

The Shakuhachi

History and Development

by

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1. Types of Shakuhachi found in Japan

It is not an understatement to say that the shakuhachi was transplanted into Japan. Like many a transplant, it flourished, withered, and then revived itself in an adapted form to become Japan's most representative and, in some respects, most expressive flute. In order to survive, the shakuhachi underwent several transformations and applications – from use as a delicate, ethereal instrument in the gagaku orchestra to a heavy bamboo instrument carried by characters (rogues) more interested in its blunted nature than its musical heritage. Recent years have seen another important transformation as the shakuhachi slowly works its way into Western musical consciousness and provides new musical stimuli.

Generally speaking, changes in Japan's political or cultural historical periods brought about a new art of music from which would have been previously impossible. The shakuhachi and its music also changed according to the times and can be classified into five types, each corresponding to a certain Japanese cultural period or locale.

a) Gagaku Shakuhachi – the first shakuhachi to arrive in Japan, it had six holes and was a slender, highly refined forerunner of the later five-holed shakuhachi. This instrument was used in the early gagaku court orchestra. Several of these shakuhachi are preserved in excellent condition at the Shôsô-in imperial repository in Nara.

b) Tempuku – although not called „shakuhachi“ as such and having an entirely differently shaped mouthpiece, the tempuku is close enough in shape and hole configuration to be classified as a shakuhachi. Made from a thin, light piece of bamboo, the tempuku has five holes and flourished in the Satsuma area (present day Kagoshima Prefecture) around Japan's Middle Ages (12th - 15th centuries). At present there are only a few players in the Kagoshima area who maintain the tradition.

c) Hitoyogiri Shakuhachi – also frequently referred to simply as the „hitoyogiri“. The name apparently derives from the fact that the flute is constructed from a single node section (hito – one, yo – node, giri – cut) of the bamboo. Having five holes, there were hitoyogiri of varying length and pitch in use during the Muromachi period (1392 – 1568), but from the end of the 16th until the beginning of the 17th century, the hitoyogiri pitched at ôshiki (around present day A4) was most prevalent. Midway into the 17th century, the hitoyogiri started to die out and, although an attempt at revival was made in the early 19th century, the hitoyogiri shakuhachi soon became extinct for all practical purposes.

d) Fuke Shakuhachi – the immediate precursor of the present-day shakuhachi. During most of the Edo period, this shakuhachi remained the exclusive domain of the celebrated komusô monks of the Fuke sect of Zen Buddhism and is often referred to as the „Komusô

Shakuhachi“. It was from this time that the heavy root end of the shakuhachi was utilized in making the instrument. Like the tempuku and hitoyogiri, the Fuke shakuhachi also had five holes. All shakuhachi types mentioned above except the gagaku shakuhachi are considered variants of the same basic prototype.

e) Experimental 20th Century Shakuhachi – shakuhachi produced as a result of experimentation in the early Shōwa Period (1925 – present). These include a seven- and nine-holed shakuhachi along with an invention called the Ōkaraulo, which was an attempt to combine the shakuhachi and the Western flute into one instrument. The extra holes or keys were added in order to facilitate playing chromatic half-tones.

2. Ancient Shakuhachi

Origin of the Shakuhachi in the Tang Dynasty

The instrument known as the shakuhachi originated in China, around the beginning of the Tang period (early 7th century, AD). One of the earliest references to the shakuhachi is a passage from the Lǔ Cǎi Chuan (Chronical of Lǔ Cǎi) found in the Tang Shū (Tang Documents: „Lǔ Cǎi (in Japanese rosai) made 12 types of shakuhachi, all differing in length and pitched to the 12 pitches“. Lǔ Cǎi was a figure, who helped plan and participated in a major renovation of the Tang period music system in China between the years 627 and 649. Prior to this renovation, China's vertical blown flutes were classified into two types, a „long“ and a „short“ flute. The „long“ flute was prevalent and was made in 12 different sizes – one to match each tone of the traditional 12-tone key system used in ancient China. The „short“ flute, however, was available only in a limited number of pitches. According to the Tang Documents, Lǔ Cǎi improved upon the „short“ flute by creating a full set of 12. The flute pitched to the huángzhōng (Japanese: kōshō) key (although there is a disagreement among scholars, most concur that huángzhōng was approximately equal to the modern day pitch of D4) was one shaku and eight sun (shaku was the official unit of length used in ancient China and later in Japan – there were 10 sun in each shaku), or one shaku, hachi (eight) sun, therefore called „shakuhachi“.

The pipes used in ancient China to determine the pitches, called lǚ, were closed at the end, like pan pipes. The pipe for the huángzhōng pitch was nine sun in length. Since vertical blown flutes like the shakuhachi are open at both ends, it must be twice the length of the lǚ pitch pipe – one shaku eight sun (18 sun) – in order to sound the same pitch. Although the shaku was the official Chinese unit of measurement, the length of the shaku varied from each dynasty; therefore the shaku employed during the Tang dynasty, known as the ritsu-shaku, is not the same length of the shaku length used in Japan since the Edo period, called the kane-jaku. Of the eight shakuhachi preserved in the Shōsō-In, the longest one is 43,7 cm, almost exactly the length of the Tang period shaku.

The Gagaku Shakuhachi

Japan was heavily influenced by the music, arts, religion, and language of the highly developed, international Tang culture. Gagaku was imported to Japan around the end of the 7th century and flourished. The Tang shakuhachi was one of the instruments in the gagaku ensemble, along with the ryūteki traverse flute, the double-reed hichiriki, the shō hand-held bamboo mouth-organ, the biwa lute, koto zither, and various percussion instruments. After entering Japan, however, the shakuhachi slowly died out in China, while other vertical blown flutes took its place. During the Sung period (10th - 13th century), several vertical blown unrelated to the shakuhachi could be found, and the dòng xiāo, still in use today, dates from the Yüan period /13th - 14th centuries). But from the 10th century on, the instrument called „shakuhachi“ could only be found in Japan.

Several references to the gagaku shakuhachi appear in important Japanese chronicles and documents dating from the 8th century. The Saidai-ji Shiryō Zai (Saidai-ji Catalogue of

Treasures), compiled in 780, lists eight shakuhachi – one of them made from bamboo – belonging to a set of Tang instruments. A directive issued in 804 from the Heian Council of State contains a provision („Gagakuryô Gakushi no Jô“) that there be a „shakuhachi teacher“ among the 12 official Tôgaku (gagaku) musicians. In another directive dated from 848, there is a clause stating that the number of shakuhachi musicians should be returned from three to two. These references clearly indicate that the shakuhachi was employed in the gagaku ensemble, at least until the mid-9th century.

The Shôsô-In, a great repository built to house the treasures accumulated by Nara's influential temple Tôdai-ji, was constructed around 756. Among the many priceless artifacts preserved in the Shôsô-In are eight shakuhachi. Furthermore, five of these shakuhachi are mentioned in a document called Tôdai-ji Kenmotsu Chô (Inventory of Donations: Tôdai-ji – a listing of articles which the Empress Komyô donated to Tôdai-ji after the death of her husband, Emperor Shômu). Of these five shakuhachi, four of them are noted to have been received from King Ui-Cha-Wang of the Paekche Dynasty (Korean peninsula, mid-7th century). The Shôsô-In shakuhachi, preserved in excellent condition, are instruments which were playable and probably actually used in gagaku at the time. Considering the fact that the shakuhachi died out in China, these specimens are indeed valuable.

Of the eight shakuhachi, not all are bamboo. There are ones made from jade, stone, and ivory – although they all have bamboo nodes carved on them, suggesting that they were modeled after bamboo flutes. There are four lengths, pitched a half tone apart, and each has six holes which are similarly placed.

Besides the eight Shôsô-In shakuhachi, there is a shakuhachi from the same era owned by Hôryû-ji Temple (the instrument is now on permanent display at the Tokyo National Museum). Legend has it that this instrument was owned and played by Prince Shôtoku (Shôtoku Taishi; 574-622 – a revered historical figure in Japan who was instrumental in the instigation of Buddhism as a state religion), but there is no empirical proof to substantiate this. Likewise, the passage from the Kyôku Shô (see below) which states that Prince Shôtoku performed the gagaku piece „Somakusha“ on the shakuhachi for a heavenly maiden who appeared and danced is questionable.

Even though shakuhachi dating from the 7th and 8th century are preserved today, very little is known about the music actually performed on them. There are no extant manuscripts nor music which explains playing techniques. During the reign of Emperor Nimmyô (mid-9th century), the Imperial Court music system underwent an extensive renovation. The imported music from China and the Korean peninsula was consolidated, scaled-down, and otherwise adjusted to conform to Japanese tastes and musical inclinations of the Imperial Court. As a result, various gagaku instruments, from China (for example the u, a large version of the shô, and the ôhichiriki, a bass hichiriki) fell into disuse. The shakuhachi is considered to have shared the same fate and seems to have disappeared around this time.

Even though the shakuhachi was not active in gagaku from the 9th century until the end of the Heian period (12th century), there are a number of documents containing references to the instrument.

The Kojidan (Discussion of Ancient Matters, 1215) and the Taigen Shô (a treatise on gagaku, 1215) both state that the priest Ennin (794-864) (who studied Buddhism in Tang China from 838 until 847 and was responsible for introducing Tendai shômyô sutra chanting into Japan) played the shakuhachi in accompaniment to the Amida Kyô sutra chanting because the singing wasn't loud enough. It is difficult to verify this or to ascertain whether shakuhachi accompaniment in sutra chanting at this time was the normal course of events or an isolated example. If this passage is to be believed, it indicates that the shakuhachi was used in Buddhist ritual by a prestigious figure from a very early time.

The Ryûmei Shô (an extensive treatise on the gagaku ryûteki flute and its music, 1133) mentions that a famous gagaku musician, Prince Sadayasu (son of Emperor Seiwa who reigned from 858 until 876), reconstructed the gagaku piece „Oshôkun“ using shakuhachi notations as a guide.

Another important reference to shakuhachi of this period can be found in The Tale of the Genji. Whereas the above references are factual and objective records of events or catalogues, The Tale of the Genji (compiled around the beginning of the 11th century) is literature, and therefore provides us with a more subjective view of the shakuhachi and other gagaku instruments of the time. In chapter 6, „The Safflower“, there is mention of the „shakuhachi flute“. The instruments of gagaku; ryuteki, hichiriki, biwa, koto and various percussion instruments create an important musical imagery throughout The Tale of the Genji. Inclusion of the „shakuhachi“ indicates that in some way or other the shakuhachi could still be heard in the Imperial Court by the mid-10th century.

At the end of the Heian period, the Emperor Go-Shirakawa held a new year's banquet at the Imperial Court (1158). The Imakagami (historical stories, 1170) states that at this banquet, the emperor ordered an attempt at reviving the shakuhachi, which had been long in disuse. The Taigen Shô and Zoku Kyôkun Shô also mention this incident. Also, the Shinzei Kogakuzu scroll painting, said to be drawn by Fujiwara Michinori (?-1159), depicts lively scenes of musicians, including a shakuhachi player in a gagaku costume. This also indicates that the gagaku shakuhachi was in use up until the 12th century, but these are the last clear references to the shakuhachi being played as a gagaku instrument.
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3. The Shakuhachi of the Middle Ages

Origins of the Shakuhachi as seen in the Taigen Shô

In contrast to the shakuhachi used in gagaku, the shakuhachi of the Middle Ages was five-holed. As mentioned previously, the tempuku, hitoyogiri, and the Fuke shakuhachi all descended from the five-holed shakuhachi which was a product of the Middle Ages. Only later did each instrument develop, through different circumstances and applications, into entirely different shakuhachi.

Taking a look at writings dating back as far as the Kamakura Period (1185-1333), there is a reference in the Kyôkun Shô (a general, comprehensive gagaku treatise, 1233) which states that the shakuhachi was used by blind monks and srugaku actors (performers of popular drama which later developed into the noh theater). The 1385 Yoshino Shûi (Gleanings of Yoshino – a compilation of events relating to the Imperial Court which was briefly established in the Yoshino mountains by the Emperor Go-Daigo) mentions that Emperor Go-Daigo's son, Imperial Prince Kanenaga, was an accomplished shakuhachi player, and the Yamashina no Noritoki Kyô Nikki (The Diary of Lord Ymashina no Noritoko) has an entry dated March 24, 1408 which says that the author heard the Emperor Go-Komatsu play the shakuhachi in accompaniment to sôga (a kind of song/dance, usually with drum accompaniment, which was popular in the Imperial Court during the Middle Ages). The author of this diary writes about his experiences with the events and people surrounding him, therefore providing us with a honest account of life in the 15th century. Neither of these references, however, explain what kind of shakuhachi was used.

There is a chapter in the Taigen Shô, an important work of the Middle Ages, which hints at what kind of shakuhachi might have been used during this time. The Taigen Shô is an extensive musical treatise written 1512 by a leading musician of the time, Toyohara no Muneaki (1450-1524), and in the chapter entitled „Shakuhachi“, there are diagrams of five shakuhachi pitched to hyôjô (E⁴), sôjô (G⁴), ôshiki (A⁴), and banshiki (B⁴). The explanations which accompany these drawings read: „In the house of Toyohara, Kazuaki (the author's great-grandfather) excelled in the shakuhachi. He was a student of Toyohara no Atsuaki of the collateral family line, as was Zoami (15th century) the dengaku performer. Now, Now, there is no truth behind what dengaku players say when speaking of the shakuhachi being their own instrument...“ According to this passage, we can ascertain that the shakuhachi was played and enjoyed by gagaku musicians and dengaku performers

around the 15th century, even to the extent of disputing whose instrument it was! Since the particular type of shakuhachi was made from a single bamboo joint and had five holes, it was a hitoyogiri in the broad sense of the word. However, at this time, the term „hitoyogiri“ was not yet in use. Furthermore, there were at least five pitches of flutes in use at the time (the lowest being pitched at hyôjô, E⁴), therefore these flutes are not to be confused with the hitoyogiri shakuhachi (always pitched at A⁴) often found in literature and references of later periods. Although the shakuhachi played by blind priests and beggars mentioned as early as the Kyôun Shô (1233) might have differed, we can ascertain at least that the shakuhachi mentioned above in the diary of Yamashina no Noritoku was very similar to the five-holed shakuhachi found in the Taigen Shô.

One of the most important and colorful Middle Ages references to the shakuhachi can be found in the writings of the priest Ikkyû. The time when Ikkyû lived (1394-1482) was a period when Zen, having been introduced from China, flourished in the capital of Kyoto, and culture and power in the capital centered around five major Zen temples (this period is also known as the Gozan Bunka). For all the religious good and purity of Zen, there is no doubt that it was accompanied by much political intrigue and power plays.

Ikkyû, on the other hand, spent much of his energy trying to awaken people from the delusion of worldly power and material goods and was often going against the grain of authority. His major legacy and teachings are a book of poems written in Chinese style, called the Kyôun Shû (Crazy Cloud Collection). Within this collection of poetry, there are several which mention or center around the shakuhachi. From this and other sources, it is certain that Ikkyû carried and played the instrument during his travels and teachings. There is even a piece played by Edo-period Fuke monks said to be handed down from Ikkyû, but there is no positive proof for this.

Accounts dealing with Ikkyû's shakuhachi appear in several early Edo-period works (Ikkyû was somewhat of a folk hero by then). Although there are discrepancies, basically these works relate two legends. The first relates that Ikkyû and a fellow monk, Ichirôsô, lived away from the world in a hut in Uji, cut bamboo to make shakuhachi, and always played the instrument. The other legend says that a foreign monk named Rôan lived in a hut called „Kyûean“ and had a close relationship with Ikkyû. Having a fondness for the shakuhachi, called himself „Fûketsu Dô Sha“ („A Searcher in the Way of Wind and Holes“), and was the first komusô. Both legends seem to be variations on a theme, and quite possibly Ichirôsô and Rôan are the same person, but for this, too, there is no positive proof.

The figure of Rôan has also played a large part in legends concerning the origins of the hitoyogiri and the komusô temples. One common legend says that the foreign monk Rôan brought the hitoyogiri from overseas, and another legend has that Kyochiku Zenji (the founder of the temple Myôan-ji) was actually Rôan. Both of these legends, however, date from a relative recent date and were probably created for convenience rather than for historical accuracy (a common occurrence in the Edo period legends relating to the shakuhachi). The legend of Rôan bringing the hitoyogiri to Japan from overseas was the basis for an attempt at a hitoyogiri revival in the early 19th century by an Edo physician, Kamiya Juntei (see below). Unfortunately it seems that Kamiya, hoping to make his revival efforts credible, put together several legends and stories to create the Rôan legend. There is no real basis for its acceptance as fact for several reasons. First of all, although it is certain that both Rôan and Ikkyû were shakuhachi players, the instrument they played was not limited to the hitoyogiri shakuhachi length pitched at A⁴ which was so prevalent after the 16th century. Secondly, if a figure like Rôan brought a new kind of flute from overseas, there would certainly be cross references to it appearing in literature or other records, but there is nothing at all. Since there had been a shakuhachi in Japan since the early ages, there is no plausible reason to believe that it was introduced anew by Rôan.

What was the relationship between Ikkyû of the 15th century and the Fuke sect of the 18th century? The shakuhachi which was used by Ikkyû was probably the same type found in the Taigen Shô, and, although differing from the later hitoyogiri of Edo period Fuke

shakuhachi, can be considered a kind of shakuhachi archetyp. It is entirely possible that Ikkyū had close relations with an associate named Ichirosō or Rōan, spending time together during meditations, pilgrimages, and while playing the shakuhachi. Furthermore, Ikkyū was a member of the Rinzai sect, and the later Fuke sect was also affiliated with Rinzai.

Rather than trying to establish any direct, verifiable connection between Ikkyū and the Fuke sect, however, it is more meaningful to examine the purpose and message in Ikkyū's shakuhachi and his philosophy of sound as a tool in the process of enlightenment and then compare his attitudes with the Fuke sect philosophy set forth in their official annals, the Kyotaku Denki Kokuji Kai (described below). Music and sound images pervade the Kyoū Shū poetry, showing that Ikkyū placed much importance on the role of sound in Zen. The Fuke monks also viewed shakuhachi playing as a discipline and the flute's tones as a medium for helping attain enlightenment.

A shakuhachi preserved at Hōshun-In, a small temple within the compounds of the great Kyoto temple Daitoku-ji, is said to be the one used by Ikkyū, but judging from its shape, wrappings, and pitch (A⁴), it is probably an example of the hitoyogiri popular art a later period.

Around the time of the Taigen Shō, another important work appeared. The Kangin Shū (1518) is a collection of poetry consisting of kouta: songs from the performing arts of the Middle Ages. The shakuhachi plays an important part in the imagery of these poems as well. In the preface, the editor says „The shakuhachi is my friend...“ The shakuhachi of the Kangin Shū does not have the religious connotations of Ikkyū's shakuhachi, but it does give us a rare glimpse into the poet's emotional lives:

Dengaku

I take out the shakuhachi from beneath my sleeve,
to blow it while waiting and
The wind through the pine -
scatters flowers as though a dream
How much longer will I have to play
until my heart is quiet again?

Kouta

My shakuhachi is blameless yet
I toss it at the pillow.
It makes a sound katari as it hits the wood rim,
Yet even the sound does not make it less lonely nor less sad
to sleep alone.

Kouta

I blow you while I wait
I blow you later in my disappointment too -
Worthless Shakuhachi!

The Rise of Mendicant Shakuhachi Players – the Komosō

From around the beginning of the 17th century, the shakuhachi came into the possession of beggar monks, called komusō. Their name derives from komo, a simple, woven straw mat which these beggars wore on their backs to keep out rain and cold. These monks were also referred to as boro, boroboro, boronji, bonji, and kanji, all words which have religious overtones yet convey the feelings of mendicancy and poverty. These beggar priests are mentioned as early as the 14th-century Tsurezure Gusa (Essays in Idleness), yet by the 15th century the name komosō was not common nor were the monks associated with playing the shakuhachi. However, by the mid-16th century, the association between

the shakuhachi and the komosô monks seems certain. In a collection of Waka poetry (Sanjûniban Shokunin Uta Awase – poetry contests which were regularly held among professional poets), there is an entry titled „Komosô“.

Amidst spring flowers who should care that the wind blows?
It is not the wind, but the shakuhachi of the komo.

The commentary which accompanies this poem explains that „the komosô is absorbed in visiting the houses of both rich and poor, begging and playing shakuhachi – that is all they can do.“

Although originally the Chinese characters for komosô were written with komo (straw mat) and sô (monk) which, as mentioned, conveys a feeling of mendicancy and shabbiness, the title for the above poem is written with characters ko (emptiness), mo (illusion) and sô (monk), which conveys a more serious, religious feeling. Also, the use of the word „absorbed“ (Japanese sammai, Sanskrit samadhi) in the commentary indicates that by this name the monks were not just Japanese Middle Ages' equivalents to wandering hippies, but were actually involved in Buddhist disciplines. Much more is this the case with the komusô of the later Edo period, who were organized into a Buddhist Zen sect and had a network of temples across the country. The characters for komusô are written appropriately with ko (emptiness), mu (nothingness) and sô (monk).

Although the Edo-period komusô used the root end Fuke shakuhachi, it is hard to determine exactly what kind of instrument the komosô used. Judging from the fact that they were primarily individual wandering beggars who played alone, their flutes were probably entirely handmade and non-standard, with little regards to length, pitch or shape. According to the Boro-no-Techô (Handbook of Boro Monks, 1618), their shakuhachi was five-holed and included three nodes of bamboo. In the Kanden Kôhitsu written by Ban Kôkei (1733-1806), there is a passage which reads: „Nowadays we call those who carry shakuhachi and beg for rice komusô“, but in the Kanjinshô Uta Awase (poetry contest collection), they are termed komosô, and in paintings they are depicted with long hair, wearing straw mats tied to their waists.



As can be seen in the above drawing, the shakuhachi played by this komosô is certainly not a thin, hitoyogiri type of instrument. It seems that basically the hitoyogiri komosô and komusô are all related. From this variety of shakuhachi, the komusô of the Fuke sect chose the heavier, longer shakuhachi as their instrument.

The Tempuku – Fossil of the Ancient Shakuhachi

Mention was made above about the tempuku, an ancient type of shakuhachi which still can be found in the Satsuma (Kagoshima) area of Japan. There are no records or legends which clarify the origins of the tempuku or give any indications as to the name ten (heaven), puku or fuku (to blow), but examinations of its construction and shape indicate a close relationship with the prototype shakuhachi of the Middle Ages.

The instrument is made from a thin, rather flat piece of hotei chiku bamboo with three nodes, measuring about 26 cm in length. The tempuku is almost always made by the player himself, but interestingly the measurements don't follow any acoustical or determined finger widths, which means there is substantial variation among individual instruments. The mouthpiece is cut inward, opposite to the shakuhachi but the same as the *dōng xiāo* Chinese vertical bamboo flute. Like the hitoyogiri, the tempuku is shorter than the Fuke shakuhachi and therefore produces a higher overall pitch, and the relative pitches of the tempuku holes differ from the Fuke shakuhachi. The position of the holes is also not determined by any acoustical consideration; rather, the circumference of the bamboo and node position determine hole placement. Although the placement of the holes and nodes is visually well balanced, not always is the flute tuned very well.

The facts that the tempuku resembles the hitoyogiri and early shakuhachi, is made by the player himself, and doesn't follow any rational or acoustical designs indicates a very old origin. The five-holed shakuhachi of the early Middle Ages probably found its way into the conservative and insulated Satsuma region of Kyūshū where it remained unchanged until the present day as a kind of shakuhachi fossil.

The tempuku in Satsuma was played mostly by samurai, and is said to have enjoyed its peak of popularity in the last half of the 16th century. In Satsuma, there is a popular legend that tells of the retainer Kitahara Bizen no Kami who was captured by the Tokugawa generals during the great battle of Sekigahara (1600 – the battle which gave Tokugawa absolute rule over Japan and ushered in the Edo period). Before Kitahara was to be executed, he played the tempuku, mourning his life so beautiful on the flute that the Tokugawa generals were moved into sparing his life.

The tempuku continued to be played into the Edo period and after the Meiji Restoration, but presently only a few people in Kagoshima maintain the tradition.

Hitoyogiri – Shakuhachi Prototype of the Middle Ages

There is a modicum of confusion surrounding the term „hitoyogiri“. Various lengths of shakuhachi (as elaborated in the *Taigen Shō*) existed up until the end of the 16th century. At that time, the flute pitched at A⁴ (*ōshiki*) became the standard length for shakuhachi players. It was also at that time that the term „hitoyogiri“ became prevalent. In Japan, the term „hitoyogiri“ is often used to refer to all the shakuhachi flutes of the Middle Ages, regardless of pitch. Strictly speaking, however, „hitoyogi“ indicates only the A⁴ shakuhachi of the mid-16th century on.

Nonetheless, it is difficult to determine when the term „hitoyogiri“ was first used and to what it actually referred. Although „hitoyogiri“ doesn't appear in the *Taigen Shō* (1215), Ikkyū cleverly makes a word play in one of his poems using „hito-yo“ to indicate both the „hitoyogiri“ and „one night“:

Although I thought the shakuhachi a friend just for one night,
It has stayed my friend many nights until old age.

A similar word play can be found in the Ryūtsu's collection of *kouta*:

The tones of the shakuhachi „hitoyogiri“ may satisfy for one night,
But sleeping with you just one night is not enough.

Although these references indicate that hitoyogiri was a common term from the 15th and early 16th century, most pre-Edo references use only the term „shakuhachi“, and the term „hitoyogiri shakuhachi“ became popular only from the 17th century – probably because of the need to distinguish it from the Fuke shakuhachi. Afterwards, the A⁴-pitched hitoyogiri of the Edo was often referred to only as the „shakuhachi“ - a term which seemed to include both the Fuke shakuhachi and the hitoyogiri.

From the mid-16th century, there was quite a lot of interest in the hitoyogiri as a musical

instrument, as evidenced by the large number of instruction and music books published at that time. A person called Sôsa was the primary instigator in creating artistic interest in the hitoyogiri, and such Edo-period publications as the Shichiku Shoshin-shû (beginning Pieces for Strings and Bamboo), Dôshô-Kyoku (Pieces for the Vertical Flute), and Ikanobori (another collection of hitoyogiri pieces) all attribute Sôsa as the source of their pieces and the founder of the hitoyogiri playing. However, there is nothing that tells us about Sôsa as a person or when he lived. Although there are some minor discrepancies between these three works, they contain numerous mentions of monks and warriors, hinting that Sôsa was a recluse or a hermit.

The personal history of Sôsa may be unclear, but Omori Sôkun (1570-1625, five generations down from Sôsa) comes across as a very clear, important figure in these works. Sôkun was a descendant of Ohmori Hikoshichi – a retainer of the famous first Ashikaga Shôgun Takauji (1305-1358) – and Sôkun himself had served as retainer to the great general Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582). After Nobunaga's death, Sôkun became a recluse and devoted himself to study of the hitoyogiri, gaining fame both as a player and the second founder of hitoyogiri music (Sôsa being the first).

Tanteki Hidenfu (Secret Pieces for the Short Vertical Flute) was written in 1608 by Sôkun and is probably the oldest extant collection of pieces for the hitoyogiri. The collection contains about 79 different very short solo instrumental pieces (called *te*, as opposed to *kyoku* which is the usual modern term for „piece“) with such titles as „Netori“, „Shôte“, „Honte“, „Kochigo“, etc. The notation is written in the Japanese katakana syllabary. Although it is difficult to reconstruct in their entirety all of these pieces, they seem to have a musical relationship with the later Fuke shakuhachi solo pieces.

The efforts of Sôkun, who was also the author of the Shakuachi Tekazu Mokuroku (1624), took the hitoyogiri out of the world of wandering beggar-priests and recluses into the general society where it was treated like a musical instrument. The number of musical works and treatises still extant from that period indicates that the hitoyogiri reached a fairly high level of popularity.

Interestingly, the word „hitoyogiri“ never appears in the Tanteki Hidenfu. Except for the title „tanteki“ - which literally means „short flute“ - the hitoyogiri is referred to only as the „shakuhachi“, the fingering charts given in this book are for the hitoyogiri pitched at A⁴ (ôshiki), but references for fingerings on flutes of differing lengths (G⁴, B⁴, D⁵ and E⁵) are also provided. In comparison, the fingerings for the hitoyogiri contained in Shichiku Shôshin-shû and Ikanobori, published 50 years later, are only for the A⁴ ôshiki flute. This indicates that although the A⁴ hitoyogiri was prominent during Sôkun's time, there were still other lengths of hitoyogiri being played, but half a century later all hitoyogiri music and references were limited to the instrument pitched at A⁴.

In addition to the Sôkun school of hitoyogiri playing, there was a rival style called Seijitsu. This style, however, was overwhelmed by the Sôkun style and soon disappeared.

Fostered by the relative artistic freedom of the early Edo period, the hitoyogiri flourished. Publications containing music, musical instruction, songs, and fingerings such as the Shichiku Shôshin-shû (Beginning Pieces for Strings and Bamboo – 1664), Dôshô Kyoku (Pieces for the Vertical Flute – 1669), and Ikanobori (collection of hitoyogiri pieces – first published in 1687 then later published in a larger work, Shichiku Taizen in 1699) were available to the general public. Some of these works included folk and dance songs, and much of the music consisted of ensemble pieces for koto, shamisen and hitoyogiri. At this time, there was already a differentiation made between hitoyogiri pieces played alone, called *te* (now called *honkyoku*) and pieces played in ensemble, *rankyoku* (now known as *gaikyoku*). There were also players who specialized in only *te* or only *rankyoku*.

In spite of the hitoyogiri's widespread popularity in the early Edo period, by the middle of the 18th century interest in the instrument quickly waned, and by the early 19th century the hitoyogiri tradition had all but died out. An Edo physician, Kamiya Juntei, attempted a hitoyogiri revival in the second and third decades of the 19th century. Kamiya seemed extremely committed to his revival. He changed the name of the hitoyogiri to *kotake* („little

bamboo“) and, adding classical pieces together with about 30 of his own compositions, published *Shichiku Kokin-shû* and numerous other musical scores. Nonetheless, except for a handful of enthusiasts, his efforts failed in reviving the instrument, and by the end of the 19th century the hitoyogiri was finally extinct.

The length of the A⁴-pitched hitoyogiri was 33,6 cm, or one shaku, one sun one bu (1 shaku = 10 sun, 1 sun = 10 bu). Some people, like Kamiya, arbitrarily set the length at one shaku eight bu to try to make it similar (at least numerically) to the shakuhachi's length of one shaku eight sun, but this was meaningless.

The hitoyogiri's fingering resembles that of the Fuke and present-day shakuhachi, except the upper octave pitches on the hitoyogiri tend to become sharp. Fingering also tends to be haphazard and confusing, oftentimes with the same fingering syllable signifying more than one pitch. The lower notes can be fingered the same as the lower notes of the present-day shakuhachi, but the fingering for the higher notes is quite different. The upper octave is also limited, the total range being only one octave and a fourth, compared with the 2.5 octaves of the modern shakuhachi. Half-holing – an indispensable technique on the modern shakuhachi – apparently was never used in the hitoyogiri pieces. Instead, cross-fingering techniques were used to play half tones and tones between the holes. Because of the hitoyogiri's small holes, however, half-holing is almost impossible. Furthermore, changing pitch through alteration of jaw angle, meri and kari is also difficult due to the small blowing hole.

The hitoyogiri pitched at A⁴ is most suited to play the Ritsu scale; D, E, G, A, B, which is probably one of the reasons it remained after the other lengths of hitoyogiri were no longer used. On the other hand, the Miyako Bushi flatted seconds scale, which was so important throughout the Edo period, was extremely difficult to play on the hitoyogiri. One of the reasons for the hitoyogiri's demise is precisely due to the fact that it couldn't handle the narrow half tones of the Miyako Bushi scale. General history books in Japan classify the hitoyogiri as an instrument of the early Edo period, but considering the fact that the hitoyogiri – through its musical limitation – wasn't suited to the Miyako Bushi scale, it should be more properly classified as the shakuhachi of the Middle Ages.

4. The Edo Period Shakuhachi

The 16th Century and its Impact on the Development of Japanese Music

Looking at the 100 years between the mid-16th to the mid-17th centuries, we see that it is the age in which the Fuke shakuhachi was just beginning to emerge. It was also an important formative period for the various genres of performing arts which were to flourish in the Edo period up to the end of the 19th century.

For example, the most important development in that period was the importation of the three-stringed shamisen from the Ryûkyû Islands (Okinawa) around 1560. The shamisen quickly gained popularity, being widely used as the accompanying instrument for the jôruri narrative singing and story telling. Jôruri tied up with puppetry to create the bunraku tradition (1595), and again the shamisen played an important role. The shamisen also found its way into the kabuki dances which were begun by a female performer, Okuni of the Izumo area (early 16th century). The koto was also undergoing significant changes. The Tsukushi style of koto playing took the gagaku koto and began its popularization in the 1580s. The composer Yatsushashi Kengyô (1614-1685) further popularized the koto through such masterpieces as „Rokudan no Shirabe“ and „Midare“, and it was at that time that the koto began to be played in ensemble with the shamisen. Even a cursory look at the musical developments during these hundred years shows the dramatic changes and experimentations which were taking place, setting the stage for the musical culture of the Edo period.

This was the environment which fostered the development of the Fuke shakuhachi, but this was also the period in which the Miyako Bushi scale began to permeate all aspects of

popular music – a fact of far-reaching consequences. Yatsushashi Kengyô changed the Ritsu scale of the Tsukushi koto, which was a scale similar to the scale used in gagaku, to the Miyako Bushi scale which was better able to capture the popular sentiments of the time. All of the musical developments of the Edo period are colored by the emotional impact of the Miyako Bushi scale. The instruments most suited to this scale were the koto, the shamisen, and the Fuke shakuhachi but not the hitoyogiri.

The differences between the Miyako Bushi and the Ritsu scale are shown in the following chart. Each scale consists of a set of two tetrachords (Miyako Bushi scale: D, E, G, A, B, D; Ritsu scale: D, E flat, G, A B flat, D) in which the outer notes are equivalent in relative pitch. The tonic note and the fourth interval of each tetrachord remains constant. What changes between the two scales and gives them their colorations is the interval between the first and second, and the fourth and fifth tone of the scales. The Miyako Bushi interval is a minor second (usually played even flatter), and the interval in the Ritsu scale is a major second.

The Development of the Root-End Shakuhachi

At this time, not only did the shakuhachi become larger in order to accommodate the Miyako Bushi scale, but the root end of the bamboo came to be used as the shakuhachi bell. Apart from whatever acoustical advantages there may have been for using the heavy root end, there was certainly the advantage of having an instrument which doubled as a bludgeon, at least for certain Edo period rouges and samurai who were not allowed to carry swords. The story of Karigane Bunshichi (taken from Katabisashi – 1853) exemplifies this colorful episode in the shakuhachi's history.

Karigane Bunshichi was a rogue from Osaka who, excelling at the shakuhachi, taught all his gang how to play. Later, he left aside playing the shakuhachi and started to use it as a sword, changing the length to one shaku eight sun and adding several nodes and the root end of the bamboo. Records state that karigane was executed in 1703, so he must have been active around the end of the 17th century. It's difficult to believe that Karigane was the originator of the one shaku eight sun length shakuhachi, as the story suggests, but the fact that Karigane was able to use the instrument as a weapon indicates that it must have already been substantially heavier than the hitoyogiri.

Stories of Edo period dandies and rouges playing the shakuhachi appear frequently in plays and novels. There was even a word fashioned for their kind of shakuhachi – kenka shakuhachi – which referred to the frequent quarrels in which these people engaged, without doubt using the shakuhachi to their tactical advantage. Considering the fact that the early Fuke shakuhachi had only three nodes and didn't utilize the root end (cf. the shakuhachi in the Boro-no Techo, and the shakuhachi depicted in the statue of Kyochiku Zenji, the founder of Kyoto's Myôan-ji Temple), it is entirely possible that these rouges and dandies were responsible for creating the trademark of the present shakuhachi – its blunted root bell.

According to the Tsurezure Gusa, the Boro komosô monks were debauched, merciless fighters, not caring whether they lived or died. Perhaps the Edo period rouges so given over to the fighting with their instruments took hints from the earlier komosô who had similar natures.

Development of the Shakuhachi as a Meditational/Religious Instrument

Colorful episodes and stories notwithstanding, during most of the Edo period the shakuhachi wasn't regarded as a musical instrument. The Katabisashi states: „The shakuhachi is used in fights wasn't a musical instrument, it is now used by monks as a religious tool...“ This appears to reflect the popular thinking of that time, that the shakuhachi was a monk's tool, or, in other words, a religious tool of the Fuke sect. The Fuke sect itself was quite an unusual religious group, and even today, its existence is still somewhat of a riddle. It is claimed that the sect's founder was the Zen master Fuke (in Chinese, Pû Huà) of China's Tang period, but Fuke didn't actually found this sect, and

there is no trace of such a sect existing in presently China. The Fuke sect was entirely a Japanese product. There is also the obvious inconsistency of historical periods. Fuke lived in the 9th century – the Fuke sect was formally established in the 18th century. Even disregarding the historical inconsistencies, the lifestyle of the Fuke monks was also quite out of the ordinary. Fuke monks – in other words, komusô monks – made a part of their discipline to beg while playing the shakuhachi on pilgrimages. Shakuhachi playing, however, was not just a way to beg for alms. The komusô ardently played the shakuhachi as a way toward enlightenment – in a style called suizen or „blowing“ meditation – instead of zazen meditation, sutra chanting, or activities in which most Zen monks engaged. This was the reason why the shakuhachi was referred to as a religious tool rather than as an instrument, and why the pieces they played weren't „music“ but „meditations“.

One very unusual aspect about the Fuke sect is that they were granted a number of special privileges by the autocratic Edo central government, developing into a kind of extralegal sect. The Fuke sect was a place, free from interference from the authorities, where rônin masterless samurai could temporarily hide themselves and where warriors who had no recourse to the traditional schools could pursue their training. Because komusô were allowed to freely embark on pilgrimages, they had free access to all highways and checkpoints (in the Edo period, all central roads had frequent checkpoints which required official permission to pass), as well as free passage on the boats that plied the many rivers crossing highways. Furthermore, they wore a deep, woven reed hat (tengai) which assured their anonymity. Wherever they went, they were free from insults or interference by any person or local laws, and it was obligatory to offer alms to the komusô's begging. The shakuhachi itself was the exclusive property of the komusô – no others were allowed to play it. Although these numerous special privileges didn't apply throughout the entire history of the Fuke sect, they are representative of how the Fuke sect fitted into the Edo society in general. The historical inconsistencies and problems of the sect are treated in detail in the following pages.

Origins of the Fuke Sect – Fact and Fantasy

The origins of the Fuke sect are set forth in its official document, the Kyotaku Denki, which is outlined below.

In China, there was a monk of high learning called Fuke. He always walked around the city with a bell (taku) in his hand, ringing it while announcing „Myô tô rai, myô tô da, an tô rai, an tô da, Shi hô hachi men rai, sen pô da, Kô kû rai, ren ga da“ („If attacked from the light, I will strike back in the light. If attacked from the dark, I will strike back in the dark. If attacked from all four quarters, I will strike back as a whirlwind. If attacked from emptiness, I will lash out like a flail“). A mand named Chôhaku (Zhang Bô) heard this and yearned to be his disciple, but was turned away. As Chôhaku had a knack with flutes, he quickly fashioned a flute from a piece of bamboo and created a piece which imitated the sound of Fuke's bell ringing. Thereafter he played only this piece on the flute, and because the flute's sound imitated the ringing of a bell, he titled the piece „Kyotaku“ („The Bell which isn't“) and handed it down to his descendants. This flute came to be known as the shakuhachi in later times.

Sixteen generations removed from Chôhaku there was a man, Chôsan (Zhân Cân), who had already mastered this tradition while in his youth. Chôsan went to study Zen Buddhism at the temple Gôkoku-ji (Hûguôsi) in the prefecture of Yôshû (Shû Zhôu). At the same time a Japanese priest called Gakushin was also studying at the same temple. They soon became friends, and Gakushin – captivated by the wondrous sounds of Chôsan's kyotaku flute song – requested that Chôsan teach him the tradition. Gakushin returned to Japan in 1254 where he went to Yura on the Kii peninsula (south of present-day Wakayama City) and founded the temple Shihô-ji (later to be known as Kôkoku-ji Temple). There, Gakushin came to be known as a highly learned and respected priest, given the posthumous Buddhist name Hottô-kokushi („Light of Dharma onto the Country“).

Within Gakushin's many disciples, there was one particularly devoted one, Kichiku

(afterwards known as Kyochiku), to whom Gakushin handed down the kyotaku tradition. Besides Kichiku, there were four others (Kokusaku, Risei, Hôfu and Sôjô – known as the „four devoted men“) who also were proficient on the flute. Kichiku, desiring to embark on a pilgrimage, set off for the province of Ise, arriving at the shrine of Kokuzu-dô on the top of Mount Asamagatake (in present-day Mie prefecture). Drifting in and out of sleep while saying his prayers, he heard supremely wondrous sounds coming to him. Awakening, he tried to imitate these sounds on his flute, making two pieces, „Mukaiji“ („Flute on the Foggy Sea“) and „Kokû“ („Flute in the Empty Sky“). Kichiku later changed his name to Kyochiku and called himself Rôan, living in Uji (near Kyoto). After his death Kyochiku's disciple Meifû built the Kyoto temple Myôan-ji with Kyochiku as the founder.

On the other hand, Hôfu lived a while at Uji and propagated Fuke Zen. Later, he took three of his disciples (Kinsen, Kassô, and Hôgi) on a pilgrimage on the eastern regions. Hôfu died while they were in Kogane of Shimos Province (present-day Chiba prefecture), and Kinsen built a temple there in his honour, called Ryûsan Ichigetsu-ji. Another disciple, Kassô, built the temple Reihô-ji in Musashino province (now the western edge of Tokyo). Several generations down from Kyochiku is a descendant called Kyofû. At that time there was a general known as Kusunoki no Masakatsu, who was grandson to the minister of the southern court, Kusunoki no Masahige. Masakatsu fought valiantly for the southern court's cause (during Japan's age of two Imperial Courts, 1330's), but after the north and the south were united, he had no place to go. Leaving home, Masakatsu met Kyofû, who taught him the komusô traditions. Changing his name to kyomu, Masakatsu wandered the countryside with shakuhachi, tengai basket hat, robes, footwear, and other paraphernalia of a komusô monk. If asked, during his wanderings, what his name was, all he would answer was „The monk (sô) Kyomu“. From this, people started to call the Fuke monks „komusô“ (kyomu-sô“).

The Kyotaku Denki Kokuji Kai was published in 1795 by Masayu Shôbei of a Kyoto publishing house. Included in this document are histories of the temple Myôan-ji, Ichigetsu-ji, and Reihô-ji. The details of these histories are somewhat inconsistent with each other, but generally follow the story outlined above.

However, there are a few glaring inconsistencies throughout the entire document.

Although the next section will go into a detailed analysis of these inconsistencies, a few facts concerning these temples and pieces should be clarified.

First, the pieces „Mukaiji“ and „Kokû“ along with „Kyorei“ are known as the „Three Classics“, and even today are considered the basic repertoire of classic shakuhachi playing in the Myôan and Kinko styles. Secondly, Myôan-ji, Ichigetsu-ji, and Reihô-ji were temples of the Fuke sect (komusô dera). Myôan-ji was the headquarter temple for the „33 western provinces“, while Ichigetsu-ji and Reihô-ji (both in Edo, however, Reihô-ji was moved to Ôme city west of Edo in the early 17th century) were the headquarter temples for the whole country, acting as the general representatives of the fuke sect to the Edo governing authorities. Although Kôkoku-ji Temple was founded by Hottô-kokushi, it did not belong to the fuke sect, but was a temple of the Myôshin-ji faction of the Rinzaï sect of Zen Buddhism. Nonetheless, Myôan-ji was considered a subsidiary temple of Kôkoku-ji.

The Kyotaku Denki disproved; Nakatsuka Chikuzen's Historical View of the Kinko Shakuhachi

Lack of any concrete proof substantiating the above-cited legends concerning the origins of the Fuke sect and komusô, plus many other inconsistencies, make the Kyotaku Denki difficult to accept as truth.

Would it be possible for the shakuhachi to be transmitted 16 generations after Chôhaku and introduced to a foreign guest without there being mention somewhere? There is no written record of this in China. Even if Hottô-kokushi did bring the shakuhachi back to Japan and his disciples wandered around the countryside playing it, it is very likely that some kind of record would remain, but nothing in the Kamakura Period documents (corresponding to this time) mentions this incident. True, the tempuku flourished in an

obscure corner of Kyushu, but it is highly unlikely that someone playing the shakuhachi around the vicinity of the capital city Kyoto would go unnoticed. Furthermore, if indeed Kusunoki no Masakatsu was the original komusô, then it means that the komusô costume and paraphernalia – tengai basket hat, sashes, handwear, and footwear – would have been in use by the late 14th century, but there is nothing to substantiate that, either. In short, these legends cannot be verified through cross references.

The Kyotaku Denki Kokuji Kai is the only published resource material on the origins of the fuke sect, and it is generally considered to be specious. The document consists of a manuscript (Kyotaku Denki) in Chinese kanbun style by a priest called Tonwa, followed by a translation and commentary in Japanese (Kokuji Kai). However, nothing is really known about Tonwa except that he was a Zen priest during the Kan'ei Period (1624-1644). The original manuscript was said to have been in the possession of the Ano family, but there is no substantiating proof for this, either.

In a picture scroll relating the origins of the temple Myôan-ji there is also mention of the Kyotaku Denki, but the date and origin of this scroll are unknown. Interestingly, the Kokuji Kai Japanese commentary was edited and published in 1795, a period when the Fuke sect was starting to experience difficulties and began losing some of the special privileges granted to it by the Tokugawa government. This fact, plus the high degree of fantasy found within the legend itself, suggests, in all probability, that the Japanese commentary to the original legend was published at this particular time with a definite purpose in mind – to dress up the old legend and provide the failing sect with a sense of legitimacy.

Nonetheless, the prototype of this legend seems quite old. The famous shibboleth of the Chinese Zen master Fuke, „Myô to rai, myô to da...” (originally from the 9th-century Rinzai Roku – The Teachings of Rinzai) can also be found in the aforementioned Boro-no Techô (1628), along with a passage which states „Master Fuke was the founder of the komosô“. Likewise, the Shichiku Shoshin-shû (1664) makes mention of this legend: „Certainly, the origins of the Fuke shakuhachi are unclear, but although it is said that Hottô (Hottô-kokushi or Gakushin) of Yura was the founder of this Way, we find it hard to accept...” The fact that this legend appears in these sources indicate that the kyotaku Denki was not entirely made up by Edo period Fuke monks. At least from around the end of the 16th century, when komosô were prevalent, Fuke was regarded by some as the founder of the fuke sect. Of course, the members of the Fuke sect took this legend for truth. Even today, many shakuhachi players involved in transmitting the Fuke shakuhachi pieces still strongly believe the Kyotaku Denki, and throughout the end of the Edo period and into the 20th century, this legend was taken as undisputable fact concerning the origins of the Fuke shakuhachi.

Little research concerning the legend's objectivity and accuracy was undertaken until Nakatsuka Chikuzen, an avid shakuhachi player and scholar, undertook an extensive study of its origins. His findings were published between 1936 and 1939 under the title Kinko Ryû Shakuhachi Shikan (A Historical View of the Kinko Shakuhachi) in Sankyoku (a magazine, published from 1921 to 1944, devoted to the traditional music of shamisen, koto and shakuhachi). His original intent, stated in the preface, was to research with the assumption that the legend contained in the Kyotaku Denki was true, but in the process of his investigation, he had the opportunity to examine all of the archives at myôan-ji, plus the material remaining at Kôkoku-ji which related to this legend. Slowly, doubts built up within him concerning its veracity.

Briefly stated, Nakatsuka discovered, while perusing the Myôan-ji archives, that records and events supposedly reaching far back – for example the temples' histories. Lineage of the priests, and posthumous teachings of various masters- were in fact fabricated at a later date. At Kôkoku-ji (Myôan-ji's mother temple), Nakatsuka delved into the diaries kept by Hottô-kokushi (Gakushin) during his studies in China and after he returned home, the correspondence which took place between the temples Kôkoku-ji and Myôan-ji, and many other important documents. Nowhere in the diaries was there mention that Hottô-kokushi came into contact with the shakuhachi while in China or brought one back to Japan. The

name „Kichiku“ appears nowhere, and the four disciples who supposedly returned to Japan with Hottō-kokushi were no more than mere men-servants. Because nothing could be found relating to the shakuhachi, Nakatsuka could not substantiate even the least part of the legend contained within the Kyotaku Denki. Putting together the various legends and stories found at Myōan-ji, Nakatsuka surmised that it only became a bonafide temple at the beginning of the Edo period (early 17th century). Before that it was no more than a stopping-off place for wandering komosō monks – hardly in the same class as a temple. Furthermore, Nakatsuka discovered through letters remaining at Kōkoku-ji that Myōan-ji, by altering documents, had contrived its relationship with Kōkoku-ji at a later date. During the course of his research, Nakatsuka changed his beliefs about the Kyotaku Denki and saw that it was based upon flimsy and specious legends, purposely falsified. From here, Nakatsuka directed his attention to the reasons for this falsification and began research on the rise and fall of the Fuke sect during the Edo period.

Before introducing the results of this research, however, it is necessary to examine the Fuke sect and its relationship with the Edo government, including the special privileges which the government granted this sect.

Political Intrigue – The Fuke Sect and the Tokugawa Government

The fact that a religious sect bases itself upon myth is in itself not such a major problem. But there were aspects of the Fuke sect which set it apart from the average religious sect. These were the various special privileges granted to the komusō monks who belonged to the Fuke sect. Official recognition and authorization of these privileges are clearly set out in a series of articles contained within a document, supposedly issued by the government, known as the Keichō Okite Gaki (Governmental Decree of the Keichō Years, 1596-1615). The Keichō Okite Gaki was dated the first month, 1614. Bearing the signature of Honda Uenosuke, Itakura Iganomori, and Honda Sadanomori, the decree was issued to the komusō temples. Being the earliest decree issued by the Tokugawa government to the Fuke sect, it is said (at least by members of the Fuke sect) to have been written by the great Shōgun Tokugawa Iyasu himself.

The legitimacy of this decree came into question as early as the end of the 17th century, when Arai Hakuseki (1657-1725) first expressed doubt. Afterwards, several officials of the Temple & Shrine Magistrate's Office began to hold similar misgivings. More recently, Kurihara Kōta in *Shakuhachi Shikō* (1918, the first comprehensive shakuhachi history book), and Mikami Sanji both presented detailed research concluding that the Keichō Okite Gaki was not written in 1614, but was a falsified decree actually written around 1680. Of the many spurious aspects of this document, only a few of the more obvious ones will be given here. First of all, no record found within the Tokugawa government mentions anything about the issuance of this decree. On the contrary, it seems that the Fuke sect provided the Tokugawa government with a copy of the original decree that had been issued to them. When asked about the original decree (which would have borne the official government seal), the fuke sect answered that it had been lost in a temple fire. Furthermore, numerous copies are extant, and each one is at slight variance with the other. Not only do they differ in obvious ways (they were all handwritten), but the number of provisions within the decree itself varies – there are copies with as few as eight provisions and copies containing as many as 21 provisions. This fact in itself is enough to make someone doubt the veracity of the decree, but Nakatsuka, in *Kinko Ryū Shakuhachi Shikan*, undertook more detailed research based upon the assumptions of Kurihara and Mikami.

Nakatsuka classified the various copies of the Keichō Okite Gaki into two types: ones containing comparatively few provisions and ones with numerous provisions. As each article enunciates a certain privilege to the Fuke sect, it stands to reason that the copies with a few number of provisions benefitted the Tokugawa government, while a greater number of provisions benefitted the sect. The former contained provisions which designated the Fuke sect as an organization for the accommodation of masterless samurai,

provided for limitations and policing of the komusô, and stipulated that the komusô must act as spies for the government, and other provisions which clearly gave the government the advantage. There wasn't even a stipulation that forbade non-komusô from playing the shakuhachi. On the other hand, copies of the decree containing many provisions clearly favored the Fuke sect: the shakuhachi was exclusive property of the komusô, komusô could wear deep basket hats (tengai) to hide their identity, komusô could not only travel freely throughout the country, but they were to be given free passage on boats and free admission to plays, they were not bound by local law, they could leave the sect at any time, etc. As provisions favoring the Fuke sect grew, the stipulations requiring komusô to act as special government police disappeared. In other words, the fact that there were two types of decrees indicates a power struggle took place between the Fuke sect and the Tokugawa government. These decrees were not the result of cooperative efforts by the Fuke sect and the Tokugawa government; rather, the sect would devise a decree and submit it to the government who would give its tacit approval, each time adding instructions in a separate decree which limited the privileges of the sect. It doesn't necessarily follow that decrees containing numerous provisions were issued at a time when the sect was powerful and vice versa. Decrees containing a large number of favorable provisions were more likely a form of protest by the Fuke sect during periods of crackdowns by the Tokugawa government.

Spurious as these decrees may have been, there is no doubt that the government gave its tacit approval to many of the Fuke sect's activities, and that in itself was effective for convincing society at large. The average person's image of the komusô and belief in the Fuke sect were based upon these decrees, and these perceptions have endured until recent times.

Nakatsuka's Theories on the Rise of the Fuke Sect

How then, did the Fuke sect actually come into being and develop? Again, we have no rely on the research of Nakatsuka. Unfortunately, Nakatsuka became ill and died before he could finish the research begun in *Kinko Ryu Shakuhachi Shikan*, so it remains without general conclusions. However, by compiling the various bits of information found in each chapter and section, it is possible to ascertain the conclusion he was aiming for, although there are places lacking in coherency. Below is a general outline of Nakatsuka's theories on the Fuke sect.

During the Middle Ages, there were figures like Ikkyû and Rôan who devoted themselves to the Zen meditative aspects of the shakuhachi and its sound along with furyû, Bohemian figures and eccentric hermits who also involved themselves with the shakuhachi. But after the period of intense civil wars (15th-16th century), rônin or masterless samurai began to swell the ranks of komusô. Tokugawa Ieyasu's victory at Sekigahara and his subsequent defeat of the Osaka-based Shôgun Toyotomi Hideyori (1615) ushered in the Edo period but also created a surplus of rônin, who were a liability to the newly established government. The Tokugawa government tightened control and watched over these rônin, but they joined in with a major rebellion led by underground Christians at Shimabara Island (1637) and other rebellions, creating a major nuisance for the government. Tokugawa tightened vigilance over these rônin while at the same time clamping down on the Christians and extending authority through the Buddhist institutions. As a result of the threat to their existence, the komusô banded together and formed a sect, which would provide somewhat of a haven.

As previously mentioned, by the late Middle Ages there had already been an association of the Chinese Tang period Zen master Pu Huâ (Fuke) with the shakuhachi, but it seems that the name „komosô“ changed to „komusô“ around the Keichô period (1596-1615). It is highly likely that the 14th-century Zen priest Ikkyû made the original connection between the shakuhachi and Fuke (he was fond of both, and they are the subject of several of his poems). Rôan was probably the first monk to make pilgrimages around the land while begging and playing the shakuhachi. Among the wandering, homeless komosô monks

who went from place to place, there grew up a system of simple lodges along with a feeling of comradeship which likely grew into a kind of factionalism. The later rōnin who joined the ranks of the komosō skillfully used these existing conditions to create the Fuke sect.

Changing their name from the ignominious „komosō“ („straw mat monks“) to „komusō“ („monks of emptiness and nothingness“) which had a definite air of Zen mysticism, playing the shakuhachi as a type of Zen meditation, changing instruments from the light hitoyogiri to the heavy root-end shakuhachi (for purpose of self protection as well), etc. were all innovations which seemed widespread and contributed to the establishment and development of the Fuke sect. The new sect, however, did not develop out of a religious or musical necessity, but out of political need. Because of this, the problem of structural organization was important. In order to be able to call itself a bonafide religious sect, it was necessary to have a temple which acted as a central headquarters. The leaders chose the komosō lodge at Shirakawa in Kyoto, calling it Myōan-ji. But there was another problem. Due to the uprisings by Christians and other problems, the Tokugawa government forbade the establishment of any new temples. It was necessary, therefore, for Myōan-ji to create an association with an older, well established temple. After much contriving and plotting, they succeeded in making Myōan-ji a subsidiary temple of Kōkoku-ji, and somehow or another won recognition by the government. In order to confer „historical accuracy“ to this relationship and general respectability to the Fuke sect, the Kyotaku Denki legend was cleverly put forth as a *raison d'être*.

Furthermore, the Keichō Okite Gaki decree was written to firm up the sect's political position and act as a shield, which it utilized to defend itself with the long list of special privileges. Written, as it supposedly was, by the almighty Tokugawa Iyasu himself, the government could hardly question it. Problems like what to do when asked to show the original could be solved by saying it was destroyed in a temple fire. Of course the government questioned the legacy of this decree, but they also recognized a chance to turn the situation to its advantage. If it didn't recognize this legion of rōnin (who were possibly powerful enemies), it would be increasingly difficult to gauge where and in what form they might turn up again. Therefore the government decided to recognize the Fuke sect and use it for its own purposes. The first Keichō Okite Gaki decree was a product of this give and take between the government and the Fuke sect. This decree was not completely in the sect's favor, but the fact that the government didn't counter it with a more strict decree and appeared to accept all the sect's demands for special privileges shows cunning on its part.

Leaving aside the question of special privileges, the government requested that the Fuke sect move its headquarters from Kyoto's Myōan-ji to Edo, where it would be easier to keep watch on the rōnin and employ them as secret police. As a result, the temples Ichigetsu-ji of the Shimōsa Kogane area (present day Chiba Prefecture) and Reihō-ji in Western Edo were chosen as headquarters and both temples set up offices in central Edo. It is not clear why there were two headquarter temples, but it was probably due to the existence of different factions within the komosō themselves.

From then on the government, by issuing directives and inquiries to these two temples, could maintain control over all the komusō. The first such issuance occurred in 1677, which is seen as the final proof that the Edo government recognized the existence of the Fuke sect. In other words, the Fuke sect officially started as a sect with special privileges probably sometime before this directive was issued.

Komusō Sects and Komusō Temples

At Kōkoku-ji, Nakatsuka examined the document called Boro-no-Techō. The author (name unknown) was a boro (another name for komosō) who wrote in a question-and-answer style explaining the ways of the komosō. Dated 1628, it ends with the phrase: „Master Fuke was the founder of the komusō of which there are 16 sects“, and it lists the sects as the Yōtaku sect, Gibun sect, Shirin sect, Impa sect, Yūnan sect, Nogi sect, Chigo sect,

Kogiku sect, Kinsen sect, Kassô sect, Umeji sect, Kichiku sect, Nezasa sect, Fuchi sect, Tanjaku sect and the Sôwa sect. When the Fuke sect was established there were also 16 sub-sects, therefore it is likely that they came from these komosô sects. There were also supposedly over 120 Fuke Temples in the beginning, but there is no record of their individual names. The early Fuke Temples were basically no more than lodges for the wandering monks, numerous and scattered around the country. After the Fuke sect was officially established, the total number of temples decreased. This was because the sect's strength diminished, but merely because some of these „temple-lodges“ naturally fell into oblivion or were re-organized. Previously, the komosô ranks were made up of wandering beggars, itinerant musicians, and general riff-raff, but as a result of the establishment of the Fuke sect and a strict standard of disciples, membership became exclusive and was limited to those with samurai ranking. Those who didn't match the standards were weeded out.

The Kyotaku Denki Kokuji Kai, although containing many mistakes and omissions, lists six sects and 55 temples. A scroll possessed by Myôan-ji (dated 1763) lists 11 sects and 72 temples, while the Kinko Techô of Kurosawa Kinko (1710-1770) lists 64 temples.

Nakatsuka Chikuzen compiled all the information regarding komusô temples and came up with a list of 77, which he sorted out according to the sects which were listed in the Myôan-ji scroll. This list includes all the temples which ever existed, not necessarily simultaneously. A partial listing of the temples, their sect affiliation, and location are as follows:

Kinsen sect – 10 temples

Kinryûzan Ichigetsu-ji – Kogane, Shimôsa-no-Kuni (Chiba Prefecture)
Seibokuzan Saikô-ji – Kanagawa, Musahi-no-Kuni (Kanagawa Prefecture)
Reitakuzan Fudai-ji – Hamamatsu, Tôtômi-no Kuni (Shizuoka Prefecture)
Daigenzan Kôgetsu-ji – Yanagawa, Dhikugo-no-Kuni (Kyushu)

Kinsen sect (affiliated with Saikô-ji) – 6 temples

Hôkeizan Kannen-ji – Shimôsa-no-Kuni (Chiba Prefecture)
Ryûkeizan Tôshô-ji – Meguro, Musashino-no-Kuni (Tokyo)

Kassô sect – 8 temples

Kakureizan Reihô-ji – Ôme, Musashino-no-Kuni (Tokyo) Taikôzan
Anraku-ji – Meguro, Musashino-no-Kuni (Tokyo) Reizan
Myôan-ji – Kai-no-Kuni (Yamanashi Prefecture)

Kassô sect (affiliated with anraku-ji) – three temples

Kudokuzan Ryûgen-ji – Oihira, Izu-no-Kuni (Shizuoka Prefecture)

Kyochiku sect – 4 temples

Kyoreizan Myôan-ji – Yamashiro-no-Kuni (Kyoto) Itchôken – Hakata, Chikuzen-no-Kuni (Kyushu)

Kichiku sect – 4 temples

Shûhōzan Myôan-ji – Nakanohara, Echigo-no-Kuni (Niigata Prefecture)

Kogiku sect – 6 temples

Shingetsu-ji – Hitachi-no-Kuni (Ibaraki Prefecture)

Kozasa sect – 1 temple

Rikôzan Reihô-ji – Kôzuke-no-Kuni (Gumma Prefecture)

Umeji sect – 14 temples

Kongôzan Jijô-ji – Takazaki, Kôzuke-no-Kuni (Gumma Prefecture)

Jôshû Mito – 8 temples

Kôyasan Eirin-ji – Hitachi-no-Kuni (Ibaraki Prefecture)

Ôshu Dewa – 11 temples

Futaiken – Masuda, Mutsu-no-Kuni (Sendai, Miyagi Prefecture)

Chikurinzan Shôganken – Hanamaki, Mutsu-no-Kuni (Iwate Prefecture)

Kogikuzan Renpôken – Fukushima, Mutsu-no-Kuni (Fukushima Prefecture)

Garyôken – Yamagata, Dewa-no-Kuni (Yamagata prefecture)

The Fuke Sect's Suizen – Lifestyle and Music of the Komusô Monks

After the Fuke sect was established, it developed a set of intrasect rules based on the government's directives. The first directive, issued in 1677, specified three points: the method of choosing the head priest for the main and subsidiary temples, the method for choosing applicants (checking the credentials of those who wished to become komusô), and how to deal with crime and rule-breaking within the sect. These three points became the basis for all the sect's rules and regulations.

The entrance requirements became quite stringent. Komusô applicants had to be samurai, requiring impeccable references and undergoing a thorough check. Then, after paying the required fee, the applicant had to swear his faithfulness at the grave of the founder before he was given the komusô's three tools and three seals. Those tools consisted of a shakuhachi, a tengai basket hat, and a kesa sash worn over the kimono. The three seals were identification papers which included a honsoku, a kai'in, and a tsûin. The honsoku was the komusô's licence, and therefore his most important document. Permission to enter the sect was called „Conferment of the Honsoku“. The kai'in were personal identification papers, and the tsûin enabled the komusô to travel freely about the country.

The hierarchy of the temples consisted of the head priest, deputy to the head priest, office manager, monitor (who kept discipline among the ranks), master of ceremonies and his assistant, and the komusô monks themselves. Daily activity centered around playing the shakuhachi. In the morning, the managing priest would play „Kakuseirei“, an awakening piece which started the day. The monks would gather in front of the altar and perform the piece „Chôka“ to begin their daily services, followed by a Zen session. During the day the monks practiced shakuhachi, underwent training in the martial arts, and went begging. In the evening, they played the ritual piece „Banka“ before sitting Zen again. Esoteric practices at night included playing the pieces „Shin'ya“ and „Reibo“. In addition, each monk was required to go begging three days a month. During their mendicant wandering, they played pieces such as „Tôri“ („Passing“), „Kadozuke“ („Street Corners“) and „Hashigaeshi“ („Returning the Begging-bowl“). When two komusô met while begging, it was customary to play the pieces „Yobi Take“ („Call of the Shakuhachi“) or „Uke Take“ („Answer of the Shakuhachi“). When on the road and wishing to stay in a komusô temple, they played „Hirakimon“ or „Monbiraki“ („Open the Gate“) to gain entrance. Practice and etiquette differed from temple to temple but remained basically the same.

Ritual pieces, and even the pieces which seemed like entertainment for the monks were part of Zen training called suizen. The word zazen, familiar in the West, refers to Zen meditation while sitting („za“). „Sui“ means to play or create a sound on a wind instrument. Therefore, it was a „blowing Zen“. Actually, suizen of the komusô didn't remain all that aloof from the world of secular music. There was considerable contact between the two worlds which resulted in shakuhachi pieces being influenced by secular music. When this happened, komusô usually rationalized it by renaming the piece with a Zen-sounding name or adding some Zen philosophy to the playing instructions.

As an instrument, the shakuhachi is well suited to Zen training. The long continuous tones require an unbroken concentration of mind and breath. The instrument is neither too loud nor too soft – perfect for those wishing to walk the path of moderation. The soft tones are

very rich, quieting, and can be minutely altered. Each player produces a different sound, which reflects the subtle variations between each individual. The simple instrument gives birth to tones which are rich and mystic. All these aspects of the shakuhachi lend itself to introspection, meditation, and spiritual discipline. It is not surprising indeed that suizen was born out of the shakuhachi. Even though the Edo period Fuke sect undertook questionable practices and contained its fair amount rogues, their practices and lifestyle was based on an honest and sincere desire for spiritual enlightenment. If the suizen idea was in its infancy during the times of the komusô, it reached refinement and idealization with the establishment of the Fuke sect.

The pieces which the komusô played, called honkyoku, were all born from this Zen spirit, and the musical characteristics of these pieces have their origins in suizen. As honkyoku are essentially solo pieces, the rhythm, phrasing, and musical arrangement are freely structured. Understanding the differences between individuals or schools deepens with practice of suizen. Even today, performers who play honkyoku maintain that these pieces should be freely interpreted by each individual. Although sometimes this is an excuse for sloppy playing, it also exhibits a Zen way of thought.

Along with the change in organizational structure and daily life of the komusô, their morals and characters also changed, and the dubious image of the komusô monks faded away. In the Kiyûshôran (1830), the following can be found commenting on this change: „There's been a change in the attire of the komusô, and now it's very different from before. Around the Jôô and Meireki periods (1650s), they had yarô cuts (a style with the top of the head shaven) with dishveled hair and wore the usual woven basket hat with a simple kimono. At the beginning of the Genroku period (1688-1703), they started to wear kesa sashes and the basket that was more open underneath. In the Kan'en period (1748-50), their kimono started to look like they do today (1830), with round stitched brocaded waist bands. The bottom of the basket hat was wide and had a small window. From the Meiwa period (1764-71), they began to carry a brocaded flute case at their hips, wear narrower basket hats, and look like dandies.“ The deep tengai basket hat which completely covers the head and hides the identity of the player actually wasn't used until much later.

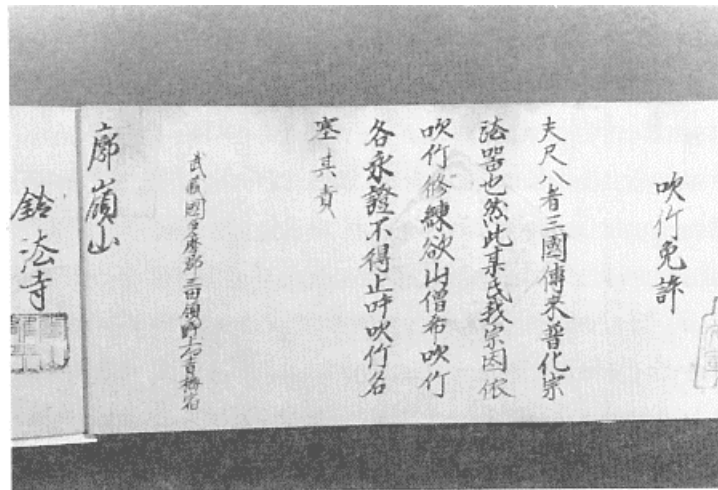
The Shakuhachi and Early Ensemble Playing by Laymen

In spite of the Fuke sect's monopoly on the instrument, laymen played the shakuhachi and participated in ensemble music with the koto and the shamisen throughout the Edo period. Although officially against their rules, the fuke sect allowed this practice to continue to some extent.

In the 1694 Honsoku Deshihe Môshi Watashi Jô (Decree to Bonafide Disciples) issued by the temple Myôan-ji, one can already see a distinction between „direct disciples of Myôan-ji“ and „disciples residing in town“, indicating that there were instruction centers in the town that were involved in issuing playing licenses. This decree also expressly forbade the playing of „disorderly pieces“ (meaning popular or common pieces) and ensemble playing with koto and shamisen. Inclusion of this admonishment indicates that the practice was probably widespread.

In the stipulation forbidding the issuance of licenses to townspeople and farmers found in Myôan-ji's Thirty-one Precepts“, there is also a stipulation that reads:“For the time being – as long as it is not done from greed – it is meaningful to create a link between farmers, townspeople, and this temple.“ This passage is significant in that it indicates the komusô temples were willing to teach shakuhachi to laymen – for a fee, of course.

Proof of the institutionalization of the practice of teaching laymen can be seen in the issuance of suichiku shakuhachi playing licenses by Edo's Reihô-ji. Because bonafide komusô licenses couldn't be given to laymen, it was decided to provide them, out of convenience, with suichiku-me or professional names. In essence, they were like the komusô honsoku license, but they provided a source of income for the temple, just as today the system of conferring professional names to players of traditional Japanese music is a major source of income for the iemoto guild system.



Suichiku License

In 1759, the Edo government ordered an investigation into Reihō-ji's practice of conferring professional names on laymen, but the temple countered with the argument that, like names used by haiku poets, they were to be taken extremely lightly. But only Reihō-ji conferred these names; the other Edo komusō temple, Ichigetsu-ji, did not. Jumping on this inconsistency, the government issued a very severe directive. It is not known if this directive was taken seriously or not, but the increasing amount of shakuhachi teaching to laymen laid the ground work for the later fuki awase sho public shakuhachi studios. The *Gayū Manroku* (1755) notes the following concerning ensemble playing during this time, although not in a very complimentary light: „Nowadays there's something long and thick called the shakuhachi. It's used with the sangen (shamisen), and it can also play low sounds. As for the tone, it's vulgar.“ the painting known as *Utakeizu* (1782) depicts a koto, shamisen, and shakuhachi in ensemble on stage.



Ensemble Players on Stage, Koto Shamisen, Shakuhachi (Utakeizu)

In 1792, Reihō-ji and Ichigetsu-ji answered an inquiry sent by the government. Apparently the government asked „Do you think it all right that you teach the shamisen and kokyū (bowed lute)?“ Couching their answer carefully, they replied that „it really shouldn't be done, but it seems some who don't understand this are teaching privately, but as long as we don't hear directly about these activities, there's nothing we can do.“ In another inquiry sent by the government in 1847, asking if teaching popular shakuhachi and shamisen didn't hamper their activities as a religious sect, they answered, „We are sincerely grievous for the trouble we are causing...“

Public Shakuhachi Studios and the Beginning of the Kinko Style

Among the komusô monks there were several who were skilled on the shakuhachi and to them fell the task of training the younger disciples. This training was called fuki awase („playing together“) and involved many of the elder monks. At first, teaching occurred only within the confines of the temple, but as the Fuke sect's restrictions relaxed and the number of shakuhachi-playing laymen increased, public studios (fuki awase sho) sprang up in the cities and towns. Again, a look at the response given by the Fuke sect to a government inquiry (1792) indicates how widespread this practice was. Listed were 19 names of persons „living in Edo town houses and teaching the shakuhachi“, including Kurosawa Kôhachi (son of Kurosawa Kinko, founder of the Kinko style – see below) who taught in his home and two other places, and Kôhachi's son, Masajûro (third-generation Kinko), who had his own studio.

The situation in the Osaka/Kyoto area was similar. In 1852, Myôan-ji sent a notice to its representative (kenbun yaku) stationed in the provinces whose job it was to keep order within the komusô ranks. The content of this notice shows that these kenbun yaku were also involved in teaching the shakuhachi at fuki awase sho studios. The notice admonished „to keep in mind that the fuki awase sho studio is an extension of the temple. Disorderly pieces other than the correct pieces for transmission are not to be taught. It (the fuki awase sho studio) should not be called shinanjo or keikoba (terms to indicate public koto or shamisen studios).“

The flourishing of the fuki awase sho studios, the conferment of professional names to laymen, and the increased amount of ensemble playing with koto and shamisen indicates that although officially the shakuhachi was exclusive property of the fuke sect, it was increasingly being developed as a musical instrument. Naturally, this development had an influence on the Fuke shakuhachi music itself.

One of the first komusô monks who worked to inspire the Fuke pieces with higher degree of musicality was Kurosawa Kinko (1710-1770). Born into a samurai family in Kuroda, Kyushu, Kinko joined the fuke sect and was given the responsibility to teach shakuhachi at both Edo fuke temples. He immersed himself into study of the shakuhachi while collecting and organizing Fuke pieces from temples around the country. He notated and arranged about 30 of these pieces and, adding the „Three Traditional Pieces“, ended up with a collection of 33 honkyoku. Although some sources suggest that it was Kurosawa's son who added the extra three, these 33 pieces form the basic repertory of the modern Kinko-style collection of 36 honkyoku (three more pieces were added later). Kurosawa was also said to have improved on the instrument itself, the result of which is the modern shakuhachi. The use of the Kinko name in ascribing a style of shakuhachi playing didn't come into use until the second generation. During Kurosawa's time there was no need for such a delineation because there were no other styles, but during the time of Kinko II, one of Kurosawa's top disciples, Miyaji Ikkan, began his own style, calling it the Ikkan Style. To clarify the differences in these two styles, the term „Kinko Style“ began to be used. The Kinko style was passed down from father to son until the third generation, who, as mentioned, both had their own fuki awase sho teaching studios.

The Demise of the Fuke Sect – Misuse and Forfeiture of its Special Privileges

The various special privileges of the Fuke sect were not granted from the beginning, but came slowly about as a fait accompli. From the very beginning the Fuke sect provided the government with a means to keep check on loose rônin (masterless samurai) and use these rônin as spies. Therefore, the government lent its tacit approval to the sect's demands for privileges. In order to assure continued protection and patronage by the government, it was imperative that the Fuke sect keep its own house in order. For this reason, during the first 80 years of the sect's existence, (up to the mid-18th century), the Fuke sect and its komusô were well ordered and probably caused a few problems with society at large. Nonetheless, there was always the danger of misuse of the sect's privileges. The case of conferring professional names to laymen is a good example of how discipline within the sect gradually became lax. However, that this name-selling was

institutionalized and controlled still indicates a semblance of order and discipline. The rule excluding anyone except bonafide samurai from joining the Fuke sect slowly crumbled, and anyone – townsmen, farmers, etc. - who paid the right amount of money could join the ranks. This led to a further deterioration of rules and order within the sect. Soon there were „monks“ who had joined the sect only to enjoy its special privileges and beg for cash. As previously explained, there were kenbun yaku or special komusô whose job was to keep order within the ranks, but even they could not keep up with the increasing amounts of fakery and misuse of the privileges.

In one sense, however, the deterioration of the Fuke sect was inevitable in this particular age. Within the sentiments of the general populace at this time there brewed an atmosphere of laxness and disregard for rules. Over 100 years of peaceful, albeit totalitarian, rule by the Tokugawa clan created a sense of stagnation and the vigor and energy which premeated the mood of early Edo waned, in its place crept a corruptive idleness. The change in komusô costume described earlier (for example, the use of a brocade flute bag and other „dandy“ attributes), reflects this change in popular attitudes.

Furthermore, in an age of peace and stability the komusô were no longer valuable as spies and „secret police“ for the government. This increase in the number of directives and inquiries sent to the Fuke sect by the government around the end of the 18th century indicates that the government was not willing to tolerate the sect's special privileges. With the general laxation of rules within the society, certainly the government considered the thorough decadence of the Fuke sect quite troublesome. A directive issued in 1774 notes that komusô were extorting and threatening villagers, and it indicated that from hereon komusô who engaged in illegal acts must be arrested.

It is at this time that an attempt to resurrect the Fuke sect can be seen in the form of the Kyotaku Denki Kokuji Kai (1795). The appearance of the Deichô Okite Gaki, which lists so many special privileges, also dates from around this time. Much later, in a 1841 report submitted to the governmental Council of Temples and Shrines, the Fuke sect assiduously defends the true nature of the Fuke sect, but by this time it was too late to stop the sect's demise.

At last, in 1847, a governmental announcement was circulated which categorically denied the Fuke sect's special privileges. Outwardly, the announcement only prohibited extortion (by means of „begging“) which was prevalent among komusô. The announcement stated that since the Fuke sect was supposedly a branch of the Rinzai Zen sect, its members should uphold the high ideal of Zen, which didn't include providing rônin samurai with hiding places. In addition, it was stressed that their begging practice should be conducted in the same humility as in other religious sects, etc. This announcement effectively negated all the special privileges contained in the Keichô Okite Gaki, and as a result, the influence and prestige of the sect quickly declined.

The shock effect of the government's announcement to the Fuke sect cannot be underestimated. Within the Myôan-ji Temple's scroll can be seen a memo distributed to the komusô which demanded self control on the part of its members – advice no doubt strongly colored by the government's announcement. In spite of this attempt at self control and revival, the Fuke sect never did regain strength but limped along until the Meiji Resoration, when both the Edo government and the Fuke sect met their final demise.

Shakuhachi in the Late Edo Period – The Rise of Individual Schools

Although the fuke group as a privileged sect was on its deathbed, the shakuhachi as a musical instrument was enjoying increasing popularity. Accomplished players were emerging from the komusô temples and new styles of shakuhachi playing were springing up around the country, the most notable one being the Kinko style.

As previously described, the Kinko family teaching tradition continued from father to son until the third generation. Kinko III (1772-1816) had no son, so after his death his younger brother became the head of the line. However, the younger brother – being unskilled and unfit as a headmaster – gave up the shakuhachi, breaking the Kinko family line. Hisamatsu

Fûyô, a disciple of Kinko III, became the actual iemoto headmaster and conducted the teaching. Hisamatsu, a samurai in direct service to the government, wrote a revealing work concerning the shakuhachi called Hitori Mondô (Solitary Dialogue). Hitori Mondô continues to stress the Zen aspects of self discipline in shakuhachi playing, but rather than insisting – unlike the Fuke sect – that the shakuhachi is a ritual instrument (hôki), he begins to stress that the shakuhachi is a musical instrument (gakki). The artistic direction of the Kinko style after the Meiji Restoration had its beginning in Hisamatsu's philosophy. After Hisamatsu's death, the Kinko style came under the guidance of Yoshida Itchô (1812-1881) and Araki Kodô (1832-1908). These two men witnessed the Meiji Restoration with its subsequent outlawing of the Fuke sect and the growth of the Kinko style.

The Ikkan style began with Miyagi Ikkan, a disciple of Kurosawa Kinko I. Ikkan's successors were Ikeda Isshi, Yokota Goryû, Yamada Nyodô, and Toyoda Kodô, who was said to excel in the instrument. Araki Kodô was also of this lineage and learned sankyoku ensemble pieces from Yokota nad honkyoku from Toyoda. After Toyoda's death, Araki took the Kodô name from his teacher. Later, Araki studied under Hisamatsu. As a result, the Kinko style and Ikkan style merged together again, although many adherents to the Ikkan style remained into the Meiji Period.

The Kinko and Ikkan styles constituted the two major styles of the late Edo period. However, most of the players were not professional komusô but high ranking samurai and servants who also practiced komusô style disciplines. Players from both schools played ensemble pieces, which consisted chiefly of Edo period nagauta pieces. It wasn't until Araki's time that the shakuhachi was used extensively with the koto and shamisen in sankyoku pieces.

In the Kansai (Osaka/Kyoto) area, Myôan-ji remained the center of shakuhachi activities. Unlike Edo, the Kansai area was slower to develop definite musical styles, and except for the time immediately preceding the Meiji Restoration, little is known about the activities of shakuhachi players in that area. Nonetheless, apart from players who concentrated on honkyoku within the temple, there were probably many who were playing ensemble pieces with shamisen and koto.

Kyoto was the center for professional blind musicians who specialized in the jiuta style of singing with shamisen accompaniment. As jiuta developed, the shamisen accompaniment became more musically complex, with koto and kokyû (three-stringed bowed lute) counterparts added later. It was a fertile area and time for interaction between shakuhachi and the stringed instruments. The Utakeizu relates that a well known jiuta piece, „Yashio Jishi“ was „originally a shakuhachi piece Masajima Kengyô (?-1780) arranged for kokyû and which became popular after Fujinaga Kengyô (Masajima's teacher) arranged it for shamisen.“ There are other pieces for the stringed instruments having similar names as shakuhachi pieces, including „Tsuru no Sugomori“, „Sakae Jishi“, etc., which suggests a close relationship between the two genres. Within this atmosphere, the Sôetsu style of shakuhachi developed.

The founder, Kondô Sôetsu (1820-1860), was born in Nagasaki. Very fond of music as a child, he excelled in the charamele street vendor's flute and was nicknamed „Charamela Sôetsu“. Soon he took the shakuhachi, becoming very proficient. As an adult, he moved to Kyoto and went to Myôan-ji where he studied under the Supervisor Priest Ozaki Shinryû. Sôetsu later rose to the position of Supervisor Priest and afterwards based himself in Osaka. He supposedly learned jiuta and koto pieces, but he was adopted into the family of the jiuta master Furukawa Kengyô and notated jiuta and koto pieces in order to create shakuhachi parts for them. From this time on, the number of his students grew. Before Sôetsu, there was an Osaka shakuhachi player named Kachiku, who also had several students. When Sôetsu arrived on the scene, however, most of Kachiku's students decided they wanted to study with Sôetsu. Kachiku himself finally went to learn from Sôetsu, who by now had become an undisputed master of the instrument. His style, officially called „Myôan Sôetsu Style“, included such persons as Majima Kakuô, Tsukahara Gyokudô, and Kida Kakushû who became the pillars of the post-Meiji Restoration

shakuhachi world in Osaka. The Sôetsu style doesn't exist today, but many of the Kansai shakuhachi players were strongly influenced by the Sôetsu style.

Sôetsu's teacher, Ozaki Shinryû (1817- 1889) was a master player at Myôan Temple before the Meiji Restoration. The style of shakuhachi playing which concentrated on the Myôan-ji honkyoku was called Myôan Shimpô style. Because Sôetsu, star pupil of this style, put his efforts into learning sankyoku ensemble pieces, the Shimpô style was continued by Katsuura Seizan (1856-1942). Seizan, who later became the Kyoto head of the Myôan Society (the post-Fuke sect organization) and lived well into the 20th century, has been called „the last komusô“ and was the authority on the correct transmission of the Myôan Temple's honkyoku. His influence on present-day shakuhachi players of the Fuke style honkyoku is quite extensive.

Although unrelated to Ozaki Shinryû, Katsuno Shinryû I (?-1861) also studied at Myôan-ji and maintained an extremely close relationship with Sôetsu. Active in Kyoto, Katsuno developed the Shinryû style which has continued within one family until present times. The last priest of the komusô temple Fudai-ken in Hamamatsu (Shizuoka Prefecture), Umeyama Tamadô, also became quite famous. His disciple, Kanetomo Seien (1818-1895), studied under Tsukahara Gyokudô of the Sôetsu style. Later moving to Nagoya, Weien began the Seien style. His disciple, Suzuki Kôdô, was the originator of the Myôan Taizan style of shakuhachi playing.

Other parts of Japan also had their characteristic styles of shakuhachi playing. Hirosaki, in Japan's northern Tsuruga district, was home for a unique style known as Nezasa sect Kimpû style. Nezasa was one of the original 16 sub-sects of the Fuke sect whose founder, Hôgi, was said to be a disciple of Hôfu, who had been one of the original four disciples of Gakushin. Hôgi was a student of Kinpo (founder of the ichigetsu-ji Temple) and Kassô (founder of the Reihô-ji Temple). The Nezasa sect temples were based in the Nagano area and extended up to the northeastern provinces, but in later times these temples came under the jurisdiction of Edo's Reihô-ji and the name „Nezasa“ was lost. In the early 19th century, Kurihara Kinpô from the temple Enhô-ji of the Nagano area taught the Nezasa style playing to Yoshizaki Hachiyakôdô (?-1835). Yoshizaki transmitted this style to Hirosaki, his hometown. The nezasa style of playing is unique in that it utilizes a breath technique called komi – short bursts of breath which act as a kind of rough vibrato. This style has almost died out, but teachers can still be found in the Tokyo area.

5. The Modern Shakuhachi

The Banning of the Fuke Sect and the Shakuhachi's Transition from a Ritual Instrument to a Musical Instrument

In October of the fourth year after the Meiji Restoration (1871), the government officially banned the Fuke sect. Komusô temples were shut down and the komusô priests themselves were laicized. The following year begging was outlawed, and the performance of the shakuhachi as a hōki ritual tool – in other words the handing down of the Fuke pieces – neared extinction. Musically, however, the shakuhachi itself was enjoying increasing popularity. There were roaming shakuhachi players and musicians who accompanied folk songs, and many former komusô were scattered around the country, actively involved in playing. It was unimaginable that the shakuhachi would die out. Nonetheless, the ban on begging with the shakuhachi undoubtedly presented a serious problem to the komusô monks who had made that their living. The only road which remained for them was playing the shakuhachi as a musical instrument.

The persons most successful at this were Yoshida Itchô and Araki Kodô (mentioned previously) of the Kinko style. Defending the shakuhachi against suspicions and inquiries, Yoshida and Araki persuaded the government to allow the shakuhachi to be played as an instrument, thus making it available to anyone who wanted to play.

This marked the beginning of the modern shakuhachi and its music. Presently there are

two general streams of shakuhachi music. One stream, generally called the Myōan style, consists of those who concentrate on the honkyoku handed down from the Fuke sect and play the shakuhachi in the spirit of suizen meditation. The other stream, for example the Kinko and Tozan styles, concentrates on the musical aspects of the shakuhachi.

Various Schools of Myōan Shakuhachi and their Development

Shakuhachi players associated with the temples Ichigetsu-ji and Reihō-ji in Tokyo continued the Kinko styles after the Meiji Restoration, developing the musical possibilities of the instrument. Those who wanted to emphasize the suizen meditation tradition found themselves drawn to Kyoto's Myōan-ji. The temple, like all komusō temples, was disbanded, and the chief priest, Jisho Sakuhi (34th line) returned to secular life, calling himself Akekura Kakuhi and taking another profession. His departure from the temple left the suizen advocates nowhere to turn.

When the Fuke sect was disbanded, Sakuhi presented some Myōan-ji artifacts to a sympathetic associate, Jikeirin Wa Shō, head priest of Zenkei-ji, a sub-temple within the compounds of Kyoto's temple Tōfuku-ji. The artifacts included the statue of Kyochiku (founder of the Fuke sect) and memorial stone tablets of the head and supervisor priests. Naturally, those who felt drawn to the suizen tradition followed these artifacts and gathered at Zenkei-in.

In 1881, thanks to the combined efforts of several Buddhist sects, begging was once more allowed after a 10-year hiatus, and hopes rose in the Kyoto area to reactivate the komusō tradition. At the same time, there was a fire at Tōfuku-ji which resulted in a widespread movement to rebuild the temple and its grounds. The komusō, thinking to take part in this movement by collecting funds through begging, applied to the government for permission. Permission was granted in 1883, and the Myōan Society was established at Zenkei-in, with Lord Kyūjo Michitaka (who was in charge of rebuilding Tōfuku-ji) as its chairman and Katsuura Seizan as the head of the Kyoto branch. The present day Myōan-ji grew out of the Myōan Society.

Following the establishment of the Myōan Society, Kōkoku-ji established the Fuke Society in 1888. Later, the temple Kokutai-ji established the Myō On Society, and the temple Myōkō-ji the Hottō Society. Several other former komusō temples around the country in some form or another were also preserving and rekindling the komusō tradition of suizen. These societies together acted as a cooperative association and decided upon rules for dress, distributed licenses and identification papers (like the three seals of the Fuke sect), and established rules and time schedules for begging. Unlike the Fuke sect, however, anyone could pay a set fee and receive a license. As a result, there grew a tendency among members to become „professional“ komusō beggars. Transmission of the music and development of an artistic style became secondary.

Higuchi Taizan (1856-1914) of the Myōan Society reformed this situation. Taizan, born in Nagoya with the name Suzuki Kōdō, first studied the Seien style and in 1890 came to Kyoto where he joined the Myōan Society, becoming an instructor. He spent his efforts collecting and organizing pieces from the Myōan tradition and many other styles. His outstanding abilities as a player and his work in expanding the artistic width of the Myōan Society revitalized the tradition, and he became the 35th successor in the lineage which had been broken when Kakuhi returned to secular life. He developed a style of shakuhachi playing called the Taizan sect of Myōan Temple Lineage. His successors were Kobayashi Shizan (36th), Tanikita Muchiku (37th), Koizumi Shizan (38th), and the recent Fukumoto Kyoan (39th).

In March, 1950, the Myōan Society was given permission to construct a temple, called the „Fuke Sei Su Myōan-ji“ which was to be built in the compounds of Zenkei'in in Tōfuku-ji. In 1952, various shakuhachi sects collaborated in creating a group to honor Kyochiku Zenji, the „Kyochiku Zenji Hōsan Kai“, which met twice yearly, in the spring and fall, to offer honkyoku to the spirit of Kyochiku. Shakuhachi players from around the country continue to come every year, regardless of their affiliation, to participate in this ceremony. In 1966, a

stone memorial commemorating the spirit of suizen was erected, and in 1969, the temple's main hall was completed, creating a new Myôan-ji which acts as a spiritual „homeland“ for all shakuhachi players, regardless of sect or style affiliation.

Although Taizan revitalized the myôna Society, his efforts resulted in the introduction of many pieces from other styles into the Myôan style. Therefore, the pieces in today's Myôan repertory are not necessarily the same ones which had been handed down at the end of the Edo period. After Taizan, the nature of the Myôan style changed. Katsuura Seizan, who inherited the Myôan Shinpô style from Ozaki Shinryû, was at one time the head of the Kyoto branch of the Myôan Society, but he left soon after Taizan's appearance on the scene.

It was inevitable that shakuhachi players wishing to follow the suizen tradition had differing opinions and formed various styles. The end of the 19th century until present times saw the arrival of a number of such players, many of whom were centered around Tokyo. A partial listing of the more prominent players is as follows:

nagano

- Hasegawa Tôgaku, Konashi Reisui and his students Uramoto Setchô, all of whom were responsible for transmitting the pieces centered at Fudaiken Temple in Sendai.
- Jimbô Masanosuke of Renkôken Temple in Fukushima.
- Nyui Kenzô, Nagano Kyokû and Orito Jôgetsu of Hirosaki's Nezasa Sect, and Nagano's student Jin Nyôdô.
- Miyagawa Nyôzan and Itchô Fumon (later known as Watazumi Dô, the founder of the Watazumi style) of Itchôken Temple in Hakata, and Nyôzen's students Tani Kyôchiku and Takahashi Kûzan.
- Kiyomizu Seizan from Itchôken Temple and Tsunoda Rogetsu from Kumamoto. Both studied under Taizan, and Seizan started the Kyûshû Myôan sect, and Rogetsu the Myôan Rogetsu sect.

One major problem in trying to trace the styles and lineages of the Myôan-style shakuhachi players lies in the fact that each one learned from a number of teachers and was influenced by several styles. An obvious example of this is Takahashi Kûzan, a player active until his death in the late 1980s. Kûzan not only studied under Miyagawa Nyôzan, but also with Takase Sukeharu, Kobayashi Haô, Kojitomo Tarô, Kobayashi Shizan, Ozaki Meidô, and Katsuura Seizan. Kûzan also studied the classical pieces of the Kinpû style and other styles, mastering over 150 pieces in all. Jin Nyôdô of the Kinpû style tried to learn all the extant pieces for the shakuhachi. He took the effort to travel around the country collecting music handed down from the various komusô temples. He learned the Myôan Shinpô style, the Taizan style, the Seien style, as well as the Kinko style, and he also composed and studied ensemble pieces, learning the koto and shamisen.

Kûzan and Nyôdô are representative of the Myôan players, therefore it is difficult to draw a distinct chart showing the relationship and lineages of the teachers and their students. The problem is compounded by the fact that oftentimes players who have learned several of the traditional pieces from various sources created a new style or sect. One could go so far to say that each individual player becomes a sect himself, and that the number of sects in Japan equals the number of players. This condition has come about due to the openness of the shakuhachi world since the Meiji Restoration. Unlike the elitist Fuke sect, there were no secret or special societies and no ironclad rules to prevent a student from studying other styles or discovering his own musical expression. The Zen philosophy which allowed performers to interpret each honkyoku as they saw fit fostered individuality and kept students from being bound strictly to one style.

Nonetheless, the players of the various Myôan styles, except for a few exceptions, played only the classical suizen-honkyoku pieces and had little interest in the other genres of shakuhachi music – a situation which tended toward musical stagnation. To them, the honkyoku was not a type of music to be played in public concerts. Although this supposedly kept their music „pure“, it did little to provide public exposure and support. After World War II, however, these classical honkyoku were „rediscovered“, and gained

attention from modern composers, musicians, and musicologists, both from Japan and abroad. The influence of these classical pieces on the modern shakuhachi world is quite extensive, with players from all styles absorbing and integrating these suizen honkyoku into their own performances. The Myōan-style players have been quietly learning and transmitting their pieces, providing a base from which the post-war shakuhachi world has received a tremendous inspiration. For this reason, these guardians of the suizen-honkyoku shakuhachi pieces have played a valuable role.

The Kinko Style and its Emphasis on Musicality

Yoshida Itchō and Araki Kodō succeeded in revitalizing the shakuhachi as a musical instrument after it was outlawed as a ritual tool of the Fuke sect. Through their efforts, interest in shakuhachi music spread. Today, the Kinko style places the utmost importance on their honkyoku, but instead of maintaining a body of several hundred, amorphous pieces like the Myōan style, the Kinko style limits itself to only 36 well organized honkyoku. The Kinko gaikyoku (any shakuhachi piece which is not honkyoku, in this case, ensemble pieces) well outnumber the honkyoku, and students of the Kinko style usually master the gaikyoku before they continue into the honkyoku.

After Yoshida retired, Araki took charge of the Kinko style. He directed his efforts into notating the shamisen pieces and adding shakuhachi parts. At first, he notated mainly pieces from the nagauta repertory, later switching to the jiuta style of shamisen. Today's Kinko gaikyoku consist entirely of pieces from the jiuta shamisen tradition and the Ikuta and Yamada styles of koto playing. Araki's teacher, Toyoda Kodō, was very close to Kondō Sōetsu and the Sōetsu-style of ensemble playing, which probably explains Araki's interest in this type of music. Araki was responsible for the increased interest in sanyoku (shamisen, kot, & shakuhachi) ensemble playing in Tokyo.

One of Araki's main accomplishments was an improvement in shakuhachi notation. In the classic honkyoku there was no need to indicate rhythms and tempos, but ensemble playing required precision and clarity regarding time and speed. Together with the musicologist Uehara Rokushirō (author of „Studies on Folk Scales“), Araki developed a system of notation consisting of a vertical script (katakana syllabary) which indicates the pitch and a system of dots and lines which indicate rhythm.

After Araki retired in 1894, he was given honorific name „Chikuhō“, and his son, Shinnosuke (1879-1935), took the name Kodō III (Toyoda Kodō was considered Kodō I). Kodō III became the invigorating force of the Kinko style into the 20th century.

Unlike the Tozan style, discussed below, the Kinko style had no definite, centralized organization, and even though Kodō III was the prominent Kinko figure, he was not an iemoto guild headmaster or founder. Able students of Kodō II (Chikuō) broke off and formed their own sects and created gaikyoku music in their own notation styles (although basically differing very little from Kodō's notation), each group operating relatively independently and freely. Among all of Kodō II's disciples, Kawase Junsuke I (1870-1957) was most successful in revising and popularizing the shakuhachi notation. Kodō II's shakuhachi notation was written in a very peculiar calligraphic style, somewhat difficult to read. Kodō II's disciples, Miura Kindō, Mizuno Rodō, and Kawamoto Itsudō continued this way of writing. Kawase, however, with the help of Kodō III, rewrote the notation into easy-to-read, block-lettering style. At first, they cooperated in publishing this music, but later Kodō III developed his own shakuhachi parts to the ensemble music and began publishing on his own. Under Kawase's exceptional organizational abilities, the number of his students grew, forming the Chikuyū Sha shakuhachi organization within the Kinko style. The music which he published also became the standard notation for the majority of Kinko shakuhachi players. Although the Kinko style is fragmented into several organizations, there is very little exclusionism and sectarianism. All Kinko players feel an affinity and identification with the Kinko style as a whole.

The Kinko style is centered in Tokyo, but because its origins are so old the style is spread throughout the country. In Kinko honkyoku, musicality rather than the suizen aspect is

stressed, and the pieces have become highly refined and technically demanding. The shakuhachi parts in the gaikyoku ensemble pieces generally follow the main melody played by the shamisen or koto. Although this means the shakuhachi plays mostly unisono with the string instruments, the shakuhachi is able to add expansiveness and depth to the melody through expressive nuances and dynamic changes.

Lack of a central shakuhachi organization has led to much diversification and freedom in expression. From around the 1920s a movement of „New Japanese Music“ emerged with the koto composer/performer Miyagi Michio and Kinko shakuhachi player Yoshida Seifû leading the way. Many recent players, for example Fukuda Randô, developed very unique styles of playing as well. Contemporary Kinko shakuhachi musicians are actively preserving the tradition while exploring new styles of music.

The Tozan Style and Ensemble Playing in the Kansai Area

While the Kinko style was developing gaikyoku ensemble pieces in Tokyo, the Tozan style was starting up in the Osaka area. Western Japan, especially Osaka, had been the center of the Sôetsu style which concentrated on gaikyoku. After the Meiji Restoration, the Sôetsu style gave birth to several new styles. Tozan was one of these styles.

The founder of the Tozan style, Nakao Tozan (1876-1956), was born in Osaka's Hirakata district. His mother, Mitsuko, was the daughter of a famous jiuta shamisen master of Kyoto, Terauchi Daikengyô. Terauchi was close to Kondô Sôetsu and often had his daughter Mitsuko play in ensemble with him. As a child, Tozan received instruction from his mother and learned the shakuhachi on his own. At 19, he joined the Myôan Society and developed technique while undertaking pilgrimages of begging as a komusô, and in 1896, at the age of 21, he opened up a shakuhachi teaching studio in Osaka's Temma district. The studio's opening is considered the beginning of the Tozan style.

Tozan increased his repertory by notating and adding shakuhachi parts to the jiuta he learned, and he began composing his own music in 1904; compositions which became the „honkyoku“ of the Tozan style. Later, Tozan established an iemoto guild system, reviewing and accepting into his honkyoku repertory pieces from other composers. Tozan, knowledgeable about Western music as well, revised shakuhachi music, teaching, and performing methods. In addition to solo works, his compositions included duets, trios, quartets and ensemble pieces with various other instruments. Tozan vigorously introduced new innovations in all aspects of shakuhachi playing.

A word about the Tozan's iemoto guild system needs to be added here. His modern iemoto system was developed at the beginning of the 20th century and differed from earlier systems. The new system established licensing procedures, professional rankings, and testing procedures. In order to prevent the guild from becoming a personal extension of the headmaster, the guild formed itself into a private foundation operated by board members and other officials. It was the headmaster's duty to oversee the entire operation. In spite of this, the guild came somewhat to resemble an authoritarian society, and the Tozan-style guild was oftentimes commonly referred to as the „Kingdom of Tozan“. Nonetheless, many other guilds of traditional Japanese music modeled themselves after the iemoto guild system of the Tozan style.

The innovativeness of Tozan and his effort at popularizing the shakuhachi was very successful and attracted a large following, especially among the youth in the Kansai district. In 1922, Tozan moved to Tokyo and joined forces with Miyagi Michio, an upcoming star in the koto world. By now the Tozan style had spread throughout the country and just within the span of one generation rivaled the Kinko style in size and influence. Because of Tozan's ties with Kyoto and Osaka, however, the Kansai area has remained the center of the Tozan style.

The Tozan repertory consists of the „honkyoku“ which Tozan and others composed, but, like the Kinko style, a major emphasis is placed on the gaikyoku, especially ensemble playing with jiuta shamisen and Ikuta-style koto (the Yamada-style koto was based in Tokyo, therefore having little connection with the Kansai-based Tozan style). Players of

the tozan style have always had a positive attitude toward new music and are active in the field of contemporary music. The Tozan guild publishes all types of shakuhachi music, and as a rule, their members may only play these published pieces. Tozan was a member of the Myōan Society and studied their classical honkyoku, but the tozan honkyoku are completely dissimilar to the classical Fuke pieces and are obviously composed from a musical standpoint.

Two sects broke away from the Tozan style – the Ueda style and the Yoshizan style. The Ueda is the larger, having begun under Ueda Hōdō (born 1892). Born in Osaka, Ueda studied under Tozan and was given the name Kazan and progressed to the highest professional rank. He performed his own compositions at Tozan-sanctioned recitals for which he was heavily criticized by the guild. In spite of his earnest attempts to explain his position, he was expelled from the guild in 1917, whence he changed his name to Hōdō and together with his brother, Chikudō, founded the Ueda style. Based in Kansai, it resembles the Tozan style in structure and musicality.

Presently, the Tozan style no longer maintains a single iemoto but has split into factions who maintain organizational differences but whose musical differences are very slight. Although not in the scope of this text, post-war developments in the shakuhachi world have been impressive, generally paralleling the development and internationalization of Japanese culture. How the shakuhachi has grown from an ethnic to a world instrument could easily be the subject of extensive research. It has truly entered an international arena and has been applied successfully to jazz, fusion, electronic music, rock and „new age“ music. Shakuhachi is taught in a few American universities and is eagerly received in Europe and Eastern-bloc countries. The last few decades have seen an increase in the number of foreigners successfully studying the shakuhachi in Japan, some of whom have become highly regarded professional players. Whereas the shakuhachi came eastward to Japan during the 8th and 9th centuries when international cultures were flourishing along the Silk Road, now the shakuhachi has continued further eastward; to America and Europe. The possibilities inherent in the instrument will continue to expand and adapt as it is played by musicians from varying cultures.

The history of the shakuhachi in Japan has been a tale of elegance, ribaldry, myths, intrigue, and spiritual searching. The lofty aspects of the shakuhachi – its suizen tradition – have been marred by political rivalry and the power plays of the Fuke sect, and rising popularity of the instrument has been countered by edicts banning its use. Despite its variegated history, the shakuhachi requires concentration, stillness, and sensitivity for both those who play and those who listen. This is the essence of suizen, and it remains the same even for today's most successful shakuhachi musicians. Perhaps in an age of ever increasing electronic complication and gadgetry in music, this is what people from both Japan and the West find so appealing.