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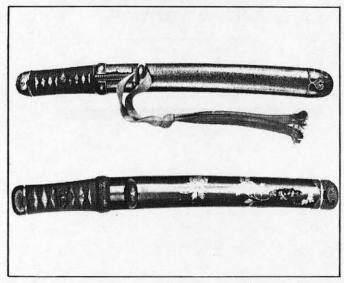
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#### TOKEN SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN

"for the study and preservation of Japanese swords and fittings"

Hon. President : B.W. Robinson, M.A., B. LITT.

Chairman : G.J. Curtis, B.Sc., Ph.B.

Secretary : H.M. Hutchinson, B.Sc.

The Society holds an evening meeting (6.30 - 9.30) on the first Monday of every month, (except when this is a Bank Holiday and not in August) at the Department of Electrical and Electronic Engineering, University College, Malet St., London. The meeting includes informal group study on blades and fittings.

The Society publishes a periodic Newsletter under the Editorship of:-

C. Sinclaire
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#### Contents

- "Some additional information on the YASUTSUGU's" by Han Bing Siong.
- "Early tsuba"by R. Peverett
- "Some additional notes on the TANBA no KAMI YOSHIMICHI's" by Han Bing Siong
- 4. "Paper another potential source of scratching polished blades" by D. Moyaerts
- 5. "Winners and Comments upon the August '83 Sword Kantei"
- 6. "The Ishido School A Comparative Study of the Characteristics of the Foremost Members" by G.J. Curtis
- 7. "Winners of the August '83 Tsuba Kantei"
- 8. "A Note on NISHIGAKI KANSHIRO" by G.J. Curtis
- 9. "Shinto Sword Kantei"
- 10. "Tsuba Kantei"

## 10. Tsuba Kantei

Identify the school to which this tsuba belongs and indicate why

Send in your answer by: 30th April '84

Height: 8.9 mm

Width : 8.6 mm



This tsuba is made from good quality iron and exhibits tekkotsu quite clearly. The rim is thicker than the seppa dai.

Entries to:

Dr G Curtis The Mill Locks Lane Wantage Oxfordshire UK



#### 9. Shinto Sword Kantei

Identify the maker of this katana.

Send in your answer by 30th April '84

 Nagasa
 : 70.3 cm

 Sori
 : 1.2 cm

 Motohaba
 : 3.1 cm

 Sakihaba
 : 2.1 cm

 Kissaki nagasa
 : 3.5 cm

 Nakago nagasa
 : 18.1 cm

 Nakago sori
 : 0.1 cm

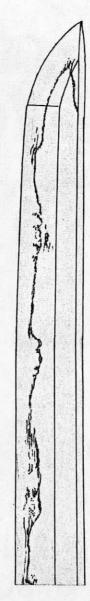
#### Execution:

This katana is in shinogi-zukuri iori-mune. The kitae is itame of hadadachi-gokoro form with partial straight grain in places. There is profuse ji-nie and chikei and the steel seems very bright. The hamon is composed of duplex o-gonome forming hakoba placed far apart. The nie is coarse and yields hotsure in places. The nakago is ubu with one mekugi-ana and the yasurimei is c-sujikai. The tip is kurijiri. The five character mei is cut close the the mune.

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## Some additional information on the YASUTSUGU's by Han Bing Siong

With great interest I read the January 1983-issue of THE JOURNAL. I am very much impressed and think THE TO-KEN SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN has made a good start in the right direction towards realising its objectives of "active pursuit of scholarship within the publications and London meetings of the Society" and of accumulating "skill and knowledge which could be released for mutual advancement". As it is by no means an easy task, - we have seen other journals or bulletins in this field that very soon came to an end or else had to be published much too late - for continuing THE JOURNAL on the desired scholarly level, the editors will need full support from the Society's members. In view of this and THE JOURNAL's aim to provide "a forum for research and academic material", in view also of the Chairman's appeal in THE JOURNAL of August 1982, I herewith submit some information in addition to the very stimulating article by Dr. CURTIS on "The Yasutsugu's" published in the January 1983-issue of THE JOURNAL.

- (1) According to prominent experts like FUJISHIRO YOSHIO<sup>1</sup>, HOMMA KUNZAN<sup>2</sup>, SATO KANZAN<sup>3</sup>, HIROI YUICHI<sup>4</sup> and OGASAWARA NOBUO<sup>5</sup>, the first generation YASUTSUGU was born in the village Shimosaka in Omi province. SHIBATA MITSUO<sup>6</sup> pointed out that there are two opinions in this respect, the other stating that Shodai YASUTSUGU was born in Nishi-Sakamoto village in Omi province. This is the opinion nowadays adhered to by ISHII MASAKUNI in his monumental Nihonto Meikan<sup>7</sup> and by TOKUNO KAZUO<sup>8</sup>. However, in the Nihonto Meikan it is put forward that Nishi-Sakamoto is nothing but the present name of Shimosaka<sup>9</sup>. Although the name of the Echizen Shimosaka School does indeed suggest that Shimosaka is a place in Echizen-province, in fact the list in the Nihonto Meikan of the place-names which are of relevance for the study of swords does not mention any place of that mean in Echizen-province. Apparently YAMANAKA<sup>10</sup> made a mistake on this point.
- (2) The author starts his article on the YASUTSUGU's by quoting YAMANAKI's assessment of Shodai YASUTSUGU: "Though YASUTSUGU may have been a very able politician by becoming IEYASU's pet, his ability to forge swords falls far short of the abilities of such smiths as KOTETSU, HANKEI or KUNIHIRO"11.

This is indeed in accordance with B.W. ROBINSON's view, who does not include YASUTSUGU in his list of the greatest swordsmiths during the Shinto period. JOHN YUMOTO also gives YASUTSUGU a rating of 15 which is far below the ratings given by him to KOTETSU (70), HANKEI (40) and KUNIHIRO (100). Presumably these authors were influenced by the old classification or order of rank, according to which KUNIHIRO was No.3 of the Shinto smiths coming next only to TSUDA SUKEHIRO and INOUE SHINKAI, HANKEI was No.10 and KOTETSU was No.11. But YASUTSUGU was No.103! $^{12}$ .

Does this imply that Shodai YASUTSUGU "had only mediocre talent", that he was a swordsmith with an "apparent lack of skill"?

In this context the article on the YASUTSUGU's also refers to FUJISHIRO, because HANKEI, KOTETSU and KUNIHIRO are classified by FUJISHIRO as 真正上作 (Saijo saku), whereas YASUTSUGU is but 上夕千年 (Jo jo saku). However, jo jo saku is very high in FUJISHIRO's i-retsu or order of ranks. One of the first lessons I learned from THE TO-KEN SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN was FUJISHIRO's i-retsu. HOMMA JUNJI has recently emphasized how important i-retsu is for the study of the Japanese sword<sup>13</sup>. The sword glossary of THE PROGRAMME for the meeting on May 4, 1966 provides us with the following translations:

medium make	for	chu saku	中1年
medium superior	for	chu jo saku	中上作
superior	for	jo saku	上作
superior superior very best superior		jo jo saku	上分作
or top rank	for	sai jo saku	最上作

As jo jo saku is next to top class (personally I tanslate it freely into exceptionally superior) I am sure FUJISHIRO would make serious objections if Shodai YASUTSUGU would be called a swordsmith of mediocre talent or a swordsmith who apparently lacked skill. Even when using the old system one cannot agree with these qualifications. Although Shodai YASUTSUGU was only No.103 in that old system of ranks, he was nevertheless included in the jo no chu category. This means the middle part of the superior swords. Swordsmiths of mediocre class were classified as chu no jo, chu no chu or chu no ge (the upper part, the middle and the lower part respectively of the mediocre class).

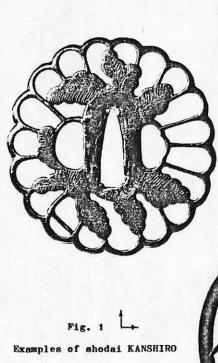




Fig. 2
The Tagoto-no-tsuki tsuba
by
NAGAHISA

## 8. A Note on NISHIGAKI KANSHIRO 西北 选为四郎 by G. Curtis

The Nishigaki School <sup>1,3</sup> is an element of the generic grouping Higo Kinko (月巴接金工). Along with the Hayashi Hirata, Shimizu and Kamiyoshi groups the School produced practical fittings of high quality which reflected the taste of the Early Edo period sam rai. In many cases unique designs were introduced. The founder of the School was KANSHIRO YOSHIHIRO (b 1613; d 1693) who followed the Hosokawa to Higo Yatsuhiro.

Shodai KANSHIRO produced slightly pear shaped (aori-gata) tsuba<sup>2</sup>, mostly in iron and in openwork. His designs included; bait baskets, flattened large colon shapes, fans, poulownia leaves and flowers pine branches and distant pine trees. He sometimes heightened the effect of his designs with inlays, but he also included very fine hair-line carving (kebori). As can be seen in the kantel example, this carving is sometimes so fine as to be difficult to photograph. Fig I shows other examples of Shodai KANSHIRO's work. It will be seen that there are many similarities to Hayashi work. Interestingly Shodai Kanshiro produced many fuchi-kashira sets, but his fuchi outnumber the complete sets and are particularly highly prized.

Shodai KANSHIRO handed on his skills to NAGAHISA (nidai Kanshiro). In contrast to his master he produced most of his work in brass. His representative work is the Tagoto-no-tsuki tsuba. This unique design is a moonlit aerial view of rice fields. As shown in <a href="Fig 2">Fig 2</a> the moon, inlaid in silver, is reflected in the water of each field. The rice plants are inlaid in gold, the honzogan paths around the fields are slightly proud and the use of shakudo, nigurome, do and shibuichi together with black lacquer produces a spectacular, stylistic effect.

#### References

1. Kashima Susuma : "Higo kinko - Goldsmiths in Higo (2)"

NBTKH English Edition vol 16, p.23

2. Nagaya Jumei : "Higo Kinko-roku"

3. Masayuki Sasano : Sukashi Tsuba, p.25



Notwithstanding his most provocative and interesting statement, I think neither YAHANAKA would call Shodai YASUTSUGU a swordsmith of mediocre talent. I refer to what he said about the second generation YASUTSUGU, Shodai's son: "he is equally skilled as his father and left many excellent works"  $^{14}$ .

In post World War II Japanese sword literature Shodai's work is valued still higher than was done by FWJISHIRO. to the names of the 9 swordsmiths classified by FWJISHIRO as top class, IIMURA KASHO<sup>15</sup>, author of the Shinshinto Taikan, Shinto Taikan and Koto Taikan, has added the name of Shodai YASUTSUGU. In IIMURA's opinion YASUTSUGU was even better than HANKEI. SHIBATA MITSUO<sup>16</sup> has added 6 names to FWJISHIRO's list of top class smiths: Sandai TADAYOSHI, NAGASONE OKIMASA IPPEI YASUYO, MONDO NO SHO MASAKIYO, HORIKAWA KUNIYASU AND YASUTSUGU.

This change in evaluation nowadays is not surprising at all in view of the most impressive amount of swords by Shodai YASUTSUGU that have obtained Juyo Token status (35, those signed SHIMOSAKA not included). A swordsmith who has made so many swords of such a high quality cannot be but of very high skill. Moreover, 2 swords were designated as Juyo Bunkasai (Important Cultural Property) by the Government and 15 swords received recognition as Juyo Bijutsuhin (Important Art Object). Only shinto of outstanding quality can obtain these distinctions from the Government.

(3) Shodai YASUTSUGU very often copied blades by the great SADAMUNE. The article raised the question, how is the quality of these copies by YASUTSUGU? As regards the sword illustrated in Fig 2 the author asks: "Outwardly it looks fine, but what about the detail? I have not found expert opinion on this blade". However, the sword under discussion is one of the Juyo Bunkasai by Shodai YASUTSUGU!<sup>17</sup> The designation as Juyo Bunkasai by the highest authorities in Japan speaks for itself. The sword must be of superb quality. An interesting additional detail: the sword concerned by YASUTSUGU received the same designation as the original by SADAMUNE, the MEIBUTSU KIRIHA SADAMUNE, which is also Juyo Bunka sai<sup>18</sup>. As HOMMA JUNJI puts it, "it is known that he (YASUTSUGU) was inspired by the works of AWATAGUCHI YOSHIMITSU, MASAHUNE and SADAMUNE, ambitiously imitated their style on his blades, and finally came to master the style of SADAMUNE as well as of AKIHIRO and HIROMITSU"19. This Juyo Bunkasai

by YASUTSUGU is a clear proof that he indeed succeeded in mastering the style of SADAMUNE. HOMMA has told of another most illuminating instance: "when the famous TOKUZENIN SADAMUNE was for the first time in history exposed to the public appreciation several decades ago, many sword students of expert status quite seriously argued that it had to be YASUTSUGU or else HORIKAWA KUNIHIRO"<sup>20</sup>!

The sword shown in <u>Fig 7</u> is Juyo Bijutsuhin. In conformity with this very high Government recognition the Token Bijutsu Journal describes it as follows: "This is a very long blade without any failure both on the jigane and the hamon and one of the best masterpieces made by YASUTSUGU"<sup>21</sup>.

In Dr Curtis' article YASUTSUGU's copy of the MEIBUTSU EBINA KOKAJI (Fig 3) is called "apparently blatantly superficial". It is true, according to HOMMA<sup>22</sup> this copy does not resemble SANJO MUNECHIKA's work in any respect, but probably neither did the sword which was copied, because as HOMMA points out, it is quite doubtful that the copied original was an authentic blade by MUNECHIKA. Although YASUTSUGU's sword does not show the characteristics of SANJO MUNECHIKA's work, HOMMA nevertheless considers it "an excellent example of YASUTSUGU's work" in its own right. Because of its excellent quality this sword was designated as Juyo Token<sup>23</sup>. A sword of the Shinto period to be selected for Juyo must be of the highest quality.

(4) The author is quite correct in wondering whether there is any relation between the dark hue in the steel which is considered a characteristic of swords of the YASUTSUGU School and the use of Namban tetsu by this school. TANOBE MICHIHIRO<sup>24</sup> answers this question in the affirmative. However, if the dark hue in swords made by the YASUTSUGU School is due to the use of Namban tetsu, why is it absent in other Shinto-swords? The difference between Shinto and Koto among others is the wide spread use of Namban tetsu during the Shinto period, so Shinto smiths of other schools also used Namban tetsu, but their swords do not show the dark hue as a general characteristic<sup>25</sup>. Personally I think perhaps the explanation is not only the use of Namban tetsu by the YASUTSUGU School, but also the particular way YASUTSUGU and his school did "orosu" or process the imported steel to gain or lose its carbon content for making it suitable for forging Japanese swords<sup>26</sup>.

One note was cast for HAYASHI MATASHICHI 木木又t(b 1608; d 1691) and this is declared "dozen", i.e. a nearly correct answer, since it is the author's view that it is difficult for all but expert Japanese to distinguish between work of the same design by the two smiths. Kashima sensel in a recent article on the Higo Kinko<sup>3</sup> states the following distinguishing features;

- a) shodaf KANSHIRO's work is thinner, more delicate and often smaller than MASASHICHI's.
- the fine kebori in KANSHIRO's open work is missing from MASASHICHI's similar designs.

Finally one vote was cast for AKASAKA TADAMASA midai (d 1677). It is the author's opinion, based upon a publication of Kashima sensei<sup>4</sup>, that this could be discounted by reason of;

- i) the rim is too thin to be AKASAKA work,
- ii) the kebori is too fine to be AKASAKA work.



G. Curtis

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- Haynes, R.E.: Sale Catalogue 7, September 1983, Lot.94
- 2. : Higo Kinko Taikan, pages 182, 183
- Kashima Susumu: "Higo-Kinko Goldsmiths in Higo (2)"

NBTHK English Edition 16, p.23

4. Kashima Susumu: "Tosogu of the Edo Period (1)

NBTHK English Edition 12, p.22

## 7. Winners of the August '83 Tsuba Kantei

This tsuba is attributed to

SHODAI KANSHIRO

## Atari (a hit):-

Holland: Han Bing Siong

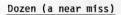
Sweden : Kjell Lindhberg

UK : Les Elgar

John Hope-Falkner

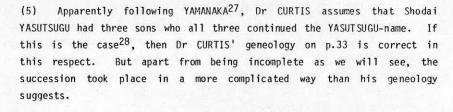
David Leggett John Lissenden

Clive Sinclaire



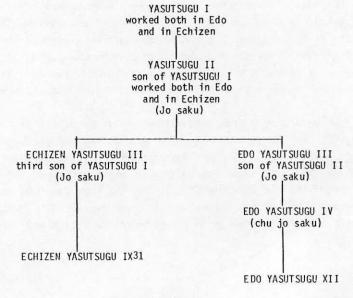
UK : Robin Peverett

To most Token Society members this tsuba is very familiar, (although since only 8 members seem to know who made it, perhaps not). It is reputed to have been found by Bob Haynes in Los Angeles in 1958 and travelled to Europe some few years later to become an element of the John Harding collection. John helped to found our Society and the outline of the tsuba was adopted as the Society logo. To Haynes 1: "it is a masterpiece by the Nishigaki smith shodai KANSHIRO and shows him at his most powerful". The design is similar to that seen on some early Higo tsuba2. Havnes adds his opinion to that of Dr Kazutaro Torigoe who provided a hakogaki on the box for the tsuba. However one of our members. Mr Kiell Lindhberg, has compared this tsuba with other works by Shodai KANSHIRO and observes that the workmanship differs in a number of ways and the quality of the iron suggests a younger piece.



As is also shown in Dr CURTIS' geneology, YASUTSUGU IV took the name while YASUTSUGU III was still alive. YASUTSUGU III only died in 1683, whereas there is a sword by YASUTSUGU IV dated Enpo  $3 = 1675^{29}$ . How is this possible? The reason is that YASUTSUGU IV did not at all succeed YASUTSUGU III mentioned in Dr CURTIS' genealogy, but succeeded another YASUTSUGU III. There were namely two different YASUTSUGU III.

When YASUTSUGU I died in 1621, he was succeeded by his son ICHINOSUKE, who became YASUTSUGU II. When YASUTSUGU II died in 1646 a dispute arose about his succession between his son UMASUKE and his younger brother SHIROEMON. The result was a split up of the family into two branches, one in Edo with UMASUKE as its head and the other in Echizen of which SHIROEMON became the leader. Consequently, after YASUTSUGU II there was an EDO SANDAI YASUTSUGU beside an ECHIZEN SANDAI YASUTSUGU<sup>30</sup>. The order in which the YASUTSUGU-name was passed on to later generations is therefore as follows:



The YASUTSUGU III mentioned in Dr CURTIS' genealogy on p.33 is ECHIZEN YASUTSUGU III, whereas the YASUTSUGU III discussed on p.34 is EDO YASUTSUGU III. The latter's signature is quite different from ECHIZEN YASUTSUGU III's signature. The sword for sale at SOTHEBY's on March 16, 1983 (lot 346) was one by ECHIZEN YASUTSUGU III. To enable the readers to compare the different signatures of EDO SANDAI and ECHIZEN SANDAI two oshigata are shown in  $\underline{\text{Fig 1}}$  side by side.

In a series limited to the swordsmiths of Musashi-provice like the one of YAMANAKA in his Nihonto Newsletter Vol.IV No.9, it is quite correct and understandable if the branch in Echizen-province is not mentioned. For a general survey of the YASUTSUGU's, however, mentioning of the split up is essential<sup>32</sup>.

(6) It is a great pity that  $\underline{\text{Fig 11}}$  of Dr CURTIS' article does not clearly show the inscriptions on the sword concerned, because they are very interesting indeed.

From the history of the YASUTSUGU's we know that YASU-TSUGU II took the name of YASUTSUGU after his father died, and that both YASUTSUGU II became head of the respective branches in Edo and Echizen after YASUTSUGU II DIED. So we may assume that EDO YASUTSUGU IV took the name of YASUTSUGU after EDO YASUTSUGU III died. If so, then the sword shown in <a href="#fig 11">Fig 11</a> of Dr CURTIS' article is definitely not a gassaku, or joint work by EDO YASUTSUGU III and EDO YASUTSUGU IV. That sword must have been an unsigned blade made by EDO YASUTSUGU III with his name added afterwards (oikake mei) by EDO YASUTSUGU IV. Different from the inscription on the sword by YASUTSUGU II referred to by Dr CURTIS, this time EDO YASUTSUGU IV has taken the trouble to make his inscription look like EDO YASATSUGU III's own signature.

It seems that inscribing certifications as to the swordsmith who made the blade, was done more than once by the YASUTSUGU family. SATO KANICHI's study on the ECHIZEN YASUTSUGU (by which he also meant the YASUTSUGU's in Edo) for instance includes an oshigata of an inscription by EDO YASUTSUGU III certifying like YASUTSUGU IV did, that the blade concerned was made by YASUTSUGU II $^{33}$ . This oikake mei is dated Kanbun 8 = 1668, so the signature cannot possible be inscribed by YASUTSUGU II himself, because he

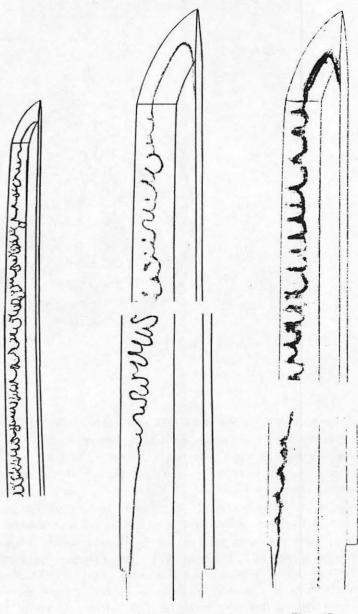
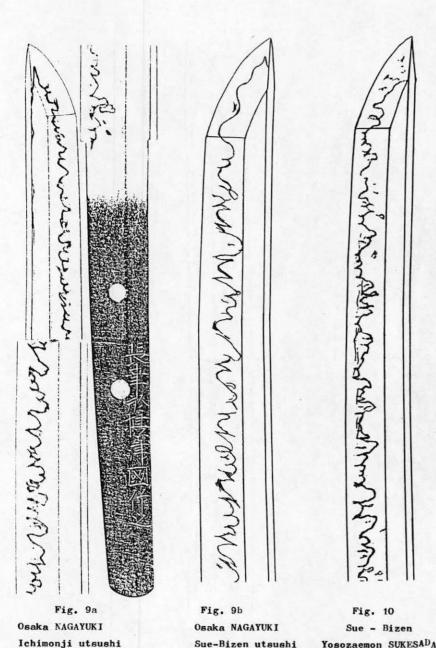


Fig. 11
A shodai KUNISUKE
hamon

Fig. 12
A Naka KUNISUKE
hamon

Fig. 13
A shodai SUKEHIRO
hamon



had died 22 years earlier. There is also an example of such a certification by ECHIZEN YASUTSUGU III, declaring the blade to be one made by YASUTSUGU without signature, "YASUTSUGU saku kore mu mei"34. By the style the characters YASUTSUGU are inscribed it can be concluded that YASUTSUGU II is meant.

(7) To conclude this contribution on the YASUTSUGU'S I would like to submit some - I hope - new information on EDO YASUTSUGU XII.

According to both ISHII MASAKUNI's Nihonto Meikan<sup>35</sup> and IIMURA KASHO's Shinshinto Taikan<sup>36</sup> the 12th generation YASUTSUGU in Edo first used the name of YASUNAO before he took the name of YASUTSUGU<sup>37</sup>. In these authoritative works and other Japanese books the name of MOTOTSUGU is not recorded as a name also used by EDO YASUTSUGU XII. In the nihonto Meikan this name is only mentioned as the name used by the 6th. 7th 8th<sup>38</sup>, 9th and 10th<sup>39</sup> generations YASUTSUGU in Edo, when they were still young. However, whilst cataloguing the Japanese swords present in Dutch collections I have come across a sword signed MOTOTSUGU, and dated Bunkyu gan nen = 1861. This sword is part of the Dutch Royal collection and is accompanied by another blade signed YASUTSUGU with exactly the same date. As the mounting of both swords is also identical, they must have been presented to the Dutch Royal House as a pair. The sword signed YASUTSUGU was easily to be identified as one of the 11th generation of Edo. This means that the other sword with the name MOTOTSUGU inscribed on it cannot be but a sword made by the 12th generation YASUTSUGU of Edo. In other words, although up till now unrecorded in Japanese literature, beside the name YASUNAO the 12th generation YASUTSUGU of Edo must have used the name MOTOTSUGU like the 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th generations before him40. In Fig 2 an oshigata of this MOTOTSUGU signature is shown.

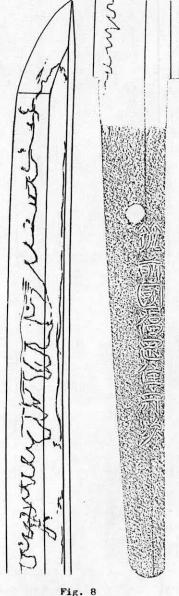
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- 1. Nihon Toko Jitten, Shinto hen, p.288.
- Masamune, Nihon no Bijutsu 3, No.142 p.74 (written by KASHIMA SUSUMU).
   In his book Japanese Sword of 1948, p.58 HOMMA stated that YASUTSUGU was born in Echizen province, but the village mentioned was Fukui, not Shimosaka.

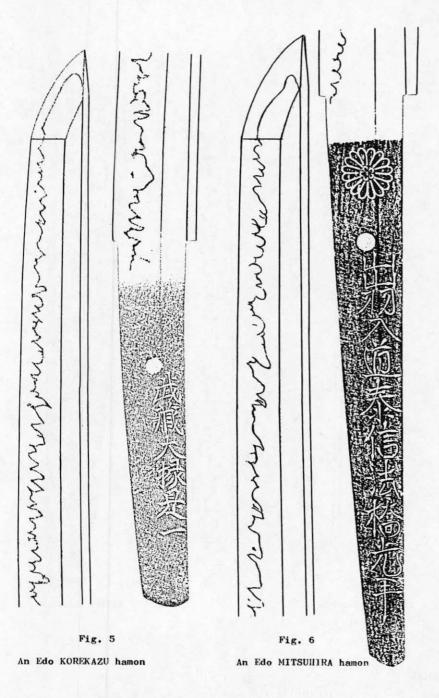
- 3. Token Bijutsu No.41 p.8, Nihonto Taikan, Shinto II p.84.
- 4. Nihonto Zenshu IV, p.62, Token no mikata, p.199.
- 5. Shinto, Nihon no Bijutsu 4, No.155 p.26.
- 6. Nihon no Meito, p.224.
- 7. 3rd edition, p.1080.
- 8. Toko Taikan, 3rd edition p.692.
- 9. On p.1443.
- 10. Nihonto Newsletter September 1968 p.7.
- He made this statement in Nihonto Newsletter September 1968 p.7, not in Nihonto Newsletter Vol.IV No.9.
- 12. ALBERT YAMANAKA, Classification of blades by province, Bulletin of the Japanese Sword Society of the United States, Vol.VIII No.1 p.39-41.
- 13. Token Bijutsu, English edition No.1 p.28.
- 14. Ninhonto Newsletter Vol. IV No.9 p.4.
- 15. Token Yoran, 18th edition p.475.
- 16. See his Nihonto Nyumon and Wakizashi Nyumon. NAGASONE OKIMASA, however, is not included in the list of the top class Shinto-swordsmiths in Nihonto no shiori.
- 17. Shin Shitei Juyo Bunkasai 6, III, p.239.
- 18. Shin Shitei Juyo Bunkasai 6, III, P.146.
- 19. Japanese Sword, p.59.
- 20. Token Bijutsu, English edition No.4 p.30.
- 21. Appreciation of a celebrated blade, Token Bijutsu No. 251.
- 22. Token Bijutsu, English edition No.14 p.10.
- 23. Juyo Token nado Zufu, Vol.16 Part II No.28.
- 24. Token Bijutsu, English edition No.16 p.34.
- 25. Swords made by other Shinto smiths only incidentally also show the dark hue in the steel, for instance the swords from Satsuma province.
- 26. For "orosu" see SATO KANZAN, Kanzan Token Kyoshitsu 12, Token Bijutsu, English edition No.16 p.32.
- 27. According to the Nihonto Newsletter Vol.IV No.9 p.4 EDO YONDAI YASUTSUGU was the younger brother of NIDAI.
- 28. None of the quoted Japanese sources provides any information on the father of EDO YONDAI YASUTSUGU.
  - SHIBATA MITSUO, Nihonto Nyumon, p.217, points out that NIDAI's younger brother became the 4th generation, it is true, but of Echizen, and not of Edo. In the Nihonto Taikan, op.cit. p.87 I could only find that YASUTSUGU I's second son had been guardian of EDO YASUTSUGU III.



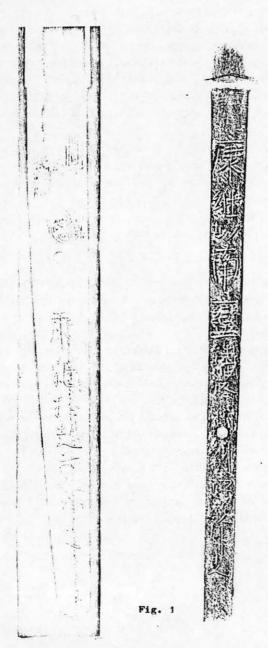
Fig. 7
A Fukuoka KORETSUGU hamon



A Fukuoka MORITSUGU hamon

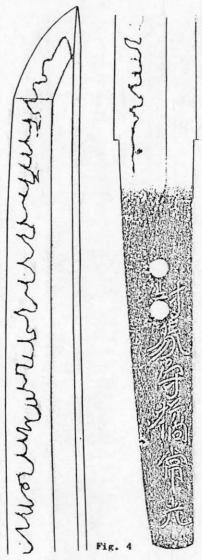


- 29. ISHII MASAKUNI, Nihonto Meikan p.1081.
- 30. See FUJISHIRO YOSHIO, op.cit. p.292-293, SATO KANZAN, Token Bijutsu No.41 p.6-7, Nihonto Taikan, ibid., HIROI YUICHI, Nihonto Zenshu, op.cit. p.62 and Token no mikata ibid., OGASAWARA NOBUO, op.cit. p.27, ISHII MASAKUNI, op.cit. p.1080, TOKUNO KAZUO, op.cit. p.694-695.
- 31. Although according to p.1082 of the Nihonto Meikan the last of the Echizen-branch was the 9th generation, p.1381 mentions a 10th generation.
- 32. IIMURA KASHO in his Shinshinto Taikan, 2nd ed. Vol.II p.475-476 and SHIBATA MITSUO in his books quoted above also neglect the existence of the two branches. The latter only mentioned the split up in Rei of Showa 46.7 p.14.
- 33. Token Bijutsu No.41 p.6.
- 34. See also Nihonto Taikan, op.cit. p.89.
- 35. Op.cit. p.1082.
- 36. Op.cit. p.476.
- 37. See also SHIMIZU KYOSHI, Toko Zenshu, Shinto hen, 1967 p.131.
- 38. The Nihonto Meikan, p.988-989 does not record the name MOTOTSUGU for the 7th and 8th generation YASUTSUGU of Edo, but this is at variance with p.1081.
- 39. Like IIMURA KASHO's Shinshinto Taikan, op.cit. p.476, the Nihonto Meikan on p.1081 does not mention that YASUTSUGU X of Edo in the beginning inscribed his swords with the name MOTOTSUGU. This is in contradiction with p.989 where the name MOTOTSUGU is also recorded as the name used by YASUTSUGU X of Edo. In my opinion the period of Bunkyu mentioned there for MOTOTSUGU who later became YASUTSUGU X, is a mistake. As YASUTSUGU XI by that time had already succeeded YASUTSUGU X, it is absolutely impossible that the latter still made swords then. See also W.M. HAWLEY, Japanese Swordsmiths, revised edition, 1981, p.512 MOT 135.
- See No.023 of my Japanese Zwaarden in Nederlands Bezit (Japanese Swords in Dutch Collections) of January 29, 1980.



Edo Sandai (a sword in a Dutch collection)

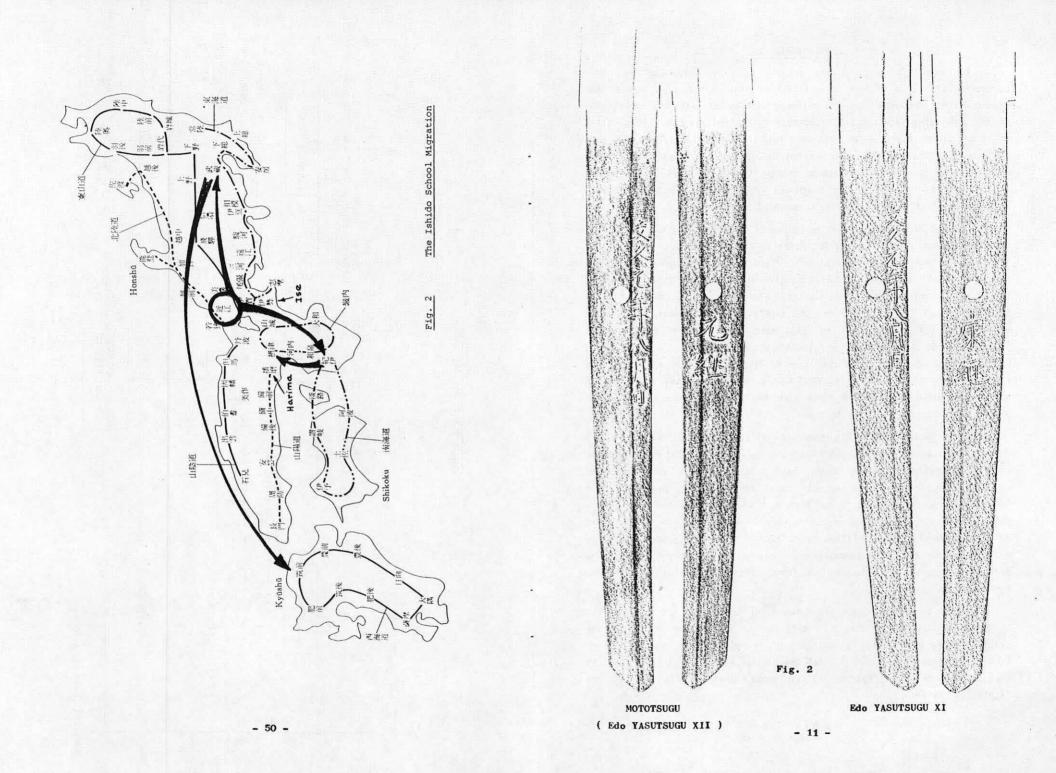
Fig. 3
A typical ko-Ichimonji
hamon



An Edo TSUNEMITSU hamon

Echizen Sandai

(taken from Rei no. 177, p14)



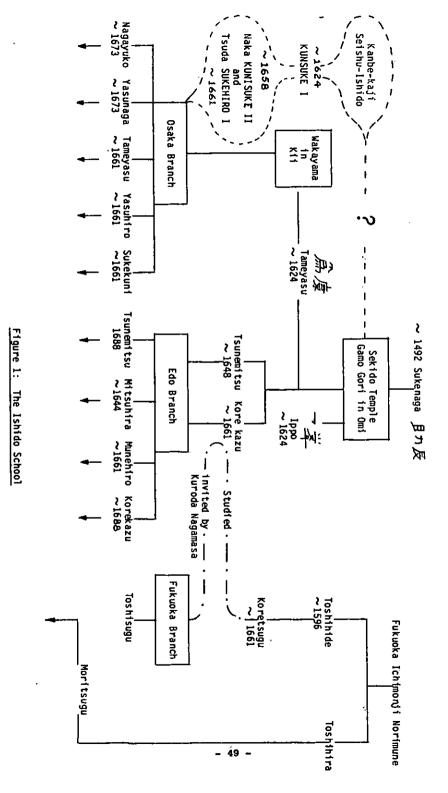
#### Author's riposte

My intent in writing the article on "The Yasutsugu" was to be controversial. I am pleased to see that Mr Han has taken up some of the issues which I raised. I am also relieved that he has added his explanation of the parallel generations of Yasutsugus in Echizen and Edo. This latter point has always concerned me, but as I could not unambiguously define what went on, I deliberately did not mention the phenomenon. Indeed my primary objective was to air the question of the quality of the work of the smiths not their geneology. So I shall address my comments on Mr Hans comments only to those referring to factors concerning their work.

I raised the issue of the exactness of Yasutsugu's utsushi, ie copies of great blades. Referring to the Meibutsu Kiriha SADAMUNE I said "I had not found expert opinion on the blade". I was aware that Shodai YASUTSUGU's copy was itself designated Juyo Bunkasai. Mr Han says "this speaks for itself". But only of its basic quality. When I made this comment I meant that I had not found opinion of the exactness of reproduction. It is possible to say that Shodai YASUTSUGU made superb copies and not mean 'superb because they match the originals precisely'. This is brought out in Homma Senseis' description of the copy of the Meibutsu Ebina Kokaji. He views it as a superb example of YASUTSUGU's work in its own right. So I would still like to know how close were his copies of the authenticated blades which he had available to him.

As to Shodai YASUTSUGU's inherant skill, I am glad that Mr Han has added clarification for this. It has been my view also that the existence of a considerable number of blades, (and those of the second generation) which have Juyo rating, must indicate the degree of ability involved. This seemed to me to be so much in conflict with what Yamanaka and to a lesser extent, Robinson, Yumoto and Fujishiro were implying that the issue should be aired. Mr Han has amplified my criticism admirably. However, it is still not clear to me why Yamanaka was occasionally so extreme in his view and in what points of judgement the "old system" of grading is different from the "new" (eq IIMURA).

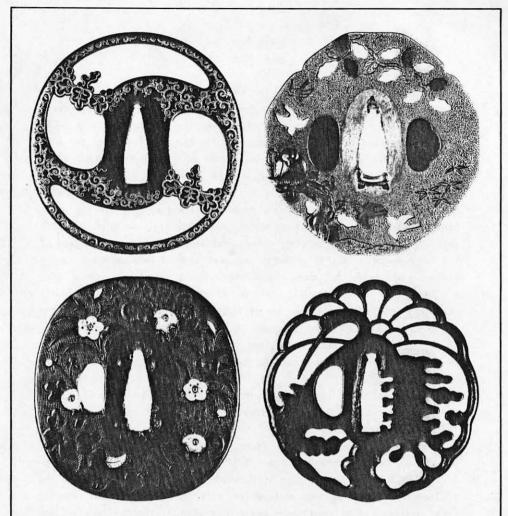
Finally the new evidence put forward for the use of the name MOTOTSUGU by Edo YASUTSUGU XII is very interesting. As is the comments about the practice amongst the early generations of retrospectively signing blades. It is hoped that in the next Journal this latter point will be amplified in the context of the Yasutsugu III/IV tanto shown in Fig 11 in "The Yasutsugus" article.



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		vol 17	p.29			

2.	Hawley, W.	: Japanese swordsmiths p.349
3.	Fujishiro, Y.	: Nippon Toko-Jiten Koto-hen
4.	Yamanaka, A.	: Newsletter, Kishu Province
5.	Yamanaka, A.	: Newsletter, Musashi Province
6.	Sato, Kanzan	: "The Japanese Sword" p.71
7.		: Newsletter, Chikuzen Province
8.		: N.B.T.H.K. Token Bijutsu English Ed. vol 17, p.35
9.		: N.B.T.H.K. Token Bijutsu English Ed. vol 14, p.34
10.		: N.B.T.H.K. Token Bijutsu English Ed. vol 6, p.20
11.		: N.B.T.H.K. Token Bijutsu English Ed. vol 5, p.31
13.		: N.B.T.H.K. Token Bijutsu English Ed. vol 12, p.25
14.		: N.B.T.H.K. Token Bijutsu English Ed. vol 13, p.36
15.		: N.B.T.H.K. Token Bijutsu English Ed. vol 6, p.20
16.		: N.B.T.H.K. Token Bijutsu English Ed. vol 16, p.20



# NIHON TOKEN JAPANESE WORKS OF ART

## 23 MUSEUM STREET., LONDON W.C.1.

LARGE STOCK OF SWORDS, ARMOUR, SWORDFITTINGS & METALWORK. NETSUKE, INRO, LACQUER, PAINTINGS, SCULPTURE, POTTERY, PRINTS PORCELAIN, BRONZES, FABRICS, BOOKS ETC.

# Early Tsuba by R. Peverett

In England early tsuba have received little attention. There may be many reasons for this but some are not beyond speculation. Most early tsuba, for example, are plain or at least relatively simple, and so would not have appealed to the great European collectors who preferred the more decorative, often even over-decorated, works of the 19th century. Then none of the early tsuba were signed, and so it was much more difficult to categorise them, an exercise much to the liking of the leisure-abundant early collectors. Thus few early tsuba found their way into the great English catalogues which were to become, and still are, the main reference works for English collectors who cannot read Japanese. Joly's catalogue of the Naunton collection is probably the best thumbed reference book among English tsuba buffs, but among the seventy schools represented, there is no mention at all of Ko-Katchusi, Ko-Tosho, Ko-Kinko, Tachi-kanagu-shi mainly Muromachi (1393-1573) and Momoyama (1574-1615), but also going back to the Nambokucho (1334-1392) and Kamakura (1185-1333) periods. The names of these early schools are themselves an indication of the breadth of classification - old tsuba made by swordsmiths (Ko-Tosho), by armourers (Ko-Katchusi), by mirror makers (Kagami-shi), by makers of sword furniture for the slung sword (Tachi-kanagu-shi) or early soft metal decorators (Ko-Kinko). It was hard, therefore, for the early reader to gather information about early tsuba until the publication of Sasano's book entitled Early Japanese Sukashi Tsuba. Despite the odd English title. since many of the tsuba in it are neither early nor Sukashi, it is an invaluable guide, but even then it is concerned with iron guards only and so leaves out the wide range of beautiful early work in bronze and yamagane (raw copper). Apart from those heady days when Dr. Torigoe was writing invaluable notes, in the catalogues of the 60's, the salerooms themselves have tended to be indifferent to, and often wildly inaccurate about, early tsuba. This of course, makes it an exciting group of tsuba to collect, for bargains can still be found.

That Japanese judgement of tsuba puts greater value on early tsuba can be seen by comparing the balance of space given to early tsuba in European and Japanese publications. The Naunton Collection has 0.1% "archaic" Whereas KUNISUKE I allowed Horikawa characteristics to infiltrate his Ishido style, SUKEHIRO I adhered strongly to Ishido style. Ogasawara<sup>14</sup> suggests that SUKEHIRO's distinguishing feature lies in his nioiguchi which is clearer and brighter than other Ishido work. His boshi is very like every Ishido boshi, (except of course those of NAGAYUKI) being suguha into komaru. From this chogi-midare background, nidai SUKEHIRO produced his unique toran-midare which in turn influenced his student SUKENAO and his contemporaries, Ikkanshi TADATSUNA and Echigo KANESADA.

In all the examples of the KUNISUKEs and SUKEHIROs I have studied, very few show utsuri. Nor is there straight grain in the shinogi-ji, so they only took some Ishido characteristics.

In essence this article is designed to draw together the general characteristics of the Ishido School, and the distinguishing features of the principal members. In its compilation a point of conjecture was unearthed, ie the KUNISUKE I - Seishu Ishido and KUNISUKE II + SUKEHIRO I - OSAKA Ishido connections. How strong were these? When did they take place? Who did what and where? Who influenced who the most?

#### <u>Acknowledgement</u>

The author would like to acknowledge permission of the N.B.T.H.K. to reprint oshigata appearing in their publications.

Ogasawara in his paper on shodai KUNISUKE and his school<sup>13</sup>, states that; "he is thought to have come out of the Ishido School." Interestingly Tanobe in his article on the Ishido branches makes no mention of a Seishu connection with the Sekito-ji in Omi. Hawley supports the case for KUNSUKE I stemming from Ise. As to the characteristics of the shodais' work, it is reputed to be very variable in quality, but his best pieces rank with the best from his Horikawa School seniors<sup>13</sup>.

He clearly was greatly affected by Kunihiro. His kitae could be coarse (as in most Horikawa blades) or ko-itame with many ji nie. His nie based hamon was only occasionally suguha, he more commonly produced ko-notare mixed with gunome. The Ishido influence comes to the surface in the presence of some chogi – even in the basically suguha blades. Fig 11 shows an example of his finest work. The ji-hada is profusely covered in nie and an abundance of chikei. The hamon is gonome-chogi with ashi. In places the chogi resembles kengata-chogi (first shaped) which later became such a feature of the second generation KUNISUKE. The nioi is thick and misty and interspersed with ko-nie. The ji-hada is compact itame.

I have so far found no corroborative evidence supporting Sato's statement that Naka KUNISUKE helped in founding the Osaka Ishido branch. Unlike his father, however, his work embraces the Ishido-Bizen tradition whole heartedly. His hamon is nioi based not nie<sup>13</sup> and the nioiguchi is very clear. The ji-gane is ko-itame. In general his hamon exhibits brilliant chogi containing juka and kobushi-gata (ie kengyo or kengata). His yakidashi is always like that shown in <u>Fig 12</u>, what Yamanaka would call Osaka yakidashi.

My research indicates that Shodai SUKEHIRO began his career in Tsuda in Harima and then moved to Osaka, presumably to study with Shodai KUNISUKE $^{14}$ . What formal connection he had with the Osaka Ishido is not clear to me.

Fig 13 shows an example of Shodal SUKEHIRO's Bizen style hamon. It is his preferred style with a crisp nioiguchi and ko-nie. Yo and ashi are mixed in. The reader will no doubt compare it with those of the 'accepted' Ishido smiths ie Figs 4 to 9 and immediately appreciate the similarities.

pieces, and the Hartman Collection contains 0.8%. However Tosogu no Kanshol contains 44% and in the 1976 exhibition at the Tokyo National Museum 32% of the tsuba were from the Momoyama period or earlier. I know that these comparisons are not entirely fair, as they do not compare absolute like with like, but it gives us an idea of the different values between East and West. It must be admitted that early tsuba are often austere, simple in form, though frequently profound in their symbolism. Soft metal ones in particular conform to the Japanese concept of shibui (restrained elegance). But to me their greatest attraction is their freshness of concept. For it is in these early tsuba that ideas are being used for the first time, ideas that over the centuries were copied over and over again until by the nineteenth century the subject matter could only be kept alive by intricate decoration. But in these first centuries artistic subjects like the chrysanthemum, the seashore, the plum tree, flowers, waves, birds and symbols representative of samurai virtues were boldly and excitingly new. Here, in these early tsuba, we see originality.

Examples of good early tsuba abound in Japanese books<sup>2</sup>. There is often disagreement about the precise dating, but in his fascinating study of early swords and sword furniture<sup>3</sup> Sasano shows that plain iron quards of the Ko-Tosho and Ko-Katchushi style, and mirror makers' bronze tsuba (Kagami-shi) all began in the Kamakura period and continued to be made throughout the Nambokucho and Muromachi periods. The example shown in Fig 1 is a typical example of Ko-Katchushi work. It is large, simple, functional and would have been fitted to the long uchi-gatana sword wielded by an ordinary foot soldier. Yet the iron is well forged, and the raised rim repays particular study, for it is an achievement in its own right. The hira is lightly decorated with a small diamond pattern and then pierced with two shapes often referred to as mushrooms (which in fact have a longer stem) but which Sasano claims are tumbler toys. Looking back over the centuries we can assert that these toys, which always sprang upright however much you knocked them down, symbolised an ideal of courage for the samurai, and that is why it was cut into the tsuba, but it may have been simply a common and well-loved object. This is clearly not one of the oldest tsuba of this type, but the elongated shape of the single hitsu-ana. which may have been added later, shows that it was in use at a time that the Kozuka was still of thin cross section, which would place it in 14th or 15th century.

Mirror makers' tsuba are less well documented than early iron ones, but in addition to interesting examples in three Japanese books<sup>4</sup> there is a short book by Sasano<sup>5</sup> devoted to these tsuba, which he collected with love and fascination. That shown in Fig 2 is large, with a raised rounded mimi of worm-eaten form. The bronze has a subtle age patina, and the design is of a broken tile form on one side, and of a crane in high relief flying above waves on the other. Fortunately the number of designs used in these tsuba, which were cast just as mirrors were, seems to have been relatively small, and dating is not too difficult. Very early ones, from the Kamakura period, were usually severely simple, and an example of this from my collection is illustrated in the recent November 1983 Programme. The one shown here is probably of the same period (early Muromachi) as two illustrated in Sasano's book, one with the same worm-eaten rim, and the other with an identical crane, possible set into the mould by pressing a crane menuki into it.

Tachi-Kanaqu-shi tsuba can usually be identified by their subject matter, or by the use of a punched Karakusa effect. A particularly fine example in copper on vamagane was illustrated in my article in the February 1983 Programme, and that in Fig 3 is also of considerable artistic skill. At first glance it might seem to be a simple vamagane tsuba with inlaid shells. But in fact we are looking down on a beach scene, the sand represented by the nanako work and the swirling waves. lapping round the shells, in punched karakusa style. The shells themselves are not inlaid. but carved in high relief and then gilded by attaching gold foil to the base metal by means of mercury which then evaporates when heated, a process known as hakutokin, one of the seven methods used by tsuba artists. The whole effect is as of a snapshot, a moment in time captured forever in metal. The narrow hitsu-ana indicates that this is from the 15th century. probably Middle Muromachi period. Another, rather later, Tachi-kanaqu-shi tsuba is seen in Fig 4. plain, deceptively simple, a mitsu-tomoe design in gilded brass (shinchu). Tachikanagu-shi work is really part of the Ko-Kinko group, which embraces all the early decorated soft metal styles, although certain sub-groups. like the tachi-shi and the Ko-Mino school. were sufficiently distinctive to stand apart. Fig 5 is a typical example of early Ko-Kinko style. The relief carving is simple yet masterly, giving the tsuba an uncluttered look that is often missing in later representations of this same scene of pavilions on rocks above water. The metal is

The nioi guchi is crisp, there is masame on the shinogi and also straying into the itame of the hira-ji. Utsuri is faintly present.

### 4. <u>Distinguishing characteristics of the Osaka branch</u>

Osaka Ishido chogi tends to be more compact than that produced in the other branches  $^{1}$ . There is also yakidashi and the occasional production of tobiyaki below the kaeri of the boshi.

TATARA NAGAYUKI<sup>8</sup> 長幸, sometimes called Shirobei is said to have produced most of his blades in the period 1673 - 1687. (With a complete lack of consideration for historians he seldom dated his blades.) According to Tamobe Michihiro he only produced katana and wakizashi in shinogi-zukuri form. His kitae varies from tight to coarse itame and in sympathy with general ishido practice he made his shinogi-ji in masame. His choice of hamon was mostly ochoqi in Ichimonii style, but this came late in his working life, earlier on he favoured Sue Bizen complex gonome i.e. a few small gonome around a bigger one and this carries over into the shape of his blades which are uchiquatana with Sakizori<sup>8</sup>. He was alone in his Sue Bizen utsushi, so this helps to kantel his early blades. Despite the shinto tendency to include yakidashi, NAGAYUKI seldom emphasised it in the way that many OSAKA smiths did e.g. Kunisuke<sup>11</sup>, (seeFig 12). As in the blades he copied, the midare starts at the machi. Also he continued it into the boshi which ends in a pointed kaeri, and this becomes his most distinguishing characteristic. Fig 9 shows an example of his boshi and hamon. (For the sake of comparison, Fig 10 shows a Sue Bizen YOSOZAEMON SUKESADA hamon.) The mioiguchi is usually very crisp (shimaru) and shows up clearly in photographs8. What does not show up in photographs is the utsuri. This is not always present on Ishido blades. It is not easy to produce. The skill of Nagayuki and the other leaders of the School was such that they could produce it, to order in full measure and it helps make their blades a very good approximation to the granduer of the Kamakura Bizen tradition.

Since Sato Sensei has suggested a connection between both Tsuda SUKEHIRO and Naka KUNISUKE with the Osaka Ishido, it would be unwise to close these observations without some comment.

#### 2. Distinguishing characteristics of the Edo branch

TSUNEMITSU Twas a very capable smith. His works together with those of MITSUHIRA most consistantly represent the best work of the branch. Most Japanese scholars suggest that it is only NAGAYUKI of the osaka branch who carried his chogi-midare hamon into his boshi. However, it can be seen from the example of TSUNEMITSU's work shown in  $\frac{\text{Fig 4}}{\text{distinction}}$  to a definite two is perhaps more often it is that NAGAYUKI's boshi is a definite continuation of the hamon. The definite distinction is that NAGAYUKI ended his boshi in a point.

KOREKAZUS 是一 unique features<sup>9</sup> are; a consistent tendence to straight grain in a strong itame in the hira-ji as well as straight grain in the shinoqi-ji. Fig 5 shows an example of KOREKAZU's hamon.

MITSUHIRA's  $\overset{\leftarrow}{\sim}$  T unique features  $^{6-9}$  is a tendency to produce chogi which are sack-shaped (fukuro-chogi). <u>Fig 6</u> shows an example of his hamon.

## 3. Distinguishing characteristics of the Fukuoka branch.

Since KORETSUGU  $\equiv$   $\chi$  studied with KOREKAZU before leaving for Kyushu, there are many similarities between their work, however, KORETSUGU generally produced a wider hamon containing some backward sloping elements 10. The shinogi will be in masame like in KOREKAZU's works with less tendency for masake to creep into the hira-ji. In terms of shape, there is often more curvature (e.g. 2.3 cm in a length of 69.4 cm cf 1.4 cm in 70.5). Indeed the Fukuoka Ishido in general produced blades more strongly curved than the other branches. Yamanaka describes a feature unique to KORETSUGU, i.e. some of his chogi appears to the Japanese eye like the head of a squid. The example of his hamon shown in Fig 7 includes a few elements which might be described as squid heads, (e.g. that indicated by the arrow.)

The general tendency of the branch to produce a wider hamon than did the others is especially marked in the work of MORITSUGU see <u>Fig 8</u>. The tendency for some elements to slant backwards (saka gokoro) is evident. black, with a bright gleam, and could be mistaken for shakudo, but a very powerful lens shows a brownish tinge in places that reveals it as yamagane. The nanako work is particularly interesting because it is in the early style of perpendicular lines instead of circular or oval. This contributes to the clear, airy feeling encouraged by the restriction of inlay to a few gilt drops of spray. It is probably an early example of Ko-Kinko, perhaps Eikyo era (1429-1441). A more decorative example is shown in <a href="#fig6">Fig6</a>. The dark brown yamagane has a fine age patina, the nanako work is quite worn, but it has been used to provide a striking background to the old plum tree, the plain areas representing a river. The tree itself is carved in high relief, and then gilded in two colours of gold, enabling it to stand out from the dark yamagane with some of the radiant beauty of the real blossoming plum tree.

Fig 7 is intricately carved with shells, crabs, an octopus or two and some rather cheeky-looking frogs. The seppa-dai and the rim have the small circular stamps often seen on early tsuba. Kokubo in his book has an example by the same unknown maker on page 31 where identical frogs are peering out of chrysanthemums, pinks and plum blossom. The description of that tsuba helps us to understand the one illustrated here. It is carved from the same almost black yamagane and according to Kokubo the design was used to help fix a natural scene in the artist's mind. To use tsuba as a visual memory is a beautiful idea, and it is likely that many early tsuba may have been designed for that purpose. Kokubo states that the tsuba is Ko-Kinko, but that such carved tsuba are also called Ko-Mino despite the fact that it is unlike usual Ko-Mino work. Clearly, and inevitably, the boundaries between the schools were blurred, and the English belief that a Japanese reference book will sort it all out is merely a dream of the tidyminded categoriser.

Fig 8 shows how the plain iron tsuba of the Ko-Tosho and Ko-Katchushi groups moved through the great schools of the Muromachi period, Owari, Kyo-Sukashi, Kanayama and Ko-Shoami until in the Momoyama period there appeared the first great named individual artist - Kaneiye who, with the other two giants of the Momoyama period, Nobule and Umeteda Myoju, must rank as the greatest ever tsuba-ko. Based on the work of the ink painter Sesshu (1420-1506) this example has, by extraordinarily controlled forging.

enabled the fluidity and sense of immediacy of the ink technique to be transferred to iron. As if with a few flicks of a brush the surface has revealed mountains and a crow on a bare tree. The only inlay is a thick plug of solid gold as sekigane in the typically Kaneiye-shaped hitsuana. It is signed Yamashiro no kuni Fushimi-ju Kaneiye saku, and like all early Kaneiye work it is of thin texture and deep patina.

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   Waga ai Tsuba Shindo
   Sukashi tsuba Kokubo
   Hyaku-tan (2 volumes) Shibata
   Tsuba Kodogu Kantei Nyumon- lida & Wakayama
- 3. Tosogu no Kigen Sasano
- Tsuba Kansho-ki Torigoe
   Nihon Toban Zuzetsu Takazawa Masao
   Tosogu no Kigen Sasano
- 5. Kagami-shi Sasano
- 6. Kinko tsuba Kokubo



Fig. I

Fig. 2

The branch in Edo was set-up by TSUNEMITSU 常光 and KOREKAZU 是一. Subsequently a student of KOREKAZU, one KORETSUGU 是欠 was invited by Kuroda Nagamasa to work in Chikuzen in Kyushu and the Fukuoka branch was formed 1. Fig 1 outlines the geneology of the branches of the School and Fig 2 shows the associated geography.

#### 1. General characteristics of Ishido School work

Not surprisingly the branches developed characteristics of their own, but some generalisations can be made:

- Shape:- As with most shinto blades there is little sori, the kissaki is of average length and in keeping with Kwanbun period (1661 1672) fashion there is a marked difference between the moto and saki haba. (Hence there should be no difficulty in distinguishing a shinto Ishido blade from a Kamakura Ichimonji blade with its deep koshizori, marked fumbari and ikubi-kissaki.)
- Kitae:- The hada in the hira-ji is relatively loose itame, whereas that in the shinogi-ji is masame. (Some individual smiths allowed the straight grain to flow into the hira-ji. Such straight grain would not occur on a Kamakura Ichimonji blade, the shinogi would be in itame.) Utsuri is often present.
- Hamon:- Most often the smiths were imitating Ichimonji hamon, so that most commonly seen is chogi based. The width and degree of openness will vary from smith to smith. Except for the boshi of NAGAYUKI, the generic Ishido boshi is smooth ending in a ko-maru with short turn back. (The boshi of an Ichimonji blade is generally a natural continuation of the hamon in the rest of the blade.) There will be nie activity in the edge of the hamon forming sunagashi, but unlike Kamakura Ichimonji, there will be only limited amounts of yo and ashi. Fig 3 shows an example of an Ichimonji hamon.

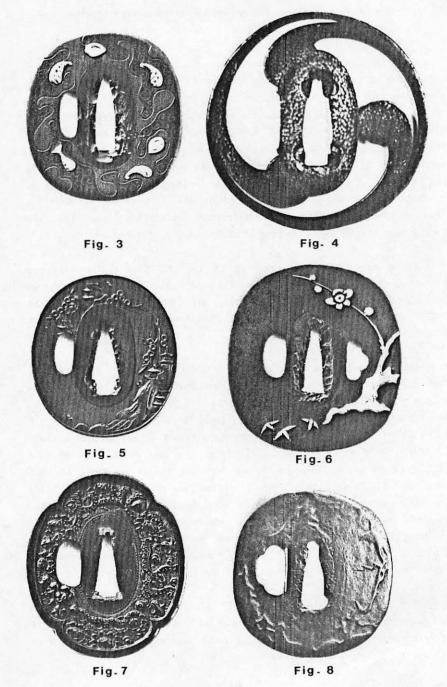
Many Japanese experts when faced with a mumei Ishido blade will not attempt to specify which particular smith made it. However, some of the foremost smiths in the branches of the School did develop some characteristics which aid identification.

# 6. The Ishido School 石堂派 A comparative Study of the Characteristics of the Formost Members by G.J. Curtis

According to Tanobe Michihiro<sup>1</sup> the Ishido School was founded by a smith named SUKENAGA 所長 who had left Bizen in about 1500 to study with a TOSHINAGA near to the Sekito-ji Temple 方 寺 in Omi-no-kuni Kamo-gun (近江 国 浦王部) Hawley<sup>2</sup> lists SUKENAGA as working in 1558 (see also<sup>3</sup> K 581), and also credits him with the foundation of the Ishido School. This being so then the Toshinaga concerned must be a decendent of KANRO TOSHINAGA 俊長 who studied along with TAKAGI SADAMUNE in the Soshu SADAMUNE School around 1331. (Somewhat confusingly Hawley also lists an OMI smith called Sukenaga who was working in Gamo around 1394.) With the early Soshu and Yamato influence on the Gamo School, it is interesting to conjecture what it was that SUKENAGA gained from his studies, because what he passed on is purely Bizen tradition.

The name Ishido 石草 derives from the name of the Temple, Sekito-ji 石苔壳. However the life of the School there seems to have been relatively short. For reasons which are undefined by Tanobe Michihiro, the School soon broke up into two disembodied branches in Kii and Edo .

The branch in Kii was formed by Tosa-shogen TAMEYASU為度 during the Kwanei period (1624 - 43). Perhaps because of the patronage of Go Sanke Tokugawa, but possibly due to competition from the powerful contemporary Osaka. Somewhat confusingly, Sato Sensei<sup>6</sup> suggests that Kawachi-no-kami KUNISUKE II (so called Naka Kawachi) and Tsuda Soboro SUKEHIRO worked in the Osaka branch. I will discuss this later, but since these smiths were studying with KUNISUKE I in Osaka at about the time TAMEYASU and his students arrived it is not clear to me why, how or when they should have allied themselves with TAMEYASU. Michihiro in his history of the School makes no mention of a connection at all. Neither does Yamanaka. Whilest it is true that KUNISUKE I had connections with Ishido smiths in Ise early in his life, he established himself in Osaka via the Horikawa School in Kyoto, so I can see no formalised connection with the Sekito-ji. I therefore prefer to give TAMEYASU the credit for setting-up the Osaka branch.



## Some additional notes on the TANBA no KAMI YOSHIMICHI's by Han Bing Siong

The name well-known in Japanese swordliterature is KYO GO KAJI, not MISHINA GO KAJI. As Dr CURTIS pointed out in his article on "The Mishina boshi" in the August 1982 issue of THE JOURNAL, KYO GO KAJI means the 5 smiths of Kyoto. Consequently the name does not only refer to the 4 MISHINA brothers IGA NO KAMI KINNICHI, RAI KINNICHI, TANBA NO KAMI YOSHIMICHI and ETCHU NO KAMI MASATOSHI, but it also refers to a fifth swordsmith. Different from what seems to be obvious, that fifth smith is not KANEMICHI, the father of the 4 MISHINA brothers, but the fifth smith to which the name refers is OMI NO KAMI HISAMICHI<sup>1</sup>. Who he was and what his relation was with the four MISHINA-brothers is still unclear. One old theory says that he was a descendant of Oranda-Jin, a Dutchman<sup>2</sup>.

As we have seen, the split up of the YASUTSUGU family into two branches, one in Edo and the other in Echizen, had as a consequence that we have to call the heads of the two branches EDO SANDAI YASUTSUGU and ECHIZEN SANDAI YASUTSUGU to prevent confusion. The same applies to the TANBA NO KAMI YOSHIMICHI's.

(1) KANEMICHI's third son was TANBA NO KAMI YOSHIMICHI, one of the KYO GO KAJI. The latter's second<sup>3</sup> son moved from Kyoto to Osaka and started a branch of the MISHINA family there. He adopted the same name YOSHIMICHI as his father and around the Shoho-period (1644-1648) received the same title TANBA NO KAMI. As the founder of the Osaka branch he was Shodai or TANBA NO KAMI YOSHIMICHI I in Osaka. His father was the first TANBA NO KAMI YOSHIMICHI I in Kyoto, consequently he also was Shodai or TANBA NO KAMI YOSHIMICHI I. To distinguish the father from the son the father is called KYO TANBA SHODAI, whereas his son is referred to as OSAKA TANBA SHODAI. The same distinction should be made as regards their respective successors: the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and so on generations in Kyoto are called KYO TANBA NIDAI, KYO TANBA SANDAI, KYO TANBA YONDAI and so on; those of the Osaka are called OSAKA TANBA NIDAI and OSAKA TANBA SANDAI<sup>4</sup>.

When I saw the heading of Dr CURTIS' acticle "Characteristics of hada and hamon of MISHINA TAMBA NO KAMI YOSHIMICHI (Shodai, Nidai and Sandai)" I therefore expected it to deal with the first, second and third generations

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46 WEST CLOSE - ASHFORD MIDDLESEX - ENGLAND Two members scored atari dozen with attributions to Edo Ishido KOREKAZU and OSAKA TSUDA SUKEHIRO. The vote for KOREKAZU is close in terms of shape, basic structure of the hamon and utsuri, however KOREKAZU work is distinguished from all the other Ishido smiths by his tendency to produce masame in the hira-ji. Also his boshi is usually smooth suguha with ko-maru kaeri. The vote for TSUDA SUKEHIRO II is close in that through his master he has an Ishido background (all be it rather ill defined, see associated article). His blades are, however, in general smaller and it is rare to find an attempt to slavishly copy Ichimonji style hamon. In general he did not produce a boshi like this with a pointed kaeri. Finally his nakago usually ends in kengyo style.

(Readers should note, the blades chosen for the kantel are selected to represent general characteristics of a smith. It would defeat the teaching objective to include non-typical works.)

A vote was cast for 'SUKESADA'. SUE-BIZEN blades usually have a few small gonome grouped around a big one as their basic building block for a hamon. Also if utsuri appears it is bo-utsuri. As to shape, Sue-Bizen blades will be in Muromachi shape and the kantei blade is in Kanbun shinto shape.

A vote was cast for Etchu MASATOSHI. Since he worked in the Keicho period most of his works have wide haba and extended boshi, - in contrast to the NAGAYUKI blade which has KANBUN shape. MASATOSHI did produce a pointed kaeri, in the Mishina style (see Journal August 82), but mostly following a notare boshi, (an exception is seen in Fig 7a, Journal August 82). There are a number of similarities. His nioiguchi is tight and in keeping with his Mino background he did introduce masame into his works. He also often produced chogi-gonome hamon. So two of the most obvious distinguishing marks are shape and absence of utsuri.



YOSHIMICHI of both the Kyoto- and Osaka-branches. The article, however, is limited to KYO TANBA Shodai, KYO TANBA Nidai and OSAKA TANBA Shodai only. Nothing is said about any of the two Sandai's! In the whole article the word Sandai is used only once in Japanese to indicate Fig 3 and Fig 4. The illustrations shown in Fig 3 and Fig 4 are referred to in the discussion of the characteristics of workmanship and the signature of OSAKA TANBA Shodai. Could it be possible that to Dr CURTIS the first generation TANBA NO KAMI YOSHIMICHI?

However improbable it may sound, the answer is yes. I arrived at this conclusion after reading again Dr CURTIS' article on "The MISHINA boshi" in the August 1982 issue of THE JOURNAL, in which he stated: "By the time of the third generation TAMBA NO KAMI, in the Kanbun-period (1661-1672), a split appeared in the school and this smith set up the Osaka branch". I believe Dr CURTIS considers the first generation TAMBA NO KAMI YOSHIMICHI of Osaka to be the third generation MISHINA TAMBA NO KAMI, because the founder of the Osaka-branch was the third to receive the title of TAMBA NO KAMI after his father, the first generation TAMBA NO KAMI YOSHIMICHI of Kyoto, and after his brother<sup>5</sup>, who succeeded his father in Kyoto and so became the second generation TAMBA NO KAMI YOSHIMICHI of Kyoto.

As KYO TANBA NIDAI succeeded his father as head of the YOSHIMICHI-family in Kyoto, he is quite correctly called the second generation of Kyoto. But OSAKA TANBA SHODAI did not succeed anyone. Neither his father nor his brother had been head of the Osaka-branch. As founder of the Osaka branch he simply was the first in Osaka. As with the YASUTSUGU'S Dr CURTIS probably considers the father-son relation to be more important than the line of succession. However, as we have seen in the case of the YASUTSUGU's, for a clear understanding of the various schools of swordsmiths the line of succession is of greater relevance.

Another possibility is that Dr CURTIS assumes KYO TANBA SANDAI (the 3rd generation TANBA NO KAMI YOSHIMICHI in Kyoto) to be the founder of the Osaka-branch. As quuted above, in Dr CURTIS' opinion the Osaka branch was started in the Kanbun-period. The TANBA NO KAMI YOSHIMICHI who worked in this period was KYO TANBA SANDI. However, it is an established fact that KYO TANBA SANDAI and OSAKA TANBA SHODAI were different persons. Their signatures show clear differences.

The case is the more confusing because the signature shown in Fig 4 as an example of OSAKA TANBA SHODAI's signature, is not his signature at all. Fig 3 and Fig 4 were taken from the Nihonto Zenshu<sup>6</sup>, which also shows the date of the sword concerned. Judging from both the calligraphy and the date (Enpo 3 = 1675) it is the signature of the second generation OSAKA TANBA NO KAMI YOSHIMICHI<sup>7</sup>. Although catalogued as a blade by the third generation OSAKA TANBA NO KAMI YOSHIMICHI, lot 606 at the sale of Christie's on April 26, 1983 in my opinion is by this same smith. To say at least one thing in this context about one of the Sandai's: generally the chisel strokes by OSAKA TANBA SANDAI are less powerful than those by OSAKA TANBA NIDAI.

(2) The most important characteristic of both branches of the TANBA NO KAMI YOSHIMICHI-school is the sudareba: a pattern like a bamboo or reed screen, a completely new design developed for the first time by KYO TANBA NO KAMI SHODAI, the introduction of which together with the introduction of other new styles marked the Shinto-period<sup>8</sup>.

YAMANAKA gives the following definition of sudareba: "sunagashi will be found inside the hamon and not outside the hamon, as is the usual case, and this is the sudareba". On the strength of YAMANAKA's definition Dr CURTIS on p.6 explains the sudareba as follows: "Sunagashi is usually found at the edge of a hamon, on the shinogi side. YOSHIMICHI's hamon has this sometimes near the monouchi, but YOSHIMICHI's invention was to place it inside the hamon. This broke the hamon into striations parallel to the ha. The result in his last years is an unrefined sudareba".

For three reasons I have objections against YAMANAKA's definition.

Firstly, his definition gives the impression as though sunagashi is usually outside the hamon. In my opinion sunagashi should always be inside the hamon. On swords of good quality this is always so, only swords of poor quality show sunagashi activity outside the hamon on the side of the shinogi. I remember the talk given in December 1964 by Mr B.G. DALE, one of the founders of THE TO-KEN SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN and its first chairman, on the examination of a blade for quality of workmanship, in which he emphasised: "let it be remembered that a good sword has HATARAKI within the yakiba and along the hamon 10. Hataraki means work or

## 5. Winners and Comments upon the August '83 Sword Kantei

The maker of this katana was TATARA NAGAYUKI

The following members correctly attributed the blade:

Austria : Johann West

Belgium : H. Schippers

Holland: Han Bing Siong

Sweden : Kjell Lindhberg

(specially commended for noticing the unique boshi)

UK : Deryk Ingham

Bob Jackson

Clive Sinclaire

Atari Dozan (near miss)

UK : John Burrows

David Leggett

NAGAYUKI, in his early career, specialised in producing copies of Sue Bizen blades (Sue Bizen utsushi). Later on he gave in to the general trend of the Ishido School to produce Ichimonji utsushi. The example used in this kantei is considered to be one of his best Ichimonji copies. How it can be distinguished from the original is described in an associated article published in this Journal.



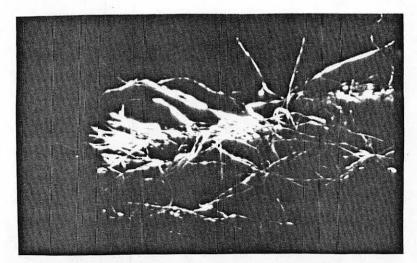


Fig. 3 Jaranese cloth for chogi oil

\_\_\_\_\_\_ = 0.4 mm

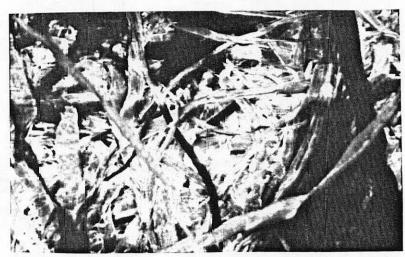


Fig. 4 Japanese paper for removing uchiko

\_\_\_\_ = 0.1 mm

( Figs 3 & 4 have been added to Mr Moyaerts paper to give readers some concept of the roughness of Japanese materials...Ed.)

activity, which among others refers to sunagashi<sup>11</sup>. Mr DALE has repeated his warning recently in his article "How to recognize a good blade" on the occasion of No.100 of the PROGRAMME: "Now please remember this, for the purposes of this method of judgment which we are using, ALL this "work" or Other Things along the Nioi line should be confined within the Hamon. In other words all this activity should be on the cutting edge side of the Nioi line, and should "fade" towards the cutting  $edge^{12}$ .

Secondly, the presence of sunagashi inside the hamon alone is not enough to make it a sudareba, even if the sunagashi is abundantly and incessantly present. As Dr CURTIS points out, the sunagashi inside the hamon must be made in such a way so as to break the yakiba into striations.

Thirdly, there are two kinds of sudareba: the one which is formed by a very intensive sunagashi activity <u>inside</u> the yakiba breaking the yakiba into striations, and another kind which consists of nijuba or sanjuba, or rows of yubashiri or tobiyaki outside the yakiba $^{13}$ .

The sudareba shown in Fig 2 of Dr CURTIS' article is not a good example of the developed form of sudareba. In fact the book from which that illustration is taken, calls it kikusui ha, not sudareba $^{14}$ . Dr CURTIS on the other hand considers the sword used for the identification test in the August 1982 issue of THE JOURNAL a good example of the unrefined sudareba. I think it is not, on the contrary, in fact it is the only sword by KYO TANBA SHODAI in the Juyo To ken nado Zufu $^{15}$ , the hamon of which is described as sudareba without any restriction. In the explanation it is confirmed that the sudareba on this sword is very well made. Its activity outside the hamon consists of nijuba and tobiyaki.

Another example of a well developed form of sudareba made by KYO TANBA SHODAI is the sword shown here in Fig 1. The Juyo Token nado  ${\rm Zufu}^{16}$  explains that the sudareba on this sword is perfectly made. The nijuba, sanjuba and tobiyaki on this sword become sudareba.

These examples make it clear that KYO TANBA SHODAI not only made the ill formed sudareba, but also the developed kind.

The difference between the rudimentary sudareba and the well established form is sometimes compared by the Japanese with the difference between gyosho (semicursive writing) or sosho (grass hand or cursive writing) on one hand, and kaisho (square characters or printed style) on the other. An example of the gyosho or sosho style sudareba is the sword used for an identification test not long ago in the Japanese edition of the Token Bijutsu Journal $^{17}$ , illustrated here in Fig 2. Its hamon is midare ha with tobiyaki, yubashiri and shimaba. An example of what I consider as the fully developed form of sudareba is also illustrated here in Fig 3.

#### References

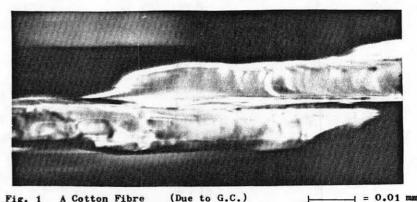
- 1. See FUJISHIRO YOSHIO, op.cit. p.454, SHIBATA MITSUO, Nihonto Nyumon p.207, Nihon no Meito, P.223, FUKUNAGA SUIKEN, Kyoto no Token, p.185, ALBERT YAMANAKA, Nihonto Newsletter Vol.IV No.4 p.21.
- 2. FUKUNAGA SUIKEN, op.cit. p.183.
- 3. Different from the general view in Japanese sword-literature, ISHII MASAKUNI, op.cit. p.1168 is of the opinion that the founder of the Osaka branch was the third son.
- 4. See OGASAWARA NOBUO, Shinto, English edition Token Bijutsu No.10 p.26, ISHII MASAKUNI, op.cit. p.1167-1168, SHIBATA MITSUI, Nihon no Meito. p.222, HIROI YUICHI, Nihonto Zenshu IV p.24, YAMANAKA, Nihonto Newsletter Vol.IV No.7 p.4.
- 5. Curiously enough, in Japanese swordliterature it is not recorded that KYO TANBA NIDAI was the son of KYO TANBA SHODAI, even FUKUNAGA SUIKEN, op.cit. p.161 does not provide any information on this point. For convenience this article follows Dr CURTIS' opinion that KYO TANBA NIDAI was the son of KYO TANBA SHODAI.
- 6. Vol.IV p.27.
- 7. See FUJISHIRO YOSHIO, op.cit. p.96, TOKUNO KAZUO, op.cit. p.750, NAKAMIYA, Osaka Shinto Zufu, p.547-548, SHIBATA MITSUO, Nihon no Meito, P.222.
- 8. OGASAWARA NOBUO, Shinto, English edition Token Bijutsu No.7 p.25.
- 9. Nihonto Newsletter Vol. IV No.5 p.5.
- 10. PROGRAMME for the meeting on April 6, 1966 p.4.
- 11. HIROI YUICHI, Token no mikata, p.36, WATANABE KUNIO, Nihonto Zenshu I, p.235.

## Acknowledgements

Many thanks to Dr Curtis for suggesting the work and to all my friends and colleagues for their analytical work.

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- 1. Hollmark, B.H: "The fundamental properties of paper related to its uses" Technical Division, The British Paper and Board Industry Federation 1976, p.696.
- 2. Hollmark, B.H: "Evaluation of tissue paper softness" Tappi Journal Feb. 1983, p.97.



(Due to G.C.) Fig. 1 A Cotton Fibre



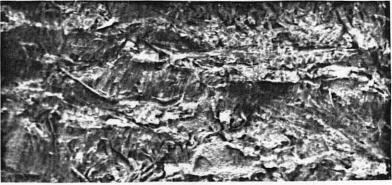


Fig. 2 A Kleenex Medwipe Tissue (Due to G.C.)

#### Paper sample 3 - monolayer hand cleaning tissue.

0.4% ash, long fibres, very heavy treatment, no filler, but high lignin content, little bulk and a rough surface yielding considerable abrasion to the test surface.

#### Paper sample 4 - multilayer napkin tissue.

0.5% ash, long fibres, very heavy treatment, no filler, and a smooth surface, however it is its high lignin content which contributes to its ability to scratch the test surface.

### Paper sample 5 - monolayer lens cleaning tissue.

0% ash, long synthetic fibres, soft treatment but very rough surface. (Users have commented that it soon produces scratches to the lens coating, presumably due to its low bulk).

#### Paper sample 6 - monolayer tape and disc tissue.

1.2% ash, long synthetic fibres, smooth surface and high bulk, yielding almost no abrasion.

#### Paper sample 7 - normal blotting paper.

0.6% ash, only long fibres, soft treatment, no lignin, but a relatively rough surface, all combined to yield some abrasion.

#### Paper sample 8 - rag paper.

2% ash, short fibres, heavy treatment, no lignin but considerable size, soft surface, high abrasion due to kaolin filler.

#### Paper sample 9 - cotton blotting.

Similar abrasion results to ordinary blotting, due to its heavy mechanical treatment and low bulk.

You will be able to assess these results and see for yourself that good quality handkerchief tissue yields the best compromise. Japanese paper is disappointing. "Dry laid" computer tape and floppy disc tissue seems the best material tested, but it is not commonly available and is, as might be anticipated, expensive.

- 12. PROGRAMME 102 p.20.
- 13. See English edition Token Bijutsu No.10 p.16: "a type of tobiyaki which can be considered prototype of sudareba to come into being soon afterwards".
- 14. FUJISHIRO YOSHIO, op.cit. p.92.
- 15. Vol.19 Part 2 No.18.
- 16. Vol.27 Part 2 No.9.
- 17. No.305 with the explanation in No.307 p.52.

producers are concerned with softness. They make tissue paper and endeavour to use as little mechanical treatment which breaks up the fibres. They look for very high drainage on the support wires and use little filler. The result may be a multilayer paper with high bulk.

I decided to study the following nine papers:

- 1) Japanese paper from a sword cleaning kit,
- 2) tissue Domex multilayer (handkerchief),
- 3) tissue monolayer (hand cleaning),
- 4) tissue Domex multilayer (napkin),
- 5) tissue monolayer (for cleaning camera objectives) thin,
- 6) tissue monolayer "Dry laid" (for cleaning tapes and floppy discs for computers),
- normal blotting paper,
- 8) rag paper used for a magazine,
- 9 cotton blotting paper.

#### I analysed:

- a) ash content,
- b) nature of the fibre.
- c) mechanically prepared wood fibre and lignin content,
- d) abrasiveness,
- e) bulk.

In summary I observed the following

Paper sample 1 - Japanese sword cleaning paper.

0.6% ash, very long fibres, soft mechanical treatment, no clay filler, medium bulk, yielding very bad abrasion to the test surface due to its very rough surface.

Paper sample 2 - multilayer handkerchief tissue.

0.7% ash, long fibres, heavy treatment, no clay filler, medium bulk, yielding little abrasion to the test surface due to its smooth surface.

degrade the polish. Any paper filler needs to be softer than this and preferably with small particle size. Kaolinite, Al $_4$  SiO $_{10}$  (OH)8, which is widely used as a filler has a hardness of 2.0.

# 4. Results of a study of a number of papers thought suitable for blade wiping

Within the world of paper making there is no standard test for the <u>abrasiveness</u> of paper, so I developed a test of my own. In this test the paper under examination is brought into contact with a soft flat standard surface which is rotated at a controlled speed for a fixed number of turns. The pressure applied to the paper is a constant lkg/cm<sup>2</sup>. The standard surface is a piece of board coated with a thick layer of soft, coloured plastic. After 5 and then 20 turns the plastic layer is studied for scratches. The test is not perfect because other properties of the paper than abrasiveness alone are called into play, nevertheless it gives an indication of scratch potential.

Consideration must also be given to <u>surface smoothness</u> or eveness of the paper surface. A very flat surface can lead to very few abrasions, whereas a very open surface with very high compactness of fibres can introduce considerable scratches.

Yet another feature to be considered is <u>bulk</u>. This quantity is defined as the ratio of the thickness of the paper to its weight per unit area. After many discussions I think this is one of the most important properties governing scratch potential. It indicates the capacity of a paper to absorb inside its own body a hard particle when pressure is applied. If there is a hard particle on the surface of a blade and a paper of low bulk is used to wipe it away, the particle will stay at the surface and pressure will be transmitted to it. With a high bulk paper the pressure will push the particle up into the paper alleviating the facility of the particle to produce a scratch.

Defining paper softness is not easy<sup>1,2</sup>, but specialists agree that it divides into two parts: <u>Surface softness</u> is related to the flexibility of the surface irregularities. <u>Bulk softness</u> is related to the flexibility of the inner components (fibres). The 'household paper'

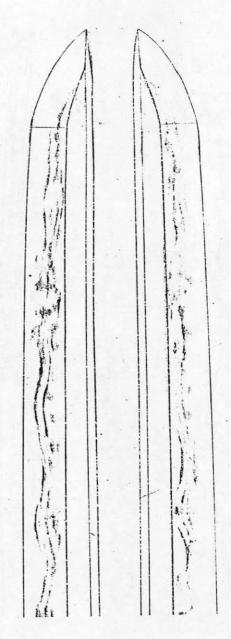


Fig. 2

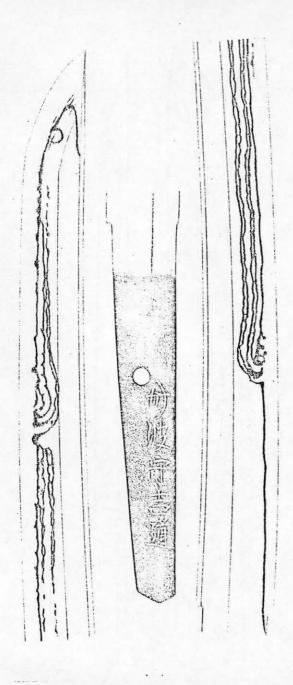


Fig. 3 ( taken from REI Showa 43.5 p.12 )

time white paper could only be produced from white rag which was boiled and then disintigrated in a stamping mill. The "mash" was diluted and stirred into a pulp and spread on a straining frame. Modern paper making has involved sophisticated mechanisation of this basic process, but it has also involved a search for alternative materials. There are literally thousands of species of grasses and plants and trees which have some potential for paper making. With the evolution of man-made fibres the possibilities have been further broadened.

## 3. The structure of paper

The tissue of plants and trees is composed of minute threads with the length many times greater than the diameter. These threads are the 'boney skeleton' of the plant. The walls of these threads are primarily composed of cellulose. Their shape varies from plant to plant. The electron microscope picture of  $\underline{\text{Fig 1}}$  shows a cotton wool fibre. Its cross section resembles a rubber tube from which the air has been withdrawn. This fibre is twisted, with blunt ends and paper made from it should have the best characteristics as a soft cleaning tissue for swords. Pure unrecycled cotton paper is, however expensive to produce (Most raw cotton fibre is used to produce textiles). Wood fibre is at present the most widely used of all raw material for paper. The electron microscopic picture of  $\underline{\text{Fig 2}}$  shows the structure of a soft facial tissue made from wood fibre. A two dimensional network of fibres is visually obvious, the network is of course actually three dimensional, with the fibres also intermeshing at 90° to the plane of the photograph.

The mechanical, optical, absorbtive and chemical properties of paper can be varied considerably by the addition of other materials eg kaolin, titanium oxide, calcium carbonate. Papers are often tailor-made for specific uses eg bank-notes and paper handkerchiefs. So far the demand for sword wiping tissue has been insufficient to provoke a tailor-made tissue. Accordingly a search needs to be made for an existing tissue which can be used as a compromise. We need a paper which is soft and absorbent and therefore has a minimum of natural hard material like lignin and foreign sizing and filling particulate materials. It will be recalled that the principal constituent of uchiko is calcite with a hardness of 3.0. Provided the particles of calcite are sufficiently small, this will not

# 4. Paper - another potential source for scratching polished blades by D. Moyaerts

It is customary to remove chogi oil and uchiko from the surface of a blade with some form of paper. The traditional Japanese method is to wipe with Hosho paper. As I pointed out in my article on the scratch potential of uchiko (published in the August '83 edition of the Journal) it is possible for something as apparantly soft as paper to induce a visible scratch in the apparantly hard surface of the blade. The purpose of this article is to summarise the results of my research, as a paper maker, into the scratch potential of the various soft papers that are available in the West and might be used for wiping polished blades. Before doing so I should like to briefly review the nature of paper and the history of paper making.

#### The definition of a paper

"A continuous web of material formed by the deposition of vegetable, mineral, animal or synthetic fibres or their mixture with or without the addition of other substances, from suspension in a liquid, vapour or gas in such a way that the fibres are intermeshed together. The resulting paper may be coated or impregnated."

#### 2. History

Papyrus is a thick reed from which the ancient Egyptians extracted a delicate fibrous film which could be layed on a surface in layers with the fibres in one layer at 90° to the fibres in the layers immediately above and below. Under pressure the natural plant - macilage glued the layers together. It was, however, the Chinese at about the time of Christ's birth who first produced a sheet of paper from a suspension of fibres. As far as Western Europe is concerned the art of paper making was not achieved until about the 12th Century, with the setting-up of a mill in Spain in 1150. (The first mill in Belgium is believed to have been built in 1407, followed by the first mill in Great Britain in 1490.)

Since the first production in China upto the middle ages, the raw material for paper was almost exclusively "old rags". Since it was popularly believed that old rags were a means of spreading the plague, this practice may have contributed to the slow growth of paper making. At this

#### Authors' riposte

Mr Han questions my suggestion that it was the third generation Tanba no Kami who moved to Osaka to set-up a branch of the school. My reference for the suggestion is Ogasawara Sensei (vol.10, p.26) who states: "The artist who moved to Osaka to start the Osaka Tanba sect was the second son of the shodai". I did indeed use the term 'generation' to correlate with succession to the title Tanba-no-kami. It seemed to me that whilst in Kyoto he could be referred to as "Kyo sandai" and when he moved to Osaka he could be referred to as "Osaka shodai". Perhaps I should have made my interpretation clearer by stating that: "when he left to start the Osaka branch his position as Kyo sandai was taken by another smith".

In both my papers I was concerned with launching my views about certain characteristics - not genealogy. It is a pity if my lack of concern has detracted from my main point. In the Mishina Boshi article I was trying to explore the extent to which a sweeping statement about a generic boshi could be believed. Such questioning seems to me to be very necessary. Perhaps Mr Han would like to address himself to this now that he has, quite rightly, drawn attention to the geneology of the Osaka -Kyoto branches.

Mr Han is quite correct about Fig 3 and 4; I apologise for adding confusion. When I came to stick-in the diagrams for the article I inadvertantly picked up an example of Osaka nidais work from the pile of different examples I had collected, (a case of more haste-less-speed).

Where I do take some issue with Mr Han is in his comments upon my description of the development of sudareba. Taking sunagashi as a starting point. As a phenomenon this stems from the nature of the hada in the region of the yakiba. If the hada is open in the form of masame or loose itame, then sunagashi is very likely to occur, providing the local differential cooling rates are appropriate during quenching. The hamon is an interface. There is the possibility that sunagashi could occur on both the hira-ji or the ha side. Many Japanese text books illustrate sungashi on a sugnha hamon as lines on the ha side, but reaching into the hamon.

However some illustrate it for midare hamon, eg as shown in Fig 1, with the sunagashi crossing the interface into the hira ji. (A practical example of this occurs in HANKEI copies of NORISHIGE as illustrated in Fig 2 and in the Christmas 1980 Kantei blade). Now when sunagashi outside the hamon becomes bad sunagashi is I think a very good question. No one has been able to show me the results of scientific tests which show that any element of the hamon, (eg sunagashi, yo, ashi, kinsuji, inazuma ...) has to be in a particular form or place to optimise its ability to resist dynamic crack propagation. We are then left with what art critics subjectively believe to be good and bad features. (Prone to whim and humbug.) So it was against the personal view I quoted Yamanaka in saying "sunagashi is usually found outside the hamon" as an example of the only readily accessible Japanese experts description of what he believed was going on in the development of sudareba.

Perhaps readers would like to consider what they believe the smith is striving to achieve in sudareba. As a prompt to discussion I suggest the following: If sunagashi is a secondary feature derived from local hada configurations, I doubt if it can be sufficiently controlled by the smith to produce the definite striations named sudareba. He only has indirect control through his forging of the hada. Striations outside the hamon. such as nijuba and isolated spots like tobiyaki, can be secondary features also, but by appropriately paring the clay prior to quenching, the smith has the facility to deliberately induce them. Sudareba striations outside the hamon, what Mr Han calls "rows of yubashiri", seem to me to be deliberate, primary features. As far as I am aware the metallur gical distinction between sanagashi and striated yubashiri, if there is one, has not been defined. Hence whether or not you lump together a primary feature outside the hamon with a secondary feature inside the hamon and how you describe it. is a matter for semantics. It does seem to me that the discussion poses Mr Han the question: "Are the sudareba examples where the striations are within the hamon and due to sunagashi superior to those where the striations are without the hamon and called yubashiri?"

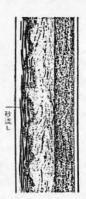
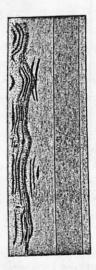


Fig. 1
An illustration of sunsgashi.



An illustration of sunagashi in a HANKEI COPY of a NORISHIGE

Fig. 2