the popularity of the loyal retainers' story that has enchanted the minds and hearts of the Japanese, and in fact to a wider non-Japanese audience. This also may be the source of the power of *Hagakure*. These two texts were the breath of fresh air within the fossilized walls of the great Tokugawa state.

However, besides clear similarities between the visions of the ideal warrior presented in these two texts, the ideals of *bushidō* depicted in them differ to some extent. *Hagakure* focuses on the emotional bond between the senior and the vassal realized as the concept of 'hidden love' (*shinobu koi*) and 'service in the shadow' (*kage no hōkō*). Tsunetomo refers here to the medieval type of *bushidō* where the relationship between the senior and the vassal was more emotional, but he modifies and idealizes it. As opposed to the Sengoku period, the ideal warrior,

created by him, serves his master out of sheer love. It is not some kind of pragmatic calculation but real feeling – ‘hidden love’ that underlies the idea of loyalty and faithfulness towards one’s master. Another difference that could be perceived while comparing the vision of *bushidō* depicted in *Hagakure* and *Chūshingura* is that the idea of ‘the way of the warrior’ presented by Tsunetomo is the way that leads straight to death. It could be seen in the very first and the most famous lines of the *Hagakure* text that states, “The way of the warrior is found in death”<sup>44</sup> and is the essence of the concept of *shinigurui*. Here Tsunetomo offers his own personal version of *bushidō* – idealized, far from reality and hard to accept even for 18th century warriors. The vision of samurai ethics that emerges from *Hagakure* is based on his personal experiences and should be interpreted through the prism of his fascination of *junshi* or the aggression aimed at himself.

*Chūshingura* on the other hand also presents the aggressive version of *bushidō* but not understood in the meaning of self-destruction but rather aimed at defending one’s honor. The warrior’s personal honor is the most important value in the ethics presented here. The right to defend or restore one’s own honor and the right to avenge one’s master became the highest moral laws binding samurai. Even though it could be against the ruling laws created by the bakufu, the moral laws arising from the ‘way of the warrior’ were primary from that point of view. The vision of *bushidō* presented in *Chūshingura* was far more realistic and surely secretly admired by warriors from the Edo period constraint by Neo-Confucian ideology and the laws of the bakufu. It was based on historical facts and the deeds of the 46 retainers that actually happened. Therein probably rests the secret of its popularity – the awareness that in peaceful times the warriors were still able to behave as warriors, regardless of the consequences.

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## English Summary of the Article

Agata Koszołko

### **The Ideals of *Bushidō* Depicted in *Hagakure* (Hidden in the Leaves) and *Chūshingura* (The Treasury of Loyal Retainers)**

This article is an attempt to present and compare the ideals of samurai ethics known as the way of the warrior (*bushidō*) depicted in two texts from the eighteenth century - *Hagakure* (Hidden in the leaves) by Yamamoto Tsunetomo and *Chūshingura* (The Treasury of Loyal Retainers) written by Takeda Izumo II, Namiki Senryū and Miyoshi Shōraku. Both texts are widely known, not only in Japan but also around the world, and they are regarded as a source of information about the culture and philosophy of the warrior class from the second half of the Edo period. They also present two specific views of an ideal warrior and his values. “The ways of the warrior” depicted in these two texts are similar to some extent but there are also significant differences between them. Tsunetomo focuses in *Hagakure* on the emotional bond between the senior and the vassal and makes it the base and the essence of samuraihood. He introduces two concepts which in his opinion should be adopted by the ideal warrior – the concept of *kage no hōkō* (‘service in the shadow’) and *shinobu koi* (‘hidden love’). *Chūshingura* on the other hand proposes *bushidō* which emphasizes the individual sense of honor of every warrior and his inviolable right to defend that honor even when it is against the law.

**Key-words:** *bushidō*, Edo period, samurai ethics, Neo-Confucianism, *Hagakure*, *Chūshingura*.

## On Jars and All-time Masters. *Chanoyu* as Revealed by Yamanoue Sōji

Amongst the multiple treatises and documents that a *chanoyu* history researcher has at his disposal, the *Yamanoue Sōji ki* (*Record of Yamanoue Sōji*, later the *Record*) holds a special place. First of all, written over the period from 1586 to 1590, it is a document written within the timeframe of the life of Sen no Rikyū (1522–1591) – the very person to whom the accomplished form of *wabicha* – tea in the style of the “beauty of noble poverty”, is attributed. Just this quality alone makes it priceless for the study of Rikyū’s tea. The *Record* was written by Rikyū’s close disciple who, whether himself or by the hands of those he trusted, rewrote it a number of times. For the past few decades the *Record* has been gaining interest among *chanoyu* researchers in Japan and the publications that introduce the results of its study have become more and more detailed<sup>1</sup>. What it is providing may not be deeper, but is definitely, with all its limitations, a direct insight into tea in Rikyū’s times, which image for some time was dominated by later interpretations. It is the first tea document written with at least an attempt to record the history of *chanoyu*, even if the historical part does not spread over a number of sheets. Being mostly focused on lists of noteworthy utensils, it is also the first tea treatise that in a detailed manner describes the tearooms of Takeno Jōō (1502–1555) and Rikyū, including drawings to illustrate the descriptions, giving the reader a feeling of intimacy with the architectural spaces created by the tea men of old. The *Record* relates the teachings of Murata Shukō (1423–1502), Takeno Jōō and Rikyū. For as busy of a man of tea that Rikyū was, he left us very little written evidence of his ideas. However, thanks to one of his most endeared disciples, we today possess sources based on first-hand information concerning the style and essence of Rikyū’s tea.

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<sup>1</sup> The first collective study of the *Record* discussing Sōji’s writings from many perspectives was a 1997 publication that followed a symposium on *Yamanoue Sōji ki* that took place in Gotō Museum in Kyoto on November 21–22, 1995. It was the third and last volume of the series introducing the *Record*. (Chanoyu Konwakai 1993–1997)



In the article I will introduce the author, Yamanoue Sōji (1544–1590), whose name seems to never be mentioned enough in *chanoyu* training, since it is thanks to Sōji, that today we can acquaint ourselves with the details of the world of *wabi* tea in the late period of its formulation. I will succinctly describe the contents of the *Yamanoue Sōji ki* and make a closer analysis of two out of many aspects of the world of tea mentioned: the status of a tea jar among the widely described must-know tea utensils, and Sōji's categories of tea men. It is my belief, that delving into the *Record* can provide a fresh insight into the nature of tea in Rikyū's times, and can turn out to be of invaluable help for today's tea practitioners in finding their approach to the essence of tea.

## Yamanoue Sōji – a man of tea

A while ago I asked one of my tea students if he knew who Yamanoue Sōji was. He answered: "Of course. He wrote the *Yamanoue Sōji ki*!" Well, it does help when somebody writes a treatise that includes one's name in the title. But to be honest the figure of Rikyū's most close disciple is not usually familiar to today's tea practitioners. And his story was not an ordinary one.

Yamanoue Sōji, from the Sengoku era to Azuchi Momoyama, merchant and distinguished man of tea, was born in Tenbun 13 (1544) in Sakai. He was a man from Yamanoue, south of the Senshū region in Sakai, which even today is located in the central area of the city. The name of the place became his family name. He was also known by his trade name, Satsumaya, and used the name Hyōan (the ideograms meaning "gourd hut", which is how he was often signing his *Record*).

His father was most probably Yamanoue Sōheki, who we know was quite prominent in the world of *chanoyu*. Tsuda Sōgyū (died 1591) wrote in his diary (*Tsuda Sōgyū Chanoyu Nikki*) about Yamanoue Sōheki's *chakai* in the second year of the Eiroku era (1559), 12th day of the 8th month. Sōheki used Kidō's scroll in the *toko-noma*. We learn from the *Yamanoue Sōji ki*, that this scroll later belonged to Sōji. In the *Record* we also see a *chaire* – small ceramic container for powdered tea, Sōheki Katatsuki (a famous utensil, *meibutsu*, from Jōō's times), enlisted as a utensil in the possession of Yamanoue Sōji – most likely an inheritance from his father. Since the *chaire* was described as a utensil praised by Jōō, it is likely Sōheki was Jōō's student (*monka*) like Imai Sōkyū, Tsuda Sōgyū and many merchants from Sakai, and at the same time *sukisha* – men that possessed an unusual inkling for *chanoyu* accompanied with a passion for tea utensils. Therefore Sōji was a *sukisha* after his father. The term *sukisha* at that time in the world of tea meant *chazuki* "one that likes tea". In the *Record* Sōji clarified and organized the requirements for becoming a *sukisha*.

Sōji became Rikyū's disciple in 1565 and studied with Rikyū for over twenty years. Therefore Rikyū started instructing Sōji at the age of 44, at that time Rikyū was still preserving the teachings of his teacher – Jōō, but at the same time had already started to create new trends.

The first *chaji* – formal tea gathering, hosted by Yamanoue Sōji, who was then only 24, which we can read about in the *Tsuda Sōgyū Chanoyu Nikki*<sup>2</sup>, took place on the 25th day of the first month of Eiroku 11 (1568). It was a tea gathering in a very *wabi* atmosphere. The guests present were Sen Sōeki (Rikyū), Tennojiya Dōshitsu and Tsuda Sōgyū (?–1591). Sōji was using a hearth with an umbrella kettle and *teoke mizusashi* – a fresh-water container made from a bucket, which, outside *wabi* tea, was definitely seen as an unconventional demonstration for one so young, holding his first gathering for older, experienced tea men and his teacher, using tea utensils they would use.

Rikyū's tea instruction had to be intertwined with Zen practice, and so Sōji, most likely following his tea teacher, started joining zazen sessions at Nanshūji temple in Sakai from 1575, where his Zen teacher was the successor of Dairin Sōtō (1480–1568), the second generation abbot of the temple, Shōrei Sōkin (1505–1583). The members of his practice group were fourteen Zen monks including Shunoku Sōen (1529–1611) and Sengaku Sōtō (1545–1595), whose literary work allows us to trace those events today<sup>3</sup>. Apart from the monks, the group consisted of seven laymen including Rikyū, Tsuda Sōgyū and Sōji, who seemed to be given high praise for the depth of insight in his lay Zen study<sup>4</sup>.

Sōji, just like Rikyū, became a tea adviser to Oda Nobunaga. Together with Rikyū he was assisting Oda Nobunaga during the Ranjatai cutting ceremony.

Just as his teacher, Rikyū, he became Hideyoshi's *osadō* – person in charge of *chanoyu* related events and ceremonies. In 1584, however, he angered Hideyoshi with his capricious comments, and was banished.

Sōji did not leave Hideyoshi's circles just yet. He started to serve Maeda Toshiie (1538–1599), who, although against Hideyoshi after Nobunaga's assassination at Honnō-ji, and the subsequent attack by Hideyoshi on Akechi Mitsuhide, after being defeated started to work for Hideyoshi and became one of his leading generals. At this time Sōji was pardoned by Hideyoshi and returned to his *sadō* office. The last time we know he was performing *osadō* duties (organizing a tea gathering in Nara for Toyotomi Hidenaga) was in the tenth month of 1586.

In 1586 he again angered Hideyoshi and retreated to Kōyasan, a spiritual center for the Shingon school of Buddhism in Wakayama prefecture, where he started writing his secret transmission, the *Yamanoue Sōji ki*. Sōji started to distribute

<sup>2</sup> The chanoyu diary of Tsuda Sōgyū. (Sen Sōshitsu (ed.) 1977, vol 7: 139)

<sup>3</sup> Konnichian (ed.) 2014: 69.

<sup>4</sup> Ibidem: 70.

copies of the text among his worthy tea students from 1588. He spent one year at Mount Kōya, teaching *chanoyu* to monks from Annyōin and Jōjūin. In 1588 he traveled to Odawara, where he became tea teacher to the Hōjō clan.

This was the beginning of the tragic end. It was 1590, during the Siege of Odawara – Hideyoshi's campaign to eliminate the Hōjō as a threat to his rise to power. Hideyoshi's army camp was seen as having "the most unconventional siege lines in samurai history" – concubines, prostitutes, musicians, acrobats, fire-eaters and jugglers entertained the samurai. Tradition states that it was there, after Rikyū's intervention, that Sōji was granted another chance to talk to Hideyoshi. In fact Hideyoshi was ready to hire him back, but Sōji – faithful to his new masters in the Hōjō clan, again evoked Hideyoshi's wrath.

It is widely known that Sōji died a horrible death, before execution first his ears and nose were cut off at Hideyoshi's command, all this at only 47 years of age. However there is no proof of this event in the documents of the time. We learn about Sōji's final moments in a record from 1640 included in *Chōandōki* written by Kubo Gondayu (1571–1640), a priest from Kasuga Taisha in Nara and a man of tea. In *Chōandōki* we are introduced to Sōji as providing a rather extraverted and unpleasant first impression: "In Sakai, as a person skillful in *chanoyu* and well versed, he was someone who could not be ignored; but he had a bad manner and was evil-tongued, and thus was disliked by others."<sup>5</sup> During the Siege of Odawara it was most likely his overly sincere and uncompromising words that hurt Hideyoshi's ears and got him killed<sup>6</sup> on the 11th day of the fourth month of Tenshō 18 (1590). In Hakoneyumoto (now Kanagawa Pref.) in Sōunji (a Rinzai school temple belonging to the Daitokuji line) where Hideyoshi was staying during his campaign against the Hōjō, there is a gravestone, only erected in the 1950's, that marks the most likely place of Sōji's tragic death. Sōji left a son, Dōshichi, who was in possession of a copy of the *Yamanoue Sōji ki* and continued his father's line of work serving as *chanoyu* professional to Tokugawa Ieyasu. Although, as Kubo Gondayu relates, the short temper of the father must have transmitted to the son, and he was sent away from Ieyasu's court after showing his discontent with a charcoal form done by Ieyasu in a brazier and fixing it with impunity before he was even asked to do so.<sup>7</sup>

Yamanoue Sōji's life became the inspiration for Saitō Fumiko to write her novel *Sōan ni hikari sasu: Yamanoue Sōji ibun* (Shining light into the thatched roof hut:

<sup>5</sup> For the original Japanese text see: Sen Sōshitsu (ed.) 1977, vol. 3: 365. Translation from: Varley, Paul [&] Kumakura Isao 1989: 42.

<sup>6</sup> After Kubo Gondayu: *Odawara gojin no toki, Hideyoshi-kō ni sae, omimi ni ataru koto mōshite, sono tsumi ni, mimi hana sogase tamaishi* – During the Odawara siege, he spoke words that hurt the ears of the very lord Hideyoshi and for this crime he got his ears and nose cut off. (Sen Sōshitsu (ed.) 1977, vol. 3: 365)

<sup>7</sup> Konnichian (ed.) 2014: 22.

another story of Yamanoue Sōji), published in 2002. In the world of motion pictures the character of Yamanoue Sōji was depicted multiple times. When the life of Rikyū becomes the inspiration for a movie-maker, Rikyū's beloved young disciple always appears. The actors who have taken on the role of Yamanoue Sōji were Nakamura Atsuo (born 1940) in the movie *Ogin-sama* (1978) directed by Kumai Kei, Igawa Hisashi (born 1936) in *Rikyū* (1989), the famous screen adaptation by Teshigahara Hiroshi, and Kamijō Tsunehiko (born 1940), as a partner of Mifune Toshirō who was playing Rikyū this time, in *Sen no Rikyū: Honkakubō Ibun* (*Death of a Tea Master*, 1989) – film adaptation of Inoue Yasushi's award winning novel *Honkakubō Ibun* (Literary remains of Honkakubō, 1981) directed by Kumai Kei. In the latest years, the life of Rikyū has again become a widely discussed topic with the release of the movie *Rikyū ni tazuneyō* (Ask this of Rikyū, 2013) based on the 2010 novel by Yamamoto Ken'ichi of the same title. The director Tanaka Mitsu-toshi had Kawano Naoki (born 1982) play the role of Sōji. The interesting feature of this movie, which is otherwise quite immersed in a romantic side of the story, is the usage of many genuine tea utensils from the era – a great point of interest for a viewer who happens to be a tea practitioner.

Recent years also brought into being a manga character of Yamanoue Sōji introduced in the series *Hyōge mono* (*Jocular Fellow*, 2009), written and illustrated by Yamada Yoshihiro, who depicted Sōji as a worthy opponent of the main character based on the historical figure of Furuta Oribe, another disciple of Rikyū.

## ***Yamanoue Sōji ki* and its contents**

*Yamanoue Sōji ki* is undisputedly the best source on the tea of Sakai merchants in the Tenshō era (1573–92). It can be seen as the historical record of *chanoyu*, and as the first recorded secret transmission (*hidensho*) of *chanoyu* teachings; the only *hidensho* that transmitted tea from Shukō to Rikyū's times.

The *Record* was preserved in both handwritten scroll form (*kansubon*), believed to be the original handwriting of Yamanoue Sōji, and bound copies. Tanihata Akio, a renowned historian of *chanoyu*, counted up to sixty preserved copies of the *Record*, although those believed to be originally written by Sōji himself are extremely rare. Discrepancies between the copies do appear – in arrangement of contents, and also in the style of writing and wording.

The multiple versions of *Yamanoue Sōji ki* are mainly well represented by three of several versions that have been published:

### 1. *Chaki meibutsu shū* 茶器名物集

Included in *Zoku gunsho ruiju*. This version is addressed to Kuwayama Shuri Taifu, dated the 27th day of the second month of Tenshō 16 (1588).

## 2. *Yamanoue Sōji ki* 山上宗二記

Included in *Chadō koten zenshū*. This version is addressed to Kōsetsusai, dated the second month of Tenshō 17 (1589).

## 3. *Yamanoue Sōji ki* 山上宗二記

Included in *Chadō koten zenshū taikōhon*. This version is addressed to Minakawa Yamashiro no kami, dated the third month of Tenshō 18 (1590).

It is this latest discovered version that led to the conclusion that the second date of Sōji's death, not the 27th of the second month, but the 11th of the fourth month of Tenshō 18, is correct.

The most recent publication of the preserved versions of the *Record* is the compilation by Konnichian, *Chadō Bunka Kenkyū* 6 from the year 2014, introducing three versions in the possession of the Konnichian Library. The oldest handwritten version is dated the 27th of the second month of Tenshō 16 (1588). It is a scroll consisting of 37 sheets of paper differentiated in length. Unfortunately it lacks the 1st volume, so we do not know the person it was addressed to. Multiple records have markings in red ink suggesting they were either check signs for the author himself, or they were checked by Sōji himself after the text was written by somebody from his surroundings he entrusted with the task.

Amongst the multiple versions there are the ones addressed (given) to Sōji's son Dōshichi and Kuwayama Shigeharu (later handed down to Katagiri Sekishū), a few addressed to monks, and those addressed to either Hōjō clan members or their vassals: Hōjō Ujinori, Itabeoka Sukenari (Kōsetsusai), and Minakawa Yamashiro no kami, showing that Rikyū's tea penetrated the Hōjō clan through Sōji.

The contents of the *Yamanoue Sōji ki* differ in multiple versions as the text was rewritten for different addressees; however, comparing the versions we can sketch a draft of the basic contents.

*Yamanoue Sōji ki* composition:

- I. A brief history of *chanoyu*
- II. *Shukō isshi mokuroku*
- III. A record of famous utensils – *meibutsu*. [The order of utensils listed differs in different versions]
  - Leaf tea storage jars (*hachatsubo*)
  - Miniature stone gardens displayed on a tray (*bonseki*)
  - Stands for *tenmoku* bowls (*tenmoku dai*)
  - Tenmoku* teabowls (*tenmoku chawan*)
  - Teabowls (*chawan*)
  - Tea scoops (*chashaku*)
  - Ink stones (*suzuri*)
  - Kettles (*kama*)
  - Fresh water jars (*mizusashi*)

Chains for hanging kettles (*kusari*)  
 Examples of Fujiwara Teika's calligraphy (*Teika shikishi*)  
 Charcoal scuttles (*sumitori*)  
 Kettle hangers (*jizai*)  
 Incense burners (*kōro*), incense containers (*kōgō*), famous incense (*meikō*),  
 ash used for burning incense (*kōbai*)  
 Calligraphy and paintings (*bokuseki, e*)  
 Flower containers (*hanaire*)  
 Ceramic thick-tea caddies (*chaire*)  
 Arrangements of tea utensils on a *daisu* stand (*daisu kazari*)  
*Wabi* style flower containers (*wabi hanaire*)  
 Flowers

## IV.

Ten Points of Attention for the Man of Tea (*Chanoyusha kakugo jittai*)  
 Ten Further Points (*Mata jittai*)

## V.

Tea men and tearooms  
 Lumber used in tearooms  
 Tea men in the service of Toyotomi Hideyoshi  
 Legends on the eight picture scrolls of Yu-chien

The *Record* is the first attempt to write down the history of *chanoyu*, even though the opening part is very short. Sōji portrayed *chanoyu* history as starting with collecting utensils during the Higashiyama Bunka period, the time of activity of *dōbōshū*. While on the topic of Murata Shukō's tea, Sōji recalls its Confucianism, Zen, the art of Poetry and Noh theater influences, stating that the art of tea is enriched through inspiration from all the above.

The following lists of utensils show how intertwined and inseparable in Rikyū's times were the two concurrent trends of *chanoyu*: the utensil connoisseurship-based *daisu* tea (*daimyō* style of tea) and that focused on the state of mind and heart, *wabi-cha*. Sōji had seen a large part of the utensils he described, and for his knowledge and eye, he was known as a person that could not be ignored in the world of tea. He compiled the lists of famous utensils that the practitioner of tea should strive to acquaint himself with – this was an important part of the *Record* as a *hidensho* for the art of *chanoyu*. It was a crib sheet for new practitioners, enabling them to work easier on their connoisseurship skills, but at the same time it was also a way to create trends, assign value to certain utensils, a power Sakai merchants did possess at the time. And so, by the end of the long lists of famous utensils, many-a-time of Chinese origin, Sōji enlists a *wabi hanaire*, a simple bamboo flower container, carved by Rikyū – giving it a very high standing in the world of tea, in the same row with *meibutsu*. But the *Record* is not only a list of famous utensils.

When the *Record* was written, the core of the Japanese Way of Tea was already in place, with the concept of *wabi* at its center. The word ‘*wabi*’ appears in the title of the chapter dedicated to *wabi* hanaire. Tea in a small two mat room (*nijō*) is further called a *wabi chanoyu*. From Sōji we also learn that Shukō, using Engo Kokugon’s (1063–1135) scroll, inaugurated the practice of using calligraphy at tea gatherings. In the part where Sōji described important men of tea, we can find an assessment of Rikyū’s tea by his close disciple, who did not withhold his opinions – which makes it all the more interesting description: “Sōeki’s tea is like a deciduous tree in early winter. It is not for the ordinary person”<sup>8</sup>. Referring to Rikyū being the first person to design a one-and-a-half mat tearoom Sōji wrote:

“Although unusual for the time, it was useless for the ordinary person. It is interesting that Sōeki, as a *meijin* (master), freely transformed mountains into valleys, changed west to east, and broke the rules of *chanoyu*. But if the ordinary person were simply to imitate him, there would be no *chanoyu*.”<sup>9</sup>

The *Record* provides us with descriptions of tearooms designed by famous men of tea, like Takeno Jōō and Rikyū, which are accompanied by drawings – invaluable sources for the study of historical tearoom architecture. But even though the tearoom drawings are very precise, in the parts that refer to given technical skills necessary for advancement in the art of *chanoyu*, just as should be expected from a secret teaching, Sōji does not go into detail, but after giving a first rough draft he points out: the rest is in the oral transmission (*kuden ni ari*).

### ***Hachatsubo* – leaf tea storage jars**

The most extensive part of the *Record*, the lists of famous utensils, consists of chapters, each one dedicated to a different utensil. Usually the first chapter deals with leaf-tea storage jars – *hachatsubo*, followed by *tenmoku*, teabowls (*chawan*), tea scoops (*chashaku*) etc., all the way to *chaire* – thick-tea containers, ending with *wabi* flower containers.

The part dedicated to tea jars, a utensil without which one could not do tea at the time, enlists twenty two examples of famous leaf-tea jars (*meibutsu hachatsubo*) starting with Mikazuki (the Crescent Moon) and ending with Miyama (the Deep Mountain). The famous jars, so highly praised by Nobunaga and Hideyoshi, were most often Luzon pieces. It does not mean they were fired in the Philippines. Their origin was of Fukien or Canton in southern China and northern Vietnam,

<sup>8</sup> Varley, Paul [&] Kumakura Isao 1989: 42. Original Japanese text see: Sen Sōshitsu (ed.) 1977, vol. 6: 102.

<sup>9</sup> Ibidem.

but they made their way to Japan (originally probably not as containers for leaf-tea but for wine or spices) with the Europeans through Luzon.

The leaf-tea storage jars were called *hachatsubo* to differentiate them from thick-tea containers (*chaire*), that were called *hikichatsubo* – powdered tea jars, or *hikichaire*. Leaf storage tea jars were also called *matsubo* – the ‘real’ jars. Depending on their size they could be *ōtsubo* – big jars, or *kotsubo* – small jars. During Rikyū’s time the leaf-tea jar was considered the first, most important utensil (*chaki chū daiichi no dōgu*). The crucial problem was to preserve the fragrance and taste of the tea. In modern times they are mostly used once a year in November (tea New Year), for a special *kuchikiri* tea gathering, during which the mouth of the jar filled with this year’s tea is cut open for the first time to serve carefully chosen guests the first tea of this year’s crop. To preserve the old ways, today they can still be, like in Rikyū’s times, presented in their silk garments, nets and knotted silk cords in the *tokonoma* during tea gatherings. In Rikyū’s times, the *chatsubo* was a very familiar utensil. Nowadays this familiarity is transmitted to the much smaller and more common *chaire*.

Sōji’s description of leaf-tea jars always starts with giving their poetic name. He organized the information about each piece in the same way: size, appearance, who owned it, what was its story. The most emphasis is given to appearance, since a famous piece in Sōji’s time had to first of all be aesthetically appropriate for the subdued feel of *chanoyu*.

As far as the size is concerned leaf-tea jars start around 3–4 *kin*, and get up to 7–8 *kin*.<sup>10</sup> It was the size that was comfortable for usage and for presenting tea jars in the *tokonoma*.

The description of the first jar, Mikazuki, is very detailed, but the *tsubo* itself has been lost so instead I would like to describe in more detail one from the end of the list – Chigusa. The jar was recently purchased by the Smithsonian’s Freer Gallery and a detailed online workshop was given on the topic.<sup>11</sup>

In the *Record* we only see the poetic name and the information that it was currently owned by Kondaya Tokurin from Sakai, but that it had also belonged to Insetsu before. Kamiya Sōtan, in 1587, was invited alone by Kondaya Tokurin to a tea gathering and Chigusa was displayed in the *tokonoma*. Kamiya Sōtan wrote about it in detail in his *Sōtan nikki*:

“The clay is coarse and red, the lower part swells, on the bottom are blisters (*kobu*), there are four ciphers. [The graph *shō* 祥 is above one cipher.] The glaze is thick, and there are many downward flows (*nadare*). Below that [the glaze] appears

<sup>10</sup> *Kin* being a measurement of weight. Usually 1 *kin* was considered to be 160 *monme* (one *monme* being 3.75g) hence one *kin* was around 600g. In different periods though, depending on the products being weighed, *kin* could differ anywhere from 350g to 250 *monme*, so nearly 1kg.

<sup>11</sup> <http://smithsonianconference.org/teajar/> (access date: 12.10.2015)



to divide. Three potting lines. From the neck, between two lugs (*chi*) and above, there are small lines in three areas; one in the area in the place between the lugs they cannot be seen. The [mouth] cover is red-colored [-ground], old, gold brocade, and the reverse is light blue.”<sup>12</sup>

This was a very detailed description. At the time, the ability to look and see, to understand where the aesthetic mastery came from was of utmost importance for the man of tea. The skill they were striving to attain was *mekiki* – the eyes that ‘work’, not only to look, but to actually see. The Japanese word for appreciation of beauty, *kanshō*, can be written in two ways: 鑑賞 and 観賞. The first word brings on the meaning of ‘to think deep based on one’s knowledge and to be able to distinguish between good and bad’ (*kantei* 鑑定, *kanbetsu* 鑑別) + ‘take pleasure in watching’ (賞). The second word means ‘to gaze intensively with one’s eyes’ + ‘take pleasure in watching’ (賞). It was the first *kanshō* that constituted the meaning of *mekiki* – a virtue sought after by the men of tea of old, but also nowadays. The importance that is still placed on appreciating the utensils during a tea gathering (*dōgu haiken*) is reminiscent of this longing for connoisseurship but it is also a great occasion to exercise one’s eyes to be more sensitive to the beauty of *wabi* aesthetics, and in *wabicha* that brings with itself a desired mental composition.

## Categories of tea masters in *Yamanoue Sōji ki*

Arranging practitioners of an art, whether it was *renga*, the linked verse, or tea, into categories has a long tradition. Already in the 14th and 15th centuries it was not unusual for the same person to be accomplished in both arts. Tea was recalled in works that explained the theory of poetry as an analogy<sup>13</sup>; poets were matched in ranks copying ranks of tea men already existing in high society<sup>14</sup>.

The division of accomplished practitioners of *chanoyu* in the *Yamanoue Sōji ki* consists of three main categories:

1. *chanoyusha* – man of tea
2. *wabi sukisha* – practitioner of *chanoyu* in the spirit of *wabi*
3. *meijin* – master

<sup>12</sup> <http://www.asia.si.edu/exhibitions/current/chigusa-diary-translation.asp> (access date: 12.10.2015)

<sup>13</sup> For example the poet Nijō Yoshimoto (1320–1388) is credited with one of the first mentions in literature of the *honcha/hicha* differentiation. In his *Jūmon Saihishō* (Ten questions: the most secret commentary, 1383) he is comparing an unskilled way of indulging the beauty of sakura blossoms to *honcha*, real tea, unmatched in its fragrance, but destroyed by unprofessional preparation. See: Sen Soshitsu 1998:134.

<sup>14</sup> Ibidem. Such a literary motif is used for example by the Reizei clan style *waka* poet Shōtetsu (1381–1459) in the second volume entitled *Seigan chawa* (Tea talks of Seigan) of his theoretical treatise on poetry, *Shōtetsu monogatari* (Shōtetsu’s tale, two volumes, 1448–50).

## CHANOYUSHA

「目利ニテ茶湯モ上手、数寄ノ師匠ヲシテ世ヲ渡ルハ、茶湯者ト云」  
*Mekiki nite chanoyu mo jōzu, suki no shishō o shite yo o wataru wa, chanoyusha to iu.*

Therefore *chanoyusha*, a man of tea, is “a person who is a connoisseur of utensils, who is skilled in tea manner and etiquette, and who leads a life of a teacher of tea”. Connoisseurship (*mekiki*) is listed first, considered the most important, indispensable requirement. It was no longer necessarily the ability to judge the authenticity of the utensils, but the ability to judge whether or not the utensil was suitable for *chanoyu*.<sup>15</sup> One still, and this was very much so in Sōji’s time, had to be acquainted with the utensils then revered as *meibutsu* – the famous pieces. It was their experience, familiarity with famous utensils through attending the tea gatherings where they were used, and owning precious utensils due to their financial facility that gave the tea men of Sakai great authority in the world of tea. The *Yamanoue Sōji ki* is to a great extent a list of famous pieces that a tea practitioner is expected to know and recognize. Those are both old and new utensils, of Chinese origin, but next to them are listed the ones Rikyū himself created. It was strong proof that the new aesthetics were gaining in status, not by cancelling the old, but by joining with it.

This connoisseurship, calling for earmarking substantial sums for utensil purchases, ushering one towards a great deal of dedication in order to gain experience in artistic appreciation through looking for occasions to be in the vicinity of famous utensils, was later often criticized by the inheritors of Rikyū’s ideology, the advocates of *wabicha*, seen as the core of Rikyū’s teachings, tea designed foremost to aid one’s spiritual development in accordance with Zen philosophy.<sup>16</sup> Through

<sup>15</sup> The idea of connoisseurship in tea developed earlier, especially during Higashiyama culture. During the rule of Ashikaga Yoshimasa (1436–1490, in office 1449–73), the golden age for various arts: Noh theater, linked verse poetry, tea, flower arrangement or garden design to name the most flourishing, the skill to detect the true masterpieces amongst the shipments from China, distinguish them from forgeries, was held in high praise. This cherished connoisseurship, reared and developed, contributed greatly to consolidating the later undisputed merit of the Higashiyama treasures (*gomotsu*). A good eye and unmatched taste could bring a man of even low social standing a high position and esteem amongst noble circles, as it was the case with *dōbōshū* – ‘companions’, etiquette and artistic advisers of the Ashikaga shoguns.

<sup>16</sup> This line, where tea practice is seen as first of all a kind of spiritual, religious practice, starts with the *Nanpōroku* (*The Southern Records*), a text attributed to Nanbō Sōkei, who identifies himself as a disciple of Rikyū stationed at Nanshūji, a temple of the Rinzaï school of Zen in Sakai. *Nanpōroku*, even though in its seven chapters there are very specific technical passages, calls the Way of Tea being in its essence no other than the Way of the Buddha. Since the oldest preserved version of this text comes from a hundred years after Rikyū, some of the Japanese *chanoyu* researchers, like Kumakura Isao, call *Nanpōroku* the first paper in a long line of study of Rikyū’s tea rather than source material depicting tea in Rikyū’s time. For more on *Nanpōroku* read: Nanbō Sōkei 2004; 2005. The *Zencharoku* (*Zen Tea Record*, most likely first half of the 17th century) attributed

study of the *Yamanoue Sōji ki* however we learn that in Rikyū's time this was not the case, and cultivating the vast knowledge of classic masterpieces, having great aesthetic taste and the power to create new aesthetic trends was an indispensable part of tea training, just as was its spiritual background. Like it is stated in two of the short poems, *tanka*, explaining some details of *chanoyu* from the collection of the *Rikyū hyakushu* (*One hundred poems of Rikyū*)<sup>17</sup>:

釜一つあれば茶の湯はなるものを数の道具をもつは愚な  
*Kama hitotsu areba chanoyu wa naru mono o kazu no dōgu o motsu wa orokana*

*In that with one kettle chanoyu is possible, possessing numerous utensils is foolishness.*

かず多くある道具をも押しかくし無きがまねする人も愚な  
*Kazu ōku aru dōgu o mo oshikakushi naki ga mane suru hito mo orokana*

*Having many utensils but hiding them away and pretending not to, those people are also foolish.*

On one hand it is wrong for the tea practitioner to be attached to owning numerous precious utensils; regardless of whether it means cherished famous masterpieces of old times, *meibutsu*, or just utensils of high value. If one does not have many utensils, he can do tea with a metaphorical “one kettle”. But those who own many precious pieces should not try to hide them, worrying that this abundance would sully their *wabi* tea. *Wabicha* takes root in the heart. Physical, material insufficiency could help one's spiritual practice and development, but is not a necessary condition for gaining an understanding of and then putting into practice the essence of *wabi* tea. In Rikyū's time, those two lines of tea practice seem to advance simultaneously: studying the procedures and utensils and acquiring deeper insight into the nature of the universe, through introducing spiritual, quasi religious elements into tea practice. For *chanoyusha* rank of tea men, *mekiki* – again strongly stressed in the beginning of the *Record's* section on “the further ten commandments [for tea practitioners]” (*Mata juttai*), dealing with the more spiritual aspects of the practice – seems to be of vital importance, accompanied by their proficiency in tea etiquette and procedures, and the ability to make a living as a tea teacher.

As was customary in such rank juxtapositions, Sōji gives the names of real people in order to illustrate the character of a given category of tea men. For *chanoyusha* he names Matsumoto Shuhō and Shino Sōshin.

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to Zen monk Jakuan Sōtaku takes this interpretation even further, describing the true tea as the Zen tea. See: Kozyra, Agnieszka: article in this publication.

<sup>17</sup> Iguchi Kaisen 2006: 206–209. Translation by Urszula Mach-Bryson.

## WABI SUKISHA

「一物モ不持、胸ノ覚悟一、作分一、手柄一、此三箇条ノ調タルヲ佗数寄ト云フ」

*Ichibutsu mo motazu, mune no kakugo hitotsu, sakubun hitotsu, tegara hitotsu, kono sankajō no totonoitaru o wabisuki to iu.*

The next, therefore higher, rank of tea practitioner was the “one that does not possess a single *meibutsu*, but possesses three qualities: inner awareness, creativity, and distinguished achievements”. In Rikyū’s circles it was seen as an impressive thing to live a life that emphasized ascetic elements, not to follow the trends of the day. The difference between *wabi sukisha* and recognized masters was the lifestyle. The first ones had no connection to the political power structure, no need to make their mark on history, instead they remained faithful to what they believed was the essence of the practice of tea. At first they appeared as people who simply did not have the financial funds to become tea men owning famous utensils. With time their practice took a turn towards tea that put the matters of the heart and *wabi* spirituality in the center. They were recluse-like *wabi* tea men. Sōji gives the example of Awataguchi no Zenpō – a man of one kettle, as a *wabi sukisha*. Similar figures in the history of *chanoyu* are Hechikan or Dōtei, whose story shows how the provenience creates a tea utensil.

Ishiguro Dōtei, a samurai, was also known as Senbon Dōtei – since he lived near Senbon Street in Kyoto when he retired. He served one of the three highest officials of the Muromachi shogunate, Hatakeyama Masanaga (1442?-1493). After retirement he lived on the income from rural land that produced fourty *koku* of rice per year. But he did not own a *hachatsubo* – a utensil every man of tea of the period was expected to own. He therefore exchanged his land for the *hachatsubo* he desired. Latter this leaf tea storage jar became a part of the Ashikaga Yoshimasa collection and was named Yonjukkoku (Fourty *Koku*) in honor of Dōtei.

Other characteristics of *wabi sukisha* are creativity and achievements in the field of *chanoyu*. Yamanoue Sōji being accredited with the discovery of the Korean *ido chawan* – a well style teabowl, for *chanoyu* could be seen as one example of such creative sensitivity.<sup>18</sup> The *ido* style teabowls today are considered classic, but it must have called for an independent and developed aesthetic taste to first use them in a *chanoyu* setting.

## MEIJIN

「唐物所持、目利モ茶湯モ上手、此三箇モ調ヒ、一道ニ志深キハ名人ト云也」

*Karamono shoji, mekiki mo chanoyu mo jōzu, kono sanko mo totonoi, ichidō ni kokorozashi fukaki wa meijin to iu nari.*

<sup>18</sup> Kuwata Tadachika 1957: 91.

The master was the “one that possesses *meibutsu* and is accomplished in both connoisseurship and in tea manner, and further, possesses a profound aspiration in this single way of tea”. The coinciding two trends of *chanoyu*: tea of the form and tea of the heart, prominent during Rikyū’s time can be seen here quite vividly. To be a tea master one could not forget the origins of tea, that was the *shoin daisu* tea, tea of the utensils and connoisseurship. Owning at least one utensil (here of Chinese origin) that would make tea practitioners flock to see it was a requirement. At the same time the aspiration in the single way of tea would suggest not only following the form oriented tea, but also deepening the spiritual aspect of the way. In Rikyū’s time, the two lines of tea practice seem to be inseparably connected. One was required to know the classics, understand the aesthetic of *shoin daisu* tea, and then proceed to *wabi* tea, that was seen as an advanced, more profound development of the tea practice. Therefore to even further emphasize the expectations towards a tea master, Sōji enhances the rank of *meijin* – master, to the master of times, old and new – *kokon no meijin*.

#### KOKON NO MEIJIN

「茶湯者ノ数寄者ハ古今ノ名人ト云」

*Chanoyusha no sukisha wa kokon no meijin to iu.*

The one who is “a *chanoyusha*, and a *sukisha*” should be called “*kokon no meijin*” – the master of all times, both old and new. To give an example of such a figure in *chanoyu*, Sōji enlists three indisputably great personalities in *wabi* tea history: Murata Shukō (who was the person that first put into words the concept of tea focused on spiritual practice), Torii Insetsu (a great authority as far as *mekiki* was concerned) and Takeno Jōō (responsible for bringing into tea the sensibility of Japanese poetry).

Based on Sōji’s description of a *chanoyusha* and a *sukisha*, to summarize the requirements a *kokon no meijin* had to meet we could form the following list:

1. Connoisseur of utensils
2. Skilled in tea manners
3. Leading the life of a teacher of *chanoyu*
4. Possessing inner awareness
5. Exhibiting creativity
6. Having distinguished achievements
7. Owning *meibutsu*
8. Profound aspiration solely in *chanoyu*

To the list of Sōji’s conditions to become a *chanoyusha* and a *wabi sukisha* I added the last two requirements for becoming a master – since a master of all times should probably be first considered a master. With all the emphasis on the classics of tea

– tea of the utensils and connoisseurship, and not denying it its importance, in the *Record* it is ultimately the *wabi* style of tea that is seen as the highest ideal towards which one should strive. Referring to the rank of tea masters, quoting the masters of old Sōji writes, that after becoming a *meijin* (therefore after acquiring recognition as a person skillful in both formal and spiritual tea), one should devote oneself solely to the *wabi* style of tea. And then again, showing the inseparable nature of the two trends of tea the statement follows: “...that is if one owns at least a single famous tea utensil”.<sup>19</sup> Sōji added though, that tea practice would change with the times.

## In conclusion

So what does a modern day reader gain from taking time to comb through the contents of the *Yamanoue Sōji ki*? Murai Yasuhoko states, that the *Record* is a great source for tea practitioners who would like to do some kind-of background check on many quasi-facts or legends that became part of the *chanoyu* tradition, but might not have a rooting in reality.<sup>20</sup> Like the often perpetuated story of Rikyū's grandfather being one of the *dōbōshū* named Sen'ami – hence the later family name Sen. Even though a few *dōbōshū* names are mentioned in the *Record*, Sen'ami, especially being Rikyū's relative, does not appear. It seems very unlikely that Sōji, as close of a disciple of Rikyū's as he was, would not mention a fact of such importance. Sōji, known for his eccentricity, does not refrain from recording that Rikyū did not always agree with his teacher, Takeno Jōō. Especially the concept of *ichiza konryū* – building the unity of one sitting (here the tea gathering), and many teachings that should be transmitted referring to techniques on how to build such unity, seemed to be something Rikyū did not agree with. Murai Yasuhoko concludes that Rikyū did not indulge in elaborate techniques on how to make a gathering work, even for the price of bending one's personality. It would seem that Rikyū was an advocate of not forgetting one's individuality and striving toward a natural unity during a tea gathering that intrinsically comes from mutual respect and the profound spiritual practice of all the participants.

At the time *wabicha* was developing, utensils possessed a great power, bestowed upon them by Nobunaga's *chanoyu goseidō* – the *chanoyu* reign system. Sakai merchants, very much intrigued by the idea of such power that could be bought with money, perpetuated the existence and propagated *meibutsu*. Multiple lists were created. The *Yamanoue Sōji ki* is one example of such a list, including Shukō's, Jōō's, Rikyū's, and also Sōji's choice of *meibutsu*. In this list we clearly see that the image of what constituted a famous utensil was changing. The *wabi* quality was valued

<sup>19</sup> Hayashiya Tatsusaburō [&] Yokoi Kiyoshi [&] Narabayashi Tadao (eds) 1994: 249.

<sup>20</sup> Chanoyu Konwakai (ed.) 1997: 26.

so highly, that, although in the end of the list, we encounter a humble bamboo *hanaire* carved by Rikyū. The *Record* was written for new practitioners of tea (*sho-shinsha*), to help them learn about famous utensils and work on their *mekiki*. This *mekiki* though did not mean to be able to properly recognize the value of utensils of proper provenience, but it included the skill to judge whether the utensil was appropriate for *chanoyu*. Whether it had the *chanoyu* spirit, the *wabi* quality.

Even though modern tea practice has continued to evolve from Sōji's time, the era of the *chatsubo* changed into the era of the *chaire*, the impact of *wabi* tea from Rikyū's time can be seen in the *haiken* of the utensils during a tea procedure – we value the overall form, ownership, the story of the utensil. The practitioner of *wabi* tea today is forced to deal with the paradox: the *wabi* philosophy and at the same time praising utensils, placing great value on them. Reading the *Yamanoue Sōji ki* we see that *wabi* tea, already in Rikyū's time – from its beginnings, was a fusion of rich and lavish formal tea and tea done by recluses. The practitioners find themselves mired down in the world of the material but simultaneously aspiring to a higher, nearly opposite ideal. The *Record* shines some light on the origins of *wabicha* and helps avoid confusion. It gives a base for building contemporary solid practice, built on historical awareness.

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## English Summary of the Article

Urszula Mach-Bryson

### On Jars and All-time Masters. *Chanoyu* as Revealed by Yamanoue Sōji

Amongst the multiple treatises and documents that a *chanoyu* history researcher has at their disposal, the *Yamanoue Sōji ki* (*Record of Yamanoue Sōji*) holds a special place. First of all, written over the period from 1586 to 1590, it is a document written within the time-frame of the life of Sen no Rikyū (1522–1591) – the very person to whom the accomplished form of *wabicha* – tea in the style of the “beauty of noble poverty”, is attributed. It is the first tea document written with at least an attempt to record the history of *chanoyu*. Mostly focused on lists of noteworthy utensils, it is also a tea treatise that in a detailed manner describes the tearooms of Takeno Jōō (1502–1555) and Rikyū, including drawings to illustrate the descriptions. The *Record* relates the teachings of Murata Shukō (1423–1502), Takeno Jōō and Rikyū. Sōji became Rikyū’s disciple in 1565 and studied with Rikyū for over twenty years, therefore the *Record* is a source concerning the style and essence of Rikyū’s tea based on first-hand information.

The article describes the contents of the *Yamanoue Sōji ki* and includes a closer analysis of two out of many aspects of the world of tea mentioned: the status of a tea jar among the widely described must-know tea utensils, and Sōji’s categories of tea men. It is the author’s belief, that study of the *Record* can provide a fresh insight into the nature of tea in Rikyū’s times, and can turn out to be of invaluable help for today’s tea practitioners in finding their approach to the essence of tea.

**Key-words:** the Way of Tea, *chanoyu*, *Yamanoue Sōji ki*, Yamanoue Sōji, Sen no Rikyū, *chatsubo*, *wabicha*

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# INETR VIEWS

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第八回 ワルシャワ大学三井物産冠講座  
「世界に通じる日本の笑い」  
立川志の春氏インタビュー  
2014年11月4日

ワルシャワ大学中央図書館 懷庵にて  
聞き手 ザレフスカ・アンナ、藤井カルポルク陽子

第八回ワルシャワ大学三井物産冠講座にお越しいただいた落語家の立川志の春さんに、日本の話芸、落語の魅力を語っていただきました。中央図書館での落語パフォーマンスと講演の後、図書館内の茶室「懷庵」にて、落語家になるまでの道のり、落語の様々な表現技法、師弟関係、新作落語や英語での落語についてじっくりとお話を伺いました。

(インタビューの前の雑談。薄茶を召し上がりながら)

藤井 落語の中には、お茶を点てる型というのがありますか。  
立川 点てる型、そうですね、例えば『茶の湯』っていう落語の場合は、このように手を動かして（お茶を点てる時の様子）、「あれなんだ、泡が立たない。ね、隠居さん、なんで泡が立たないんだ？ これどういうことだ、貞吉？ あの、隠居さん、石鹼入れないとだめだ。そうだ、石鹼を入れるんだ！ 石鹼入れてぶくぶく！ いいな、こう上に入れればいいんだ。どうだこれ、貞吉。すごいですね。泡だらけですね。これそのまんまじゃ飲めませんよ。だからな、それは、泡を向こう岸にふっと吹くんだ。そして、これが戻ってくる前に飲む。それが『茶の間』というわけだ。ああそうですか。ふふふ、だめです、戻ってきちゃう。」そんな落語もありますね。これ、なんというんですか。

マハ 茶筌です。  
立川 茶筌。そうか。

(ウラ・マハ＝ブライソンが茶の湯の説明をしている)

立川 いや、勉強になります。これをなんという？

マハ 茶杓です。

立川 茶杓。これは落語に出てくるときは、大仏様の耳搔きというんだ。知ったかぶりのご隠居さんが、「あれはなん

というんですか」と聞かれると、「あれは、お前、大仏様の耳搔きだよ。」「ああ、そうですか、大きいですね。じゃ、これでしゃかしやかつてするのがありますね。あれはなんというんですか。」「あれは、お前、竹でできているだろう。だから、竹のしゃかしやかというんだ。」そのままですね。

(マハが「最後に釜にお水を入れる。「これでしばらくしーんと静かになりますね。その一瞬が大好きなんです」という。インタビューが始まる。)

## 落語家になったきっかけ

藤井 立川先生が落語を始められたきっかけは、ある一つの舞台を見たことだとおっしゃっていました。それはどんな演目だったのでしょうか。

立川 はい。まず、僕は志の春です、志の春さんとかで。立川だと、すごくたくさんいるんですね。落語家の慣習として、春風亭とか、笑福亭とかいう。立川とは、いわば苗字のような語で、「笑福亭さん」というような感じになるんで、「志の春さん」でいいんです。

僕が初めて見たのは、師匠志の輔の落語で、独演会だったので、二席あったんですね。一席目は『はんどたおる』という新作でした。僕の師匠の新作で、まあ、夫婦がちょっと会話をしている話なんです。現代の話で、僕は初めて落語を見たんですが、「そうか、落語ってわかりやすいんだ」とげらげら笑っていました。とにかく、「あ、面白いんだ。これは現代の話だから、僕みたいな素人でも笑えるのかな」と最初、思ってたんですね。それで、休憩を挟んで、後半、『井戸の茶碗』という古典がありました。それはわりと人情も入った、笑いあり、ちょっと涙ありといった話で、それを聞いたときに、江戸の話なんですけど、すごく情景が浮かんできたんですよ。それで、やっている間に師匠の姿がふっと消えるような感覚があったんですね。そういう芸は、僕は初めて見たんです。映画のコメディイとか、演劇とか、ミュージカルとか、いろいろ舞台を見に行くのが好きだったんだけど、そのように演者が話していて、ふっと消えて、絵がぶあーっと頭の中に浮かんでくるのは、初めての経験だった。「すごいな、これは」というふうに思った。それは第一の衝撃でした。

藤井 その時の感動は、今の活動の原動力になっていますか。  
立川 なっています。原動力になっているのはいろいろあるんです。その一つであるのは間違いなくて。僕も落語家と

して、お客様の頭の中に絵が浮かぶような落語家になりたいなと思っていますね。みんな、いろんなタイプがあって、落語家でも、本人がおもしろいっていうタイプの落語を目指す人もいます。そうするとギャグを色々入れていって、その登場人物というよりは、本人のキャラクターを出していく落語です。僕は消えたい、というタイプの落語家なんで、話が始まったら、僕がいなくて、とにかくその物語がわっと浮かぶような落語家になりたいと思っていますが、それは最初に言った経験がきっかけになっています。

## 落語の表現技法

藤井 言葉の力だけで色々な情景が浮かぶというのは面白いですね。その語りには色々なテクニックを使われると思うんですけども、先ほどの講義にもありました、声の使い方とか、話し方の早さですか、その他にもなにか技があるのでしょうか。

立川 やっぱ最初は、話のリズムなんです。とにかく、もう、たんたんとでもいいから、きちんとしたリズムで話せるようになるというのは、十五分なり、二十分なり、一時間の話を、お客さんに聞いてもらえるための最低限の条件なんです。「しゃべるときは、歌うようにしゃべれ」というんです。「歌うときはしゃべるように歌え」という言葉もあって。その歌の意味を伝えるのには、しゃべる感覚を持ちながら歌うのがいい。逆に、しゃべる時は、メロディーがあって、リズムがないと、お客さまが長い間聞けないので、歌っているような感覚でしゃべれという。それを徹底的に最初はたたき込まれるんですね。とにかく、リズム、リズム、調子と言って、リズムがとんとんとん、といっているときに、とんとんとんーうんとん！ と行くと、そのうん！ の間に笑いが起こる。とん！ の時にどんと笑いが来たりするんです。でも、それはちゃんとした最初のとんとんとんというリズムがないと効かないということで、そういう基本のことを徹底的にやって、その後はやっぱり、声の高低を使うテクニックなどがあります。それから、目が落語家には一番大事かもしれない。

藤井 目の使い方ですか。視線ということですか。  
立川 視線ですね。距離感だとか。落語だと、距離感というのは大事なので、部屋の中で、「おお、はっちゃん、こっち来

なさい」と言って、まあ、（近くを）見て、「ええ、どうもね」と言うのがこれで。家の外にいるはっちゃんを呼ぶのは、（遠くを見ながら）「おい、はっちゃん、こっち来なさい」と言って、目の距離感が違うわけです。いろんな人が来たら、みんなこんなに来て（見渡すような目線）というふうになるし、例えば、これ（扇子）は刀だったりすることがあります。そうすると、刀の長さを表す時に、こうやって、刀の先を見るんです。そうすると、長さが伝わるのですね。こうすれば、ものすごく長い刀です。これだけだと短いとか、全部、目の使い方で距離感を表現しますね。酔っ払いも、言葉はいつでもよくて、酔っ払った時に目が（見せる）

藤井 酔っ払ってますね。（笑）

立川 「酔っ払ってないでよ」、と言いながらこうやりますね。やっぱり目なんですね。そこはわりと大事なところですね。

藤井 いま距離というので、お師匠の志の輔さんが『ろくろ首』という落語の中で、首が長い話をそういうふうに使っているのを思い出しました。目なんですね。

立川 それから、子どもが大人としゃべっていると、「おじさん！」と言ってちょっと上を向くんですよ。で、「何だ坊や」って下を向く、「あのさ」、で子どもは上を見て、「何だよ」というふうに大人の目線で表わす。細かいところは難しいですね。

ザレフスカ 先ほどのパフォーマンスを見て、話し手が変わると、左に向いたり、右に向いたりしますね。間違えることなく、されましたよね。その動きを稽古することがありますか。時々間違えることがありますか。

立川 間違えることがあります。

ザレフスカ それに集中して、頭の向きを稽古しましょうとか、思うことがありますか。

立川 あります。こんがらがって、わからなくなっ。落語の上下というのですが、歌舞伎のほうから来ているものです。歌舞伎には舞台があって、（客席から向かって左側、下手）花道があります。だれかが尋ねてくるときは、花道から来て、ここ（客席から向かって右側、上手）に人がいます。こういう関係性です。落語も、これと同じで、こう（上手に）座っていて、だれかが入ってくると、迎える人はこっち（下手側）を向くのです。入ってくる人はこっち（上手側）を向くのです。上下ですね。こっち（下手側）を向いていて、ここ（上手）にいる人は偉い、位が高

い人ですね。これは昔からの伝統なので、大概、男の人はこっち（下手側）を向いている。おかみさんとかはこっち（上手側）を向いている。外から尋ねて来た人は（下手側を見て）こう迎える。例えば、旦那さんが外から帰ってくるとしますね。そうしたらおかみさんが、「あら、お前さん、お帰りなさい」と、こっち（下手側）を向いて。「やあ、いま帰ってきた、もう大変なんだよ。（上手側を見ながら）」だけど、どっかのタイミングで、「いやあ、本当にね、忙しかったよ」とこっち（下手側）を向くのです。こうして男女、上下に変わったりします。自然に気づかないようにする。「それはね、お前さんね」っておかみさんはこっち（上手側）を向くのです。そこら辺がやはり時々、あまり慣れていないネタだと向きを間違えたりすることがあります。でも、ごまかす。

ザレフスカ やはりそれも稽古が必要ですね。

立川 そうですね、必要ですね。

藤井 表現の点で、流派の違いというのはありますか。上方と江戸の落語の違いなどはどうでしょうか。

立川 違いはありますね。上方は、まず見台が前にある。カチンカチンと音を立てながら、舞台転換のときにやるんですね。それはなぜかという、上方落語は辻話と言って、野外でやっているところから始まったからです。江戸落語は、お座敷でやったのです。だから形が違った。道行く人をとにかく引きつけないといけない。こうやって、大道芸に近いような感じでバーンとやって、「さあ、さあ、みなさん！」と大きな声でやって。とにかく、上方の話は笑いです。江戸の話はどちらかというと、人情話とかであったり、怪談話であったり、まあ、ぞくぞくとする話だとか、涙が出るような話だとか、お座敷芸から始まったので、色々なパターンがあるのです。笑いという点では上方の方がすごいかもしれない。そういう違いがありますね。江戸の中でも、その流派によっての違いは色々あります。演じ方もそうですし、単純に言うと、団体が四つあって、今は寄席に出られる団体が二つあって、出られないのが二つあって、僕らは出られないほうです。そういうところ。演じ方とか少し違いがあります。いまはそんなに垣根はない。ここはこうだ、というのはあまりないですね。

ザレフスカ 落語の内容ですが、さきほどのご講演のとき、主に笑話だとおっしゃいましたが、主にとはいえず、「主に」といいますと、まったく笑いにならない話もあるのですか。本当に悲しい話も落語ですか。

- 立川      ありますね。それも落語です。本当に怖い話とか、怪談、人情噺も。でも、笑いがゼロということはあまりないです。ただ、一時間ほどの話で二つぐらいしか笑いが無いものもある。その物語の主人公とか登場人物の感情に、お客さんにグッと入ってきてもらうことが出来れば、あまり笑いが無い話でも持つことができるので。といっても、それにはやはり本当にテクニックが要るし、経験も要るし、ある程度年齢を重ねて出てくるものもあるので、若い時にはできないんですね。
- 藤井      ご自身で、「これはいつかやるぞ」と目標にしている作品がありますか。
- 立川      ありますね。それは僕の師匠の得意な演目が多いですけど。人情噺とかで、師匠を聞いて、「すごいな」と僕が客席から見たときから思った話があります。『中村仲蔵』という話があって、これは歌舞伎の昔の有名な俳優の話なのです。それは人情噺の形で落語になっています。一時間以上の長い話で、芸談の話なのです。中村仲蔵は家柄がない人で、歌舞伎役者になって、その人がゼロの状態から上がっていく、サクセスストーリーです。その中で色々な葛藤がぜんぶその話に入っている。こんなものはやはり年を経てやらないと出てこない。まだ手をつけていないけれども、いずれやりたいです。

### 落語の稽古、修行時代

- 藤井      落語の表現の技術は、修行時代に積み重ねてこられると思いますが、具体的にどういった修行をされるのか、稽古をされるのか、教えてくださいませんか。
- 立川      修行という点についてはさっきも講演で言ったとおり、（師匠に）「俺を快適にしろ」とだけしか言われないうすよ。それは、芸のこととかまず関係ないと。とにかく俺のことだけを考えてやれということですね。そして運転手を最初やってみました。「俺が快適になる運転をしろ」と。車線変更をするタイミングも、「俺が快適なタイミングがある。車間距離も一番快適な距離がある」と。これが落語の間につながるんだということですね。僕はそんなことないと思います。しかし、とにかく弟子は常に師匠のことを考えるんです。そうすると、何年かやっているうちに、だんだんと、いま師匠はこう考えているだろうなと、なんとなく自分の中に浮かんできて。そうすると、



芸の上でも教わるというのじゃなくて、師匠をひたすら見てるんですけど、師匠はいま何を考えているのかなと常に考える癖が、いつの間にかつく。自分の中に師匠を入れてるようなプロセスだと思うんです。師匠はいまこう考えているだろうな、何だろうなとか、何をしたいとか、僕は八年間の修行の間ずっと考えていたんです。そうすると、前座修行が終わって、二つ目というのになって、自由に動けるようになって、いま僕の落語について師匠はこういうふうに考えるだろうなと、なんとなく分かるわけです。そうすると、もし師匠がなくなったとしても、僕の中に師匠がいるということになる。僕には二つの視点があって、僕はこうしたい、でも師匠はこう言うだろうな、という。二つの自己を作るというのが、重要なんじゃないかなと思います。客観視できるために。そのために師匠のことをずっと考えるということを修行中やるんです。テクニックを教わるというよりも、師匠の考え方そのものを自分の中に入れるというほうが長い目でいうと役に立つ、大事なことはないか。

藤井 そうすると、舞台に上がる時には、いつもお師匠の視点とご自分の視点と持ったような状態なのですか。

立川 そうですね。いつもではないですけど、折に触れて、タイミングによって、いま僕が言っていることについて師匠はこう考えているだろうな、というのがなんとなくあります。舞台に上がっているときは、わりとお客さんに集中しています。でも、全般的に自分の活動を考える時にはその視点はすごく役に立ちます。

藤井 「二つの自己を作る」というのは、興味深いお話です。それから、お稽古は具体的にどのようにされるのですか。

立川 稽古はですね、まず師匠が落語を一遍やってくれる。昔は三遍稽古と言って、一日やってくれて、終わって「ありがとうございます」。二日目行って、またやってくれて、全部それを書いて。三日目行って、もう一度やってくれたのを、全部書く。それは大変ですね。緊張感があります。だって、覚えなくてはいけないわけだから。テープレコーダーがなかったし、三回やってくれるから、とにかくその三回の間に全部覚えてしまう。それで覚えて、「見てください」と言って、上げの稽古というのが。今はテープレコーダーがあるので、「とっていいよ」と言われて、一回師匠がやってくれます。で、その録音したやつを書いて、何回も何回もやって覚えて、それで、「覚えませんでしたので、見てください」という。師匠

がOKと言ってくれたら、お客さんの前で出来るようになるのですね。その師匠によって教え方が違うことがあります。僕の師匠の場合は、何も言わない。「だめだ！」しか言わない。何がだめかは言わない。「自分で考えろ」という。ただその師匠も今、だいぶ変わった。僕は三番でした。七人いるうちの三番弟子ですね。四番以降の弟子に対してものすごく優しくなった。全然教え方が違うのです。僕の時はいくつか、「永楽に出てまいります人物、はっちゃん」、「ああ、だめだね！ 落語じゃねえ！ 落語にしてから来い！」今は、「永楽に出てまいります」「いいか？ その間はな、もうちょっと詰めたほうがいいな。ここで間を入れたほうが…」すごく細かく言っています。それを見ると、ちょっとむかつかます。（笑）でもそれは多分、関係性が、僕までは、三番弟子までは、親子だったんですね、師匠と。が一つと怒られましたし。それが四番から孫になったんですね。かわいい、ということで接し方も全然違いますね。弟子同士で稽古をし合うことがありますか。

藤井  
立川  
藤井  
立川

ええ、あります、あります。

互いに見せ合ったり

見せ合ったりというのたまにはありますけど、あんまり落語家同士ではそういうのがなくて、ただ、兄弟子に稽古をつけてもらうということがあります。教えてもらうことがあります。

藤井  
立川  
藤井  
立川

そういう交流がわりとあるのですか。

すごくあります。

かなり関係は強いですか。

関係は強いですね。僕のいる一門はすごく関係が強いですが、落語界全体でもぜんぜん違う一門の人にも「教えてください」と言ったら、教えてくれるということです、古典落語の場合は。古典落語はみんなの共有財産なので、やるたんびのお金をだれかに払わなければいけない著作権があるわけではないので。みんなでやっているので、教えてくださいと言ったら、教える。新作の場合は、だれかが作った新作をやりたいと思ったら、その人のところに行って、「あれを教えてくださいませんか」と言って、まあ、いいという場合、だめという場合もありますけど。でも、今はCDがあるからといって、それを勝手に覚えてはだめ。その人のところにやらせてくださいと言に行かないといけない。

ザレフスカ 日本の芸能には決まりが多いようですね。西洋人の目

で見ると、こちらの文化にはあまりないような決まりがあります。例えば、出囃子とかありますが、これは決まっていますか。自分で決めるか、決めてもらうのですか。

立川 出囃子は、昔、寄席というところにいると、お三味線のお師匠がぜんぶ出囃子を弾いてくれていました。そのお師匠さん方が前座の時に見ていて、二つ目に昇進した時に、「あなたはこういう曲がいいんじゃないの」と選んでくれて、それが自分のテーマソングになるわけです。だから、噺家一人一人それぞれに違う出囃子があつて。かぶっているものもありますけれども。僕も出囃子があります。それも決めてもらったのですね。落語の師匠ではなくて、唄のほうの師匠が決めてくれました。こんなのいいじゃないの、と言ってくれた。その人のキャラクターに合ったものを人が選びます。自分で選ぶというパターンもあります。こういうのが好きだからこれにするって。

ザレフスカ 今日の琉球節でしたか。これは先生の出囃子ですか。  
立川 これは違います。僕の出囃子はCDにはないのです。CDを使う時は、あれが好きなので、使っています。

藤井 唄は、謡もされますか。  
立川 謡はできません。長唄の先生でした。歌舞伎の長唄の先生について、長唄、小唄、端唄、どどいつを習いました。へたくそですけども、それを経験しておく、発声に役に立つ。後は踊りとか。しかし、しばらくお稽古に行っていないので、だいぶ忘れました。昇進するときは踊りと唄の試験があります。試験制というのは、立川流だけなんです。ほかのところだと、年期で五年ぐらいと決めています。「五年だからもう二つ目だね」と。それは合理的でもあります。前座であまりたまっているかもしれないのです。寄席の場合だと、徐々に送り出して行かなくてはいけない。立川流は寄席がない。家元制をとっていたので、家元が見る。試験で躍りとか唄とか、太鼓とか、講談とか、とりあえず全部つながっている。全部落語に生きるの、全部やる、ということです。

藤井 今、家元制というお話がでましたが、落語家になる、入門するというのは、だれもが出来ることなのですか。

立川 出来ます。試験もないですし。誠意です。誠意しかありません。「私を弟子にしてください。師匠しか考えられません、私を弟子にしてください」って、頼みに行くのです。そうするとその師匠自身も、そのまた師匠がとってくれなければ今の自分はないわけですから、ぜんぶ、上の世代への恩を下に返すみたいなことなので、自分の師匠

が今の自分だから、同じように落語家になりたいと言う人がいれば、基本的にはとってあげるといふふうになっています。あまり合わなそうだったらとらないですけど、とりあえずチャンスをあげる。僕は弟子になる前に一回だけ、友だちの前でやったことがあります。本当にお客さんの前でやったことがなかったです。その経験のないやつを一応入れてくれたのだ。歌とかだったら、オーディションがあって、「歌ってみ」と言われて、下手だったらもう絶対にだめじゃないですか。でも、落語の場合は、最初は技術とか関係ない。熱意だ。それから、前座の間、最初は気遣いです。芸はそのあとだ。だから一応、とってくれます。まあ、みんな辞めていきますけれど。

藤井  
立川

ずいぶん辞めますか。

ずいぶん辞めますね。僕は三番弟子ですけど、本当は二十番弟子ぐらいです。みんな辞めていった。今の日本の学校でもあまり頭ごなしに怒られるってないですから、今の若い世代は慣れていないです。僕も含めてです。そんなに慣れていないので、持たないですね。「やめちまえ！」とか、「お前は才能は一ミリもないから、とにかくお前、将来は絶対無理だ！ はやく辞めろ」って。「へたくそな奴がうまくなったという試しは一度もないんだ。うまい奴は最初からうまいんだ」、というようなことをずっと言われ続けた。

ザレフスカ 言われるけれども、それを我慢して

立川

そうですね。「ああ、じゃ」ってなっちゃうかもしれないけど、さっきの原動力の話から言うと、僕にとってもう一つの大きな原動力は、師匠から、が一っと三年ぐらいずっと厳しく言われていたことですね。そしたら、それに対する、「見てろよ」っていう部分が出てきた。「あなたは今、私に対して一生芽が出ない、一生可能性はないと言ったけれども、じゃ、十年後、二十年後どうなっているか。」そこは師匠と弟子ですけども、勝負みたいな部分があって、まあ、言葉では絶対に言えないですけど、「申し訳ございません」と言いながら、心の中で、「いや、いつか！」と思う気持ちがエネルギーになります。それはもしかすると誉められるより、そうなるかもしれない。「いいよ、お前は」というよりも、「だめだ、だめだ」と言われ続けるほうが、大きなエネルギーになる。でも、ズタズタにもなりますけどね。

藤井

若い人も多くいるのですか。お弟子さんになる方は、皆さん二十代ぐらいですか。

- 立川 そうですね。だいたい若いですね。基本的には本当に若ければ若いほどいいと言われている世界なので、昔は中卒で、十五、六でなる人が多かった。高卒も多かった。大卒までとなるとちょっと珍しいですけども。まあ、最近はみんな二十代ぐらいで入ってきます。もしかすると、落語だって語学と一緒に、若い頃の方がリズムとか身につくのかもしれない。でも、社会経験をしているということで、普通の社会人、落語をあまり見たことがない人に落語を届けるためには、その経験がぜったい生きるのです。そういう意味では色々な経験をしたほうが今はいいかもしれない。
- 藤井 落語家の道には、前座の時代があって、二つ目があって、そういう時代を経て
- 立川 それぞれのステップの時に、やるべきことがあるんだと思います。前座時代には徹底的に基礎ですね。だから僕は古典しかやらせてもらえなかったですし、とにかく古典を数多く覚えて。それ一つ一つの、古典の中にいろいろとキャラクターが出てくる。小僧が出てくる話もあれば、動物が出てくる話もあるし、おかみさんが出てくる話もあるし、おじいさんの隠居さんが出てくる話もある。それぞれいろいろなキャラクターをやっていくなかで、演技方を一つ一つ体に入れていって、それをきちんとしたリズムできちんと笑わせられるということを稽古していくと、ほかのもっと複雑な長い話をしたときにそのテクニックは生きるのですけど。最初の前座の時から何か変なギャグを入れたりして、ばーんとお客さんが受けても、基本のリズムで笑わす技術はない。ずっとそのギャグを入れ続けなければいけないということで、おいおい困ることになる。だから、前座は基礎です。
- 二つ目になってからやっと自分自身でいろいろなところで会を開けるようになりますね。前座の間は自分の会は開けない。だれかの会の前座を務める。だから二つ目は、いろいろなところに出て、そこのお客さんにいかにして満足してもらうかということを考えて、そこで場数を踏んでどんなところでどういうふうにやれば合うだろうなということを模索していく段階ですね。だからいろいろな経験をしたほうがよくて、とにかく失敗をしたほうがいい。失敗をもちろんするし、とりあえずそれは二つ目の間では許される。
- 真打になった時には、やっぱり来てくれたお客さんを絶対に満足させるというふうなことでやっていく段階ですね。

- 藤井 古典作品をずっと前座時代に学ばれるということですが、古典作品はどのくらいあるものなのですか。
- 立川 古典作品は、いま言われているものは、六百とか七百ぐらい。でも本当はたぶん何千とあったのが二百、三百年の間に淘汰されていって、いま伝わらないものは消えていっているわけですね。残っているのは、絶対におもしろい話なんです。前座のころに僕が落語をやって、受けないとき、師匠に言われたのは、「お前は落語に失礼だ」と。「今残っている古典は絶対おもしろいんだから、本で読んだって、お客さんは笑える。そこにお前が間に入って、お前がやることでその落語が受けなくなったら、その落語を作った昔の人に失礼だ。ぜったい受けなきゃいけないんだ。」それはそうでしょうね。
- ザレフスカ 前座を務めると言いますと、呼ばれるのですか。それとも「先生、私に前座に出させてください」と頼むのですか。
- 立川 僕の場合は、ほとんど毎日師匠にくっついて、いろいろなところに行っていたので、師匠の落語会でしかほとんど出なかった。また寄席とかに出ている、別の流派の人たちだと、寄席で出たり、それから寄席で出会ったほかの師匠に、「じゃ、今日ぼくの会があるから、来て」と言われてやったりします。あまり前座から「僕を使ってください」と自己主張をしてはいけない立場なので、「お前さん来てくれ」と言われるように、好かれるように気を使ってやるということですね。

### 落語の新作、創造的側面

- ザレフスカ 型には決まったやり方がありますね。そして、古典落語と新作落語がありますが、新作落語では現代の生活に合わせて動きをしたりするのではないですか。
- 立川 そうですね。
- ザレフスカ それは新しい型になるのですか。
- 立川 そうですね。その「型」という部分は難しいですね。動きだとか、何だとか。僕の新作落語でも、やっぱり古典落語の世界は素晴らしいんですけど、古典落語ではカバーできていない、新しいコミュニケーションみたいなのが今生まれてきて、例えばインターネットとか、携帯電話とか、フェイスブックみたいなものも新しくでてきて、新作落語だと、そういうもののコミュニケーションについて取り上

げたりすることが多いです。例えば、二人の人物が出てきて、フェイスブックで「お誕生日おめでとう」とかありますね。それで、その一人、上司みたいな人が、「君な、今朝、私に向かってお誕生日おめでとうと言ってくれたな。」「はい、言いました。」「あれはどっちなんだ。覚えていてくれたか、それとも今朝、フェイスブックからその通知がきたのか、どっちなんだ。」「どっちでもいいじゃないですか。」「よくない。覚えていてくれたというのがうれしいんだよ。フェイスブックから来たので言われたって、うれしくない。覚えていてくれた心がうれしいのが、わかるか。」「全然わかりません。」ということだとか、インターネットとかフェイスブックとか出たら、ありますね。携帯とか。携帯はこうやったり（扇子を耳元に持っていきながら）するんですけど。

藤井  
立川

扇子でされるのですか。  
そうですね。今は新作をやると、これ（二つ折り携帯を開いて耳元に持っていく）でやるんですけど、どっちかというところ、古い携帯ですよね。今どっちかというところ、こっち（スマートフォンを扱う様子を見せながら）ですか。わりと自由です、新作のほうが。とにかく、お客さんの頭にこれが携帯だと思い浮かべばいいので。

ザレフスカ もう少し新作について聞きたいのですが、ご自分で話を作られますね。その他に、例えば好きな作者に、落語を書いてくださいと頼むことはありますか。依頼することがありますか。

立川 そういう人がいます。落語作家という人がすごく少ないです。二、三人いるのです。

ザレフスカ 落語作家の専門家ですか。

立川 ほぼそうですね。評論家と作家を両方やっている人がいるのです。そういう人が作った落語をやる噺家もいます。僕は今のところ、それをやっていなくて、僕の師匠もどっちかというところ、「自分が伝えたいことがあるから新作を作るのだ」という考え方なのです。だから、例えば、だれか落語家が作った新作を他とシェアする、教えて、どんどん広げていくという人もいます。僕の師匠の場合は、「これは俺のメッセージを込めたものだから、お前は自身自身のかメッセージを込めたものを作れ」ということで、師匠のをやることはしないです。自分で作りなさいということなんで、今は自分で作っている形です。

藤井 志の春さんはどういったテーマの新作を選ばれるのですか。

立川 やっぱり自分が暮らしていて、何かちょっと疑問に思ったことだとか、ちっちゃい怒りだとか、そういうものがテーマになることが多いですね。喜怒哀楽という感情のうち「怒」という感情をスタート地点に新作を作ることが多いですね。世代的には僕は今三八歳で、とにかく、ちっちゃいころ、携帯もなければ、インターネットもなかった。大学を卒業して、社会人になる頃こういうものが広まってきたのです。だから両方とも体験している。なかった時代の気持ちと、ある時代の気持ちがわかる。そこにちょっとギャップがあると思うので、わりとそういうテーマを取り上げることが多いですね。例えば、約束というテーマで、今だと携帯とかができて、待ち合わせしていて、「ごめん、5分遅れる、とか簡単にするというのが、わしは許せないんだ」というおじさんがでて、「わしの時代は約束が絶対だった。遅れたらもう二度と会えないかもしれない。それだけの緊張感を持ったものが約束だった。お前たちはだめだ。」「いいじゃない、便利な世の中だから、それを使えば。」そういうテーマが多いですね。

ザレフスカ 話を作るのですか。それともその場でインプロビゼーションをすることがありますか。

立川 僕はわりと作ってからやるほうが多いですね。中には、登場人物と大まかな話だけでインプロビゼーションでやる人もいます。

藤井 落語に入る前に「まくら」という部分がありますけれども、この部分は毎回同じなのですか。それとも新しいものを作られますか。

立川 毎回というほどではないですけど、僕は毎月自分の会をやっているんで、何かしら毎月新しいことをしゃべる。まくらというのは、結局、現代のお客さんに、いきなり江戸の落語の世界にぼーんと飛んできてくれと言ってもなかなか難しいので、そこにちょっと助走の時間を作るんですね。例えば「知ったかかぶり」というテーマで入るとすると、「いや、この間、こういうような政治家さんが知ったかぶりをしたような発言があった」として、「こんなのがありましたよね」というまくらを話しておいて、それから知ったかぶりの話にずっと入っていく。すると、なんとなく準備をしていけるということです。まくらはこれからすごく大事になっていくと思うんですよ。やっぱり江戸落語の古典落語の世界と、今生きている世界がだいぶ変わってきています。僕が生まれた1970年代ぐらいまではわりと江戸の頃からのつながりが残っていたと思います。隣りの家に



お塩を借りに行ったり、隣りの家に簡単に行けるような感じで、電話も家の電話しかなかったということで、対面の会話がほとんどだった。今それがちょっと少ないです。なにかわからないことがあるから、隣りの家に聞きに行こうとはあまりしないじゃないですか。「ウィキペディアで調べよう」と、そうなるじゃないですか。いろいろ変わってきているので、まぐらのところはもっと大事になってきていると思います。

藤井  
立川

まぐらは、昔からあったのですか。  
ありました、昔から。ただ、決まったまぐらが多かったですね。わりと小咄ですね。短い、関連した小咄をして、本題に入っていくというのは多かったです。今はわりとそこで、それぞれの落語家の個性を出していくという感じにもなっていますけれども。

藤井  
立川

やっぱり個性が出ますね。  
そうですね。個性って難しいところなんですね。最初から個性優先で行くと、芸が出来ていないうちから、ちょっと目立とうというようなことになるし。変わったことばかりやっている、例えば野球で言うと、直球を投げられないで、変化球しか投げられないピッチャーになってしまうと、後で困るんですよね。直球勝負ができた上で変化球を投げられたらいいんですけど。だから最初は徹底的に個性とかと関係なく、とにかくコピーをやって、その後で、ある段階から徐々に個性がにじみでてくるものだから、あえて出すものでもないんです。

## 英語の落語

ザレフスカ 英語の落語について伺ってもいいですか。日本学科に御本を下さいまして、CDもついていますので、少し聞かせていただきました。「てんしき」はとても面白かったですね。先に日本語の落語をしましたよね。その後で、英語の落語を作るようになりましたね。しばらく英語の落語をして、また日本語の落語をしたら、英語の落語は日本語の落語に何か影響を与えましたか。何か変えたのでしょうか。

立川

影響は、すごくあります。それは、考え方の部分が多くて、例えば、日本で落語をやると、落語家は他にたくさんいますね。古典落語ですと、みんな同じ話をやっています。そうすると、慣れているお客さんは何回も同じ話を

聞いているわけです。そういう人たちにアピールするために少し変わった演出をしたり、ちょっと違うようなことをやって、僕は違うんだというような感じの見せ方になっていきます。相對評価を気にするようになるのですね。英語でやってみると、お客さんはほとんどが初めてです。そういう場に行ったときに、素直に、元々の形でやったほうが受けるのです。変な、自分が入れたギャグとかよりも元々の形をうまくやったほうが受けるのですね。英語でやった時、「あ、そうか、僕はけっこう日本ではなんらかんら言っていて、相對評価に捕らわれていたな」と思った。そうじゃなくて、落語という物語が持っている力をもっと信じる。それこそ、シンガポールでは「転失気」が宝だと言われたけれども、僕自身がそれを宝だと思っている部分が減っていたな、と気付いた。では、もっと落語の底力を信じて、それで純粹にやったほうが日本でもお客さんに受け入れてもらえるのではないかなというふうに思ったのは、英語をやった経験が、どちらかという、原形に戻るという方向に働いたからです。

藤井 英語で落語をされるときですが、日本語でされるときと気持ちの持っていき方は違いますか。

立川 そんなに違いはないですね。僕は理想的には、英語でやっても日本語でやってもあまり変わらないような感じでやりたいと思っています。できるだけ、日本語のテイストを残すような形で英語に直しているし、演じるときもそういうふうにやろうと思っています。

藤井 英語に直される作品は、どういうふうを選ぶのですか。何か選ぶ基準はあるのですか。

立川 基準はやっぱり、落語には洒落がメインというものが多いけれども、英語で洒落を伝えるのはちょっと難しいので、ストーリーラインがしっかりしていて、こういう感情はどの国の人でも共感できるだろうなという、共感がベースになると思います。その気持ちと共感できるなら、笑いになる。このストーリーなら共感を得られるな、というものを選びます。

藤井 今後は海外も含めて、どんな活動をしていかれたいとお考えですか。

立川 やっぱり海外でやるにしても、日本語の芸というのがとにかく根底にあるので、その日本語のところがちゃんとしていないと、英語に直したりしたときに、それなりのものにはかならない。やはり徹底的に日本語できちんとやっていく。でも、英語でやらないと伝わらないところには、色々

外に出て行って、やっていきたいなと思っています。さっきも言いましたが、日本人のイメージというのがちょっと変わったりして、「ああ、なんだ、日本人も豊かな笑いの文化があるんだ」ということで、少し考え方が変わって、身近になったりすれば、それはうれしいことです。僕は日本人としてアメリカに留学していた時に、僕があまりにも日本のことを知らないなという気持ちがあった。それがもやもやと残っていて、それでもっと日本のことを知ろうと思って日本で就職することに決めたんです。そうしている時に落語を見て、「ああ、これだ！ 日本人として僕が自慢できることは」と思った。それをやっていきたいですね。

ザレフスカ、藤井 今日はい長い間、貴重なお話を聞かせてくださって、本当にありがとうございました。

立川 ありがとうございます。

### 立川志の春 プロフィール

落語家。1976年に大阪で誕生し、幼少時と学生時代の七年間を米国で過ごす。米国イェール大学卒業後、三井物産にて三年半勤務。2002年、立川志の輔門下に入門。2011年、二つ目昇進。古典落語、新作落語、英語落語を日本国内で演じるほか、海外公演、大学や企業での講演も多数。著書に『誰でも笑える英語落語』（新潮社、2013年）、『あなたのプレゼンに「まくら」はあるか？ 落語に学ぶ仕事のヒント』（星海社新書、2014年）、『自分を壊す勇氣』（クロスメディアパブリッシング、2015年）など。

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# General Masaki Jinzaburō and the Imperial Way Faction (Kōdōha) in the Japanese Army 1932-1936 – Part Two<sup>1</sup>

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### **3. Masaki as the Military Councilor – the second half of 1935 up to March 1936**

#### **3.1. Political incidents and events**

The first question that needs to be discussed in this chapter is the problem concerning Masaki's removal from the post of General Inspector of Military Education. The plan to fire Masaki from his post was the main aspect in personnel changes suggested by Minister Hayashi in the second half of 1935. His suggestions stimulated one of the most important political events in the above-mentioned period. They also caused the intensification of conflict between the Kōdōha and Tōseiha. Soon, the conflict came to its climax and after that the Imperial Way Faction finally lost its importance and position. Most of its members were removed from the main posts in the Army.

The direct consequences of Masaki's removal were two important events, specifically, the Aizawa Incident (*Aizawa jiken*) and the February 26 Incident (*Niniroku jiken*). These two incidents were closely connected with Masaki himself as well as with the factional struggle; therefore, they ought to be presented in this chapter.

#### **3.1.1. The problem concerning Masaki's removal from the post of General Inspector**

The proceedings relating to the “Emperor-as-an-Organ” theory as well as the November Incident and their direct consequences caused a strong attack on Gen. Masaki undertaken by his opponents, opponents who accused him of nurturing the mutinous atmosphere among the “Young Officers”. The antagonists, that is to say mainly the members of the Tōseiha and the Seigunha as well as the Emperor's advisers and some politicians, more and more frequently demanded Masaki's dismissal from his post.

Notes about these facts already appeared in the General's diary in March 1935 (Mn, II, 39, 41) but he did not really believe in the possibility of the accomplishment

of this plan. The Tōseiha officers, however, felt strong enough to throw Masaki out from the Army Central Headquarters and at the same time to remove the rest of Kōdōha's representatives from the other important posts. A good opportunity to carry out this plan was the annual August changes of the Army staff. The Tōseiha members were also going to get rid of Hata Shinji (the Commander of 2nd Division) and Yanagawa Heisuke (the Commander of 1st Division), putting them on a reserve list and to remove Suzuki Yorimichi from the post of Chief of Strategy Section (GSO). Having completed all these changes the Tōseiha would gain exclusivity in deciding all the Army matters, as most of the important posts would be in the hands of its followers.

In the General's diary the notes on this matter and his intention to resign appear more often again in July 1935 because many consultations concerning this problem took place at that time. In order to talk about this for the first time Masaki met Hayashi on 10 July 1935, when the Army Minister showed him the project of changes prepared by the Vice-Minister, Hashimoto Toranosuke. The proposals given by Hayashi read as follows:

"First of all, among those who, according to the Minister's project, are to undergo the reshuffle are: Hishikari, Matsui, Wakayama – reduction; I – remain-ing only as the Military Councilor; Watanabe – my successor; Hata – reduction; Koiso – the Chief of Aviation Head Office." (Mn, II, 151)

Masaki, however, did not agree with Hayashi's suggestions, responding:

"As concerns true relations between the sovereign and the subordinate I state positively that I will fight to the death." (Ibidem)

On the same day he started his own campaign against his opponents from the Tōseiha trying to compromise them. For this reason he met his followers, Araki, Katō, and Hiranuma, ordering them to bring some evidence and documents, but he did not state precisely (in his diary) what he had in mind.

Minister Hayashi's suggestions were supported by the Chief of GSO, Prince Kan'in who, for the last few years had not liked Masaki, which was one of the reasons why Masaki had little chance to win. The General, however, tried to explain to the Prince that his antagonists were to be blamed for the situation within the Army.

On 11 July he said to the Prince:

"The March and October Incidents and also the movement for taking over the political power had influenced the present situation in the Army. The examples of the rivalry among the supporters, of the right relations between the sovereign and subordinates and their opponents, the rivalries appearing in an ideological dispute are:



- the fact that some people who had been, for a period of time, debarred from the central posts were stimulated by the incidents and the movements;
- the fact that such a situation was mainly the effect of Minami's and Nagata's activities and also the fact that the Military Academy Incident was turned into an intrigue, while its real causes were kept secret. It might be feared that if we in this situation take even one false step everything will turn upside down. It is most regretful for me as a soldier that I will be buried alive as a leader of the conspiracy. But I will not rest until I make clear which is white or which is black." (Mn, II, 153)

Once again Masaki stressed that Nagata and Minami were the centre of the evil and intrigues within the Army. In the General's opinion they organized the incidents trying to regain power – consequently blaming their antagonists, that is, Masaki's group. Whereas he himself, the honest soldier of His Majesty, the Emperor, "the white side" of the Army tried to put the situation right in accordance to "the true relations between the sovereign and subordinates" (*taigi meibun*).

On 12 July, at 1 p.m. the Big Three Conference (Sanchōkan Kaigi)<sup>1</sup> started. It was expected that during this conference the decision to remove Masaki would be taken.

Demanding Masaki's dismissal, Hayashi said that according to the general Army opinion Masaki was the leading spirit of factionalism (*tōbatsu shunō*) (Mn, II, 155). Masaki, however, did not agree with the accusation. He did not even want to discuss things thoroughly saying that he had presented his opinion in writing. He called it "a separate paper" (*besshi*). A few days later, on 15 July, during the resumed debate he quoted this document. Unfortunately, this text is not enclosed in the diary.<sup>2</sup> Once more, just as he had during the conversation with Prince Kan'in, in this document Masaki blamed, first of all, Nagata for planning the March Incident in 1931.<sup>3</sup>

On 15 July, during the resumed debate, Masaki refused to resign his post. Both Hayashi and Kan'in were of the opinion that his resignation was necessary for the Army's good. But Masaki said:

"As the General Inspector of Military Education, the Inspector for His Majesty, I can't agree with it." (Mn, II, 160)

Then, he wrote in his diary:

"The conference comes to an end and in this matter the Minister decides himself to report it to the Throne." (Ibidem)

<sup>1</sup> For more details see: Takamiya 1951: 214-221.

<sup>2</sup> The text is included in Gs, XXIII: 438-441; Cf.: Nini, I: 3-6.

<sup>3</sup> Masaki maintained that Nagata was the author of *The Project of the March Coup d'Etat*; Cf.: Takahashi 1969: 123-124.

Under the circumstances Hayashi decided to present the decision himself to the Emperor. Masaki's successor was to be Watanabe Jōtarō (8) and Masaki was to be left with only the post of Military Councilor. However, this was not the end of the matter. During the debate, Masaki defending himself recollected an old principle dated from the second year of the Taishō era (1913). It was not written but was accepted by the Emperor at that time. It referred to decisions relating to personnel changes of the three highest posts in the Army.<sup>4</sup>

According to Masaki such changes could only be made by the Big Three, that is to say, after obtaining the consent of the Minister, the Chief of GSO and the General Inspector. Although, by right, the final decision belonged to the Minister, Masaki found it impossible to be dismissed without his own approval, as he himself was the Inspector of His Majesty, the Emperor, confirmed by the Emperor. He considered that in a matter like this the Generals could not decide themselves. Defending himself he said that such a decision taken without his approval would be "violating the rights of the Supreme Command" (*tōsuiken no kanpan*).

Finally however, on 16 July, with dignity, he accepted the order to resign, handed to him by Hashimoto.<sup>5</sup>

The whole affair seemed to be closed but a few days later "the Young Officers" once again undertook an attack on the Tōseiha. They began printing texts "mysterious documents" (*kaibunsho*) in which they accused Nagata for his interference in the rights of the Supreme Command (*tōsuiken*), for Masaki's dismissal, etc. They declared to be against the new General Inspector, Watanabe, saying that he supported Minobe's theory.

In fact, Gen. Watanabe defended Minobe four months after Masaki's instructions were published, on 4 October 1935, during a meeting at the 3rd Division. He said then, that Minobe's theory was right because regarding the Emperor as an organ it was in accordance with *The Imperial Rescript to Soldiers and Sailors* (1882) in which Emperor Meiji said:

"We rely upon you as Our limbs and you look up to Us as your head."<sup>6</sup>

This speech infuriated many of "the Young Officers". Consequently Watanabe, together with Nagata, came to be regarded as traitors within the Army.

The main authors of these *kaibunsho* were, like before, Muranaka and Isobe as well as Nishida Mitsugi.<sup>7</sup> Masaki's dismissal and these texts that made "the Young Officers" very furious were the main reasons one of them, Aizawa Saburō, committed murder.

<sup>4</sup> Ibidem: 207-214

<sup>5</sup> Mn, II, 160-161; Cf.: Arisue 1975: 369-373.

<sup>6</sup> Shillony 1973: 51.

<sup>7</sup> See: *Kyōiku sōkan kōtetsu jijō yōten*, Gs IV: 678-680.

Before describing this incident, in the end of this section, the authoress would like to present the public reaction to Masaki's dismissal. Hayashi's decision was praised in almost all newspapers. The journalists considered it to be "a masterpiece" as well as "a pressing on carrying out a purge in the Army" or "the first step of a return towards the state of normality within the Army".<sup>8</sup> Masaki was publicly condemned as guilty of demoralization and the cause of the bad atmosphere within the Army.

On 20 July, the Army Minister announced the personnel changes to the most significant posts that were confirmed by the Emperor.<sup>9</sup> According to the previous suggestions, Hata Shinji and Hishikari Taka from the Kōdōha were placed on the waiting list, while Ishiwara Kanji replaced Suzuki Yorimichi as the head of the Strategy Section. By the end of 1935 the Tōseiha became the strongest faction within the Army and the Kōdōha lost its influential position. Only a few members of the latter were not definitively expelled from the Army Central Headquarters. (Major-General Yamashita Tomoyuki was the head of Research Bureau; Gen. Yanagawa Heisuke, until 2 December 1935, was the Commander of 1st Division, which made the Kōdōha still powerful in the Tokyo area). But comparing the position of Kōdōha during the period 1932-1934 and during late 1935 up to March 1936 it became clear that its representatives lost power and could no longer independently decide Army politics. It was one of the main reasons for the important incidents soon to come, i.e., the Aizawa Incident and the February Incident.

### 3.1.2. The Aizawa Incident

The Aizawa Incident, known also as "the Incident during which Nagata, Chief of Military Affairs Bureau was stabbed to death" (*Nagata gunmu kyokuchō saisatsu jiken*)<sup>10</sup> was the direct result of Masaki's dismissal and of the publication of such papers like "mysterious documents". Aizawa Saburō was a member of "the Young Officers' Movement" and a friend of Nishida Mitsugi. He had admired General Masaki very much and therefore he could not bear Masaki's removal from his post.

The first time he came to visit Major-General Nagata Tetsuzan on 19 July 1935 he tried to force him to resign the office because of his responsibility for Masaki's dismissal. Nagata refused and Aizawa went back to Fukuyama, to his 41st Infantry Regiment. But after he had read some *kaibunsho* published by Muranaka he decided to kill "the evil man" from the Tōseiha. On 11 August, Aizawa came to Tokyo on

<sup>8</sup> See: *Tōkyō Asahi Shinbun*, 18, 22, 23 July, 15 August 1935, 1.

<sup>9</sup> *Tōkyō Asahi Shinbun*, 22 July 1935, 1.

<sup>10</sup> For more details see: Gs, IV: 158-164; *Hiroku...* 1972: 246-275; Takamiya 1951: 231-240.

his way to a new assignment. (He was transferred to Taiwan during the personnel changes.) The morning after spending the night at Nishida's house he went to the Army Ministry. He seemed to be completely calm and unruffled.

“At first he bade farewell to his friend Yamaoka Jūkō [not Jūkō but Shigaetsu; EPR], head of the Third [Equipment] Bureau. While they were talking Aizawa asked him to check whether Nagata was in his office. Upon receiving an affirmative reply, Aizawa asked his friend to excuse him for a moment and headed straight for Nagata's office. The general was behind his desk, discussing ways of strengthening military discipline with Colonel Niimi Hideo, Chief of the Tokyo Military Police. Suddenly the door opened and Aizawa appeared, wielding his officer sword in his hand. The two men jumped to their feet. Aizawa dashed toward Nagata and struck him with the sword. Nagata was wounded. Niimi tried to engage Aizawa, while Nagata made a desperate attempt to reach the door. But Aizawa pursued his victim and slashed him from the back. Nagata fell dead. Aizawa left the room and returned to Yamaoka's office. [...] Sirens started howling and military policemen rushed into the building, but Aizawa seemed not to care. As he later told the court-martial, he intended to pick up his hat from Nagata's room and proceed to Taiwan. Before he could do that he was arrested.”<sup>11</sup>

The assassination of Nagata shook the military circles and public. It was the first time an officer on duty had murdered his superior.

This incident was, however, a fortunate development for the Kōdōha and “the Young Officers”. First of all, Minister Hayashi, responsible for Army discipline, had to resign. His successor became, on 5 September 1935, General Kawashima Yoshiyuki, a neutral figure, but leaning more toward the Kōdōha than toward the Tōseiha. Although, according to Prof. Itō Takashi,<sup>12</sup> Masaki's clique expected him to do more for them, Kawashima contributed also to strengthening the Kōdōha position within the Army. He appointed Kashii Kōhei the Commander of the Tokyo Garrison. Murakami Keisaku (22) took the post of the Chief of Military Affairs Section. General Yanagawa was finally transferred from the 1st Division to Taiwan, but General Hori Takeo, another of Kōdōha's men became his successor.

Besides that, Kawashima also allowed Aizawa to have a public court-martial at the headquarters of the 1st Division, in Tokyo. The trial was pending from 18 January 1936 for many weeks. The presiding judge was Major-Gen. Satō Seisaburō, from the 1st Brigade, while the defenders were Dr. Uzawa Sōmei, the President of Meiji University and Mitsui Sakichi, both of them known Kōdōha followers.

The Imperial Way Faction tried to turn this trial into a stage for attacks on the Army leadership and on the regime. Mitsui and Uzawa, according to Crowley,

<sup>11</sup> Shillony 1973: 52-53.

<sup>12</sup> Itō 1984: 168.

“advanced familiar themes: the Emperor was surrounded by men, who were frustrating a “national restoration”, the Minobe theory enabled the plutocrats and the Okada Cabinet to misuse Imperial prerogatives, and a “military clique”, closely allied with bureaucrats and financial magnates, had driven Gen. Masaki from his post as Inspector General.”<sup>13</sup>

During the trial Aizawa said:

“I intended respectfully to support the great *Shōwa ishin*, undertaken by destroying the centre of high treason. I thought that His Excellency, Nagata, the Chief of Bureau was an evil member of the General Headquarters”.<sup>14</sup>

Nagata's assassination itself, while not only a murder, but also a conspicuous violation of military discipline, ceased to be an important problem. Instead, Aizawa was made a simple soldier who sought only to reform the Army and the Nation, according to the *kokutai* ideals. His deed became a pattern for “the Young Officers” showing them, how to destroy “the evil” in the Army and the country. They understood that the time had come at last to carry out “the Shōwa Restoration”. They had been waiting for this moment for a long time but the Generals and others from the Kōdōha maintained that the right time had not yet come. This time, however, the latter's behavior during the Aizawa trial, namely defending the murderer, who had, in their opinion, acted in the name of purifying the Army of the evil and the restoration of the *kokutai* ideals, convinced “the Young Officers” that it is necessary to launch the action. The nationalistic moods within the military circles grew even stronger.

The Kōdōha in spite of loosing the most important position in the Army did not stop fighting to regain it and to carry out their postulates, as its members still had many followers in the Army offices, mainly in the Army Ministry and also at the Imperial Court (e.g. Honjō Shigeru, the Chief Aide-de Camp). Besides, “the Young Officers” still backed them up. Due to those connections, Masaki's followers could still take an active part in making decisions concerning the Army affairs, at least indirectly. In spite of the Tōseiha officers' attempts, the Kōdōha's members were not completely cut off from power, similarly to the situation existing in 1932-1934 when those from “the main stream”, namely the *Ugakibatsu*, had not been cut off.

The Kōdōha, in spite of unfavorable press and hostile attitudes of many groups in the Army, government and at the Court, did not lose the support of its followers. The situation in late 1935 speaks to this most distinctly. *Kokutai meichō undō*

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<sup>13</sup> Crowley 1964: 323.

<sup>14</sup> Eguchi 1982: 274.

was still alive and its participants attacked Masaki's successor, General Watanabe for the views consistent with Minobe's theory. Dismissal of Masaki from the post also became a pretext used to accuse the Tōseiha members of "violating rights of the Supreme Command". Muranaka and Isobe used this subject to publish further *kaibunsho* in which they called for punishing those, who were guilty of "violating rights of the Supreme Command" and destroying the *kokutai* ideals. Another link in the chain of events was the Aizawa Incident, carried out under the influence of "mysterious documents" and the Masaki affair. This incident together with the trial performed according to the Kōdōha plan became the direct cause of launching decisive action by *seinen shōkō*.

It was impossible to stop this chain of events. The chauvinistic atmosphere among "the Young Officers" and their desire to free the Emperor from his bad advisers were too strong, and the Generals' attitude during the trial confirmed only the necessity to take action. Besides, the GSO decision to send the 1st Division, on February or March, to Manchuria was one more pretext. The direct cause of the GSO decision, made known by headquarters, was, that since the time of the Russo-Japanese War the soldiers of the Division stayed only in Tokyo and they never participated in direct fighting. It may seem, however, that the real, direct cause was a fear within the GSO, which was mainly represented by the Tōseiha, of the possibility of some activities undertaken by "the Young Officers" under the slogans of *Shōwa ishin*. However, before the soldiers were sent to Manchuria, the last, most significant incident of the 1930's took place.

### 3.1.3. The February Incident

This incident is a striking and still inexhaustible topic for historians as well as journalists and writers. Particularly for the last few years,<sup>15</sup> as the publication of documents concerning the incident has become possible and when eyewitnesses and other people connected with "the Young Officers" have started to provide information concerning the subject, many reports and analyses have been published.<sup>16</sup> Also, every February the Japanese press and television refer to the 1936 revolt and remind everyone of its cause, always adding some new, frequently not proven or supported by the facts, pieces of information on the subject of the incident.

Every year, in front of the Kannon (Goddess of Mercy; Buddhism) monument in the Shibuya Ward in Tokyo, which is devoted to the rebels of the *niniroku jiken*,

<sup>15</sup> The text was written in the second half of the 1980s.

<sup>16</sup> The basic materials relating to the incident are included in the following sources: *Niniroku jiken. Kenkyū shiryō*, 1976; *Nini* 1971; Kashii 1980; Kido 1974; Honjō 1967; Cf.: writings left behind by executed "Young Officers", compiled by Kōno Tsukasa, Kōno (ed.) 1983 and many others. In English the most detailed work on that subject is Shillony 1973.

a small celebration in honor of the slain “Young Officers” is carried out. It is always led by Kōno Tsukasa, the brother of Hisashi, one of its members. The authoress had the chance to see such a celebration in 1985. This all proves the significance and the popularity of the February Incident, a great uprising, which is sometimes compared with the Meiji Restoration.

At 5 a.m. on the snowy morning of 26 February about 1400 soldiers from the 1st and 3rd Divisions and 1st Imperial Guard Division led by more than 20 “Young Officers” (see: Appendix 2) started the plot aimed at carrying out the *Shōwa ishin* goals. To begin they attacked residences of some, in their minds, of the “evil men around the Throne”, that is to say, of those from the government as well as some representatives of military circles.

First Lieutenant Kurihara Yasuhide (Saga, 41) and 300 soldiers from the 1st Infantry Regiment surrounded the official residence of Prime Minister Okada Keisuke, near the Diet Building. However, they failed to achieve their purpose because Okada escaped. By mistake, they killed his brother-in-law, Colonel Matsuo Denzō. They believed then, that the man shot down was the Prime Minister himself<sup>17</sup>.

But the rebels did succeed in some other cases.

120 soldiers from the 3rd Imperial Guard Regiment led by First Lieutenant Nakahashi Motoaki (Saga, 41) attacked the private residence of the Finance Minister, Takahashi Korekiyo in Akasaka. Nakahashi himself fired at the old man, who was asleep. The Minister died instantly.

At 5:05 a.m. another group of 150 soldiers from the 3rd Infantry Regiment that were under First Lieutenant Sakai Naoshi's (Mie, 44) command reached the private residence of Viscount Saitō Makoto, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, in Yotsuya. Three officers shot him almost simultaneously.

About 6:30 a.m. the officers from the same regiment shot down the General Inspector of Military Education, Watanabe Jōtarō.

These were the only three victims out of the intended list of six that *seinen shōkō* managed to kill. As it has been mentioned previously, Prime Minister Okada was alive. The fifth “evil man” Makino Nobuaki, the former Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal also escaped from death at the hands of Captain Kōno Higashi (Nagasaki, 40), who arrived at 5.45 a.m. at the Itōya inn in Yūgawara, where Makino was staying.

Although the last victim, the Grand Chamberlain, Suzuki Kantarō had been severely wounded by the soldiers under the command of Captain Andō Teruzō (Gifu, 38), he recovered and a few years later became the last Prime Minister during the Asia Pacific War.

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<sup>17</sup> The first official announcement given by the Army Ministry said that Okada was murdered. The news was published by the press in the evening edition on 27 February.

The mutineers knew, having learnt from previous failure, that only through the support of the Emperor a national reform would succeed. Therefore they planned to seize the Imperial Palace in order to replace some “bad” advisers with “good” ones and thus, to get the Emperor’s support. As it seemed unthinkable to storm the palace from the outside, the rebels decided to capture it from within. Fortunately, from the rebels’ point of view, First Lieutenant Nakahashi Motoaki of the 3rd Imperial Guard Regiment and his unit were scheduled to begin their duty as the Palace Guard on 26 February.<sup>18</sup> Nakahashi was to enter the palace and open it to the rebels.

After completing the attack on the Finance Minister’s residence, Nakahashi took his men and succeeded in entering the palace grounds.<sup>19</sup> But as the Commander of the Imperial Guard had learnt about Nakahashi’s connections with the rebels he ordered him to leave the palace. The plan to seize the palace failed and the rebels’ chances to get hold of the Emperor were lost. Fortunately for *seinen shōkō*

“the other parts of the occupation plan were carried out swiftly and encountered no resistance. By ten o’clock in the morning, the rebels were in control of the whole area comprising about one square mile to the south of the palace. It included the recently constructed Diet Building, the War [Army; EPR] Ministry, the General Staff, government offices, some foreign embassies [...], and the official residences of the Prime Minister, the War [Army; EPR] Minister and other Cabinet members. (The border of the area under the rebels’ control ran from the Hanzō gate [Hanzōmon; EPR] in the north, through Miyakezaka to Akasaka Mitsuke in the south, from there to Toranomom in the east, then to Sakuradamon in the north and from there along the southern moat of the palace back to the Hanzō gate [...], the whole area was sealed off by barbed wire and sentry lines.”<sup>20</sup>

The mutineers were backed by many senior Army officers, especially by those belonging to the Kōdōha, such as Masaki, Araki, Yanagawa and their followers, namely General Abe Nobuyuki and others, and even by the Army Minister Kawashima as well as the Chief Aide-de-Camp, Honjō Shigeru who was the father-in-law of “Young Officer” Yamaguchi Ichitarō (Shizuoka, 33). They were also supported by Prince Chichibu (brother of the Emperor), and by Princes, Higashikuni and Asaka.

In the morning General Kawashima received the rebels’ leaders who gave him the “Demands to the Army Minister” (*Rikugun daijin yōbō jikō*) and their manifesto, called the “Outline of uprising” (*Kekki shuisho*).<sup>21</sup> They demanded:

<sup>18</sup> This duty, which was assigned every week to a different company of the Imperial Guard Division, entitled that company to enter the Palace grounds in case of emergency to protect the Emperor. For this reason the rebellion was scheduled on 26 February.

<sup>19</sup> Cf.: Shillony 1973: 142.

<sup>20</sup> Ibidem: 143–144; the map see: Appendix 3.

<sup>21</sup> For the text see: Kashii 1980: 37–38; Cf.: Takahashi 1965: 25–27.



1. to prevent the use of force against the rebels;
2. to arrest Generals Ugaki, Koiso and Tatekawa because of their part in the March Incident;
3. to dismiss the leading Tōseiha personnel from service, etc.

The manifesto was a representative text for the *Nihon shugi* activists, the text including all the ideas they propagated before. First of all they wrote that they served under the Supreme Command of the Emperor. They explained also that the essence of the country consisted of the evolutionary formation of a single nation and then of unification of the entire earth under the Japanese roof (*hakkō ichiū*). They mentioned that Emperor Jinmu, the legendary, according to the mythology, first Emperor of Japan (from 660 B.C.) had founded the nation and the Meiji Restoration had transformed the society. After that they underlined that some *genrō*, the military factions, the bureaucrats, the parties' politicians and so on had all contributed, as leaders, to the destruction of *kokutai* (by signing the London Naval Treaty, by dismissing Masaki, etc.). They also wrote about the *Ketsumeidan jiken*, *goichigo jiken* as well as the *Aizawa jiken*.

“Even if our actions cost our lives and our honour, vacillation now has no meaning to us. [...] To make the traitors perish, to make the supreme righteousness righteous, to protect the national essence and make it manifest, we dedicate our own true hearts as children of the sacred land, thereby giving our lives and brains to be consumed in the fire.”<sup>22</sup>

The manifesto was written in a very moving style but it affected only the Kōdōha officers and their followers. The Emperor remained adamant. He refused to sanction any restoration and his firm opposition to the rebellion became one, although not the only, cause of its failure. However, the first two days of the uprising were full of success. Even the proclamation of the Martial Law (*kaigenrei*) signed by Emperor on the morning of 27 February was accepted with full satisfaction. According to the proclamation the Tokyo Garrison became the Martial Law Enforcement Headquarters (Kaigen Shireibu) and Gen. Kashii Kōhei from the Kōdōha was appointed its Commanding Officer (*kaigen shireikan*). Soon afterwards the Army stopped bringing in reinforcements to the capital and the rebels reduced their occupation to the Miyakezaka area, south of the Imperial Palace.

But on the morning of 28 February they learnt that the situation was not going to be easy for them. The Emperor, the Navy<sup>23</sup> and GSO dominated by the Tōseiha men, opposed their action strongly. Finally, an Imperial Command ordering the rebels' units to withdraw from their position was issued and the rebellion ended

<sup>22</sup> Kashii 1980: 37-38. Cf.: the translation given in Shillony 1973: 46-48.

<sup>23</sup> The Navy traditionally opposed the Army but then they were upset by the fact that the three people attacked during the incident were Admirals (Saitō, Okada, Suzuki).

as a fiasco. But it was not suppressed by force although many tanks began to enter the occupied area on the morning of 29 February. “The Young Officers” stopped their action because they were disappointed by the Kōdōha’s Generals. The Generals, knowing that the Emperor was against the rebellion and being afraid for their future backed out of the uprising. In such a situation the rebels decided to withdraw from the occupied area because they did not see any reason to further endanger the lives of their soldiers. But they categorically refused to commit suicide. Isobe, one of them, stated, that if they had to kill themselves, all the Generals who had supported them should do the same.<sup>24</sup> Only two of the 21 leading *seinen shōkō* committed suicide. They were Captain Nonaka Shirō (Okayama, 36) and Kōno Hisashi. There is also the possibility that “the Young Officers” did not commit suicide because they expected public trials as in the case of Aizawa and they intended to use the courtroom as a forum to stir up the people against the government and some of the “bad” advisers around the Throne.

But the end of the uprising was very tragic for the rebel officers and their civilian collaborators. In July, Kōda, Andō, Kurihara, Takeshima, Tsushima, Nakahashi and Hayashi, as well as the civilians Muranaka, Isobe, Shibukawa and Mizukami were sentenced to death and executed. Five officers, Mugiya, Tokiwa, Suzuki, Kiyohara and Ikeda were sentenced to life imprisonment. Forty-four non-commissioned officers and four soldiers were sentenced to various prisons. The troops taking part in the rebellion with a few exceptions were transferred to Manchuria in May. The Kōdōha senior Generals were temporarily purged from their posts. But the only General put on trial was Masaki Jinzaburō.

Some months after the February Incident Lieutenant-Colonel Aizawa Saburō was also sentenced to death for the assassination of Nagata. Kita and Nishida who played an important role in encouraging the rebels were also executed in August 1937.

Thus, the biggest uprising against the government in modern Japanese history and also the best organized one carried out by *seinen shōkō* ended as a fiasco. It was the last one. With the execution of the leading “Young Officers” the idea of *Shōwa ishin* died. “The Young Officers’ Movement” also ceased to exist.

However, this incident proved that “the Young Officers” could not only spread slogans concerning the Shōwa Restoration but also act in order to bring them to life. But they were His Majesty’s soldiers till the end and they surrendered only because they had not gained His support. Even in prison, awaiting death, they seemed to think mainly about their Emperor. The poems included in their wills prove it. For example, the following one: “Thinking about the Emperor and the people I am leaving this world forever.”<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Kōno 1957: 84-88.

<sup>25</sup> Shillony 1973: 204.

They were also betrayed by the senior Generals who, being the followers of the same ideology, encouraged “the Young Officers” to act. It turned out, however, that in a critical situation they backed out only taking care of their own posts and futures. They were not able to convince the Emperor that their views were right and in this way support the rebels. The Emperor did not want to realize the necessity for any changes in the political situation in the country fearing the uncertain future and the chaos, which could be brought about. He also feared the reaction of Western countries.

The February 26 Incident finally led to firing the Kōdōha’s representatives from a few posts in the Army that had still remained in their hands. And although Konoe Fumimaro (1891-1945) as the Prime Minister (4 June 1937 – 5 January 1939) in order to gain the Army support appointed once more several officers from this faction to some posts, Kōdōha’s members never again regained its position from the 1932-1934 period.

Thus, the Kōdōha lost its significance as the dominating power and Tōseiha’s rival in the Army. Putting Masaki on trial because of the February Incident also proved this to be so.

## 3.2. Masaki versus incidents

### 3.2.1. Masaki versus the Aizawa Incident

As mentioned before, Lieutenant-Colonel Aizawa Saburō had greatly admired Masaki from the time the latter was the head at the Rikushi in the mid-1920’s. During this time Aizawa was an instructor of Japanese fencing at the same Academy. According to Crowley, Masaki had been Aizawa’s sponsor even then.<sup>26</sup> Their connections became closer when Masaki was appointed the Commander of the 8th Division at Hirosaki (1927), where Aizawa also held a post. In early 1934 Masaki even visited Aizawa in a hospital when he was sick.<sup>27</sup>

During the preliminary interrogation of the trial Aizawa said:

“Later, during my service with the Gymnastics School in Tokyo I got the guidance of His Excellency [Masaki; EPR] and I visited him frequently even at His house and listened to him. I realized that His Excellency was really an august personage.”<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Crowley 1964: 322, n. 58.

<sup>27</sup> Itō 1984 (a), I: 167.

<sup>28</sup> Ōtani 1961: 195.

Masaki confirmed this in his testimony after the February Incident. He added that Aizawa visited him to hear the General's opinion on the Army, the various ranks officers' duties and their morale, and also the views concerning the *kokutai ideals*.

Masaki found out about Nagata's assassination almost immediately after it had happened. Etō Genkurō informed him by telephone. But then the murderer's name was not mentioned at all. As this case had shocked the military circles, and Masaki, in spite of losing the Inspector's post, still belonged to the most important person-ages in the Army, he was, on that day, visited by many people, and some talked to him by phone, but Aizawa's name was not mentioned until the evening when Matsuura said to Masaki:

"This morning Aizawa visited Yamaoka and paid his respects to him. After Nagata was killed he once more entered [Yamaoka's room; EPR] to ask for a bandage." (Mn, II, 187)

The General, during the earlier mentioned interrogation, stated that he had suspected various people of committing the murder but not Aizawa as he knew he had been out of Tokyo. Therefore he was very much surprised to find out that Aizawa himself was the assassin. He admitted, however, that Aizawa and Nagata both had contrary views on many matters concerning the Army.

The next day after the incident Masaki participated in the Military Councilors' Conference. During the conference Minister Hayashi said, among other things, that the direct causes of this assassination were the former incidents, that is to say the March and October Incidents as well as the November Incident. Araki, on the other hand, tried to draw attention to the danger from the civilians' side, those who were going to get mixed up in the Army. That day Masaki also found out that false rumors were being spread that he himself had inspired Aizawa's action. Masaki developed this topic in greater detail during the visit of Lieutenant-Gen. Ishimaru Shitsuma. He then heard that his opponents thought Aizawa had committed this crime because he knew he had had Masaki's support, as he was his guarantor at the Rikushi. In answer to this accusation Masaki said that he could not see any need to explain the fiction made up by outsiders. As always, and this time also, he tried to avoid a positive answer since he did not know the attitude of many people towards this incident.

However, for the next few months, until the February Incident, Masaki was very busy with the matters and events, which were the consequences of the *Aizawa jiken*. The above-mentioned personnel changes and Aizawa Saburō's public trial were the most important among all others.

Minister Hayashi had to bear the consequences and resign. Masaki, in spite of the fact that the Tōseiha's officers occupied a great number of important posts, still had, as the Military Councillor, a right to vote for the candidates for the Minister's

successor. Therefore he often met with the people from the Kōdōha, mainly Araki and his followers from outside the faction to discuss the suggestions concerning the choice of the new Minister. Finally, on 5 September 1935, Kawashima was appointed the Army Minister. As Kawashima's attitude towards the Imperial Way Faction has already been described in Chapter 3.1.2, it only ought to be added here that Masaki recognized Kawashima's candidacy as the most suitable one and supported it. Although Kawashima feared that his nomination might lead to another incident Masaki said:

“We all will support you as strongly as possible. We should make an effort in order to exclude any difficulties.” (Mn, II, 214)

Anyway, Masaki did not trust Kawashima completely. His doubts grew stronger when it came to the discussion with the new Minister on the subject of the choice of the Army Vice-Minister. Masaki put forward, among others, the candidacy of Yanagawa but Kawashima did not give a definite answer. The discussion on that matter lasted for several days and finally, on 21 September, Furushō Motoo (14) was appointed the Vice-Minister. As Masaki also suggested choosing him, this nomination might perhaps be considered as Kōdōha's partial success. Although none of the leading members of the Kōdōha were chosen, Imai Kiyoshi from the Tōseiha had also been rejected. However, the main posts in the Army Central Headquarters were mostly in the hands of those representing the Control Faction. Masaki's followers could not agree with it. Besides, they considered (Cf.: Mn, II, 298) that their enemies would not rest as long as they were able to eliminate the Kōdōha's members from all the most significant posts. The December personnel changes, namely sending Yanagawa to Taiwan and dismissing Yamaoka from the Chief Equipment Bureau, were the best examples of Tōseiha's policy in staffing matters. Then the same people, e.g. Imai, Hashimoto, etc., already planned the March personnel changes of 1936, which were supposed to result in the definite elimination of the Kōdōha's members from the Army Central Headquarters.

On 28 January 1936, the public trial against Aizawa Saburō began. Masaki did not participate but was very much interested, that attitude is proven by the spacious notes in his diary on that particular subject. In the authoress' opinion, Masaki's interest resulted mainly from two reasons. The first one was certainly the fact that Masaki liked and even admired Aizawa for his courage. The second, much more important, was the fear for his own skin.

As it is known Masaki had sporadically met Aizawa since 1927. During these meetings they discussed the Army problems, which led the General to learn of “the Young Officers” views. And although Masaki was astonished by the fact that it was Aizawa who assassinated Nagata he understood why it was he who had done it. Even before the trial, on 16 January, after having listened to the recorded protocol from Aizawa's hearing he wrote in the diary:

“On hearing this [the protocol; EPR] I feel ashamed of my misunderstanding. I suddenly experienced feelings of relief and respect towards Aizawa.” (Mn, II, 348)

That was the reason why, later on, his attitude towards each day of the trial was so emotional. Some sentences put down at that time in his diary show very well his attitude towards the accused and the whole matter. Masaki wrote that he was praying for a happy ending, or that he wished Aizawa the best of luck. Besides that, for the first time in his diary, he recollected a happy event that had taken place in the past, on the same day. It seems that quoting some such sentences will be a good example of Masaki's emotional attitude towards the whole affair.

- “3 January: Since this morning it was cloudy and I have been superstitious about it. However, the weather changed about 10 a.m. and I am delighted with this lucky omen for today.” (Mn, II, 360)
- “1 February: I wish Aizawa good luck at the trial.” (Ibidem: 363)
- “3 February: It has been snowing heavily since afternoon and I felt anxious about the future fortune. But if I turn the pages of the diary I will see that this day is the day of the Imperial Conference concerning the Russo-Japanese War and also the day of the attack on Weihaiwei during the Sino-Japanese War. I haven't yet been informed about today's trial but probably everything will be brought to a happy end.” (Ibidem: 365-366)
- “14 February: Today will be a lucky day because [on the same day; EPR] in 1932 the 9th Division landed in Shanghai. I wish good luck for the future of this affair.” (Ibidem: 376).

The second, more important reason of Masaki's great interest in the Aizawa's trial was the fear that his enemies would use this matter to destroy the General definitively. Many members of Masaki's faction paid him visits at that time relating the trial to him, describing the activities of the opponent faction and insisting on the General not participating in the whole matter. At first Masaki agreed with them but eventually, as he had learnt Aizawa's and his enemies' points of view, he arrived at the conclusion that for the good of the Army he ought to appear as a witness before the jury.

On 30 January, during his conversation with Araki who maintained that Masaki's appearance at the trial may result in his disadvantage the General firmly replied:

“I do not care if it even leads to an unfavorable result for me. I should deal with it on the basis of an elimination of impropriety in the Army, regardless of my advantage or disadvantage.” (Mn, II, 362)

Since that day Masaki began to prepare a written testimony, which he wanted to present before the jury. As it was in his nature he talked this text over with many

people considering every possible consequence of its publication. One more problem, which was connected with this testimony, had arisen at that time. The text was to be sanctioned by the Emperor. Masaki, appearing before the jury, would appear not as a private person but as a General, Military Councilor, and the former Inspector General and Vice-Chief of GSO. That is why he thought that his testimony ought to be approved by the Emperor. He did not wish to cause His anger again, and he wanted to prevent attacks from the Court. Finally, however, on 25 February, he appeared before the jury having received no answer. The trial due to the fact that Masaki was the main witness on that day continued behind closed doors. However, in the General's diary detailed descriptions can be found. This time also the General remembered as he had before that:

“Today is the day when, in 1863, the English and French guards in Yokohama withdrew.” (Mn, II, 386)

Further he described leaving the house, meeting with journalists on the way to the Headquarters of the 1st Division.

During the trial he first answered the presiding judge's questions. They concerned Masaki's relations with Aizawa, his own views on the subject of Aizawa himself and on the assassination of Nagata. Next, he had to answer the defenders, Uzawa and Mitsui. It ought to be mentioned here that even earlier, that is during the first days of the trial, they both often visited Masaki at home relating the process to him and that their mutual relationship was not indifferent. Both Uzawa and Mitsui supported and respected Masaki, while the latter had a high opinion of both Aizawa's defenders, particularly of Mitsui.

Answering Uzawa's questions concerning relations with the Aizawa Incident and the problem of violating rights of the Supreme Command, Masaki said that it was the basic problem for the whole Army. The Imperial Army ought to watch out that the principles that were at its core would not be thoughtlessly destroyed. Referring to spirit and the basic significance of the Army he added that he himself as one of the Imperial officers deeply believed that the matter of the incident would be completely cleared for the Army's good. Mitsui also referred, in his questions, to the problem of violating the rights of the Supreme Command. He returned to the Big Three Conference during which Masaki opposed the decision to dismiss him from the Inspector's post. Answering, Masaki said that his protest was neither personal nor was it caused by the dislike for Minister Hayashi or Prince Kan'in.

Judging by what had been written in the diary, the whole trial went according to Kōdōha's plan. The Aizawa Incident was used to introduce the ideological discrepancies in the Army with which the assassin, having acted for the Army's good, could not go along. Masaki appearing before the jury also believed that he acted for good of the Imperial Army. He claimed, as far as we can take the sentences

from his diary as the source of the truth, that the jury would rightly judge whether or not he stood behind Nagata's murder. He made up his mind to withdraw completely from political life if his influence on Aizawa's action could be proven.

It all speaks very well for the General's nobleness and integrity but nevertheless, one thing must be mentioned at this point. Masaki knew what the personnel roster of the jury had been and that it was Yanagawa, the man from his faction, who, before leaving for Taiwan had chosen those particular people. They were almost all Kōdōha's followers and therefore its opponents' attempts to use the process as the means to destroy Masaki's group were for nothing. Although the Imperial Way Faction together with Masaki was dismissed almost totally from the main posts in the Army, its members and their ideology still had the support of many social circles. Aizawa's process convinced them that following "the Imperial Way" had been right and that it was necessary to carry out the *Shōwa ishin* quickly. Therefore the next day after Masaki appeared in court, the February Incident broke up.

### 3.2.2. Masaki versus the February 26 Incident

On 26 February about 5:30 a.m., when Masaki was woken up by a servant who told him that Kamekawa Tetsuya had come, he did not expect the news he heard in the least. He supposed, as he said during the above-mentioned hearings (Nini, II, 204), that the reason for such an early visit was some important matter connected with Masaki's appearance before the jury concerning the Aizawa Incident the day before. However, Kamekawa informed him about "the Young Officers'" uprising and in tears asked Masaki for help. He claimed Masaki was the only person who was able to support the rebels. He said:

"If it is impossible to form the new Cabinet today the soldiers will be killed. Therefore it is necessary to meet many people." (Mn, II, 389)

Masaki was extremely astonished. During the later hearings he also mentioned that he had not thought that the matter would go in such a direction. Just to the contrary, during the whole of Aizawa's trial he heard that "the Young Officers" were gradually calming down and they were glad with its course.

Did he really know nothing about "the Young Officers'" preparations for the coup? Engrossed in Aizawa's case he did not mention it at all in his diary. As it is very well known, Masaki was careful not to get involved in any illegal action and that is why perhaps he avoided such discrediting notes. It seems unlikely that he, who had always been well informed about everything that was going on in the Army, was omitted this time. It is even more unlikely as "the Young Officers" trusted him very much. They planned that he would become the chief of the new, reformed



government under Martial Law. It was Kamekawa (the same person, who visited Masaki in the morning) who suggested to the rebels that, following the outbreak of the rebellion, Uzawa Sōmei be dispatched to the *genrō* Saionji Kinmochi to recommend Masaki as the next Prime Minister.<sup>29</sup> The proof for these plans might be Kamekawa's short sentence written down by Manaki in his diary. He said:

"I will visit Uzawa now and we shall go together to Saionji." (Mn, II, 389)

Due to an upset stomach, Masaki went to the Army Minister's official residence as late as 8:30 a.m. There he met Minister Kawashima, the Vice-Minister and five or six "insurgent officers" (*kekki shōkō*), but he only knew one of them, Captain Kōda Kiyosada. Reserve-General Saitō Ryū related to him the events of that morning.

According to what had been written down during Masaki's hearings on 21 April 1936, all present there listened to the rebels' manifesto and were wondering what to do next. Masaki suggested to Kawashima to call for the Cabinet (they all thought at that time that Okada was dead) and to proclaim Martial Law. About 10 a.m. Masaki went to the Palace to meet Prince Fushimi and tell him the news concerning the present situation in the Army. This piece of information ends the up-to-date notes written during the incident in Masaki's diary. The General himself added that he would complete them when he could find the time. Further, in the diary there are notes from March and the news from 26 February after 10 a.m., from 27, 28 and 29 February but they are put down no earlier than between 10 and 11 March.

This fact slightly lessens the diary's value as the basic source material as it might have happened that the General, being extremely occupied with different events at that time, had forgotten some important details. Besides, writing about those exciting days after suppressing the incident and knowing the Emperor's and other influential personalities' attitude towards it and fearing for his own future, he could have concealed or interpreted differently some facts. Still, as Masaki's diary is the basic source material for this work the authoress decided to continue to make use of it in this chapter. Comparing the facts from this diary with the facts from the protocol of Masaki's hearings from April 1936 and supplementing them, if the need arises, with pieces of information from other available documents and studies, it is possible to show the General's activities during the incident with some accuracy.

The Military Councilors met at the Imperial Palace that afternoon at 2 p.m. The meeting was dominated by Kōdōha's men, namely by Masaki, Araki, Kashii, Yamashita and Murakami Keisaku. Besides them also Minister Kawashima, Sugiyama, the Vice-Chief of GSO, and others were present. Probably it was Sugiyama, a man from the former Ugaki clique and the Tōseiha's representative, one of the staunchest

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<sup>29</sup> It was a reason for cancelling the attack on Saionji Kinmochi. Uzawa left for Saionji's residence but returned later in the day without finding the *genrō*.

opponents of the rebels who suggested asking for some Imperial instructions, how to pacify the situation. However, Araki replied that the Councilors had to cope themselves with such an unprecedented affair within the Army. He also suggested drafting a proclamation to the rebels, which was then written probably by Murakami or Yamashita and corrected by Terauchi, Abe and Ueda.

The text reads as follows:

- “- The purpose of Your uprising has been reported to the Emperor;
- Your true motives are approved;
- We, Military Councilors will be striving together for the realization of the real intentions.” (Nini, II, 207; Cf.: Mn, II, 400)

Masaki, having learnt his lesson through experience, did not voice his opinion during that debate, being afraid that what he would have said could have been used against him in the future. He behaved in the same manner that evening, when he was called together with Araki and others to the Minister's residence to meet the rebels' representatives. The purpose of the meeting was to impart to them the Military Councilors' opinions.

After the night spent in the Minister's residence, on 27 February, in the morning, Masaki together with other Councilors went to the Imperial Household Ministry (Kunaishō) to discuss with the members of the Cabinet the matter of future government. However, no definite result was reached. During the day the General met many people, but it wasn't so important for the topic of the work.

About 3 p.m. Gen. Kashii Kōhei having already been appointed the Chief of the Martial Law Enforcement Headquarters applied to Masaki with a request that he went to “the Young Officers” to discuss with them various matters connected with the incident. But Masaki refused being afraid that it would again be used against him. The General did not agree to go there alone in spite of the fact that all the Military Councilors insisted on him doing that. At the same time they pointed out that the moment was important and that Masaki's position among the rebels had been so strong. Finally, about 4 p.m. Masaki with two other Councilors, Gen. Abe Nobuyuki and Gen. Nishi Giichi met with the *seinen shōkō* in the Minister's residence. As it is written in his diary (Mn, II, 401), eighteen rebels came to the meeting. Nonaka spoke on behalf of all of them:

- “We would like to leave the control of the situation to His Excellency, Masaki. We wish that other Military Councilors will agree and will cooperate with him.”
- (Mn, II, 401-402)

Both Abe and Nishi agreed to help and cooperate if Masaki or anyone else were to be questioned. Then Masaki spoke and reminded them, as it had happened

before in similar situations, that being a Military Councilor he was totally subordinate to the Emperor's orders and he could not do anything against the Emperor's will. However, in a moment so important for the country he could not be idle. As a superior officer he wanted to help "the Young Officers" and therefore he agreed to accept their proposal, but on one condition. As after proclaiming Martial Law the units of mutinous officers also were under the orders of the Martial Law Enforcement Headquarters, they had to obey all the commands of the Commander of the 3rd Regiment, who was their direct superior. He said:

"If it happens that you disobey an order it will mean that you stood against the Imperial standard. Then I, as I have always stressed it, will be the first to suppress this fighting against the Emperor." (Mn, II, 402)

"The Young Officers" agreed with Masaki and this fact satisfied and calmed him down.

The General's decision may be interpreted in two ways. The first - the rebels understood it in this way - the senior officers supported the incident and since then *seinen shōkō* would act under their orders to carry out the reforms. The second - that how the senior officers as well as Masaki explained it after suppressing the incident - the rebels' units were in this way under the command of the Martial Law Enforcement Headquarters, which would make possible bloodless withdrawal from the occupied area and would lead to the definite ending of the revolt.

On the same day, in the evening, Masaki together with Abe and Nishi related the meeting with "the Young Officers" to the Princes Higashikuni and Asaka, and also to some representatives of AM and GSO. He spent the night in the Collective Activity Society (Kaikōsha),<sup>30</sup> which was his substitute home during the days of the February Incident.

The morning of 28 February, however, brought a complete change of the situation. Masaki himself, who was so glad with the decision he made together with "the Young Officers" the day before, was very astonished of this change. The Emperor did not approve the coup and ordered to suppress the rebels as soon as possible. The "Young Officers", disappointed with this turn of the events, called on Masaki as early as 7:30 a.m. The General, in spite of the fact that he sympathized with them, did not show his feelings as he realized that the incident would end in the failure for *seinen shōkō* and all their supporters would be punished.

During the hearings carried out by the Military Police on 21 April, Masaki repeated several times that he did not remember precisely what had happened on that day or who had said what. Fearing the consequences, he probably preferred

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<sup>30</sup> Translated also as the Companions' Society; Cf.: Morris 1960: 216, n. 3; Club of Army officers, established in 1877 in Tokyo.

to refrain from speaking the truth. He also maintained, that he had not known why the situation had changed so completely. Besides, he added he had not known and had not understood the reasons for the February Incident, which had probably been the result of a spontaneous, inspired from the outside “Young Officers’ Movement”. He said:

“When I learnt about their uprising I thought that they had done me a terrible thing.” (Nini, II, 210)

When it had become clear that “the Young Officers” would not reach their aim and a government with Masaki at the head would not come to life the General taking care of his own future preferred not to admit that he had been on the rebels’ side. Also this time his common sense had prevailed over the emotions.

Thus, when Masaki learnt that the Emperor had refused to sanction the Shōwa Restoration and had even given an order to expel the rebels’ units immediately from their positions during this day, for many hours, he thought together with many people over some ways, how to obey the order. It became clear that *seinen shōkō* decided to ignore and disobey the Imperial order, because some of them suspected it of being a forged document, written by the traitors of GSO, which therefore did not bind them. They tried to contact the Emperor directly by an Imperial messenger (*chokushi*) and if, then, the Emperor disapproved of their deeds, on this one condition, they would commit suicide. However, the Emperor did not grant the request and for that reason the rebels decided to fight to the end. In such a situation General Masaki and General Abe gave their consent (as the Military Councilors) to the use of the Imperial Guard Division for suppressing the rebellion.

The whole situation was a dramatic experience for Masaki. His concise, very short notes in the diary, from 29 February, prove it best:

“Finally they will attack. It has been decided not to shoot, making use of all other possible means;

7:30 – they surrender one after another;

8:00 – Major Ōkubo from the Press Section comes to report on the situation of surrendering;

8:45 – completion of arrangements for the attack;

10:00 – I’m going to the Palace. Each of Their Imperial Highnesses is observing the military operation from the palace near the Shintēfu;<sup>31</sup>

1:30 – I give my respects to His Highness, Prince Kan’in at Court;

2:20 – return to the Kaikōsha;

3:00 – Major Yagasaki makes a report on the situation in the Prime Minister’s residence;

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<sup>31</sup> Pavilion in Remembrance of the Dead in War, built in the Imperial Palace compound after the Sino-Japanese War.

8:30 – the Army Minister called on us. We all together asked whether we should resign or remain in office.” (Mn, II, 404)

And so, finally, on 29 February, the rebels surrendered and this, the greatest in the modern history of Japan, incident ended as a fiasco. “The Young Officers” and Kōdōha’s representatives’ dreams to carry out the aims of *Shōwa ishin* had not come true. They had, on the other hand, to consider the consequences of the incident.

During the next few days Masaki was extremely busy with numerous meetings and debates during which he considered his future and the fate of the other officers from the Kōdōha.

On 1 March he wrote in his diary:

“I was in the club the whole day. I’m absorbed in some desultory conversations about the present situation.” (Mn, II, 389)

They were mainly occupied with three matters, namely, the matter of the March personnel changes; the problem of responsibility for the incident breaking out; personnel matters in the future, namely what would happen with Kōdōha’s members and whether the Tōseiha would completely dominate the Army Central Headquarters.

They also worked out *The Broad Policy for the Future* (*Shōrai no daihōshin*), which are not included in the diary.

The next two days, still during numerous meetings with officers from his groups, he was considering the future of the Army and the new personnel relationships. On 6 March he was placed on the waiting list and next, on 10 March he retired from active service.

In the diary on this day he wrote:

“At 4:20 p.m. I was notified that the Army Minister decided that I should retire from active service, which was mentioned in the Imperial edict. So, I announce that I have finished 40 years of life as a soldier. However, looking at the present situation I do not intend to say that it is also the end of my spirit [=ideology; EPR]” (Mn, II, 399)

In spite of the fact that Masaki finished his active service in the Imperial Army he still participated, although unofficially, in many meetings and he was informed all the time about the problems concerning the Army. As he said himself in the above quoted fragment, he knew that his spirit, the ideology of the *kokutai*, *kōdō* and *seishin shugi* would not cease to have its supporters. It was this ideology which originally gained Masaki “the Young Officers” support but also the same ideology that created his enemies. Although he never changed his opinion concerning the role and shape of the Army, the Emperor’s position and so on, as the years went

by and as he was more strongly attacked by his opponents Masaki was more and more cautious while speaking on the subject, common sense and caution suppressed his feelings.

At present, many researchers of the events of that time, as well as people connected with the incident or supporting *seinen shōkō* blame Masaki saying that he had betrayed the latter.<sup>32</sup> He was one of the senior officers in the Army Central Headquarters who had been trusted by “the Young Officers” and whose views concerning the *kokka kaizō* had fascinated them. Masaki himself, although he avoided direct encounters with *seinen shōkō*, carefully watched their activities. He was often kept informed by his confidential agents. The General tried to direct the movement in such a way that everything, in his opinion, would be according to the law and military discipline. He also read all the published *kaibunsho*, some of which (for example: *Sangatsu jiken kūdeta keikaku*) he even supplied with materials. Although he wrote in his diary that he had no foreknowledge about preparations concerning the February Incident, it seems to be unlikely.

During the first two days of the revolt he did nothing to lead it to a quick end and to the punishment of the guilty. He tried, on the other hand, to cautiously direct “the Young Officers”, this time leading to the formation of the Cabinet with him as the head. There is no proof for that but it seems very likely that the General of the Imperial Way Faction wanted to regain power for himself and, what is obvious, for the representatives of his group and to get rid of his enemies, that is to say mainly from the Tōseiha. In this way Kōdōha’s members could have again decided the policy of the Army and the country, explaining that the *seinen shōkō* itself was the Shōwa Restoration. But finally they and Masaki lost.

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<sup>32</sup> See for example: Tatamiya 1980; Tatamiya 1968; Nakano 1975 and others.

## 4. Conclusion

### 4.1. Masaki's life and activities (1936-1956)

General Masaki Jinzaburō was transferred to the reserve on 10 March 1936 and that was the end of his active service in the Japanese Army. In July of the same year he was imprisoned in Tokyo as a person suspected of having been connected with the February Incident, but he was released due to the lack of evidence on 15 September 1937.

Probably Masaki was relatively quickly released from the prison thanks to the Prime Minister at that time, Prince Konoe Fumimaro, who wanted to appoint some of Kōdōha's representatives to more important posts in the Army in order to gain a stronger control over it.

At present Masaki is regarded by some historians<sup>33</sup> as a member of the Konoe-Yoshida<sup>34</sup> group which was formed at the beginning of the 1940's and which stood in opposition to the group of Tōjō Hideki and others from the Tōseiha. This opinion is not shared by Masaki Hideki who maintains that his father had nothing to do with politics after his transfer to the reserve.<sup>35</sup> Nevertheless the same Hideki remembers very well that after 1937 there often came visitors to the General's house. They conferred sometimes until late at night, in Hideki's beliefs, seeking and probably receiving the General's advice.

It seems reasonable to presume that Masaki Jinzaburō's transfer to the reserve and then his imprisonment must have dealt severe blows to his soldiery pride. Afterwards he did not want to be associated openly with any group, nor with politics in general. But at the same time he did not become indifferent to the needs of his former disciples, colleagues, and other people of similar political orientation.

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<sup>33</sup> Cf.: Itō 1979: 221-253.

<sup>34</sup> Yoshida Shigeru (1878-1967) was a diplomat, delegate to the League of Nation (1932) and Ambassador to England (1936).

<sup>35</sup> The authoress interviewed Masaki Hideki in April and May 1984, in Tokyo.

Not going into the open, he was nevertheless ready to help privately, discussing some matters over, etc.

The final blow, after which the old General's character changed markedly, came with Japan's defeat in the Asia Pacific War in 1945. On 19 November Masaki was again arrested and put into the Sugamo prison as one of the Class A war criminals. He was dropped from the list of defendants (together with Abe Nobuyuki) and consequently released on 2 September 1947.<sup>36</sup> From that moment until his death he did not participate in the political life. He died of a heart attack at 79, on 31 August 1956. The official funeral ceremony was performed in his house in the Setagaya Ward in Tokyo. Later on, following an old Japanese custom, another ceremony was held in his home town of Chiyoda, where the General's ashes were put into the family plot of the Buddhist temple Kyōsenji.

## 4.2. Some remarks on Masaki's character

Up to now the picture of General Masaki emerging from these pages was a rather fragmentary one. It contained an outline of Masaki's official career, with the emphasis put on five years only. Looking at Masaki's activities during those years when he was one of leading figures in political intrigue of the time, an attentive Reader may form the opinion that he was a biased, opinionated nationalist, a strict soldier, and a patriot of that fatal patriotic trend which finally led to the war. Such an opinion would be obviously very near the mark but it would not be quite adequate. It would come from an interpretation of the primary sources used in this work, i.e., from contemporary diaries, official documents, etc., showing the General's public appearances and some of his ideas. In the sources there is nothing personal about the General. Even his diary is almost devoid of any personal touches.

It seems unfair (to the late General as well as to the Reader) not to add a splash of color to that monochromatic picture. Nearing the conclusion of this work the authoress would like to devote some space to a few more or less informal remarks on Masaki's character and his private life, on his interests and his relations with his children.

According to Masaki Hideki,<sup>37</sup> his father, a typical soldier, was too much involved in the Army affairs to have time for other interests. In his spare time, however, he read a lot and especially studied the problem of the Japanese constitution, comparing it with those of other countries. He did it because he was sure that there were many obscure formulations in the Meiji constitution, for example, those parts referring to the duties of the Army Minister and the military advisors

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<sup>36</sup> Minear 1972: 104, 108.

<sup>37</sup> The genealogical tree of Masaki Jinzaburō see Appendix 1.



to the Throne. As he did not have enough time for thorough study he wanted his eldest son to work on this subject.

Among many books that the authoress, thanks to the kindness of Masaki Ichirō (husband of Fumi, a daughter of Jinzaburō's younger brother), was able to see in the room dedicated to Masaki Jinzaburō in the Myōsenji temple (Chiyoda town in Saga prefecture), the majority referred just to the constitution. One book, however, seemingly did not fit the picture of a severe General. It was the English version of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. It can be assumed that he was not only a soldier who fulfilled his duties very thoroughly but he was also just an ordinary man, who liked to relax with literature... Perhaps there was a poetic side to his nature. It rarely manifested itself, which cannot be surprising in a man who spent most of his life in barracks, among harsh soldiers. Certainly, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* alone would be too slim a clue to build a presumption that the General had his own private wonderland and liked to indulge in daydreaming. That would be going too far. But he wrote poems, which are scattered in fragments here and there in the diary. They tell about the beauty of nature and its connection with man's moods. Besides that, he also liked, as his father did, to listen to *gidayū*<sup>38</sup> of the traditional Japanese puppet theatre *jōruri*, recited to the accompaniment of *shamisen*, a classical instrument with 3 strings. He tried to recite himself but he had to resign when he realized that he had no ear for music. He kept, however, a collection of records of the most famous dramas of the plays.

Masaki liked to ride a horse and sometimes went for a ride early in the morning. But he had very little time to spend like this. Most of his time was taken by his professional duties.

According to Masaki Hideki:

"father in fact did not have any time for rest and entertainment. [...] He had numerous visitors until late at night. Besides, the period when he ended his active service in the Army was full of unrest for Japan. Nothing amusing was happening. [...] Sometimes, like other Japanese, he practiced calligraphy to calm his soul. He also wrote with a brush it took him a lot of time."<sup>39</sup>

As a father he was very severe with his children, especially with his eldest son, Hideki. Hideki was brought up like a soldier, he often got orders from his father and as a type of training he had to wash his face and sometimes even his whole body in icy-cold water. When Hideki, as a little boy, cried, he was told of examples of strictly-bred German soldiers' children. The father treated his son as he did "the Young Officers" when he was the head of the Regular Course of the Rikushi. He drilled them severely being convinced that nothing was impossible for a soldier.

<sup>38</sup> Dramatic recital accompanied by music in which the great achievements of ancient heroes were celebrated. Its origin dates as far back as the 13th century.

<sup>39</sup> From the interview with the authoress, April 1984, Tokyo.

Masaki's character and his attitude towards the children completely changed, after Japan lost the Asia Pacific War, when he came back home after being released from prison. He became less severe and since then he never was hard on his children. It was such a sudden transformation that Hideki remembers even today how much it astonished him.

Probably the fact that the Emperor renounced his divinity and that Japan had been transformed into a democratic country, deprived of its historical mission, had been a traumatic experience for Masaki. Throughout his entire life he implanted the ideals of the *kokutai* in his subordinates and officers of lower ranks, deeply believing in what he was doing. And then one word said by the Emperor was enough to ruin what he had faithfully served all his life. In spite of the fact that Masaki had been transferred to the reserve in 1936 and personally did not participate in the war, the soldiers educated by him, by a General fanatically devoted to the Emperor and Japan, fought and died on the Emperor's behalf. Although such people like Masaki are at present accused and blamed for sending millions of innocent soldiers to their deaths it should be admitted that they had been doing it, according to them, for the sake of the "highest ideals" of pre-war Japan, meaning the Emperor and their unique homeland. Thus, it seems natural that the 70-year-old Masaki could not accept the new, postwar situation.

Unfortunately, from all the published historical materials, up to now (1985), as well as from the talks with Masaki's relatives, it is impossible to learn the full truth about the old General, who experienced Japan's defeat in the war. One may imagine that the truth remains unknown so far. One may only venture a guess. One may imagine how the General suffered during that twenty-two months-long stay in prison. Physically he was fit enough to stand any hardship but mentally he must have been a badly shaken man. His whole world had collapsed around him. The "divine" Emperor was not divine any more. The *kokutai* ideals was shattered into atoms. The "unique" country lay in ruins while "big and vulgar" American soldiers trampled its "sacred" soil...

Perhaps during endless hours, days, months, when the General pondered over the past, it dawned on him that the *kokutai* was not transcendent, that it was only an idea, one of many possible but not necessarily right ideas. If that was so, then he had to come to the conclusion that he had been mistaken educating fanatical soldiers and then sending them straight into the jaws of death. If that was so, then he must have left the prison as a broken man. Hence, the behavioral changes which Hideki noticed in his father.

Excluding those last nine years of his life, Masaki Jinzaburō was a nationalist, totally devoted to the Emperor and Japan. In his lectures at the Rikushi and Rikudai he often emphasized the significance of the idea of *kokutai* and the unique character of the Japanese Empire. Masaki maintained that "spiritual training", "patriotism", "Nipponism" were fundamental values for Japanese soldiers, especially for

those who wanted to attain the *Shōwa ishin* goals. Such an attitude, and the fact that he was extremely involved in several problems relating to the Army, and that he was interested in the situation of the lower ranking officers, caused him in “the Young Officers” opinion, to become their protector and one of their leaders. On the other hand, as he scrupulously performed his duties he was promoted to the highest military ranks. Gen. Masaki can be recognized as a typical example of a Japanese officer who was not at all conspicuous by his individuality. He was not an orator as Araki Sadao.

Also, as he was of peasant origin (in spite of the fact that his family was a relatively rich one) he did not inherit manners, which were characteristic for aristocrats or for samurai. Nevertheless, owing to his diligence and stubbornness he became one of the most influential personages of the 1930's. For a short period, he was one of those who directly decided the Army policy and indirectly, Japan's policy. It was possible, because the group to which he belonged, the Imperial Way Faction, to gain a very significant position within the Army.

### 4.3. Final remarks

It is quite evident that the five years, 1932-1936, taken into consideration in this study brought about the apex of Masaki Jinzaburō's military career and at the same time resulted in the apex of the Kōdōha's influence. It is the authoress' conviction that both were not only closely connected but that they were inseparable results of interactions. The group, making use of its own already strong position, pushed up its representative member to high posts. Thanks to that he could then help the group in promoting its other members and shaping the educational policy within the Army in accord with the Kōdōha's ideals.

This interdependence is shown in Appendix 4 in which the names of Prime Ministers and of all most important functionaries in the Army Ministry, in the General Staff Office and others in the Army during the years 1931-1936 are indicated.

It becomes clear from the contents of the table that after Araki Sadao took the office of the Army Minister in December 1931 Masaki was the first person from the Kōdōha to be appointed to one of the main offices in the Army Central Headquarters. He started to act as the Vice-Chief of GSO on 9 January 1932. Then, as can be seen from the table, the Kōdōha's representatives took all the other most important posts in the Army. During 1932-1934 they acted together to maintain this position and then to strengthen it.

In order to attain its goals the Kōdōha's members tried to eliminate the other factions' representatives from the Army Central Headquarters. However, they failed in the latter part of 1934 because of an ideological dissent, which was described

in detail in Chapter 1.<sup>40</sup> The Gensho Kōdōha split and that was the starting point for the Kōdōha – Tōseiha rivalry.

The Kōdōha gradually lost its power and therefore its members were removed from the main posts within the Army one by one. At the beginning of 1935 only General Masaki from the Kōdōha stayed at the significant post of General Inspector of Military Education. Although Murakami Keisaku replaced Yamashita Tomoyuki as the Chief of Military Affairs Section in the Army Ministry on 11 October 1935 – both belonged to the Kōdōha – it was a less important post for the group's influence.

Masaki Jinzaburō was dismissed from office on 16 July 1935. It can be assumed that on just that one day the Imperial Way Faction lost any chance in regaining its power. Masaki was the first one from the Kōdōha to be appointed to one of the main offices in the Army, and after his appointment his group, the Kōdōha, grew stronger and stronger to become the most influential Army faction. He was the last one to stay in a significant office and after his removal his group lost its significance. But during his stay in office General Masaki Jinzaburō did his best to fulfill all his duties and to rise to the expectations set on him by his subordinates and members of the Imperial Way Faction.

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<sup>40</sup> See: “Analecta Nipponica”, No. 4/2014, pp. 177-200.

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#### **the authoress interviewed :**

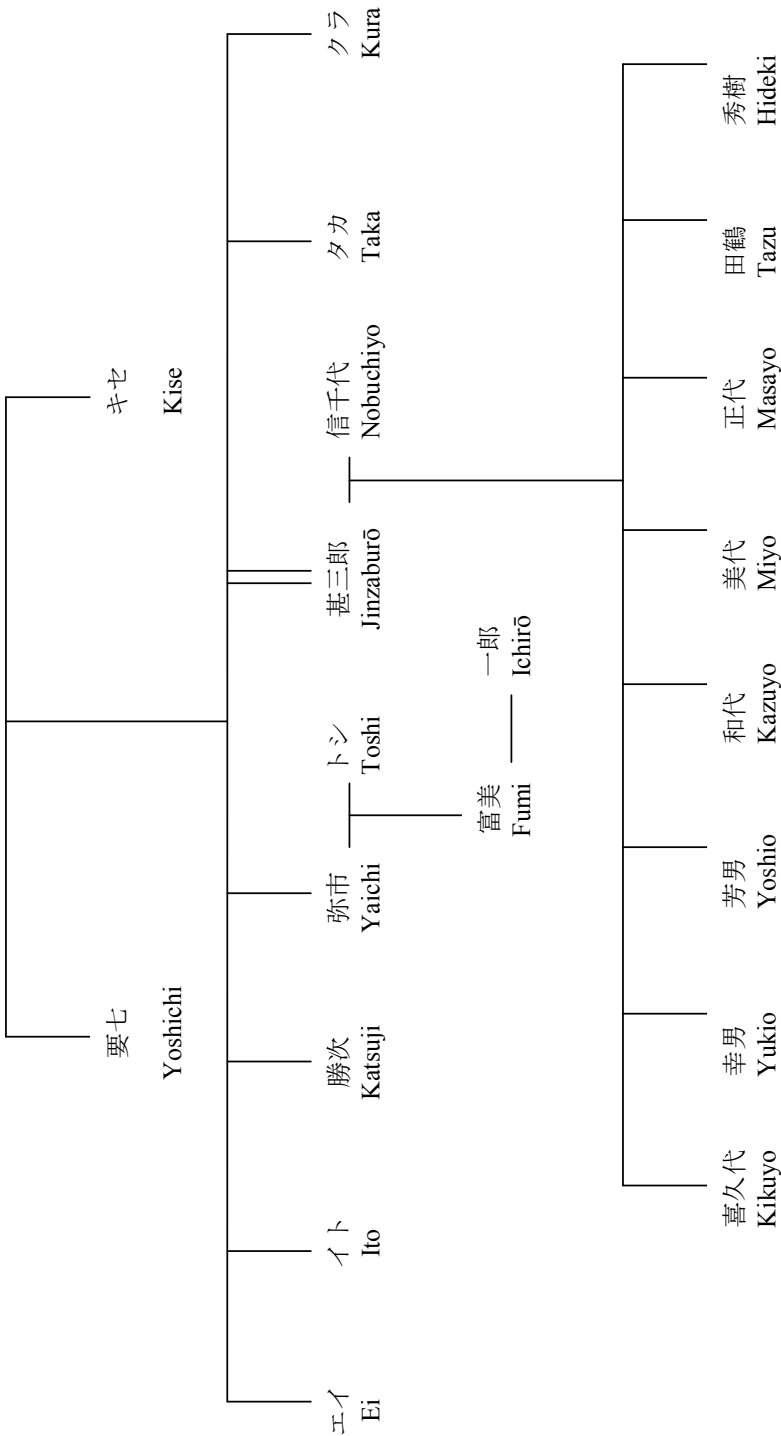
- Masaki Ichirō and Fumi, April 1984 in Inudō
- Masaki Hideki, April and May 1984, Tōkyō

## Appendices

Appendix 1.

Genealogical tree of Masaki Jinzaburō

(Limited to his immediate family; Source: Mn, I: Appendix 8)



## Appendix 2.

### The leading “Young Officers” of the February 26 Incident (Limited to his immediate family; Source: Mn I: Appendix 8)

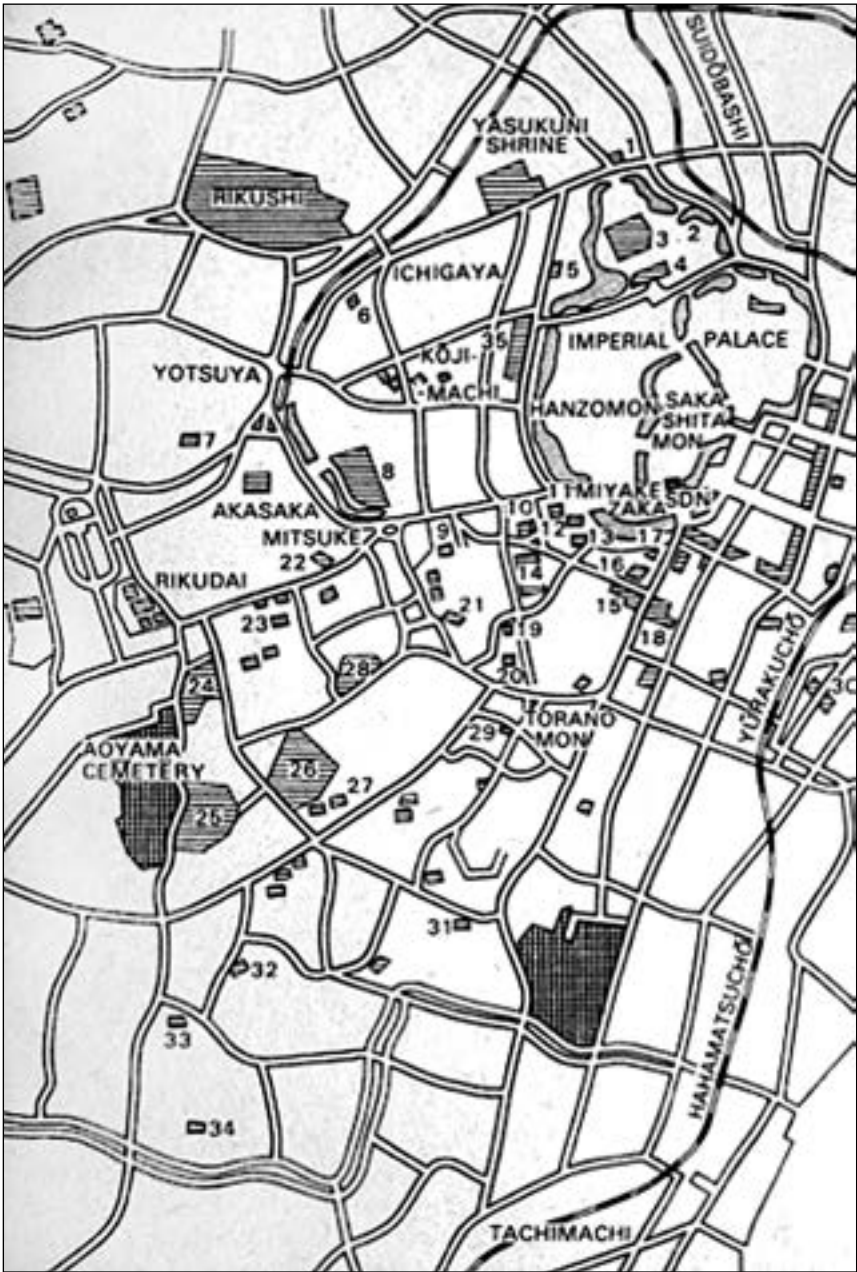
(Source: Kōno (ed.) 1984)

	Name	Native Place	Parentage	Class	Rank	Judgment	Age
1.	Nonaka Shirō	Okayama	Son of Maj-Gen. N. Masaaki	36	C	Committed suicide	34
2.	Kōno Hisashi	Kumamoto	Son of Rear Adm. K. Sakinta	40	C	Committed suicide	30
3.	Kōda Kiyosada	Saga	not important	37	C	Sentenced to death and Executed	34
4.	Andō Teruzō	Gifu	Son of Keiō Univ. Professor	38	C	Executed	32
5.	Takeshima Tsuguo	Shiga	Son of Maj-Gen. T. Tōjirō	40	FL	Executed	30
6.	Tsushima Katsuo	Aomori	Not important	41	FL	Executed	29
7.	Kurihara Yasuhide	Saga	Son of Colonel K. Isamu	41	FL	Executed	29
8.	Nakahashi Motoaki	Saga	Grand-son of N. Tōichirō	41	FL	Executed	30
9.	Nibu Seichū	Kagoshima	Son of Navy C. N. Takehiko	43	FL	Executed	29
10.	Sakai Naoshi	Mie	Son of Maj-Gen. S. Heikichi	44	FL	Executed	27
11.	Tanaka Masaru	Yamaguchi	Not important	45	FL	Executed	26
12.	Nakajima Kanji	Saga	Not important	46	SL	Executed	25
13.	Yasuda Masaru	Kumamoto	Not important	46	SL	Executed	25
14.	Takahashi Tarō	Ishikawa	Not important	46	SL	Executed	24
15.	Hayashi Hachiō	Yamagata	Son of Maj-Gen. H. Daihachi	47	SL	Executed	23
16.	Mugiya Kiyozumi	Saitama	Not important	47	SL	Life imprisonment	27
17.	Tokiwa Minoru	Ōita	Not important	47	SL	Life imprisonment	23
18.	Suzuki Kinshirō	Ibaraki	Not important	47	SL	Life imprisonment	23
19.	Kiyohara Kōhei	Kumamoto	Not important	47	SL	Life imprisonment	23
20.	Ikeda Shungen	Kagoshima	Not important	47	SL	Life imprisonment	23

Maj-Gen. = Major-General; C = Captain; FL = First Lieutenant; SL = Second Lieutenant; Adm. = Admiral

**Appendix 3.**

The area of Tokyo under the “Young Officers” control  
(during the February Incident)



### Legend to Appendix 3.

1. Kaikōsha
2. Military Police Headquarter
3. 1<sup>st</sup> Imperial Guard Regiment
4. 2<sup>nd</sup> Imperial Guard Regiment
5. Official Residence of Suzuki Kantarō
6. Official Residence of Army Vice-Minister
7. Private Residence of Saitō Makoto
8. Residence of Prince Fushimi
9. Residence of Prince Kan'in
10. German Embassy
11. Army Ministry
12. Official Residence of Army Minister
13. General Staff Office
14. Diet Building
15. Ministry of Foreign Affairs
16. Ministry of Home Affairs
17. Metropolitan Police Office
18. Navy Department
19. Official Residence of Minister of Foreign Affairs
20. Official Residence of Prime Minister
21. Sannō Hotel
22. Residence of Prince Chichibu
23. Private Residence of Takahashi Korekiyo
24. 1<sup>st</sup> Division Headquarter
25. 3<sup>rd</sup> Infantry Regiment
26. 1<sup>st</sup> Infantry Regiment
27. Official Residence of Commander of Imperial Guard Division
28. 3<sup>rd</sup> Imperial Guard Regiment
29. American Embassy
30. Asahi News
31. Soviet Embassy
32. Manchukuo Embassy
33. Polish Embassy
34. French Embassy
35. British Embassy
36. SDN – Sakuradamon

## Appendix 4.

### Prime Ministers and most important functionaries in Army Central Headquarters

		1931			1932	
Prime Minister		29.7.2 Hamaguchi Osachi	31.4.14 Wakatsuki Reijirō	31.12.13 Inukai Tsuyoshi	32.5.26 Saitō Makoto	
A R M Y  M I N I S T R Y	Army Minister	29.7.20 Ugaki Ub Kazushige	4.14 (6) Minami Jirō Ub	12.13(9) Araki Sadao GK		
	Vice-Minister	30.8.1 (12) Sugiyama Gen Ub			2.29 (12) Koiso KuniakiUb	8.8 (12) Yanagawa Heisuke GK; K
	Chief of Military Affairs Bureau	30.8.1 (12) Koiso Kuniaki Ub			2.29 (15) Yamaoka Shigeatsu GK; K	
	Chief of Military Affairs Section	30.8.1 (16) Nagata Tetsuzan GK			4.11 (16) Yamashita Tomoyuki GK; K	
	Chief of Personnel Affairs Bureau	30.12.22 (13) Nakamura Kōtarō			2.29 (15) Matsuura Junrokurō GK	
	Chief of Adjustment Bureau	30.8.1 (13) Hayashi Katsura Ub				
G E N.  S T A F F  O F F I C E	Chief of the GSO	30.2.19 (15) Kanaya Hanzō Ub	12.23 ks. Kan'in Kotohito			
	Vice-Chief of the GSO	30.12.22 (12) Ninomiya Harushige Ub			1.9 (9) Masaki Jinzaburō GK; K	
	Chief of First Bureau	28.3.10 (12) Hata Shunroku	8.1 (13) Tatekawa Yoshitsugu Ub			
	Chief of Strategy Section	30.8.1 (17) Suzuki Shigeyasu	8.1 (19) Imamura Hitoshi	2.10 (16) Obata GK	4.11(22) Suzuki GK	
	Chief of Second Bureau	29.8.1 (13) Tatekawa Yoshitsugu Ub	8.1 (14) Hashimoto Toranosuke Ub	4.11 (16) Nagata Tetsuzan GK	Toshishirō Yorimichi	
	Chief of Third Bureau	30.8.1 (14) Oki Naomichi			4.11 (16) Obata Toshishirō GK; K	
O T H E R S	Inspector General of Military Education	27.8.26 (3) Mutō Nobuyoshi GK			5.26 (8) Hayashi Senjūrō GK	
	Chief of Head Office in the Inspectorate	29.8.1 (9) Hayashi Nariyuki	8.1 (9) Araki Sadao GK	1.9 (10) Kawashima Yoshiyuki	5.26 (12) Kashii Kōhei GK; K	
	Commander Officer of Kwantung Army	30.6.3 (8) Hishikari Taka GK	8.1 (9) Honjō Shigeru Ub	8.8 (3) Mutō Nobuyoshi GK		
	Commander Officer of Taiwan Army	30.6.3 (8) Watanabe Jōtaro	8.1 (9) Masaki Jinzaburō GK	1.9 (9) Abe Nobuyuki Ub		
	Provost Marshal	27.3.5 (7) Mine Yukimatsu	8.1 (12) Toyama Bunzō	2.29 (12) Hata Shinji GK; K		



1933	1934	1935	1936
	34.7.8 Okada Keisuke		36.3.9 Hirota Kōki
	1.23 (8) Hayashi Senjūrō T	9.5 (10) Kawashima Yoshiyuki	3.9 (10) Terauchi Hisaichi
	8.1 (14) Hashimoto Toranosuke Ub	9.21 (14) Furushō Motoo T	3.23 (15) Umezū Yoshijirō
	3.5 (16) Nagata Tetsuzan T	8.13 (15) Imai Kiyoshi T	3.23 (16) Isogai Rensuke
		10.11 (12) Murakami Keisaku K	3.28 (21) Machijiri Kazumoto
		3.15 (15) 8.13 (17) Imai Ushiroku Kiyoshi T Jun T	
	3.5 (15) Yamaoka Shigeatsu K	12.2 (18) Yamawaki Masataka	
6.18 (10) Ueda Kaneyoshi Ub	8.1 (12) Sugiyama Gen Ub		3.23 (14) Nishio Toshizō
	8.1 (15) Imai Kiyoshi T	3.15 (17) Suzuki Shigeyasu	3.23 (16) Kuwaki Takaakira
		8.1 (21) Ishihara Kanji	
8.1 (16) Isogai Rensuke		3.15 (16) Okamura Yasuji	3.23 (17) Watari Hisao
8.1 (14) Yamada Otozō	8.1 (17) Ushiroku Jun	9.7 (19) Tsukada Osamu	
	1.29 (9) Masaki Jinzaburō* K	7.16 (8) Watanabe Jōtarō	3.5 (10) Nishi Guchi
	3.5 (13) Hayashi Katsura Ub	12.2 (13) Nakamura Kōtarō	
7.29 (5) Hishikari Taka K	12.10 (6) Minami Jirō Ub		3.6 (10) Ueda Kaneyoshi Ub
8.1 (9) Matsui Iwane K	8.1 (15) Terauchi Hisaichi Ub	12.2 (12) Yanagawa Heisuke K	
	8.1 (15) Tashiro Kan'ichirō	9.21 (15) Iwasa Rokurō T	3.23 (15) Nakashima Kesago

\*From this moment Masaki was left only with the important function of Military Councilor.

The numerals put in brackets after the date of appointment indicate "class", the year of graduation from the Rikushi. The letters given after a name indicate affiliation to a group (Ub = Ugakibatsu; GK = Gensho Kōdōha; K = Kōdōha; T = Tōseiha).

## Notes About the Authors

### Iijima Teruhito

Born in 1958 in Gunma prefecture. Ph.D. in Art Science (Takarazuka University of Art and Design). Graduate of the Urasenke Gakuen Professional College of Chadō. Tearoom architect. His professional tea name is Sōshō. As an architect, he has been engaged in the restoration of teahouses in Konnichian, including structures designated as Important Cultural Properties. He was involved in the design and construction of tearooms and *roji* at home and abroad. He now serves as a representative director of the Ida Institute of Forestry and Teahouse, a researcher at the Museum of the Way of Tea, and a director of the Society of Tea Culture. He lectures at Takarazuka University, Kyoto Gakuen University, and the Urasenke Gakuen Professional College of Chadō. He designed the tearooms in Suomenlinna (Finland), in Warsaw University (Poland) and in Takarazuka University (Japan).

Publications: *Koko kara manabu chashitsu to roji* (Learning Tearoom and Garden from Here), *Cha no takumi – Chashitsu kenchiku 36 no waza* (Master Craftsmanship of Tea – 36 Techniques for Tearoom Construction), *Chashitsu tezukuri handobukku* (A Handbook for Handmade Tearoom), *Itsuwa ni manabu chashitsu to roji* (Learning Tearoom and Garden through Anecdotes).

### Agnieszka Kozyra

Ph.D. – post-doctoral degree – *doctor habilitatus*. Professor at the Chair of Japanese Studies, Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Warsaw and at the Department of Japanese and Chinese Studies, Institute of Oriental Studies, Jagiellonian University in Cracow.

Graduate from Department of Japanese and Korean Studies, University of Warsaw, M.A. in Humanities at Osaka City University. She was a visiting professor at the International Research Center for Japanese Studies. She specializes in Japanese religion and philosophy, especially Zen Buddhism and Nishida Kitarō's philosophy.

Main publications (books):

1. *Samurajskie chrześcijaństwo* (Samurai-like Christianity), Wydawnictwo Dialog, Warszawa 1995 (Ph.D. thesis)
2. *Nihon to seiyō ni okeru Uchimura Kanzō* (in Japanese), Wydawnictwo Kyōbunkan, Tokio 2001 (ss. 181)
3. *Filozofia zen* (Philosophy of Zen), Wydawnictwo PWN, Warszawa 2004 (habilitation thesis)
4. *Filozofia nicości Nishidy Kitarō* (Nishida Kitaro's Philosophy of Nothingness), Wydawnictwo Nozomi, Warszawa 2007
5. *Estetyka zen* (Aesthetics of Zen), Wydawnictwo TRIO, Warszawa 2010 (professor's thesis)
6. *Mitologia japońska* (Japanese Mythology), Wydawnictwo Szkolne PWN ParkEdukacja, Warszawa – Bielsko-Biała 2011

### **Anna Zalewska**

Ph.D. – assistant professor at the Chair of Japanese Studies, Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Warsaw; between 2010–2013 also assistant professor in Japanese Language & Culture Center, Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń. Graduated from Japanese Studies Department of University of Warsaw, also studied at Gakugei University in Tokyo, Hokkaido University in Sapporo and Kyoto University (Ph.D. course, 1999–2004). Specializes in Japanese classical literature and traditional culture (calligraphy, the Way of Tea), translates Japanese *tanka* poetry into Polish (*Zbiór z Ogura – po jednym wierszu od stu poetów*, translation and commentaries, Jeżeli P To Q, Poznań 2008) and modern Japanese literature (Kawakami Hiromi, *Pan Nakano i kobiety*, translation, WAB, Warszawa 2012, and *Sensei i miłość*, translation, WAB, Warszawa 2013 et al.).

Latest publication: *Kaligrafia japońska. Trzy traktaty o drodze pisma* (Japanese Calligraphy. Three Treatises on the Way of Calligraphy), translation, introduction and commentaries Anna Zalewska, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 2015.

### **Ewa Rynarzewska**

Ph.D. – assistant professor in the Korean Studies Department, faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Warsaw, where she received her doctoral and post-doctoral degree. Studied at the University of Koryo (1993–1994, 1997–2001) and the University of Yonsei (1995–1996). Specialized in Korean literature and theatre. The author of many articles and books on Korean literature and theater (e.g. *Teatr uwikłany – koreańska sztuka teatralna i dramatyczna w latach 1900–1950* [*The entangled theater: Korean theatrical and dramatic art in the years 1900–1950*], Warszawa 2013), and translator of Korean contemporary plays by Lee Kang-baek, Chōe In-hun and O T'ae-sok. Recent academic interests focus on the problem of collective memory and cultural topics in Korean literature.

### **Agata Koszółko**

Graduated from Jagiellonian University with a Master's degree in Japanese Studies. Currently a Ph.D. candidate at Jagiellonian University preparing a dissertation on *bushidō* values depicted in *Chūshingura*. Her scientific interests focus on Japanese martial arts (kendō, iaidō), Zen Buddhism and samurai ethics (*bushidō*). She was a scholarship student at Tsukuba University (2011–2012 and 2013–2014).

### **Urszula Mach-Bryson**

Lecturer and Ph.D. candidate at the Chair of Japanese Studies, Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Warsaw, where she earned an M.A. focused on Japanese Pure Land (*jōdo*) Iconography. Her Ph.D. research centers around *wabicha* from the perspective of Hisamatsu Shin'ichi. She studied at Dōshisha University in Kyoto (2000–2001) and is a graduate of the Urasenke Gakuen Professional College of Chadō in Kyoto (2005–2007). Her professional tea name is Sōu.

Recent related publications:

- 2014 The Grzebień w supraporcie. Rodzina cesarska i chanoyu (The Comb in the Overdoor – The Imperial Household and Chanoyu) in: Z chryzantemą w herbie. W 10. rocznicę wizyty Ich Cesarskich Mości, Cesarza i Cesarzowej Japonii na Uniwersytecie Warszawskim, Urszula Mach-Bryson and Anna Zalewska (ed.), Japonica, Warsaw, pp. 125-140.
- 2013 Etyczne i estetyczne wartości Drogi Herbaty w filozofii Hisamatsu Shin'ichiego (Values in the Way of Tea from the perspective of Hisamatsu Shin'ichi's Philosophy), in: W kręgu wartości kultury Japonii. W 140 rocznicę urodzin Nishidy Kitarō (1870-1945), Agnieszka Kozyra (ed.), WUW, Warsaw, pp. 127-149.

### **Tatekawa Shinoharu**

A master of *rakugo*, the art of Japanese comic monologue. The third disciple, adopted "son" of Tatekawa Shinosuke (born 1954) whose school he entered in October 2002. Nine years later (in January 2011) he had already achieved the rank of master and accompanied by his teachers conducted his début with two shows on Japanese television under the artistic name Shinoharu. In October 2013 he took part in "New stars of performing arts in the field of *rakugo*" competition. Together with his ensemble he won the main prize of the public television station NHK. He won the prize and the stipend offered annually by Nikkan Sports and Nikkan Tobikiri Rakugokai, an Association Promoting New Rakugo Talents, founded in the 1970's by San'yūtei Enraku V (1932–2009) the same year. In December 2013 he published the book *Rakugo in English will entertain everyone*, published by Shinchōsha.

### Kondō Marie

In 2015, “Time” magazine put her on the list of the hundred most influential people of the year. In 2014 an English version of her book *The Life-changing magic of Tidying Up* was published and immediately won the hearts of American and British readers. Soon the book was translated to over thirty other languages, including Polish: *Magia sprzątania. Japońska sztuka porządkowania i organizacji* (2015).

Kondō Marie frequently gives interviews and takes part in radio and television programs in Japan. She became the inspiration for a two-part television movie *Jinsei ga tokimeku katazuke no mahō* (The Life-changing Magic of Tidying Up). Several interviews with her were published, for example in “London Times”, “The Sunday Times” and the magazines “Red” and “You”.

### Ewa Pałasz-Rutkowska

Ph.D. – professor at the the Chair of Japanese Studies, Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Warsaw; she also lectures at the Polish-Japanese Academy of Information Technology, Collegium Civitas, etc. Graduated from Japanese Studies at the University of Warsaw where she earned a doctorate and post-doctoral degree (*doctor habilitatus*) in humanities. She spent many tours of duty in Japan, mainly at the University of Tokyo (also as visiting professor and Japan Foundation fellow), and at Rikkyō University, Tokyo International University, the National Institute of Defense Studies, etc.

She specializes in the history and culture of Japan, the history of Polish-Japanese relations, and the Japanese Emperor system.

Main publications:

- „Cesarz Meiji (1852-1912). Wizerunek władcy w modernizowanej Japonii” [Emperor Meiji. The Image of the Monarch in Modernized Japan], Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa 2012
- (ed.) „W poszukiwaniu polskich grobów w Japonii. Nihon ni okeru Pōrandojin bohi no tansaku. In Search of Polish Graves in Japan”, Ministerstwo Kultury i Dziedzictwa Narodowego, Warszawa 2010
- „Historia stosunków polsko-japońskich 1904-1945” [History of Polish-Japanese relations 1904–1945] (co-authored with A. T. Romer), Warsaw 2009 and Tōkyō 2009 [in Japanese as *Nihon Pōrando kankeishi 1904–1945*]
- „Nihon ni nemuru Pōrandojintachi” [Poles buried in Japan], *Gunjishigaku. The Journal of Military History*, 47/3, XII 2011, pp. 4-17
- „The Russo-Japanese War and its Impact on the Polish-Japanese Relations in the First Half of the Twentieth Century”, *Analecta Nipponica*, No. 1/2011, pp. 11-43

## Information for Contributors

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and, separately – to ensure the full understanding of authors' intentions, in typescript version reflecting these intentions.

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**References and source documentation** should be provided preferably **in the text** in the sequence **Author year:page(s)** in the following way (e.g.):

Tamura (2003:74) expressed opinion that...,  
Tamura wrote: “...” (2003:74), in Tamura's words; “...” (2003:74),  
Some authors (e.g. Murata 1999, Tamura 2003, Murasaki 2008)  
are of the opinion that...;

in the case of **more authors of one publication** referred to, the sequence First Author et al. year:page(s) is, in principle, expected, cf. e.g.:

Murasaki et al. 2007; Murasaki et al. (2007:135-41),

but in justified cases up to three names can appear in such a reference, cf. e.g.:

Murasaki & Murata 1999, Murasaki & Tamura 2002, Murasaki & Murata & Tamura (2004:171-6).

**References with the same authorship and the same date** should be differentiated with Roman characters <a>, <b>, <c>, etc, cf. e.g.:

Tamura 2005, Tamura 2005a:233, Tamura (2005b:94-7).

Given name **initial(s)** are **provided only** when references are made to more than one author with the same family name, cf. e.g.:

K. Murasaki 2008; Y. Murasaki (1994:19).

**References and source documentation must** unambiguously **correspond** to respective items **in the bibliography** which in turn must be complete and as informative as possible, **reflect the title page** of the work cited or referred to, and be **arranged alphabetically** and **chronologically** in the following way (e.g.):

Murasaki 2008  
 Murasaki & Murata 1999  
 Murasaki & Murata & Tamura 2004  
 Tamura 2003  
 Tamura 2005  
 Tamura 2005a  
 Tamura 2005b  
 and, naturally,  
 Murasaki K[.] 2008  
 Murasaki Y[.] 1994.

Given-name **initials** can be **used only and only** in cases when full form is not available; if it is not indicated on the title page but is known, it should be provided in [square brackets], cf. e.g.:

Syromyatnikov, N[ikolay] A[leksandrovich] 1971.

The **sole function of the coma** (<,>) after the listed author's name is to indicate inversion of the given and family names for the sake of alphabetical listing; **when no such inversion occurs** in the original, **the coma must not follow** the family name, cf. (e.g.):

Akamatsu, Tsutomu 1997.  
 Akinaga Kazue 1966.  
 Kindaichi Haruhiko 1975. *Nihongo* [...], but:  
 Kindaichi, Haruhiko 1978. *The Japanese Language* [...]  
 Munro, Neil Gordon 1962.  
 Murasaki Kyōko 1979.

**No name inversion** must be used in the case of the second, third, etc., author, cf. e.g.:

Gaca, Maciej & Alfred F. Majewicz (eds.) 1999. *Through the Gate of Yunnan Borderland (Ethnic Minorities of Southern China). Linguistic and Oriental Studies from Poznań* Monograph Supplement 4. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM [Adam Mickiewicz University Press].

Lebedeva, Ye[lena] P[avlovna] [&] M[arina] M[ansurovna] Khasanova [&] V[alentina] T[unsyanovna] Kyalyndzyuga [&] M[ikhail] Dmitrievich] Simonov Елена Павловна Лебедева [&] Марина Мансуровна Хасанова [&] Валентина Тунсяновна Кялундзюга [&] Михаил Дмитриевич Симонов



1998. *Фольклор удэгейцев - ниманку, тэлунгу, ехэ* [Udeghe folklore – *nimanku, telungu* and *yehe* genres]. Novosibirsk: Nauka.

Bibliographical **data in Russian and Greek characters** are customarily used in the same way as Roman characters (i.e., no transliteration is applied in the description of the title and the authors full names are also provided in Cyrillic and Greek); for the sake of arrangement, however, the head of the bibliographical description can be provided in Roman characters preceding the original notation (no name-surname inversion is to be indicated in this case in the original notation), cf.:

Syromyatnikov, N[ikolay] A[leksandrovich] Н. А. Сыромятников 1971.  
*Система времен в новояпонском языке* [the category of tense in Early Modern Japanese]. Moskva: Nauka.

When an edition different from the first edition is used, it should be marked with an upper index figure preceding the year of publication, cf. e.g.:

Hattori Shirō <sup>10</sup>1976. *Gengogaku-no hōhō* [...].

Titles of **works cited** or referred to **in languages other than English, French, and German** must be translated or explained in English (~ Japanese) in [square brackets] following the title, cf. e.g.:

Hattori Shirō <sup>10</sup>1976. *Gengogaku-no hōhō* [methods in linguistics]. [...]

The **Publisher's name** should be provided **after** the **place of publication** followed by a colon, and the **original bibliographical data** must be provided **in full** below the transliteration, cf. e.g.:

Hattori Shirō <sup>10</sup>1976. *Gengogaku-no hōhō* [methods in linguistics]. Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten.  
服部四郎 1976. 言語学の方法. 東京: 岩波書店.

It is advisable to use instead the English (sub-)title when such is originally also provided; it should follow the original title after two slashes (<>//>), cf. eg.:

Chanbamrung, Mongkhol 1991. *jáwthai-jáwkuangsī sýaphâa lè khrýangpradàb*  
// *Thailand Yao – Guangxi Yao Costumes and Ornaments*. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Faculty of Arts.  
มงคล จันทราบำรุง 2534. ไทย-เย้ากว๋างสี เสื้อผ้าและเครื่องประดับ.  
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稲村务 [&] 杨六金 2000。国际哈尼/阿卡研究资料目录。筑波：筑波大学 历史人类学系。

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- tion with introductions]. Sendai: Tohoku University Center for Northeast Asian Studies.
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Janhunen, Juha 1997. "The Languages of Manchuria in Today's China". In: Hiroshi Shoji [&] Juha Janhunen (eds.) *Northern Minority Languages. Problems of Survival*. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology. Pp. 123-46.

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Melanowicz, Mikołaj 2006. "*Winds over Ryūkyū* by Chin Shunshin: between Literature and History". In: Josef Kreiner (ed.) *Japaneseness versus Ryūkyūanism*. Bonn: Bier'sche Verlagsanstalt. Pp. 103-10.

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