THE KAIDŌ HONSOKU:

TRANSLATION

&

COMMENTARY

Following upon the submission of the present thesis to the Faculty of Letters,
University of Copenhagen, Denmark, in 1987 (thesis revised in 1988)
the following presented translation of the Kaidô Honsoku
has then been slightly modified and refined in connection with the publication of an article
- based on the thesis - published by Tai Hei Shakuhachi, U.S.A., in 2003.

Torsten Olafsson, April 1, 2003.

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Translation★★

(The numbers in brackets refer to the respective page(s) of the commentary.)

1. When Hottō Kokushi returned from abroad he was accompanied by four Buddhist laymen: Kuo Tsuo, Li Cheng, Tseng Shu, and Pao P'u. (19-27)

2. The Fundamental Doctrine of Shakuhachi Itineracy. Issued from Yura in the Kii Province. (28-29)

3. Where from have the Komo come?
Fuke said, 'Confronted with the Concept of Indiscrimination, attack it!' - Would they have come from the Realm of Darkness?
Fuke said, 'Confronted with the Concept of Discrimination, attack it!' Would they have come from the Realm of Brightness? (30-41)

4. Oh, how mysterious is the basket hat that the Komo is wearing on his head! It is also called the 'tengai'. (42-43)

5. Oh, how mysterious is the piece of cloth that he carries over his shoulder!
That is the 'dots-and-cross' patterned curtain in front of the Shinto Dëity and the Bell string in front of the Buddha and is also called the 'rainbow coil'. (44)

6. Oh, how mysterious is the double-leaf, fine sitting mat that he carries on his back!
It represents the Tripartite Climatic Periods and the Five Elements: Earth, Water, Fire, Wind, and Space. The lowermost, first layer signifies the total concealment of The Ungraspability of the Three Existences: Past, Present, and Future. (45-46)

7. How mysterious is the case that he carries on his back, inside the rolled up sitting mat!
It is also called the 'kenkon' which proclaims the interrelatedness of Heaven and Earth. (46)

8. Oh, how mysterious is the net that he has wrapped around the things!
It is also called the 'prescribed bag' for accomplishing an exhaustive round-trip through all the provinces. (47)

9. Oh, how mysterious is the rope with which he has tied everything together!
It is also called the Two Concepts of Being and Non-being. (47)

10. Oh, how mysterious is the purse that he has placed on his chest!
It expresses the totality of the human body. It is also called the Six Internal organs. It contains miscellanous things, their colours being Bluish Green, Yellow, Red, White, and Black. (48-49)

★★ See Appendix 2, page 134

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11. Oh, how mysterious is the bamboo flute that the Komo has in his possession!

The shakuhachi is the principal treasure of the Komo and therefore it represents the Four Seasons, likened to the four, front finger-holes.

The single fingerhole on the back expresses the Clarity of the Enlightened, Adual Mind.

As for the darkness of its interior, that is the Realm of Jurisdiction of the King of Hell, Judge of the Dead. (50)

The three nodes represent the Oneness of the Three Bodies, the lower opening the Womb World, the upper opening the Diamond World, and the crescent-shaped mouthpiece above teaches the Clarity of Absolute Reality.

It is as a whole noble beyond limit. (51-58)

When the Komo plays in front of a Shintō Dëity it is in purpose of the intended extinction of the Suffering from the Five Types of Decay and the Three Fevers.

When he plays in front of an image of the Buddha it is in purpose of the intended awakening from the Drowsiness of Earthly Desires Originating in Illusion. (59)

When the Komo plays face to face with educated persons he should prolong his breathing in utterly constant concentration and blow so as to drive away the Mediocre Body Originating in Illusion.

When he plays the shakuhachi face to face with ordinary, uneducated persons it corresponds to explaining all the schools of Buddhism as well as performing all the Buddhist ceremonies. (60)

12. When you inquire about the socalled Komo's 'place of origin', the answer is: 'Neither in the Past nor in the Present!' Or, to put it in the words of Banzan Hōshaku:

'The Three-fold World is Immaterial! Where, then, seek after the Mind?'

Any attempt at answering the question would be just as meaningless as it is when people say about commonly recognized objects of interest that 'the willow is verdurous, the flower is crimson'! (60-62)

In default of a source of origin the socalled Komo are scattered in the world and such a thing as a human dwelling is non-existant.

And, moreover, now being deprived of employment anywhere, be it at any of the three barriers of Akamagaseki in the Nagato Province, Ōsakanoseki at the capital, or the two checking stations of Shirakawa in Ōshū, for the Komo who abundantly wander the world, to whom Heaven and Earth have the Same Root and All Creation is One Body, neither confinements nor attachments exist. (62-65)

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13. Oh, humbly speaking, how mysterious are the strawsandals that the Komo is wearing!

They represent the proper footwear for his steadfast treading his way in the foot-steps of Banzan and Sekitō. (66)

14. It is being said in a poem that,

'When you search, and find
in shakuhachi sound your refuge,
is that not indeed
the essence of bamboo?'

The competent Komo possesses a splendid piece of bamboo. (67-68)

15. As it is the intention of the Komo to accomplish the process of realizing the Five-fold Source of Illusion, while observing several precepts, why does he sleep alone?

Here the fourth of the Aspects, that of 'volition', is emphasized! (69)

As for the afore-mentioned, being a matter of human discrimination, because the Komo practises celibacy till the end, in those who listen to his shakuhachi sermons he will create a relieved and disattached state of mind and, sweeping away the Drowsiness of Illusion and Mediocrity, bring about Realization. (70-71)

16. It is being said in a poem that,

'Chosing as one's hermitage
the voice of the shakuhachi
is that not the Spring breeze
blowing at Miyagino?' (71-72)

17. How mysterious, indeed, is the Komo's staff!

If you are in doubt, Setchō said, 'White clouds everywhere!' (72)

18. How mysterious, indeed, is the sword that the Komo carries!

Even at Banzan's death-bed Fuke made a somersault over the screen and mattress, it is being said! (72)

(cont.)

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19. The Komosō founder Priest Fuke's sect has 16 branches: (73-74)

(1) The Wa-kazari Branch Sect (75)
(2) The Inu-yarō Branch Sect in Tsukushi (76)
(3) The Hokkoku Noki-ha Branch Sect (76)
(4) The Noki-ha Branch Sect in Chūgoku (76)
(5) The Sakabayashi Branch Sect in Ise (77)
(6) The Gokinai Yawata Noki-ha Branch Sect (77-78)
(7) The Kagari Branch Sect in Musashi (79)
(8) The Wakashū Branch Sect in Mino (79)
(9) The Sara-ba Branch Sect in Jōshū (80)
(10) The Yoritake Branch Sect in Central Musashi (80)
(11) The Kinzen Branch Sect in Shimōsa (81)
(12) The Kogiku-ha Branch Sect in Shimotsuke (81)
(13) The Tanjaku Yorokobi Branch Sect in Ōshū (82)
(14) The Umeji Branch Sect in Hitachi (82)
(15) An Additional Tanjaku Branch in Ōshū ((83)
(16) The Kandan-ki no ha Branch Sect in Hokkoku (83)

These are the rustic and humble branches. (83-84)

20. Boro, 'those who live like the dew'. (85-96)

21. Kan'ei period, fifth year, 21st day of Mid-spring (March 26th, 1628, 97-105)

Note: The numbers of the paragraphs do not figure in the reprints of the document examined!

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Par. 1: "When Hottō Kokushi returned from abroad he was accompanied by four Buddhist laymen, Kuo Tsuo, Li Cheng, Tseng Shu, and Pao P'u."

[Hottō Kokushi, kichō no setsu, shi-koji ren-rai su. Kokusa, Risei, Sōjo, Hōfu.]

「法燈國師歸朝之節連來四居士、國佐、理正、僧恕、寶伏、」(編者)(異筆)

According to traditional Fuke sect history Hottō Kokushi introduced a four centuries old Zen Buddhist shakuhachi practise to Japan in 1254. Allegedly, he was accompanied by four of his Chinese shakuhachi students who spread the tradition in Japan. However, Nakatsuka Chikuzen, who is the first to have questioned this claim, found no evidence supporting it whatsoever. Consequently, he promulgated the - rather heterodox - standpoint of his, that 'Hottō Kokushi was not the founder of Fuke-shū shakuhachi'.[26]

Still, in view of Hottō Kokushi's central position in the ideology of the Fuke sect, his biography should be examined in some detail.[27]



Fig. 6. Hottō Kokushi. Painted by Kakue[a] (1238-1307). National treasure. Kōkokuji, Yura. Tomimori 1979, pl. 1. Mori 1981, part 2: facing p. 54.

26) "Hottō Kokushi wa Fuke-shū shakuhachi no so ni arazu." Chapter 11, part 1, in Nakatsuka 1979:245-250. Ibid.:276, col. 6.

27) The following Hottō Kokushi biography is based on ZJ:171-172; Miura 1966:199-202; Collcutt 1981:48-49.

a) 覺恵

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According to Martin Collcutt Hottō Kokushi (var.: Hōtō Kokushi, Hattō Kokushi) was 'a significant figure in the early, eclectic phase of Zen development in Japan', and Miura Isshū & Ruth Fuller Sasaki have characterized him as 'one of the most distinguished and influential of the early Japanese Zen priests'.

He was born in 1207 (Ken'ei 2) in the village of Kambayashi[a] in Shinano[b], present Nagano prefecture.[28] His family name was Tsunezumi[c], infant's name Washimaru[d]. He is, however, commonly referred to as Shinchi Kakushin[e], the former being a Buddhist name which he took for himself, the latter his monk's name which was probably given to him when he received the tonsure in 1225 (Karoku 1).

During his lifetime Kakushin was honoured by the retired Emperor Kameyama (r. 1250-1274) with the title Hottō Zenshi[f], whereas Emmyō Kokushi[g] is the title bestowed upon him posthumously by the retired Emperor Godaigo (r.1318-1339). In the records of the Zen sect his name is generally given as either Hottō Emmyō Kokushi, Emmyō Kokushi, or Kakushin. As for still another name of his, Muhon[h],[29-a] I have been unable to clarify the origin.

Kakushin entered upon his lifelong study of Buddhism when at the age of 15 (1221, Jōkyū 3) he enrolled as a pupil at the local Shintō shrine's Buddhist school, or jingūji[i]. Having received the tonsure at the age of 19 in 1225, he went to Nara in order to continue his studies at the Tōdaiji. Eleven years later, aged 29 (1235, Katei 1), he took the Full Commandments of Hinayana Buddhism from Chūgaku Risshi[j] (n.d.) before the commandment platform there.

That same year Kakushin moved from Nara to the Shingon center on Mt. Kōya in present Wakayama prefecture. Devoting himself to the esoteric teachings of Tantric Buddhism, he became acquainted with the Rinzai Zen monk Gyōyū[k] (1163-1241) who was teaching Zen meditation there. Gyōyū had been a close disciple of Myōan Eisai (1141-1215) himself, the founder of the Rinzai Zen sect in Japan in 1195.

Kakushin, having increased his involvement in the practise of Zen under the guidance of Gyōyū, decided to follow and assist the latter when he moved to Kamakura in 1239 (Ryakunin 2) to become the abbot of one of the Zen temples established by Eisai, the Jufukuji[l].

After Gyōyū's death in 1241 (Ninji 2) Kakushin spent several years studying with various other Zen masters the most prominent of those being Dōgen Kigen (1200-1253), founder of the Japanese Sōtō Zen sect in 1246, from whom he received the Bodhisattva Commandments of Mahayana Buddhism (n.d.).

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28) See map on p. 21. 29-a) Collcutt 1981:48.

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a) 神林 b) 信濃 c) 常澄 d) 鷲丸 e) 心地覺心
f) 法燈禪師 g) 圓明國師 h) 無本 i) 神宮寺 j) 中學律師
k) 行勇 l) 壽福寺

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Fig. 7. Map of Eastern Japan.
Enlarged and revised detail of map from:
Cha no yu Quarterly 1976/14:17. See p. 29.

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Then, in 1249 (Kenchō 1), Kakushin set out for China with the intention further to deepen his understanding of Zen there. He visited most of the influential Buddhist establishments in the country and finally, in 1253, his long pilgrimage was completed when he reached the Ch'an temple Hu-kuo Jen-wang-ssu[a] (Jap.: Gokoku Ninnōji) near Hangchou. This was the residence of the Ch'an master Wu-men Hui-k'ai[b] (Jap.: Mumon Ekai, 1183-1260), compiler of the famous kōan collection the Wu-men-kuan[c] (Jap.: Mumonkan). The two developed a deep, mutual understanding, and following a mere six months of studying with Wu-men Hui-k'ai, Kakushin received the seal of transmission.

Returning to Japan in 1254 Kakushin now settled down in the south-western part of the province of Kii, where he became the founder of a small Zen temple, the Saihōji[d], north of the town Yura. The temple was renamed Kōkokuji shortly afterwards (n.d.), and here, preferring the life of the recluse, Kakushin stayed most of the time until his death at the age of 92 in 1298 (Einin 6). Nevertheless, his fame having spread to the capital, he was often summoned to the imperial court to lecture on Buddhism. In 1281 (Kōan 4) the retired Emperor Kameyama persuaded him to come and live at the Zenrinji[e], the later Nanzenji[f] in eastern Kyōto, but when offered the abbacy of that temple Kakushin declined the honor. Still, in 1285, he accepted the invitation to become the founder of a small Zen establishment in Saga[g], west of Kyōto, the Myōkōji[h] (map p. 64).

Although Kakushin himself had several disciples his school did not enjoy any widespread popularity beyond his lifetime. This is said to have been partly due to his 'obvious disinclination to proselytize actively in the capital',[29-b] partly because 'his followers were loyal to the Southern court and therefore failed to find favor with the Ashikaga shōguns and their warrior retainers'.[30]

Yet another reason may be that Kakushin's teaching - basically a combination of the Rinzai Zen kōan practise instituted by Wu-men Hui-k'ai, the special emphasis on zazen, 'seated meditation', taught by Dōgen (i.e. Sōtō Zen), and many an aspect of traditional Shingon ritual - was in fact too complex in its very eclecticism to become widely accepted.

29-b) Collcutt 1981:49.

30) Miura 1966:201. The 'Southern court' was established in Yoshino[i] in the mountains south of Nara by the exiled Emperor Godaigo whose attempt at a coup d'état intended to restore imperial power had been crushed by the Ashikaga clan in 1333. The period from 1333 to 1392 is called the 'Period of the Northern and Southern courts'.

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a)護國仁王寺 b)無門慧開 c)無門卷 d)西方寺
e)禪林寺 f)南禪寺 g)嵯峨 h)妙光寺 i)吉野

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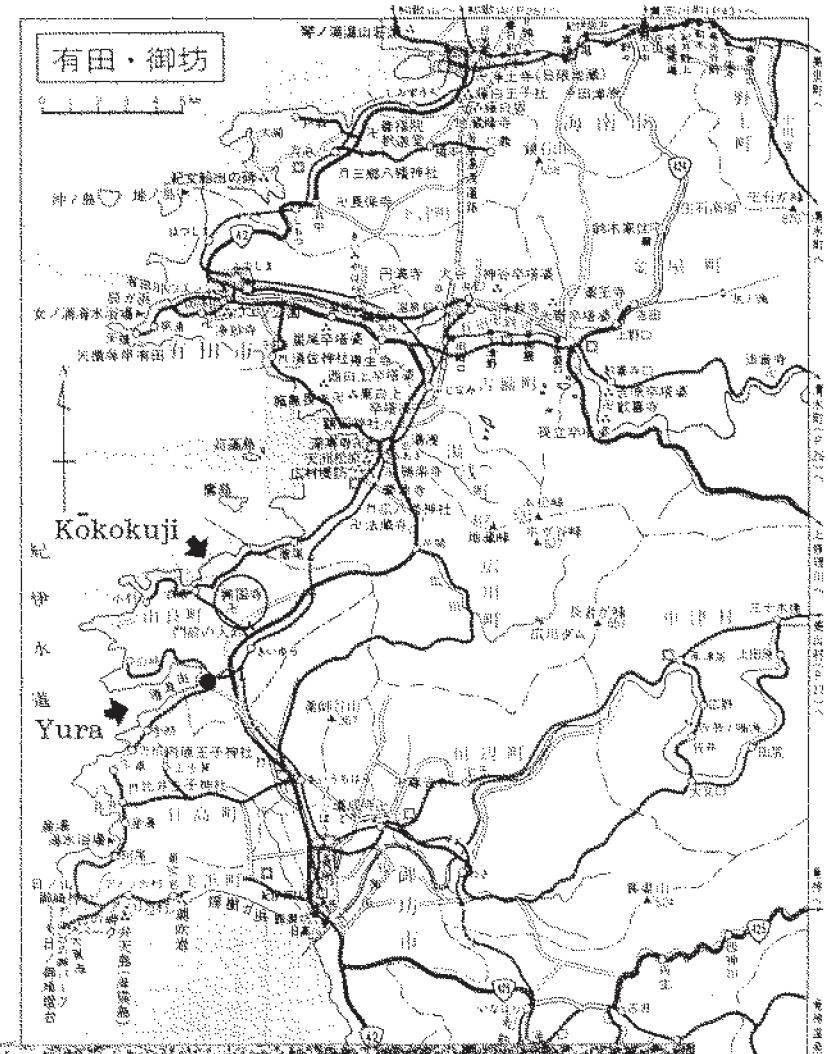


Fig. 8. SW Wakayama: Yura and the Kōkokuji. From: Maekawa 1985:48.

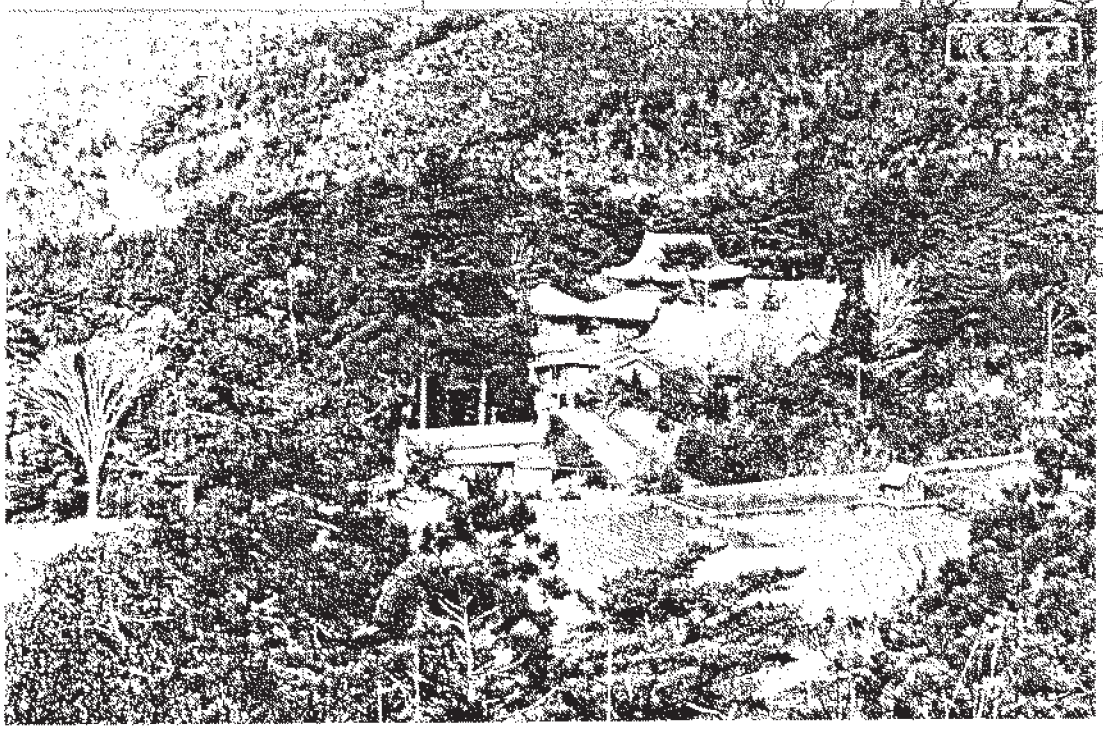


Fig. 9. The Kōkokuji. From: Mori 1981, pl. 3.

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There is nothing in Kakushin's own writings suggesting that he himself ever played the shakuhachi and no mention neither of Priest Fuke nor of any Buddhist lay disciples accompanying him on his return to Japan in 1254.[31] In reality - to cut a long story short - the four shakuhachi disciples are but legendary persons who were invented by Fuke shakuhachi leaders representing four major branches of the movement[32] at a time when serious measures had to be taken in order to convert the so far rather loosely organized komosō 'fraternity' into an actual Buddhist temple institution. It is quite evident from the information contained in the main body of the Kaidō honsoku (section 3), that in 1628 the komosō did not accept the notion of belonging to any hierarchy nor did they cherish any genealogy or history of their tradition. This is why I find it more than just probable that the first paragraph contained in the Kaidō honsoku must have been added later and this theory is being substantiated by the information given by Mori Hikotarō who, as mentioned previously, noted that paragraph 1 was written 'differently'.

The 'adoption' of Kakushin and the four legendary lay disciples into the ideology of the Japanese Fuke shakuhachi tradition represents a highly extraordinary case of faking history first of all because, even today, the fabrications are widely accepted as historical 'facts',[33] and as for the important question when exactly the legend about Kakushin and the four Buddhist laymen came into being, Japanese scholarship in this field has so far been inconclusive.

Even Nakatsuka Chikuzen, the most critical of the Japanese shakuhachi historians, did not make any comments on the obvious discrepancy between the content of paragraph 1 in the Kaidō honsoku and that of the document's main body, section 3,[34] and he may simply have accepted the Kaidō honsoku as the first Fuke shakuhachi document in which Kakushin and the four Buddhist laymen appear in their capacity as alleged transmitters of the tradition to Japan.

In my own view, however, paragraph 1 could have been added to the original Kaidō honsoku only at a time when the general subject matter of the text was still being recognized as representative of komosō ideology in general, i.e. at some time during the middle decades of the seventeenth century and, definitely, before the rise of the Fuke sect of the komusō.

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31) Kakushin's writings are reproduced in Mori 1981, part 1:1-17.

32) These were the Kassō-[a], Kyochiku-[b], Kichiku-[c], and Kinsen-[d] branches. Nakatsuka 1979:428. See paragraphs 19-7, 19-10, and 19-11. (XXIII)

33) This is so, too, at Kakushin's temple, the Kōkokuji, in Yura. NSJT 2:744.

34) Nakatsuka 1979:273-276.

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a) 潤僧 b) 虚竹 c) 寄竹 d) 金仙/先 a) 活僧

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Now, at this point in the dispute it becomes appropriate to introduce the information on the Kakushin legend which is contained in the two, roughly contemporary Fuke shakuhachi documents 'Priest Isshi's Letter to the Komusō Sandō Mugetsu' and the Kyotaku denki. In Isshi's letter the section concerning Kakushin, or Hottō Kokushi, and the four Buddhist laymen reads as follows:

- - - "When Kokushi was in China there were four komu people who all joined him and, triumphantly, came to this country. Later, the life-stream of their school divided into four, and since then, travelling in every direction, wherever they came, the four served the Buddhist community." - - -

[Kokushi nyū-Tō no toki nite, k(y)omu yonnin ono-ono Kokushi ni shitagatte, toku-toku hon-chō ni rai su. Zengo, kano shirō no ha-myaku yottsu ni bunsaku shi, yottsu jirai yō-yō toshite, hen-ben sōkoku o tasuku.][35]

It should be noted that here the four disciples are not mentioned by names, only as four persons of 'the empty and the void', which is equivalent with the term komusō.

Kyotaku denki is by far the most detailed and elaborate account of the transmission of Priest Fuke's musico-religious tradition to Japan. The opening section about Fuke himself will be dealt with in the commentary for paragraph 3.
The following section of the Kyotaku denki describes how a Chinese flute-player by the name of Chang Po[a] (Jap.: Chō Haku) was inspired by the sound of Fuke's hand-bell to compose a tune which he called Kyotaku[b], 'The Empty Bell', or 'The False Bell'. This tune was then handed down through sixteen generations of the Chang family and at the time when Kakushin visited China the old melody was now being performed by Chang San[c] (Jap.: Chō San). The two happened to meet at Wu-men Hui-k'ai's temple, the Hu-kuo Jen-wang-ssu, where they were both studying Buddhism. From here the Kyotaku denki continues as follows:[36]

- - - "Gakushin and San had much in common and became good friends.

One day, during a quiet talk, the conversation turned to the story of the kyotaku tradition, which had been originated by San's ancestor's and transmitted down to his time. San then tuned the instrument and played it. The strains from the flute were captivating.

Gakushin was impressed (by the sound) and expressed great admiration, saying excitedly: "Wonderful! Exquisite! From the various flutes of the world I have never heard such pure sounds or such beautiful music. This is the

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35) Reproduced in Mori 1981, part 3:77-78; Nakatsuka 1937:26-27; Nakatsuka: 1979:268-269. Copy of this part of the original on page 26. (VII)

36) Tsuge Gen'ichi's translation: Tsuge 1977:50-51. (XIV)

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a) 張伯 b) 虛鐸 c) 張參

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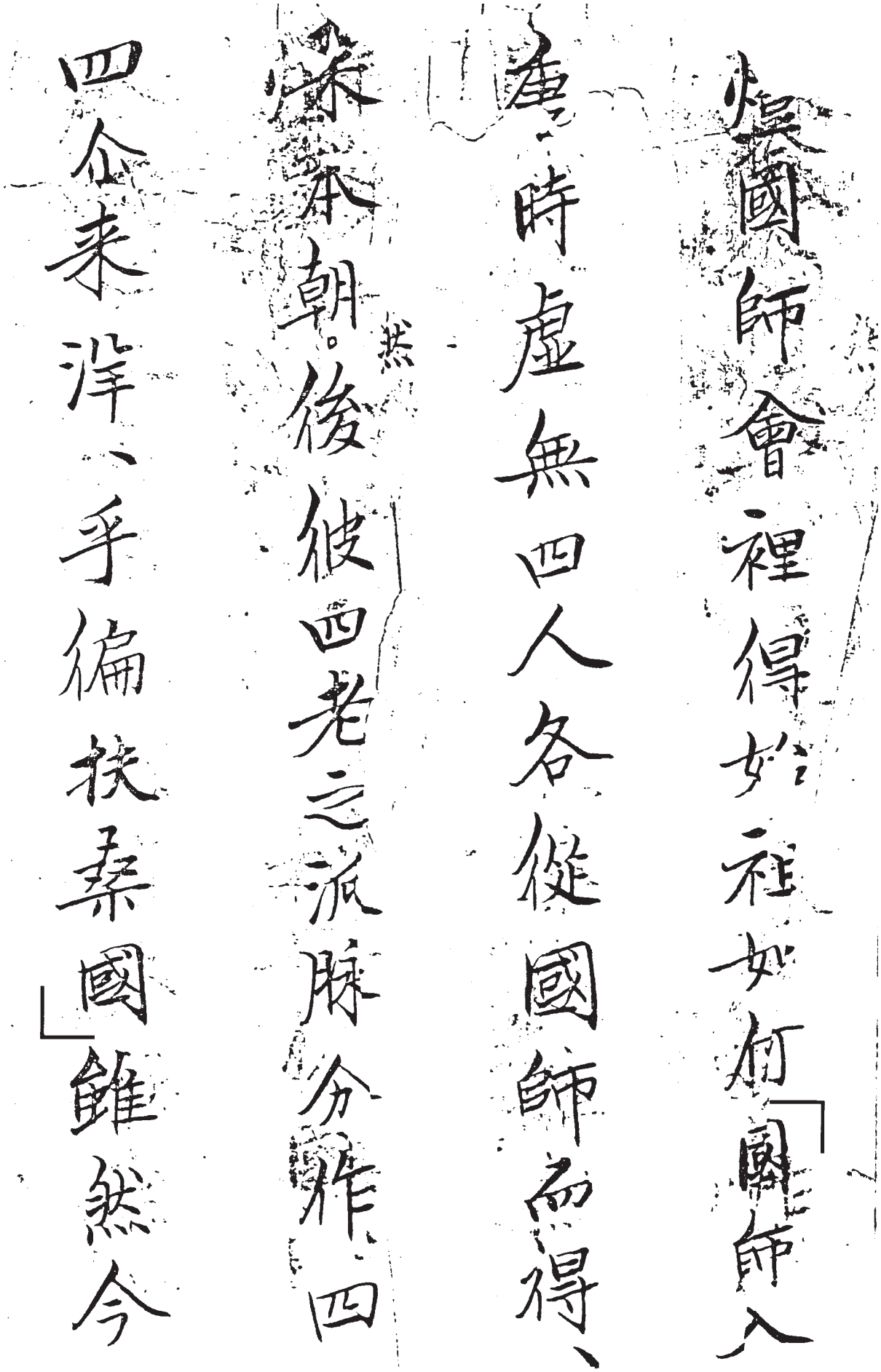


Fig. 10. 'Priest Isshi's Letter to the Komusō Sandō Mugetsu.'
Detail of a xerox-copy of the original, supplied by the Kōkokuji.

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music to be admired and cherished. I beg you to teach me one piece so that I might introduce this exquisite sound to Japan and pass it on to posterity." Then San performed on the flute again for Gakushin and let him learn the music.

Gakushin studied the art of the kyotaku. As the days passed, he went to the heart of Zen philosophy and attained proficiency in the kyotaku; finally he took leave of San (to return to Japan). - - - "

Then, after a short account of Hottō Kokushi's major accomplishments following his return to Japan in 1254, his disciples are introduced:

- - - "Among his numerous students, there was one called Kichiku. The more earnest he became in his devotion to Zen Buddhism, the more ardent was his admiration for his master. Gakushin also took a more kindly interest in him than in other students. One day Gakushin told Kichiku: "When I was studying in the country of Sung, I was instructed in the kyotaku and I perform on it well even today. I would like to initiate you in this flute in the hope that, as my successor, you will pass this art on to posterity." Kichiku, dancin for joy and expressing his gratitude, received instruction in this music and attained proficiency in the instrument. He took delight in playing it everyday un tiringly. There were four more students - - Kokusaku, Risei, Hōfu and Sōjo - - who also learned this flute well. They were known to the world under the (collective) title Shikoji[a] ("Four Devoted Men"). - - - "

Contrary to the letter of Priest Isshi, in the Kyotaku denki the four Buddhist laymen are referred to by names and a fifth, Japanese student of Kakushin's, Kichiku[b], is being introduced and given a higher status than that of the four laymen whose Chinese origin is not even mentioned. Furthermore, both in the Kyotaku denki and in Isshi's letter the importance of Zen Buddhist philosophy is being stressed whereas, at the same time, none of the texts make any mention of any Fuke sect temple institution having come into being. Taken together, the two texts both illustrate that Fuke shakuhachi ideology was undergoing significant changes during the middle of the seventeenth century and that, in the long run, the original spiritual outlook of the komosō, represented by the Kaidō honsoku, was to be discarded. Still, it is obvious that during the transition phase 'from komosō to komusō' some of the attempts at replacing the anachronistic lifestyle and philosophical orientation of the komosō with new, 'up-to-date' patterns of behaviour and intellectual superstructures were doomed to fail and, as a matter of fact, it is highly questionable whether, even after the establishment of the Fuke sect in 1677, the activities of the Fuke shakuhachi practitioners were ever really made uniform on a nation-wide scale.

a) 四居士 b) 寄竹

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Par. 2: "The Fundamental Doctrine of Shakuhachi Itineracy. Issued from Yura in the Kii Province."

(端書)「海道本則紀伊國由良ヨリ出ヅ」

[Kaidō honsoku. Kii-guni Yura yori izu.]

The first part of this paragraph may represent the actual name, or title, of the document. A literal translation of the four characters kai-dō hon-soku would be 'sea-route basic rule(s)'. Since the Kamakura period, if not even earlier, Kaidō was the name of the tract between Kyōto and Kamakura in present Kanagawa Prefecture, the seat of the Kamakura government from 1192 to 1333. During the Edo period the route was extended further north to the new capital Edo, and the highway as well as the regions it connected became known as the Tōkaidō[a], i.e. 'The Eastern Coastal Route'. This was the most important of the Shichi-dō[b], lit.: 'The Seven Highways', or 'The Seven Districts' of Tokugawa Japan.[37] As the Kaidō honsoku sets forth the fundamental regulations for nation-wide shakuhachi itineracy I have found it justified - for the sake of clarity - to attempt a rather free translation of this passage.

Yura in the Kii Province, present Wakayama Prefecture, has already been mentioned as the town in the neighbourhood of which Kakushin's temple the Kōkokuji is situated, and even if we do not accept the claim that Kakushin introduced a 'Fuke shakuhachi tradition' to Japan, it is certainly a strange coincidence that this Fuke shakuhachi credo should have originated from the very area in which he settled down after returning to Japan in 1254. Perhaps there may, after all, have been some connection between the Kōkokuji and the Fuke shakuhachi practitioners in Kii if not since as early as the time of the Kamakura period.

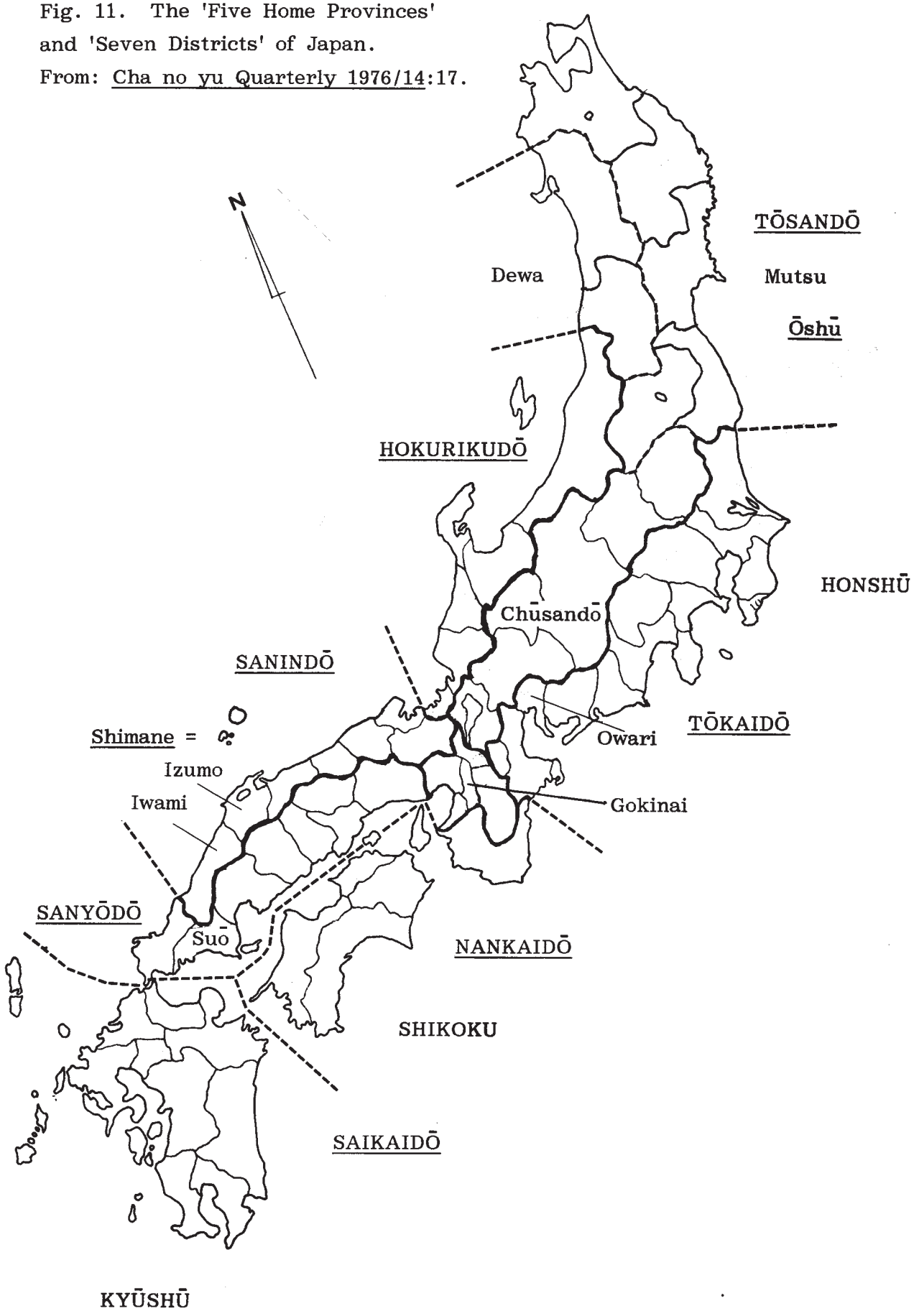
On the other hand, as with paragraph 1, this second paragraph also can be seen to stand apart from the main body of the document, and why, for instance, is the place of origin given immediately after the title of the work and not at the end, together with the date? Maybe the 'Kaidō honsoku' examined by Nakatsuka and Mori in the mid-1930's was in fact not the original but a copy of the original in which paragraph 3 (the following) was the actual opening paragraph; being copied, paragraph 2 could have been added at the beginning while the text was written by the same hand, and - finally - paragraph 1 would have been inserted by someone else at some time after the invention of the legend of Hottō Kokushi and his four Chinese shakuhachi disciples! This is, however, a theory which cannot be proved conclusively when the 'original' is not at hand for a critical examination of the quality of the paper, brush, and ink employed and the style in which the writing of its wording was executed.

37) OKJ 1981:258, 576.

a) 東海道 b) 七道

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Fig. 11. The 'Five Home Provinces' and 'Seven Districts' of Japan.
From: Cha no yu Quarterly 1976/14:17.



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Par. 3-Q: "Where from have the Komo come?"

A: "Fuke said, 'Confronted with the Concept of Indiscrimination, attack it!' - Would they have come from the Realm of Darkness?

Fuke said, 'Confronted with the Concept of Discrimination, attack it!' - Would they have come from the Realm of Brightness?

[Komo wa, izuku kara kite sō-so (ro?). An-tō rai-ya, kuraki kuni kara ka. Myō-tō rai-ya, aka-naru kuni kara ka.]

薦ハ何クカラ來テソフソ（ロカ）、暗頭來也、暗キ國カラカ 明頭來也、明ナル國カラ歟。

In this paragraph, apparently, the question is asked: What is the origin of the term komo? In the answer, Priest Fuke is not referred to by name, but the two phrases an-tō rai-ya and myō-tō rai-ya are part of the spiritual motto of Fuke's which is quoted in Chapter 29 of the Lin-chi lu[a] (Jap.: Rinzai roku), the 'Records of Lin-chi'. Lin-chi I-hsüan[b] (Jap.: Rinzai Gigen, d. 866) is celebrated as the founder of the Lin-chi, or Rinzai, line of Zen Buddhism, and Fuke (d. 855?) was one of his contemporaries.[38] From the time when the Fuke sect had become officially recognized, in 1677, Chapter 29 of the Lin-chi lu was adopted as its fundamental doctrine, or hon-soku.[39] But here we see that Fuke was certainly revered by the komosō, too, already before the times of the Fuke-shū komusō! It is indeed a major issue when, and how, the gospel of Priest Fuke entered the ideology of the komosō, and attempting a possible explanation, before discussing the myō-an philosophy of Fuke, first the emergence of the komosō themselves should be clarified.

THE KOMOSŌ.

Ōuchi uji okitegaki[c], 'The Recorded Commandments of the Ōuchi Clan'.

The Ōuchi clan was a daimyō family of Korean descent whose primary domain was that of Suō[d] in the southern part of present Yamaguchi Prefecture in Western Honshū.[40] Entry 90 dated 1486 (Bummei 18, 4th month, 29th day) in the recorded commandments of this clan contains the earliest surviving, dated reference to the komosō:[41]

"Concerning the komosō[e], jugglers, and monkey keepers: these are to be expelled from this place as well as from the neighbouring villages."

[Komosō, hōka, saru-hiki no koto: tōsho, heikin no sato kara harau beki koto.]

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38) Resp. dates given in: Miura 1966:497; Kurihara 1975:120 (T'ai-chung 9). Chapt. 29 is repr. in: Kurihara 1975:116; Nakatsuka 1979:422; Takahashi 1979:15; Nishiyama 1982:520.

39) Sanford 1977:422.

40) Papinot 1948:503-504. Map p. 29.

41) Quoted in NKDJ 8:412. (XVII)

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a) 臨濟錄 b) 義玄 c) 大内氏掟書 d) 周防 e) 薦僧

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Obviously, the komosō were 'persona non grata' in the Ōuchi fief, their social status equalling that of low-class, itinerant buffoons. Although this short passage does not include any description of the komosō, it does at least indicate that they must have been sufficiently numerous to cause annoyance at this time and that komosō activities were not limited to the area around the capital, Kyōto, as one might perhaps presume.

Sanjūniban shokunin uta-awase emaki[a], 'Picture-scroll of a poetry contest on thirty-two professions.'

This is a 'record' of an imaginary poetry contest on the subject of thirty-two different professions. The poems as well as the critical comments on the aesthetic quality of each respective poem were all written by the courtier Kanrōji Motonaga[b] (1457-1527), and the pictures were drawn by the painter Tosa Mitsunobu[c] (1434-1525).[42] The work is an example of the socalled 'personal' uta-awase, a genre of Japanese literature which, originating during the late Kamakura period, became especially popular during the Muromachi era.[43]

According to Barbara Ruch this scroll dates from the Bummei period (1469-1487), so it could be even earlier than the Ōuchi uji okitegaki.[44] One of its poems has a komosō as its theme; the evaluation contains a supplementary description and, besides, a shakuhachi-playing komosō is seen sitting cross-legged on the ground:[45]

"No. 6. - - - Right side. Winning poem:

KYOMŌSŌ.

"Even if he plays
when the cherries are in bloom,
everybody wants to evade him.
Unwelcome - as the wind -
the komo's shakuhachi. - - -



Fig. 12. 'Komosō'.
From: NKBZ 25:396.

The komosō is clad in paper meditation-garments and a food bucket is tied to his side, and I doubt him to be a person who, besides approaching the gates of high and low blowing the shakuhachi, has any other, particular profession."

[Rokuban. - - - Migi. Shō: Kyomōsō. Hana-*sakari, fuku tomo dareka, itou *heki, kaze ni wa aranu, komo *ka shakuhachi. - - - Komosō no sammai kami-ginu kata ni kake, tsura-oke koshi ni tsuke, kisen no monkō ni yorite, shakuhachi fuku hoka ni wa, betsu no gyō naki mono ni ya.]

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42) KSM 3:792. 43) Ito 1982:208-209. 44) Ruch 1977:297.
45) Repr. in GR 28:455. Quoted in: KS 2:35; Nakatsuka 1979:45, 66. (XIX)

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a) 三十二番職人歌合絵巻 b) 甘露寺元長 c) 土佐光信

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Kanjin-hijiri uta-awase[a], 'Poem contest on the Temple Solicitation Hijiri'.

The present picture of a shakuhachi-playing komosō was, according to Kurihara Kōta,[46] copied from an original uta-awase picture-scroll by a certain Kō-kei[b] (d. 1806, Bunka 3, aged 74) and included in his book Kanden-kō hitsu[c], lit.: 'Essay on the Cultivation of the Fallow Fields', which was published in 1799 (Kansei 1).

The picture is quite similar to that of the Sanjūniban shokunin uta-awase emaki: Both are seen to portray the komosō as not having received the tonsure, i.e. as a lay monk; both of them show the two important attributes of the komosō, namely the shakuhachi and the komo[d], the braided bed-roll which he carried while travelling. However, the text above the komosō here is exactly the same as that of the Sanjūniban shokunin uta-awase which I have translated on the previous page, so the two picture-scrolls in question seem to be closely related, perhaps being just slightly differing copy versions of one and the same original.[47]



Fig. 13. 'Komosō'.
From: Kurihara 1975:89.

Anyhow, the Kanjin-hijiri uta-awase evidence is far from insignificant, and that is, first of all, because here the komosō appears in a context which is concerned with the 'temple solicitation monks' of the Japanese Middle Ages.

Ever since the Nara period (710-794) the practise of religious austerities in the mountains far away from the rigid scholasticism and severe regulations of the Buddhist temples has represented a peculiar, and significant, sub-current of Japanese religion. The majority of these un-compromising individuals were devoted to the acquisition of supernatural powers; those, in general, who had a background as fully ordained monks were originally known as hijiri, i.e. 'sages', or 'saints', whereas the lay practitioners used to call themselves either shami[e] (Skt.: shramanera) or ubasoku[f] (Skt. upashaka). The socalled yamabushi[g] were especially involved in mountain austerities, and the experts of the Onyōdō[h] (var.: Inyōdō[h]), the 'Way of Yin and Yang', dealt with the arts of geomancy and the prediction of auspicious directions, i.e. divination.[48]

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46) Kurihara 1975:88-89. 47) KSM 2:327 does not list the present title.
48) Matsunaga 1974, vol. 1:243.

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a) 勧進聖歌合 b) 蒿渓 c) 閑田耕筆 d) 虆 e) 沙弥 f) 優婆塞 g) 山伏 h) 陰陽道

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During the Heian and Kamakura periods (794-1333) representatives of such anti-institutional religious movements played an important role in the development of what was first known as Shimbutsu shūgō[a], the 'Combined Learning of Shintō and Buddhism',[49] as well as in the dissemination of the Pure Land sects. Certain performances of the nembutsu[b], i.e. the 'invocation of the Amida Buddha', came to be regarded as having special auspicious effects such as the driving away of evil spirits: the goryō[c], harmful insects, or plagues.[50]

In the Kamakura period some hijiri even took up the manufacture of various household utensils like f.i. tea whiskers, spatulas, baskets, and strawsandals, and from about 1450 new types of hijiri made their appearance, the zoku-hijiri[d], or 'secular hijiri'. They were in charge of miscellanous business at the big temples and shrines, f.i. as bell-ringers, gardeners, hall- and pagoda-keepers, grave-keepers, or - as solicitors of contributions to the building of temples and shrines and other pious purposes.[51] The latter were the socalled kanjin-hijiri, the 'solicitation lay monks', and a closer investigation into the etymology of the term komosō reveals that, actually, it can be understood as carrying the same meaning:



Fig. 14. 'Komo'. From: SKZ:118/2.

At first, in the Nara period, the characters komo[e-f] referred to a specific species of marsh plant also known by the name ma-komo[g], an equivalent of the 'water oat', as well as to the braided mats made from it.[52] Later, the character komo[e] came to be used for writing the verb susumu[h], i.e. to 'invite (or induce) a companion to drink wine' or the like,[53] - supposedly while seated on a mat made from the komo plant? Finally, we have susumu[h] in the general meaning of 'invite', 'recommend', or 'solicit', as in the compound suisen su[i].[54]

On this background I cannot help finding it an intriguing possibility that, originally, the komosō were a particular type of temple solicitation lay monks whose braided 'solicitation mats', made from the komo plant, became one of their two distinctive features, the other being the shakuhachi. It is noteworthy that the komosō appear to have emerged only shortly after the destructive Ōnin War (1467-1477) which devastated - and temporarily depopulated - the greater part of Kyōto including most of its numerous temples. Large-scale collection campaigns were organized and among the volunteers the komosō would attract the attention of potential contributors while blowing their flutes. During the course of time their original purpose would have become out-dated, but their special life-style, once established, would remain as an alternative, or last resort, for all sorts of 'social drop-outs' or virtual outlaws to join.

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49) Matsunaga 1974, vol. 1:242-244. Also known as 'Dual Shintō'.
50) Hori 1958, 5/3:225-226. 51) Ibid.; Hori 1958, 5/2:140.
52) OKJ 1981:494. 53) Ibid.:647/1. 54) Ibid.:647/2-3.

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a) 神仏習合 b) 念仏 c) 御霊 d) 俗聖 e) 薦 f) 菰 g) 真菰 h) 薦む i) 推薦す

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PRIEST FUKE AND THE CONCEPT OF 'MYŌAN'.

Unfortunately, we know of no surviving, substantial descriptions, nor pictures, of the komosō in any literary work dating from the entire sixteenth century. The only indication that there were active komosō in that period and that - furthermore - the philosophy of Priest Fuke was somehow significant to them is contained in some of the versions of the Muromachi period character dictionary the

Setsuyōshū[a], 'Anthology of Character Compound Readings'.

It has so far not been satisfyingly clarified who was the original compiler of this important work of Japanese lexicography. The date of the first edition varies according to the reference works consulted: 1468 (Ōnin 2),[55] Bummei period: 1469-1487,[56] 1496 (Meiō 5),[57] and c. 1539 (Tembun 8).[58]

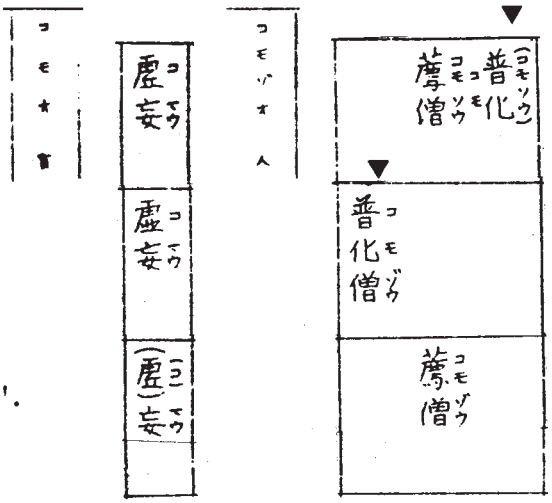
The Setsuyōshū was initially created for the benefit of the rising, literacy-craving merchant class in Sakai, present Ōsaka, and it was the first non-religious work to be printed in Japan, acc. to Donald Keene in 1591 (Tenshō 19).[59] After the introduction of movable-type printing technology from Korea in 1593 (Bunroku 2),[60] it appeared in numerous enlarged and revised versions as the standard, Edo period reference work giving Japanese pronounciations for the Chinese characters.[61]

In three early editions of the work, under the entries komo[b] and komozō[c], respectively, the appropriate character writings are given as follows:[62]

Kuromoto-hon setsuyōshū[d] (KS):
'Setsuyōshū, Kuromoto Edition'.
c. 1550-1560

Tenshō jūhachinen-hon setsuyōshū[e] (TJS):
'Setsuyōshū, Tenshō 18 (1590) Edition'.
1590

Manjūya-shū setsuyōshū[f] (MS):
'Setsuyōshū, Bean-jam Bun-shop Compilation'.
Keichō period: 1596-1615



The example speaks for itself: at least since sometime during the middle of the sixteenth century the term komozō[c] was considered to be synonymous with Fuke[g] (KS) or Fuke-zō[h], i.e. 'Fuke monk' (TJS)!

55) Bailey 1960-61:42. 56) NKDJ 1:9-10 (entry: Ikyōshū[i]).
57) KSM 5:167. 58) OKJ 1981:1345. 59) Keene 1976:2. 60) Ibid.:3.
61) KSM 5:164-171. 62) In: GTKS 1:727. Dates: Bailey 1960-61:42-47.

a) 節用集 b) コモオ c) コモゾオ d) 黒本本節用集
e) 天正十八年本節用集 f) 饅頭屋集節用集
g) 普化 h) 普化僧 i) 伊京集

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As for the compound komō[a], var.: kyomō[a], which appears in these three versions of the Setsuyōshū, the literal meaning is that of 'empty-blind', i.e. either 'delusion', or 'something unsubstantiated'.[63] In the Sanjūniban shokunin uta-awase emaki (p. 31) the headline of the poem, 'Kyomōsō', is written with the same characters, but these are the only existing examples of that particular choice of characters for writing the term. Anyhow, the meaning of kyomō[a] is in fact quite close to that of komu[b], or kyomu[b], namely 'nothingness', or 'non-substantiality', which is represented in the term komusō[c], and it is furthermore intimately connected with Fuke's myō-an motto in which we meet the important Buddhist concept of kokū[d], lit.: the 'empty sky':[64]

> "P'u-k'o was always going about the streets ringing a hand-bell and saying, 'If a bright-head comes, strike the bright-head. If a dark-head comes, strike the dark-head. Whatever direction or quarter it comes from, hit it like a whirlwind. And if it comes from emptiness,[65] cut it down with a scythe.'
>
> Lin-chi sent one of his attendants to have a little talk with P'u-k'o. When he arrived, the attendant spoke the lines he had been given [by Lin-chi], 'What do you do when absolutely nothing at all comes forth?'
>
> P'u-k'o pushed the question aside saying, 'Tomorrow there's a maigre feast at the Ta-pei yüan.'
>
> The attendant returned to Lin-chi and made his report. Lin-chi said, 'I've had my suspicions about that fellow for a long time."

In the Kyotaku denki (p. 6) the opening paragraph contains the following quotation from the same chapter, 29, of the Lin-chi lu:[66]

> "Fuke-zenji (in Chinese, P'u Hua Ch'an Shih) was a Zen Buddhist priest of great learning in the T'ang dynasty. He lived in the Chen Province[67] and was pleased with his uninhibited Zen spirit.
>
> Ringing a taku[e], he would go to town and say to passers-by:
>
> Myōtōrai myōtōda, antōrai antōda, Shihō hachimenrai (ya), senpūda, Kokū-rai (ya), rengada. "If attacked in the light, I will strike back in the light. If attacked in the dark, I will strike back in the dark. If attacked from all quarters, I will strike as a whirlwind does. If attacked from the empty sky, I will trash with a flail."

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63) Nelson 793:4109.

64) Quoted in the Lin-chi lu, Chapter 29, which is here presented in the unabridged translation by James H. Sanford. Sanford 1977:439. (XVI)

65) Sanford translates kokū as 'emptiness'!

66) Tsuge Gen'ichi's translation. Tsuge 1977:49. Tsuge spells 'flail' as 'frail'.

67) Chen[g] was in fact the name of an urban district by the river Hu-t'o[h] in present Hopei Province in northern China. Kurihara 1975:113. SKZ:20/1.

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a) 虚妄 b) 虚無 c) 虚無僧 d) 虚空 e) 鐸 g) 鎮 h) 滹沱河

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Neither Sanford nor Tsuge's translations render the true, spiritual depth of Priest Fuke's Buddhist motto. According to the Dictionary of Buddhist Terms and Concepts,[68] the concept kū[a] (Skt.: sunyata) is

'A fundamental Buddhist concept, variously translated as non-substantiality, void, latency, relativity, etc. The concept that entities have no fixed or independent nature.' - - - 'Because phenomena arise and continue to exist only by virtue of their relationship with other phenomena, they have no fixed substance and have as their true nature 'kū'. The concept of 'kū' teaches that nothing exists independently. Its practical implications lie in the rejection of attachments to transient phenomena and to the egocentricity of one who envisions himself as being absolute and independent of all other existences. It is an especially important concept in Mahayana Buddhism. On the basis of sutras known as the 'Hannya' (Skt prajnā) or Wisdom sutras, the concept of 'kū' was systematized by Nāgārjuna,[69] who explains it as the Middle Way, which here means neither existence nor non-existence. - - - '

Now, Fuke talked about ko[b]-kū, not just kū! In Chinese, hsū[b] has a variety of meanings: 'False; untrue; unreal. Hollow; empty. Vacant; insubstantial; figurative; abstract.'[70] Even if the compound hsū-k'ung[b-a] is generally translated as 'hollow', or 'empty',[71] we should not rule out the possibility that it was in reality 'false (or untrue) conceptions of non-substantiality' which Fuke claimed ought to be 'trashed with a flail'. Perhaps he even rejected the very notion of Nāgārjuna's concept of 'non-substantiality' despite its central significance to Mahayana Buddhist thought?★

We know, unfortunately, next to nothing about the life of Priest Fuke,[72] only that his master was P'an-shan Pao-chi[c] (Jap.: Banzan Hōshaku, n.d.), one of the many disciples of Ma-tsu Tao-i[d] (Jap.: Baso Dōitsu, 709-788). After Banzan's death Fuke became acquainted with Lin-chi but he himself is not recorded to have had any disciples. Anyhow, it is evident from the few preserved anecdotes about Priest Fuke that his way of Zen was one of utmost radicality; the critical approach of his is well expressed in his statement about the concepts myō and an, which were, as a matter of fact, introduced into Zen Buddhist thought not by Fuke, but by Shih-t'ou Hsi-chien[e] (Jap.: Sekitō Kisen, 700-790), one of the central figures in the development of the Ts'ao-tun[f] (Jap.: Sōtō) line of Zen Buddhism.[73]

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68) DBTC:237. 69) Lived between AD 150 and 250. DBTC:280.
70) Mathews 423:2821. 71) Ibid. 72) ZJ:955, 1177.
73) ZJ:703-704, 1397; Miura 1966:492-493.

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a) 空 b) 虛 c) 盤山寶積 d) 馬祖道一 e) 石頭希遷
f) 曹洞

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When speaking about myō and an, Shih-t'ou was not concerned with the dualism of 'the bright (or light) and the dark', as suggested by Sanford and Tsuge. According to Shih-t'ou's philosophy, which is far more subtle, the concept of myō (var.: mei) represents the mental attitude of discrimination (or distinction),[74] whereas an represents that of indiscrimination (or impartiality)![75] In a famous poem of his, entitled Ts'an-t'ung-ch'i[a] (Jap.: Sandōkai), 'In praise of Identity',[76] he explains the nature of myō and an in the following way:[77]

"With Discrimination [myō/mei] there is Indiscrimination [an], and Discrimination does not function as the opposite of Indiscrimination.

With Indiscrimination there is Discrimination, and Indiscrimination is not to be regarded as the opposite of Discrimination.

When we distinguish between Discrimination and Indiscrimination, as if they were mutually opposed, it is the same as separating 'before' and 'after'."

[Mei-chū ni atatte, an ari, ansō o motte, ashirau koto nakare. An-chū ni atatte, mei ari, mei-sō o motte, miru koto nakare. Mei-an kakusō tai shite, kurabe suru ni, zen-go no ayumi no gotoshi.]

I find it highly probable that Fuke's myō-an motto must be understood as a direct reference to the statement of Shih-t'ou's, and that is, possibly, in more than just one way:

In the two phrases myōtōrai and antōrai, the character tō[b] (Chin.: t'ou[b]) is identical with the second character in Shih-t'ou's name, and the two first lines of the motto might therefore be translated as:

"When the 'discriminating Shih-t'ou' appears, attack him!

When the 'indiscriminating Shih-t'ou' appears, attack him, too!"

However, t'ou[b], the most common translation of which is 'head', 'chief', 'first', 'most important', or 'best',[78-a] may also, in the present context, be interpreted as meaning 'prejudice in favour of', and consequently I find it justified to propose the following improvement of the existing translations of the full wording of Priest Fuke's myō-an motto:

"Confronted with the prejudice of Shih-t'ou's in favour of the Concept of Discrimination, attack it!

Confronted with the prejudice of Shih-t'ou's in favour of the Concept of Indiscrimination, attack that, too!

Whichever concept you are confronted with, attack it like a whirlwind!

Whichever false conception of Absolute Reality you are confronted with, crush it with a flail!"

---

74) Sa-betsu no gensho[c], 'the phenomenon of discrimination'. ZJ:1397.

75) Byōdō no ri-tai[d], lit.: 'the principal substance of impartiality'. Ibid.

76) Miura 1966:302. 77) Rendered in classical Japanese in ZJ:1397.

78-a) Mathews 941:6489. (XXIV)

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a) 參同契 b) 頭 c) 差別の現象 d) 平等の理體

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I find it self-evident that Lin-chi's followers in Japan, the Rinzai monks, would have been well familiar with Priest Fuke's radical-minded example, although but a few have left behind writings which explicitly pay him tribute. One particular, outspoken admirer of Fuke ought to mentioned here, namely the Zen monk Ikkyū Sōjun[a] (1394-1481).[78-b]

Like Fuke, Ikkyū was an ardent opponent of the institutions and conventions of Zen. Spending the greater part of his life as a wandering recluse, he nevertheless occasionally accepted the appointment as abbot of a Zen temple, but only for a short time. In 1474, for instance, he was placed in charge of effecting the major rebuilding of the Daitokuji[b] in Kyōto which had been laid waste in the first year of the Ōnin War, 1467 (Ōnin 1);[79] one of the obligatory poems which he composed for the inauguration ceremony there contains no less than the full wording of Fuke's myō-an motto, quoted from the Lin-chi lu, Chapter 29![80]

Highly gifted as a writer on Buddhist philosophy, be it in prose as well as in poetry, Ikkyū's accomplishments in the art of Chinese poetry are especially noteworthy. Here is an appropriate example in which he emphasizes the importance of the Buddhist philosophy of sound as it is expounded in the Surangama Sutra, Chapter 3, and further discussed in the Wu-men-kuan, Case 16:[81]

"WIND BELLS

(Two poems)

With motion it rings, when still it is silent.
Does the bell hold the sound, or does the wind?
An old monk jangled out of his midday nap.
How is this? The midnight bell at high noon?

The realm of sights and sounds is endless,
Yet, imperceptibly, a pure note crystallizes.
That old fellow P'u-k'o knew a trick or two.
Wind and bell hang together, there above the jewelled railing."

In some of his poems Ikkyū also expressed his love for the sound of the shakuhachi:[82]

"LOST IN DREAMS ONE NIGHT

I HEARD BOKUSHITSU PLAY THE SHAKUHACHI AND WAS MOVED

Bright new moon in the autumn sky,
Over the distant rattle of dancing villager's drums,
The clear line of the flute turns everything to tears,
Yet startles me from a long sorrowful dream."

78-b) James H. Sanford has contributed a detailed biography, Sanford 1981.
79) Collcutt 1981:126. 80) Translated in Sanford 1981:174.
81) Blyth 1974:132-135. Trsl. in Sanford 1981:146.
82) Trsl. in Sanford 1981:180.

a) 一休宗純 b) 大徳寺

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Bokushitsu[a] (n.d.) was one of Ikkyū's close disciples, but it is not known whether their relationship included the study of the shakuhachi, too. Even if Christopher Blasdel has characterized the mention of the shakuhachi in Ikkyū's poetry as 'frequent',[83] I have found a mere eight 'shakuhachi poems' among the hundreds of genuine Ikkyū poems which are preserved;[84] only one of these can be seen to support the common supposition that Ikkyū was actually a shakuhachi player himself![85★] Still, the question remains whether it might perhaps have been Ikkyū who somehow brought about the adoption of the 'Fuke/myō-an complex' into the ideology of the komosō?

Obviously, the evidence is far from clear in that, first of all, none of the late fifteenth century sources of komosō-, or kyomōsō-, history make any specific statements concerning any such ideological superstructure being acknowledged by the shakuhachi itinerants.

Anyhow, we should not rule out this theoretical possibility completely: Ikkyū would, most certainly, have met representatives of the rising komosō movement on his travels, and he may even have employed some of them as solicitors when collecting funds for the rebuilding of the Daitokuji in 1474-1481.[86]

Here, while thus speculating, one essential aspect of Ikkyū's possible role in the formation of early komosō ideology has to be stressed: Ikkyū's spiritual influence on the komosō would not have been limited to that of 'pure Zen philosophy'! Like the Kamakura period Rinzai monk Kakushin, Ikkyū was strongly inclined towards Shingon Buddhism, too, and he took a particular interest in the doctrine of sokushin jōbutsu[b], 'Buddhahood in this very body', which was formulated by Kūkai (774-835) and emphasizes 'the existential and bodily aspects of Buddhahood in contrast to the latent and "spiritual" aspects stressed by the Chinese treatments of Buddha-nature'.[87] 'In Ikkyū's case,' Sanford explains, 'I suspect that an inherent tendency toward radical behaviour combined with the raised vitality of popularized forms of Buddhist thinking in the fifteenth century to move him towards the adoption and expression of a markedly direct version of sokushin jōbutsu. An added salient factor may have been the precedents set by the wider but little documented movement of the Zen and Shingon fusion that generally goes by the name Zen-mitsu[c] (esoteric Zen), but this is less clear.'[88]

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83) Blasdel 1984:215. 84) Nakamoto 1976:260, 318, 323-324, 360, 362, 367, 402; Nakatsuka 1979:265.

85) In Shakuhachi no ki[d], 'Records of the Shakuhachi', 1623 (Genna 9), by Hayashi Razan[e] (1583-1657), we see the earliest account of Ikkyū playing the shakuhachi with a certain hermit at Uji[f], south of Kyōto. KR 35:1053. The hermit later became known by the name of Rōan[g], and finally, 'alias' Kyochiku (p. 24), adopted as (legend.) founder of the Myoanji. Nakatsuka 1979:51, 133.

86) Ikkyū's biography mentions three such campaigns. Sanford 1981:110-115.

87) Sanford 1981:44. 88) Ibid.:44-45.

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a) 睦室 b) 即身成仏 c) 禅密 d) 尺八の記 e) 林羅山 f) 宇治 g) 朗竜

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PDF-page:

Suffice to say, Ikkyū Sōjun may not, after all, have been neither directly nor indirectly affiliated with the early komosō movement, and there seems to be no conclusive solution to the problem of 'when, and how, the gospel of Priest Fuke entered the ideology of the komosō' (p. 30).

But, as with Ikkyū, to whom 'after Zen, Shingon was the most important Buddhological influence',[89] komosō ideology ultimately came to display similar, eclectic characteristics, including certain Shingon elements, as it will be illustrated in the following paragraphs of the Kaidō honsoku.

At last, before proceeding to the commentary on the main body of the text, it should be mentioned that there were in fact, in the last century of the Muromachi period, other types of 'Buddhist shakuhachi' practitioners besides the komosō! Some evidence of their practise is contained in the following four literary works:

Shakuhachi mei naraberu jo[a], 'Introduction to Shakuhachi Maker's Marks', by the Tōfukuji monk Kōrin[b] (n.d.). Dated 1505 (Eishō 2).[90]

Utsu no yama no ki[c], 'Tale of the Utsu Mountain', by Sōchō[d] (1448-1532).[91] Dated 1517 (Eishō 14).[91]

Kanginshū[e], Anthology of Leisurely Poem Recitals', anonymous, 1518-1528 (Eishō 15 - Dai'ei 8).[92]

Rakuami[f], 'Rakuami', the oldest surviving kyōgen piece of the Ōkura[g] school, early sixteenth century.[93]

These sources, together with several additional, highly interesting Muromachi period references to the shakuhachi, show that the instrument must have been much more popular at that time than Western scholarship in the field has so far revealed.

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89) Sanford 1981:45.

90) Reproduced in: Nakatsuka 1979:204-206. Dated in Nakatsuka 1979:122.

91) Reproduced in: KR 35:1015-1016. Dated in: KSM 1:384.

92) Reproduced in: NKBZ 25, preface pp. 395-396, poem pp. 395-396. Nakatsuka 1979:56-58, 66.

93) Quoted in Nishiyama 1976:162.

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a) 尺八銘並序 b) 光隣 c) 宇津山記 d) 宗長
e) 閑吟集 f) 楽阿弥 g) 大蔵

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Fig. 15. Ikkyū Sōjun (1394-1481). Detail of a portrait painted by Bokusai Botsurin, 墨齋沒倫 (d. 1496, DJJ 5:504)

From: Sanford 1981, cover illustration. According to Sanford (1981:71), Bokusai 'died in his eighties in 1492'.

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Par. 4-Q: "Oh, how mysterious is the basket hat that the Komo is wearing on his head!"

A: "It is also called the 'tengai'!"

[Komo no kamuritaru kasa ni, fushin *ka sōrō yo. Sore tengai to mo iu nari.]

コモノカムリタル笠ニ不審カ候ヨ、ソレ天蓋トモ申ナリ、

The term tengai, lit.: 'Heaven-cover', known from Chinese sources, is mentioned in the Konjaku Monogatari[a] (1077) where it refers to a certain kind of large sunshade or umbrella, made of fabric, which had been introduced from India by way of China like the stories in this book themselves. In Buddhist temple architecture the textile 'tengai' has been transformed into the, often octagonal, elaborately carved and decorated wooden structure that hangs above the statues of the Buddha.[94]

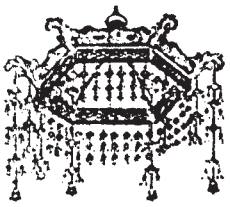


Fig. 16. Temple 'tengai'. From: OKJ 1981: 819.

Broad-rimmed basket hats made of braided bamboo or of various other plant fibers must have served as a common means of protection against the sun and the rain since times of old, but from at least the early seventeenth century the shakuhachi playing itinerants made the basket hat on of their most conspicuous attributes, naming it 'tengai', too, after the canopy which protects the Buddha on his dais. It is here, in the Kaidō hon-soku, that we meet with this new use of the term for the first time!

The 'tengai' basket hat of the komosō appears only gradually to have been re-designed from the original 'shallow bowl' shape, favoured by travelling priests and samurai in general, towards the peculiar 'bee-hive shaped' construction which completely concealed the faces, and identities, of its wearers, the komusō:

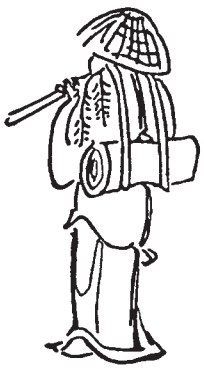


Fig. 17. Keian period 'komosō', 1648-1651. In: Asano shimbun[b], 1893 (Meiji 26). Mikami 1902, 13/4: 62. From: Nakatsuka 1979:553.



Fig. 18. Genroku period 'komusō', 1688-1704. In: Jinrin kummo zu-i[c], 'Pictorial Instructions on Human Relations',★ 1689. From: Kikan hōgaku 1975/5:3.

94) OKJ 1981:819. a) 今昔物語 b) 朝野新聞 c) 人倫訓蒙図彙

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Fig. 19. Hōreki period 'komusō', 1751-1764. Copy of a picture book illustration by Nishikawa Sukenobu[a], (1671-1751). In: Mi-tsu wa-gusa[b], 'Watching the Harbour Peaceful Writings', publ. 1758 (Hōreki 8). From: Nakatsuka 1979:554.



Fig. 20. Kansei period 'komusō', 1789-1801. Artist unknown. In: Kyotaku denki kokujikai, 1795. From: Kurihara 1975:105.



Fig. 21. Kansei period 'komusō', 1789-1801. Detail of a picture book illustration by Takehara Shinkei[c] (d. 1800). In: Yamato meisho zu-e[d]. 'Pictures from Famous Places in Japan', 1791 (Kansei 3). National Museum of Denmark, Department of Ethnography. Collection of Japanese prints, no. A 1154/2.

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a) 西川祐信 b) 見津和草 c) 竹原信繁
d) 大和名所圖會

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Par. 5-Q: "Oh, how mysterious is the piece of cloth that he carries over his shoulder!"

肩ニカツキタル布ニフシンガ候ヨ、神ノ前テノ御斗帳、佛ノ前テノ鐘ノ緒、虹蜺（マヽ）トモ申ナリ、

A: "That is the 'dots-and-cross' patterned curtain in front of the Shintō Dëity and the bell string in front of the Buddha, and it is also called the 'rainbow coil'."

[Kata ni katsuki*taru nuno ni, fushin ga sōrō yo. Kami no mae *te no go-tochō, hotoke no mae *te no kane no itoguchi, kōban to mo iu nari.]

The garment described here is, obviously, the kesa[a], i.e. the Buddhist priest's sacred shoulder scarf, which represents 'non-attachment to the common and conventional world'.[95] Its design is that of a square, or rectangular, piece of cloth which is being held in place suspended in a coloured, striped strap 'coiling' over the monk's left shoulder.

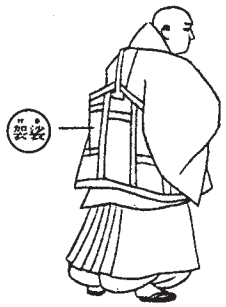


Fig. 22. 'Kesa'. From: NBST 14:175.

The 'dots-and-cross' pattern is that of the character to[b], radical no. 68, which is nicknamed the 'Dots and Cross' radical.[96] Multiplied and arranged as if kneeling, or 'face down',[95] the pattern would have looked something like this:



The central aspect of this paragraph is, of course, its emphasis on the equal and complementary significance to the komosō of Shintōist and Buddhist philosophy, the unified power of which is illustrated as encircling the wearer of the kesa, marvellously, as were it the heavenly apparition, the rainbow, itself.

The Fuke sect komusō eventually adopted their own, particular design of the kesa, naming it the raku-su[b], i.e. 'the thing that coils'.[97]

95) DKWJ 5:610; OKJ 1981:424. 96) Nelson 465:2073.
97) See p. 48, fig. 24.

a) 加沙衣裟 b) 斗 c) 絡子

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Par. 6-Q: "Oh, how mysterious is the double-leaf, fine sitting mat that he carries on his back!"

A: "It represents the Tripartite Climatic Periods★★ and the Five Elements: Earth, Water, Fire, Wind, and Space. The lowermost, first layer signifies the total concealment of The Ungraspability of the Three Existences: Past, Present, and Future."

[Se-o(f)uta nimai no goza ni, fushin *ka sōrō yo. Sankō, chi-sui-ka-fū-kū no gi nari. Shimo ichi-men-me (moku?) wa, mi-mu fu-ka-toku no shime-kakushi no gi nari.]

地水火風空ノ義ナリ、下一面目（ママ）ハ三無不可得ノシメカクシノギナリ、

セヲフタ二枚ノ御座ニフシンカ候ヨ、サン候、

Originally, go-za, lit.: 'seat of honour', was a special, fine quality sitting mat meant for high-ranking persons, including the Emperor, whence the honourific prefix go. The term has been preserved till today in the word goza-tatami[a].[98]

According to the ancient Chinese calendar which was adopted by the Japanese, the year was divided into 72 periods, or 'climates', the shichi-jūni-kō[b], each consisting of 5 days. The term used here, sankō, is equivalent with one sekki[c] of 15 days, and every kō had its own, specific appellation indicating the season and its climatic characteristics. This was part of the Chinese system of the Ten Celestial Stems and their relation to the Five Elements.[99] In Chinese cosmology these were: Earth, Wood, Fire, Metal, and Water,[100] but the set of elements listed here are those originating in ancient Indian belief and introduced to the Far East with Buddhist thought as the 'five constituents of all things in the universe'.[101]

In the Mori 1938/1981 version of the Kaidō honsoku, what I have translated as 'The Ungraspability of the Three Existences', is in fact given as mi-mu fu-ka-toku[c], i.e. 'The Ungraspability of the Three Non-existences'. In the Nakatsuka 1937 version, however, the character mu was changed into that of se[d], i.e. 'worlds', or in Buddhist thinking: 'existences', for the purpose of clarification, I believe, because what is probably being referred to in paragraph 6 must be the fundamental concept of san-ze-shin fu-ka-toku[e], 'The Ungraspability of a Mind of Past, Present, and Future', which is based on the Kongō-kyō[f], or 'Diamond Sutra'.[102] This sutra, which was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva (344-413) and records Shakyamuni Buddha's discourse on the constant flux of all phenomena and the doctrine of non-substantiality, is held in high esteem by the Zen sect.[103] Acc. to the Zengaku Jiten, Past and Future are but illusions, 'un-graspable', the only 'reality' being that of the Present.[104]

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98) NKDJ 8:118. 99) Mathews 76:579, 1176; DKWJ 1:831.
100) Cheng 1957:164. 101) DBTC:96-97. 102) ZJ:444; DBTC:453, 233, 239.
103) DBTC:233. 104) ZJ:444.

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a) 御座畳 b) 七十二候 c) 節気 d) 三無不可得
e) 三世心不可得 f) 金剛経

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In a discussion of the nature of Zen Buddhist enlightenment and the realization of 'Mind', Daisetz T. Susuki has contributed the following explanation of how the concept of 'un-graspability', i.e. fu-ka-toku, is applied:[105]

- - - " To call it mind is far from the fact of experience; it is an unnamable "X". It is no abstraction; it is concrete enough, and direct, as the eye sees that the sun is, but it is not to be subsumed in the categories of linguistics. As soon as we try to do this, it disappears. The Buddhists, therefore, call it the "unattainable," the "ungraspable." - - -

Par. 7-Q: "How mysterious is the case that he carries on his back, inside the rolled up sitting mat!"

A: "It is also called the 'ken-kon' which proclaims the interrelatednes of Heaven and Earth."

[Naka ni irete, se-o(f)uta fukuro wa (ni?), fushin ga sōrō. Sore ten-chi o sata shita ken-kon to mo iu nari.]

中ニ入テセヲフタ袋ハフシンガ候、（ニカ）ソレ天地ヲ沙汰シタ乾坤トモ申也、

There is no way of knowing what was the purpose and physical appearance of this 'kenkon' case of the komosō. But the name itself brings to mind a particular kind of Japanese box, the kenkon-bako[a], which is composed of two small 'trays' with high walls, the one slightly bigger than the other. When put together the larger piece, the ken, neatly fits over the smaller, the kon, as a lid.[106]

Supposedly, on the upper surface of the container the characters ten-chi were written representing the notion of 'universality', just as the term ken-kon can be interpreted as reflecting the unified forces of Yang and Yin, male and female, sun and moon, the universe, etc.[107]



Fig. 23. 'Kenkon box', cross-section.

In the Kyotaku denki, in an enumeration of the shakuhachi pilgrim's outfit which is somewhat similar to the present in the Kaidō honsoku, there is a reference to a certain ken-kon-bari[b], i.e. 'Heaven-and-Earth Board'. It is described as a 'small board', ko-ita[c],[108] and in the Kyotaku denki kokujikai Yamamoto Morihide, writing in c. 1779-80 (p. 6), contributes the following explanation:[109]

"On one side of the board, three Chinese characters (kenkonbari, meaning Heaven-Earth stretch) are written. On the other side of this board four Chinese characters (fushō fumetsu[d]) are written with ink and brush, meaning never born, never perished."

The ultimate purpose of the ken-kon-bari to the Fuke sect komusō was, it should be noted, defined as early as at the time of the Kyotaku denki:[110]

- - - "His tombstone is to be made of the board called kenkonbari."

105) Suzuki 1973:7. 106) NKDJ 7:297. 107) Ibid.; Mathews 486:3233.
108) Nakatsuka 1979:125, col. 1. 109) Tsuge 1977:54. 110) Ibid.:52.

a) 乾坤箱 b) 乾坤張 c) 小板 d) 不生不滅

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Par. 8-Q: "Oh, how mysterious is the net that he has wrapped around the things!"

A: "It is also called the 'prescribed bag' for accomplishing an exhaustive roundtrip through all of the provinces."

海道ヲ周センカタメノ定袋トモ申ナリ、上ニ着タル網ニ不審カ候ヨ、

[Ue ni kitaru ami ni, fushin *ka sōrō yo. Kaidō o mawasen *ka tame no sadame-bukuro to mo iu nari.]

The 'net', ami, which the komosō used as a wrapping-cloth when travelling apparently was a wide-meshed piece of textile, probably square and quite large and utilized in the same fashion as a modern furoshiki[a].

The shakuhachi itinerants pictured in figure 18 (p. 42) and figures 19, 20, and 21 (p. 43) can all be seen carrying their 'luggage' rolled up in a large wrapping-cloth, two of the four, diagonally opposite corner-tips - presumably - being tied into a knot in front.

Par. 9-Q: "Oh, how mysterious is the rope with which he has tied everything together!"

A: "It is also called the Two Concepts of Being and Non-being."

有無ノ二字トモ申ナリ、結タル縄ニフシンカ候ヨ

[Musubitaru nawa ni, fushin *ka sōrō yo. U-mu no ni-ji to mo iu nari.]

As with the concept of myō-an, discussed previously (pp. 35-37), u-mu, Existence and Non-existence is yet a duality which, according to Buddhist thought, has to be transcended: the very notion of someone - or something - 'existing' as a separate and independent entity expresses partiality and discrimination, whereas the realization of 'non-existence' represents the true, non-partial and non-discriminate experience of Absolute Reality,[110] here symbolized by the image of a single string tied into a circle.

---

111) ZJ:67.

---

a) 風呂敷

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Par. 10-Q: "Oh, how mysterious is the purse that he has placed on his chest!"

A: "It expresses the totality of the human body. It is also called the Six Internal Organs. It contains miscellanous things, their colours being Bluish Green, Yellow, Red, White, and Black."

[Mae ni iretaru fukuro ni fushin *ka sōrō yo. Go-tai o hyō suru nari. Roppuku to mo iu nari. Naka ni ireta wa u-zō mu-zō, iro wa sei-kō-seki-haku-koku nari.]

五體ヲ表スルナリ、夫六腹トモ申ナリ、中ニ入タハ有雜無雜、色ハ青黄赤白黒也、前ニ入タル袋ニ不審カ候ヨ

Here, one more bag, fukuro, is introduced. In the Mori 1938/1981 version as well as in the Nakatsuka 1937 version the character is that of fukuro[a]. However, in the revised Nakatsuka version (1979), that character has been replaced by that of zeni[b], which actually means 'money', or 'a coin', sen[b]. This term, then, probably is an abbrieviation of zeni-ire[c], i.e. a 'money bag', or 'purse'.[112] The editors of the Nakatsuka 1979 version do not state the reason for the change of character, but they may have regarded the fukuro of paragraph 10 as a container for the collection of alms given in the form of money.

As for the phrase mae ni iretaru fukuro[d], I have considered an alternate translation: "The bag which has been inserted previously," that is, logically, inside of the rolled up sitting mat, with the 'kenkon' (p. 46). However, this somehow makes no sense in the overall context, and I am more inclined to believe that the bag in question was carried in front and that it could be an early form of the socalled ge-bako[e], or 'Buddhist chant box' (derived from Skt.: gatha), most often used by the Fuke sect komusō 'to collect tips'.[113]

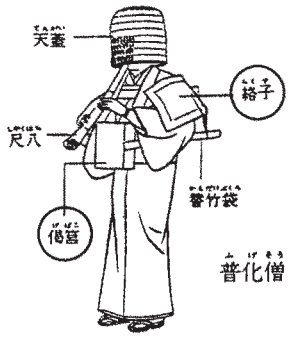


Fig. 24. Komusō 'gebako' and 'rakusu'. From: NBST 14:175.

In the Kaidō honsoku, however, the fukuro did not contain money but 'various colourful things', and the specific colours are those of the Five Colours, wu-se[f] (Jap.: go-shiki[f]), which were part of of the ancient Chinese science of the Five Elements, or Five Powers, of the universe:[114]

'Most natural and human phenomena occurred in groups of five - five basic colors - - - ; five directions - - - ; five sacred mountains; five basic musical notes; five tastes; five senses; five organs of the head; five organs of the body; five fingers on each hand; five toes on each foot; and so on.'

---

112) Nelson 911:4851; DKWJ 11:545, 565. 113) Sanford 1977:426.
114) Cheng 1957:164.

a)袋 b)銭 c)銭入 d)前に入れた袋
e)偈筥 f)五色

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The terms go-tai, lit.: 'five bodies', and roppuku in the present paragraph are directly related to this scheme which - heavily influenced by Chinese Taoism - was used extensively by the astrologers and diviners of the Japanese Onyōdō, or 'Yang-Yin School', too.

Here, however, in a context which may possibly be concerned with a fukuro used by the komosō for the collection of alms, there seems to be an interesting explanation to the question, why the mention of the viscera of the human body is seen alongside with a reference to 'various, five-coloured things'?

Even if the text of the Kaidō honsoku does not state explicitly that the komosō was, virtually, a mendicant, paragraph 10 may in reality be seen as supplying indirect evidence for the supposition that the komosō must have survived largely through the mercy of benevolent alms-givers. If not given money to buy food himself he would rather be treated with a simple meal, the 'fast food' of the day, like for instance a rice dumpling wrapped in edible leaves and a cup of green tea.

The common rice dumpling was called a chimaki[a] and it was usually served rolled up in the leaves of either ma-komo (p. 33), sasa[b], 'bamboo grass', or chigaya[c] plants. Especially generous alms-givers might even dispense with a kazari-chimaki[d], i.e. a 'decorated rice dumpling', or - more precisely - 'a finely designed rice dumpling wrapped in komo leaves, tied together with five-coloured string'![115] In other words, there is good reason to surmise that the rather high-flown choice of words which characterizes paragraph 10 was intended to bring about at least some respect for what was otherwise regarded as an extremely humble - if not downright despicable - human activity.



Fig. 25. 'Sasa'.
From: SKZ:117/5.



Fig. 26. 'Chigaya'.
From: SKZ:118/2.



Fig. 27. 'Chimaki'.
From: OKJ 1981:763.

In the paragraphs 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10 we have been presented with the names and ideology of some of the komosō's most important paraphernalia: the basket hat, the Buddhist shoulder scarf, the mat, the 'Heaven-and-Earth' case, the wrapping cloth, the rope, and the - presumed - alms bag. All these are listed in the Kyotaku denki, too, although by different names.[116] In addition, the komosō wore straw sandals, a staff, and a sword (paragraphs 13, 17, 18). Most important to the komosō, however, was the shakuhachi flute, and the significance of that musical instrument is the subject matter of paragraph 11.

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115) OKJ 1981:763. 116) Tsuge 1977:52. a)粽 b)笹 c)茅 d)飾粽

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Par. 11-Q: "Oh, how mysterious is the bamboo flute that the Komo has in his possession!"

A-1: "The shakuhachi is the principal treasure of the Komo and therefore it represents the Four Seasons, likened to the four, front fingerholes."

A-2: "The single fingerhole on the back expresses the Clarity of the Enlightened, Adual Mind."

A-3: "As for the darkness of its interior, that is the Realm of Jurisdiction of the King of Hell, Judge of the Dead."

[Komo no mochitaru take ni, fushin *ka sōrō yo. (A-1:) Shakuhachi wa, komo no jū-hō o motte, shi-setsu, shi-ketsu to hyō suru nari. (A-2:) Ura no ikketsu wa, isshin bodaimyō to hyō suru nari. (A-3:) Uchi no kurami wa, emma hōkai no ie nari.]

四節四穴ト表スルナリ、裏一穴ハ一心菩提明ト表スルナリ、内ノ暗ハ閻魔法界ノ家ナリ、

鷹ノ持タル竹ニフシンカ候ヨ、尺八者コモノ重寶ヲ以テ、

Shakuhachi[a] is the generic term for all Japanese vertically held, edgeblown flutes. The earliest types had six holes: five on the front and one on the back, and were introduced to Japan with the court music of China around the middle of the seventh century, if not even earlier. Later, supposedly during the Japanese Middle ages, the 'Chinese' shakuhachi was replaced by a native invention which had only five holes (4+1); the earliest known pictorial representations of this type of instrument are those presented in the Taigenshō, 1512 (p. 3).

In 'Priest Isshi's Letter' the five holes are explained as representing the Five Vigors of the Eyes, Ears, Nose, Tongue, and Body-Mind,[115] whereas in the standard Fuke sect honsoku which were issued by the Ichigetsuji since 1677, the five holes of the shakuhachi were made representative of the Five Elements, go-gyō[b].[116] The Kaidō honsoku, however, distinguishes between the front and back holes and emphasizes the significance of the Four Seasons above all.

The 'Clarity of the Enlightened, Adual Mind' echoes the idea of 'Three Kinds of Wisdom in a Single Mind', isshin sanchi[c], which is explained in the Daichido Ron[d], 'Treatise on the Sutra of the Perfection of Wisdom', by Nagarjuna. This sutra commentary discusses the Ideas of Wisdom (prajna) and Non-substantiality (shunyata) while setting forth the bodhisattva ideal. It incorporates concepts from the Lotus Sutra, the locus classicus of Tendai Buddhism, and other branches of Mahayana, and is considered important of Mahayana thought in general.[117]

Finally, as for the King of Hell, Emma[e] (Skt.: Yama), in a Buddhist context, he is believed to judge the dead on the basis of the deeds they did while alive, sentencing them accordingly.[118]

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115) Gan, ji, bi, zetsu, shin-i[f]. Mori 1981, 3:77, top, col. 15.
116) Sanford 1977:422. 117) DBTC:459, 50. 118) Ibid.:84.

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a) 尺八 b) 五行 c) 一心三智 d) 大智度論 e) 閻魔
f) 眼,耳,鼻,舌,身意

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11-A-4: "The three nodes represent the Oneness of the Three Bodies, the lower opening the Womb World, the upper opening the Diamond World, and the crescent-shaped mouthpiece above teaches the Clarity of Absolute Reality. It is as a whole noble beyond limit."

三ッノ節ハ三身一體、本ノ切口ハ胎藏界、上ノ切口ハ金剛界、上ノ圓キ歌口ハ心月明ノマナヒナリ、合テ七百餘算ナリ、

[Mittsu no fushi (yo?) wa, sanjin ittai, moto no kiri-guchi wa, taizōkai, ue no kiri-guchi wa, kongōkai, ue no maruki uta-guchi wa, shin-getsu-myō no manahi nari. Atte, nana-hyaku-yo (no) mikoto nari.]

The expression mittsu no fushi is somewhat confusing in that the character setsu[a], 'period', 'section', or 'compound' (pp. 34, 50), can also be read as fushi, i.e. 'joint', 'knuckle', 'node', 'knob', or 'melody', etc., or yo, 'section', as in the expression take no yo[b], where it refers to the sections of a bamboo pipe between the nodes![119] In his treatment of the honsoku, 'basic principles', issued from the Ichigetsu-ji since 1677 and written in kambun, James H. Sanford chooses the latter interpretation when translating the term san-setsu[c] (= mittsu no yo) as follows:[120] - - - "The shakuhachi is made of three joints of bamboo - - - ." Presuming that the instrument described in the honsoku was in fact the 'root end' type shakuhachi, kon-jiku[d], in use today (fig. 32, p. 52), Sanford further comments that,[121] - - - 'Typically, it is made from the stalk of a large bamboo and usually incorporates three major segments of the cane. - - - ' This is, however, a clear misinterpretation of the objective facts, in that the 'typical' Fuke shakuhachi, well illustrated in fig. 32, may just as well be described as incorporating four major segments of the cane: (1) nodes 1-4, (2) nodes 4-5, (3) nodes 5-6, and (4) nodes 6-7!

Additionally, Sanford even goes as far as to state that this 'triple segmented' - - - 'Fuke shakuhachi has, in fact, been 'the' shakuhachi from about 1600 up to the twentieth century. - - - ', and that 'prior to the development of the Fuke shakuhachi of Tokugawa times, the hitoyogiri was the favoured instrument of the beggar-priest traditions which are the probable prototypes of the komusō fraternity.'[122] Now, as it is clearly illustrated in fig. 3 (p. 3), the hito-yo-giri[e], i.e. 'single-section (or -node?) -cut' shakuhachi was designed with only one knuckle of the bamboo cane placed approximately one quarter of the total length from the mouthpiece. The term hito-yo-giri, however, does not appear in any of the surviving, genuinely pre-Tokugawa period sources of shakuhachi history which I have examined, and should be considered a later appellation invented in order to distinguish it from, for instance, the triple-noded shakuhachi which must be the one described not only in the Kaidō honsoku and the Ichigetsuji honsoku, but in 'Priest Isshi's Letter' as well!

119) OKJ 1981:721. 120) Sanford 1977:422. 121) Ibid.:428. 122) Ibid.

a) 節 b) 竹の節 c) 三節 d) 根竹 e) 一節七切

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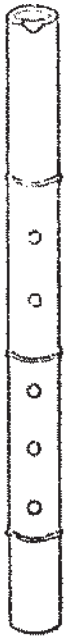


Fig. 29. 'Tempuku'.
From: Shirao 1975:22 (p. 54).

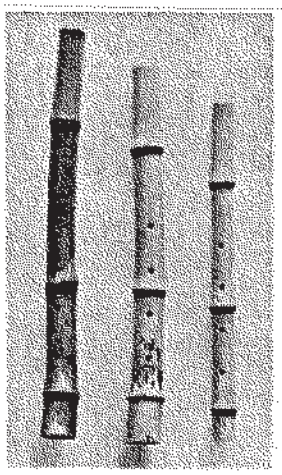




Fig. 30. 'Hitoyogiri' players.
In: Shichiku Shoshinshū, 1664.
From: Kurihara 1975:76 (p. 53).

Fig. 28. 'Hōryūji shakuhachi', 7th century.
From: Kurihara 1975:39 (p. 53).

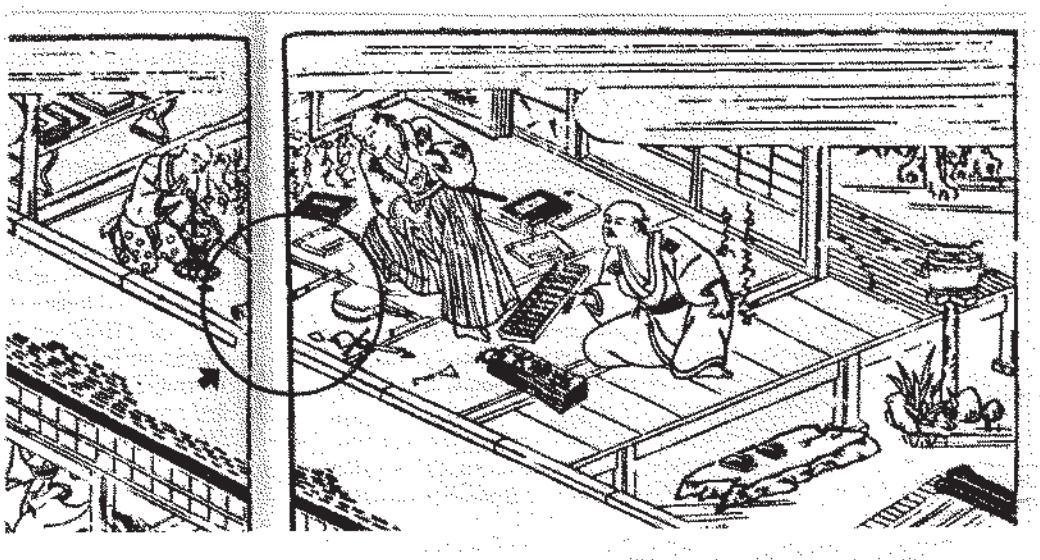


Fig. 31. 'Konjiku' shakuhachi. Book illustration by Nishikawa Sukenobu (1671-1751). In: Ejima Kiseki's 'Characters of Worldly Young Men', 1715 (p. 54).
From: Hibbett 1975:136-137.

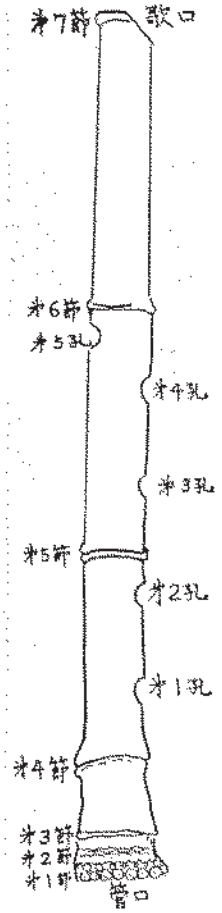


Fig. 32. Modern 'konjiku' shakuhachi.
From: Tanabe 1972:154 (p. 51).

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The Ichigetsuji komusō honsoku states that, "The three joints are the Three Powers."[123] The 'Three Powers', san-sai[a], are those of 'Heaven, Earth, and Man'.[124] In 'Priest Isshi's Letter', the three nodes symbolize the 'Three Poisons', san-doku[b], namely 'Greed, Anger, and Ignorance', acc. to Buddhist thought the 'fundamental evils inherent in life which give rise to human suffering'.[125]

In the Kaidō honsoku, however, the three nodes of the shakuhachi represent the 'Oneness of the Three Bodies'. Mahayana Buddhist thought recognizes three kinds of body which a Buddha may posses: (1) the 'Dharma Body', (2) the Bliss Body', and (3) the 'Manifested Body', i.e. 'the physical form in which the Buddha appears in this world in order to save the people'. According to Tendai Buddhism, 'the three bodies are not separate entities but three integral aspects of one Buddha'.[126]

The significance of the three nodes of the shakuhachi is, in other words, not explained identically in the above three seventeenth century Fuke shakuhachi documents, but it seems to be beyond doubt that both the 'late' komosō and the 'early' komusō favoured one and the same type of 'triple noded' shakuhachi instruments. Still, to judge from the Genroku period (1688-1704) illustration given on page 42 (fig. 28), the komusō apparently played both the 'triple noded' flute (left) and a shorter type (right) reminding of some sort of hitoyogiri! On the other hand, there is a picture (fig. 30, p. 52) of two, low-status samurai blowing the short hitoyogiri in the Shichiku Shoshinshū[c], 'Anthology of the True Aims of Strings and Bamboo', publ. in 1664 (Kambun 4), by Nakamura Sōsan[d] (n.d.),[127] which indicates that during the seventeenth century the hitoyogiri was primarily, if not exclusively, a 'secular' instrument'. In fact, the few existing, early Edo period sources of hitoyogiri history show that the instrument was not used by itinerant mendicants but rather for the performance of the popular folk-songs of the day.[128]

The 'triple noded' shakuhachi flutes, in turn, have as their prototype the six-holed, Chinese 'court music shakuhachi', the oldest preserved sample being one of the treasures of the temple Hōryūji, founded c. 625 at a site a short distance to the west of the modern city of Nara. This well-preserved, seventh century wind instrument is now housed in the 'Hōryūji Hall' at the National Museum in Tōkyō (fig. 28, p. 52).[129]

The komosō pictured in the Sanjūniban shokunin utaawase (fig. 12, p. 31) appears to be blowing a 'triple noded' shakuhachi, but as it is the case with most of the pictorial 'evidence' contained in the various Japanese source books of shakuhachi history, this is rarely supplied as direct reproductions of the original illustrations, and the drawings may in some cases have been modified more or less under the influence of the 'preferences' of the respective scholars.

123) Sanford 1977:422. 124) Nelson 28:8. 125) DBTC:464. 126) Ibid.:448-449.
127) Kurihara 1975:76. 128) Nakatsuka 1979:66-68. 129) Kurihara 1975:39.

a) 三才 b) 三毒 c) 糸竹初心集 d) 中村宗三

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Anyhow, the renowned Japanese music historian Tanabe Hisao[a], writing in 1962,[130] likewise reached the conclusion that the instrument of the komosō was a 'triple noded' shakuhachi, not a hitoyogiri, and that this was even so already during the Muromachi period! Tanabe, furthermore, was among the first to draw the attention towards a peculiar type of 'triple noded', five-holed, vertical bamboo flute, the socalled tempuku[b], which, originating in the Satsuma[c] Province, i.e. the western part of present Kagoshima Prefecture in southern Kyūshū, should be considered a possible prototype of the shakuhachi of the pre-Tokugawa period komosō (fig. 29, p. 52). Unfortunately, there seems to be no surviving, reliable literary evidence of the practise of the tempuku dating from before the late eighteenth century,[131] and the tempuku could, in theory, just as well be junior, and not senior, to the 'komosō shakuhachi'.

Finally, concerning the question when the 'triple noded' shakuhachi was transformed into the larger, og heavier, 'root end' flute of the Fuke-shū komusō, the oldest existing picture ★★ of that important invention is a black-and-white wood-block print by Nishikawa Sukenobu (fig. 31, p. 52) which illustrates one of the stories in Ejima Kiseki[d]s (1667-1736) Seken musuko katagi[e], 'Characters of Worldly Young Men', from 1715 (Shōtoku 5).[132] Here, right at the place where the two halfs of the book illustration meet, we see a long, multi-noded konjiku shakuhachi lying on the tatami, next to a broken shamisen. The similar flutes of today are manufactured from the lowest part of the culm of the native Japanese bamboo species ma-dake[f], i.e. 'true bamboo' (Bot.: 'Phyllostachys bambusoides'), which belongs to the 'monopodial' family of the bamboos and reaches a height of 5-20 meters depending on the conditions of growth.[133]

The adoption of this new material for the manufacture of shakuhachi flutes is not ascribable to any particular, named person, nor area of Japan, but as we have just seen, the transformation must have taken place during the course of the Genroku, Hō'ei, and early Shōtoku periods (1688-1716). As a consequence the musical potential of the shakuhachi was significantly increased: the greater the length, and volume, of the air column inside the bore added to the instrument in terms of tonal range, or 'ambitus', as well as sound intensity, or 'amplitude', and, as perhaps the most important improvement, the increased circumference of the pipe made possible the drilling of wide fingerholes as well as the incision of a broader and deeper blowing edge, features which much enhance the dramatic effect of the tonal slides, or 'glissandi', of shakuhachi melodic movement.

130) Notes on the tempuku printed in Tozan-ryū gaku-hō[g], 'Music Newsletter of the Tozan Shakuhachi School', July, 1962 (Shōwa 37), quoted in part in: Shirao 1975:20-21.
131) Shirao 1975:23. 132) Hibbett 1975:136-137. 133) Inoue 1977:141; Muroi 1977:8-9, 16; Austin 1973:210.

a) 田辺尚雄 b) 天吹 c) 薩摩 d) 江島其磧 e) 世間息子気質
f) 真竹 g) 都山流楽報

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It is noteworthy that while the Fuke sect komusō redesigned the shakuhachi into a more powerful wind instrument and thereby, it is commonly presumed, equipped themselves with a convenient club for self-defense, they do not seem to have redefined the complex of verbal expressions for the ideological concepts associated with the various parts of the shakuhachi in any radical way.

A preliminary examination of one particular 'Fuke-shū komusō credo' entitled Butsu-gon[a], 'Buddhist Statements', which is an anonymous kambun document belonging to the Kyōto Myōanji,[134] has shown that when describing the eminent qualities of the shakuhachi and their practise of it, they professed the greater part of religious ideas which had already been formulated first of all in the Kaidō honsoku, and - to a lesser extent - in 'Priest Isshi's Letter to the Komusō Sandō Mugetsu'! However interesting a detailed, comparative analysis of the subject matter of these three Fuke shakuhachi documents would be, I shall have to desist from entering any such thorough-going discussion here. Suffice to say, even if the Butsu-gon text introduces 'new' Zen Buddhist terms like za-zen, sammai[b], and shugyō, into a Fuke shakuhachi ideological context, while - contrary to the Kaidō honsoku - it does not at all speak of any equal importance of Shintō and Buddhism, it does indeed contain some phrases or paragraphs which, apart from being composed in kambun, may very well be seen as direct, or indirect, quotes from the Kaidō honsoku![135]

One of the similarities between the two texts is well illustrated in relation to the present paragraph which states that "the lower opening of the shakuhachi represents the Womb World, the upper opening the Diamond World". The same phrases appear in the Butsu-gon, in reverse order, but virtually identical![136]

The 'Womb World' and the 'Diamond World' form the basis of esoteric, or 'tantric', Buddhist teaching in the shape of two mandala, special objects of worship and meditation, namely the 'Womb World Mandala' and the 'Diamond World Mandala', on which the mystic doctrine is expressed and illustrated.

In the esoteric teachings the Buddha worshipped is known by the name of Dainichi Nyorai[c] and he is considered to have two aspects:

The Dainichi of the Womb World, Taizōkai, represents the fundamental truth, or 'body of Principle', of the universe, and the mandala symbolizes 'the unfolding compassion, growth and potentiality of the world of Enlightenment'.[137]

The Dainichi of the Diamond World, Kongōkai, represents wisdom, or 'body of Wisdom'; the diamond symbolizes 'the power to penetrate ignorance and achieve integration'. This mandala 'deals primarily with the spiritual practice that leads to Enlightenment'.[138] These two are 'fundamentally one'.[139]

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134) Nakatsuka 1979:426-428. 135) One particular sentence indicates that the Butsu-gon was partly based on old komusō notes preserved in the village of Uji, south of Kyōto. Nakatsuka 1979:427, col. 10, below. (III)
136) Ibid.: col. 4, middle. 137) Matsunaga 1974, 1:184-185; DBTC:505, 54-55.
138) Matsunaga 1974, 1:188-189; DBTC:68-69; 54-55. 139) DBTC:55.

a) 佛言 b) 三昧 c) 大日如来

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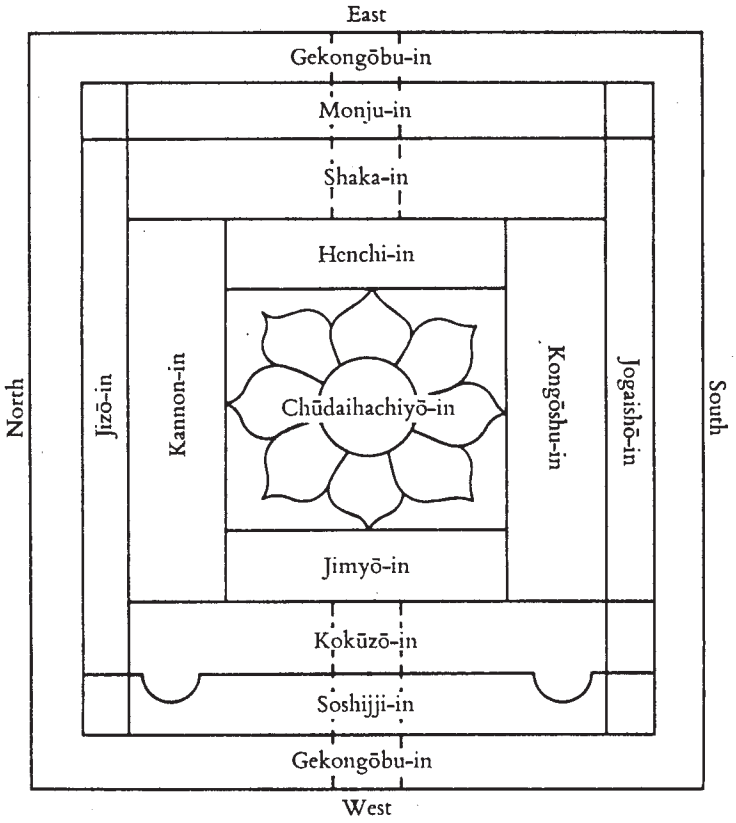


Fig. 33. The 'Womb World Mandala', outline.
From: Matsunaga 1974, 1:185 (p. 55).

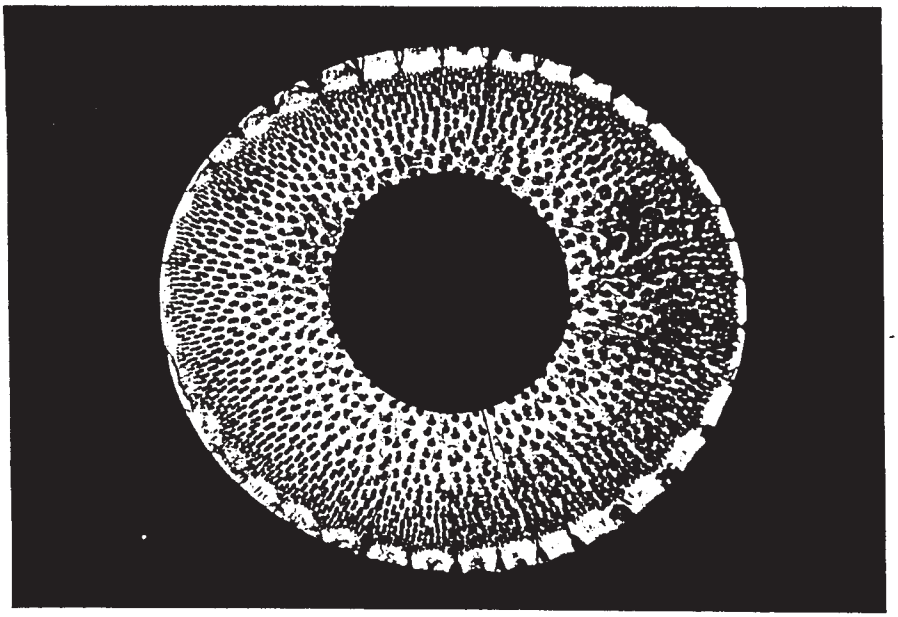


Fig. 34. Taizan-ha Meian shakuhachi[a], lower opening.
Made by: Ozawa Seizan[b], c. 1965. In the author's possession.

a) b)

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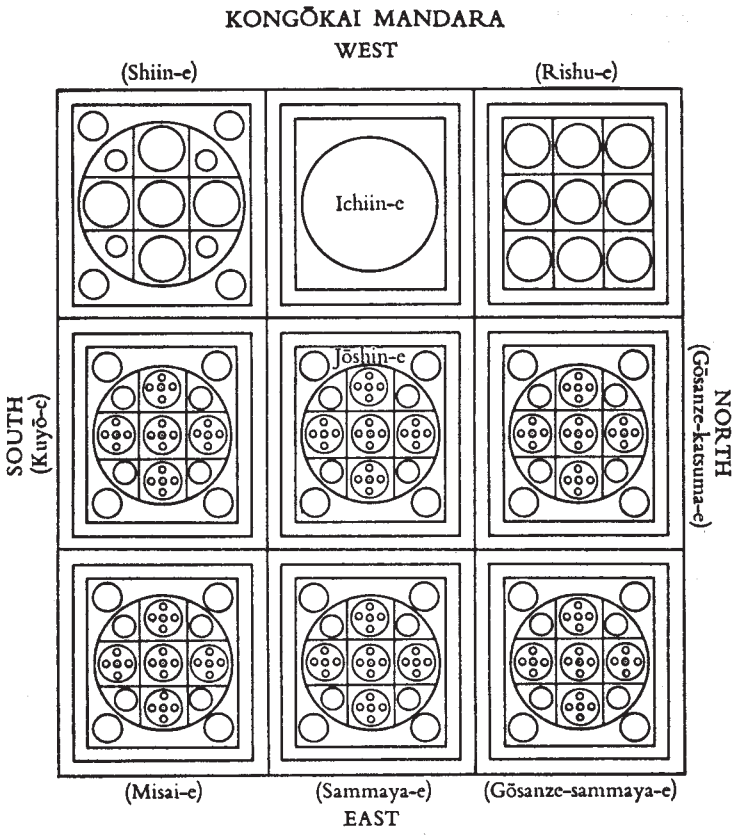


Fig. 35. The 'Diamond World Mandala', outline.
From: Matsunaga 1974, 1:188 (p. 55).

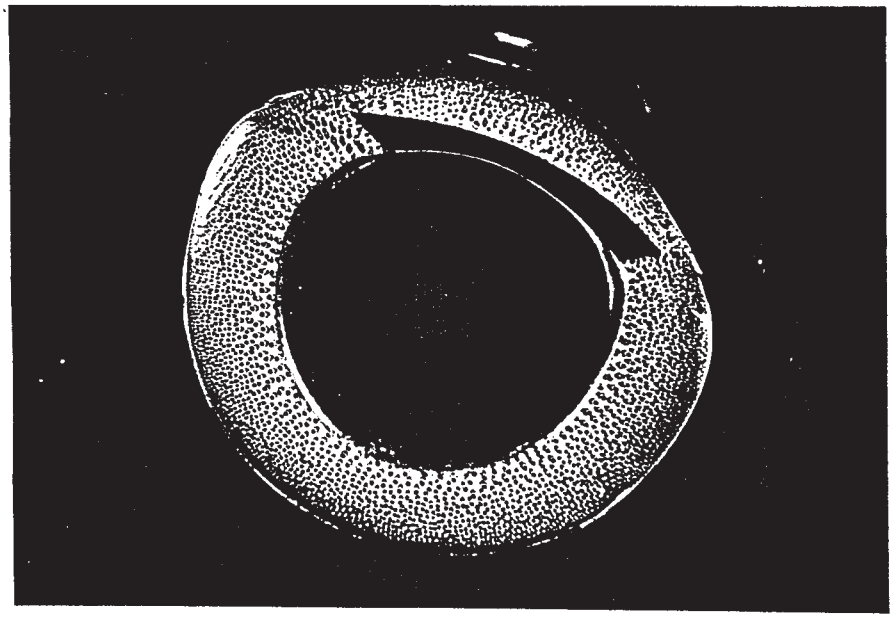


Fig. 36. Taizan-ha Meian shakuhachi, upper opening.
Same instrument as in fig. 34.

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In the description of the shakuhachi contained in the first part of par. 11 in the Kaidō honsoku we have so far been presented with terminology which is derived from a variety of distinguishable systems of East Asian thought, namely those of traditional Chinese cosmology and general Mahayana Buddhism, as well as Tendai and Shingon philosophy. The remaining sentence of par. 11-A-4 to be commented upon adds yet another ideological aspect to the scheme, namely that of Chinese Zen Buddhist narratology.

Even though all the schools of Buddhism have as their ultimate goal the Realization of Ultimate Reality,[140] the Attainment of Buddhahood, the ways and methods they recommend in order for the individual to experience this particular 'state of mind' differ significantly from school to school; generally, the 'seeker of Truth' is required to go through many an intermediate, preparatory mental stage before finally 'merging with the Infinite'.

The Dhyāna (Chin.: Ch'an, Jap.: Zen), i.e. 'contemplation', school which according to tradition was introduced to China in c. 520 by its 28th patriarch Bodhidharma (Jap.: Bodai Daruma[a], died in 528 or 536),[141] however, is exceptional in that it did not recognize the scholasticism of the other schools of Buddhism but rather aimed at reaching Enlightenment 'intuitively', through the practise of meditation. This approach was, apparently, not readily understood by the Chinese Buddhists of the sixth century and it was only about two and a half centuries later that Bodhidharma's message was summed up in the following four, much quoted lines:[142]

> 'A special transmission outside the scriptures;
> No dependence upon words and letters;
> Direct pointing at the soul of man;
> Seeing into one's nature and the attainment of Buddhahood.'

Heavily influenced by the native philosophy of Taoism, as time went by the early Chinese Zen masters created peculiar philosophical metaphors of their own, 'conceived' so as to merely suggest the basically 'inconceivable' essence of Ultimate, or Absolute, Reality.

Par. 11-A-4 contains a typical example of this kind of Chinese Zen metaphor, namely that of shin-getsu[b], 'Mind-Moon', which was introduced by Fuke's master Banzan Hōshaku (p. 36) as his illustration of a 'mind awakened to the experience of Absolute Reality', the 'supreme quality' of which he likened to the perfect roundness of the full moon.[143] In the Kaidō honsoku the 'clarity' of this image, shin-getsu-myō, is represented by the, likewise 'perfect', roundness of the blowing edge of the shakuhachi.

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140) Originated in the pre-Buddhist, Indian philosophy of Advaita Vedanta, the ancient scriptures of which, the Upanishads, establish the 'non-dual Atman (Self)' alone as the Ultimate Reality. Nikhilananda 1932:xv.
141) DBTC:26-27. 142) Suzuki 1980, 1:176. 143) ZJ:658.

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a) 菩提達磨 b) 心月

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11-A-5: "When the Komo plays in front of a Shintō Dëity it is in purpose of the intended extinction of the Suffering from the Five Types of Decay and the Three Fevers."

A-6: "When he plays in front of an image of the Buddha it is in purpose of the intended awakening from the Drowsiness of Earthly Desires Originating in Illusion."

神ノ前ニテ吹時ハ、五衰(衰カ)三熱ノ苦ヲ除カンカ爲ナリ、佛ノ前ニテ吹時ハ、無明煩惱ノ眠ヲ覺サンカタメナリ、

[Kami no mae nite fuku toki wa, go-sui san-netsu no kurushimi o nozokan ka tame nari. Hotoke no mae nite fuku toki wa, mumyō bonnō no nemuri o kakusan ka tame nari.]

Buddhism recognizes 'five signs of decay' which appear when the life of a 'heavenly being' is about to end, but the sutras do not fully agree in terms of which these signs are supposed to be. In the Nirvana Sutra, however, they are:[144] (1) his clothes become soiled, (2) the flowers on his head wither, (3) his body smells bad and becomes dirty, (4) he sweats under his armpits, and (5) he does not feel happy wherever he may be.[145]

The 'Three Fevers' is the literal translation of san-netsu, but this Buddhist term more specifically refers to the 'three sufferings which a dragon may be exposed to', namely (1) to be amidst a hot, fiery sandstorm, (2) to be robbed of its house and clothe-adornments, and (3) to be captured and devoured by the giant Garuda bird![146] This mythological creature of India is one of the eight kinds of 'lowly' or 'non-human' beings who are mentioned in the Lotus Sutra and elsewhere as protectors of Buddhism; the other seven are: gods (in general), dragons, two kinds of demons, gods of music, gods with beautiful voices, and gods shaped like snakes.[148]

It is interesting to note that when the Komo played his shakuhachi in front of a Shintō God, the significance of his performance was understood in terms of Buddhist ideology.

In the concept of mu-myō[a], 'darkness', 'illusion', the term myō has a different meaning than in myō-an (pp. 35-37). Mu-myō is regarded as the opposite of hō-sei[b], the 'essential nature of the law', or 'Dharma-nature', the 'enlightened nature which all life possesses'.[149] Bonnō is the 'generic term for all the workings of life, including desires and illusions, which cause one spiritual and physical suffering and impede the quest for enlightenment'.[150]

144) DBTC:112. The dictionary does not specify which of the many socalled Nirvana Sutras has been used as a source. Both Hinayana and Mahayana versions of these sutras which record 'the teachings which Shakyamuni Buddha is said to have expounded immediately before his death' or describe 'his entry into nirvana' are preserved in differing Chinese translations. Ibid.:319-320.
145) Ibid.:112. 146) Ibid.:137; OKJ 1981:554, 501. 148) DBTC:79.
149) Ibid.:89. 150) Ibid.:74.

a) 無明 b) 法性

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11-A-7: "When the Komo plays face to face with educated persons he should prolong his breathing in utterly constant concentration and blow so as to drive away the Mediocre Body Originating in Illusion."

A-8: "When he plays the shakuhachi face to face with ordinary, uneducated persons it corresponds to explaining all the schools of Buddhism as well as performing all the Buddhist ceremonies."

ソレ平人ニ向テ吹時ハ、五相十相及ビ一切ノ諸事ヲ吹ニ同ト云也、

智者ニ向テ吹時ハ、平等専一切ノ息ヲ長メ、無明凡身ヲ拂テ吹ベシ、

[Chisa ni mukoite, fuku toki wa, byōdō sen-itsu kitte no iki o nagame, mumyō bonjin o haraite fuku beshi. Sore byonin ni mukoite, fuku toki wa, gozo-juzo oyobi kotogoto no eko to yu nari.]

The opposite of bon, 'ordinary', 'mediocre', or 'un-enlightened', is shō[a], i.e. 'saintly', 'enlightened',[151] as in hijiri[a] (p.32-33).

In A-8, gozō-jūzō, lit. the 'five and the ten aspects (or phases)', probably is a reference to the 'Five Teachings and Ten Doctrines', gokyō jisshū[b], a 'comparative classification of Buddhist sutras set forth by the Hua-yen (Jap Kegon) School'.[152] I have chosen the present translation in view of the fact that all of the significant directions of Buddhist thought, Hinayana as well as Mahayana, are represented in this scheme, arranged according to level of teaching and content of the respective doctrine. The classification was established by Fa-tsang[c] (643-712), the third patriarch of the Hua-yen School, in order to 'show the superiority of the Kegon Sutra over all other scriptures'.[153]

The above as well as additional aspects of the komosō's shakuhachi practise will be further discussed in the commentary for par. 15.

Par. 12-Q: "When you inquire about the socalled Komo's 'place of origin', the answer is:

A-1: 'Neither in the Past nor in the Present!'"

A-2: "Or, to put it in the words of Banzan Hōshaku:

'The Three-fold World is immaterial!
Where, then, seek after the Mind?'

Any attempt at answering the question would be just as meaningless as it is when people say about commonly recognized objects of interest that 'the willow is verdurous, the flower is crimson'!"

ヌルニ古モナク、今モナシ、

コモト云フソノ水上ヲタツ

[Komo to yu(f)u sono mina-kami o tatsunuru ni, inishie mo naku, ima mo nashi. Mata iwaku, Sangai wa, hō nashi. Mi-mono no mami ni, yanagi wa midori, hana wa beni, to mo iu nari.]

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151) DBTC:243. 152) Ibid.:110. 153) Ibid.:223, 92.

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a) 聖 b) 五教十宗 c) 法蔵

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亦云、三界ハ無法、見モノ、マヽニ、柳ハ緑、花ハ紅トモ申ナリ、

The question asked here once again concerning the Komo's origin, mina-kami, lit. 'water surface', but here in the meaning of 'source', 'headwater', is answered so much in a suggestive fashion that a literal translation would have left the intended meaning obscure.

Sangai wa, hō nashi [or mu-hō], lit. 'as for Three Worlds, there is no Dharma', this is the first line of a recorded two-line philosophical statement originating with Fuke's master Banzan Hōshaku,[154] and the full wording, rendered in classical Japanese, reads as follows:[155] Sangai wa, hō nashi. Nan no tokoro ni ka shin [or kokoro] o motomen[a], "The Three-fold World is Immaterial! Where, then, pursue the Mind?" Acc. to the Zengaku Jiten, hō[b] (Skt.: dharma), which takes numerous, different meanings depending on the context, should be understood in the sense of 'the objective (or material), phenomenal world', whereas shin[c], 'Mind', represents 'the subjective (immaterial), spiritual world'. The notion of shin-pō[cb] is a dualism which should be denied.[156]

Sangai, lit. the 'Three Worlds', can either be interpreted as the 'Three Worlds of Desire, Form, and Formlessness',[157] or perhaps as 'The World of Past, Present, and Future Existences', san-ze[d].[158] A third possibility is that sangai actually refers to san-ze-kan[e], the 'Three Realms of Existence', namely the 'Realm of the Five Components', the 'Realm of Living Beings', and the 'Realm of the Environment', with which 'the five components are the elements which constitute a living being, and the environment is the place where living beings carry out their life-activities'.[159] In this case Banzan's statement involves the important Tendai Buddhist philosophical system known as ichi-nen san-zen[f], i.e. 'A Single Life-moment Possesses Three Thousand Realms', which is based on Nagarjuna's Daichido Ron (p. 50) - and the Lotus Sutra in particular - and clarifies 'the mutually inclusive relationship of the ultimate truth and the phenomenal world'. The ichi-nen san-zen principle teaches that 'the mind and all phenomena are "two but not two", and neither can be independent of the other'.[160]

In other words, inquiring about 'the Komo's source of origin' was considered nothing but meaningless and any attempt at a reply would only result in stereotyped modes of expression like 'the verdure of the willow' or the 'crimson of the flower', uttered by people when characterizing 'commonly recognized objects of interest', mi-mono[g].

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154) Nakatsuka 1979:274, col. 3. 155) ZJ:1176. 156) Ibid. 157) DBTC:456. 158) OKJ 1981:1370. 159) DBTC:466. 160) Ibid.:177, 466.

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a) 三界無法、何の處にか心を求めん。 b) 法 c) 心 d) 三世 e) 三世間 f) 一念三千 g) 見物

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PDF-page:

The present paragraph of the Kaidō honsoku does indeed supply ample proof of the theory set forth and discussed previously (pp. 13, 24, and 28), namely that the legend of Hottō Kokushi and his four Buddhist laymen may in reality not have been in existence at the time when the original Kaidō honsoku was written, that is in 1628 as stated in paragraph 21 (p. 97).

Paragraph 12 shows that the komosō who composed the Kaidō honsoku was/were not concerned with propounding any particular, conventional lineage for the tradition including famous, historical persons like Hottō Kokushi in 'Priest Isshi's Letter' (p. 25) or the grandson of the Southern Court loyalist Kusunoki Masashige[a] (1294-1336), Kusunoki Masakatsu[b] (n.d.), in the Kyotaku denki.[161] Rather, the aspect of 'heritage' appears to have been regarded in terms of 'superb ideas', not as a matter of 'superb personalities'.

12-A-3: "In default of a source of origin the socalled Komo are scattered in the world and such a thing as a human dwelling is non-existant.

And, moreover, now being deprived of employment anywhere, be it at any of the three barriers of Akamagaseki in the Nagato Province, Ōsakanoseki at the capital, or the two checking stations of Shirakawa in Ōshū, for the Komo who abundantly wander the world, to whom Heaven and Earth have the Same Root and All Creation is One Body, neither confinements nor attachments exist."

[Komo to yu sono mina-kami no nakariseha, yo ni ochi, hito no ie wa, naki mono. Sate mata, Nagato nite, Akama-ka-seki, raku-yō nite, Ōsaka-no-seki, Ōshū nite, Shirakawa futa-dokoro no seki, sankan ima yaku naku shira (shite?), tenchi dōkon, bambutsu ittai, tenchi hōjō no komo ni, seki mo yaku mo nashi.]

In the first sentence nakariseba[c] is equivalent with modern nakattara[d], 'were it not for', 'without', or 'in default of', etc.[162]

Yaku[e] must be a misprint of yaku[f], i.e. 'position', 'employment'.

Akama-ga-seki is the ancient name of the modern sea port of Shimo-no-seki in present Yamaguchi Prefecture, westernmost Honshū (map p. 63). The city controls the narrow strait between Kyūshū and Honshū and is especially famous because of the land-sea battle at nearby Dan-no-ura where the Taira clan was exterminated by the Minamoto clan in 1185.[163] Ōsaka-no-seki, the 'Mutually Facing Hills Barrier', was the first checking station on the Tōkaidō when one travelled eastwards from Kyōto; the site is situated just west of modern Ōtsu in westernmost Shiga Prefecture (map. p. 64).[164] The two stations at Shirakawa,

コモト云ソノ水上ノナカリセハ、世ニヲチ人ノ家ハナキモノ、サテ亦長門ニテ赤間カ關、洛陽ニテ相坂ノ關、奥州ニテ白河二所ノ關、三關今役ナクシテ、天地同根、萬物一體天地豊饒ノコモニ、關モ役モナシ、

161) Tsuge 1977:52,54. 162) KNJED 1974:1177.
163) OKJ 1981:23; NOGJ 1975:783. 164) OKJ 1981:1370-1371.

a) 楠木正成 b) 楠木正勝 c) ナカリセバ d) なかったら e) 役 f) 役

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Fig. 37. Map of Kyūshū.
From: Cha no yu Quarterly 1974/14:17.

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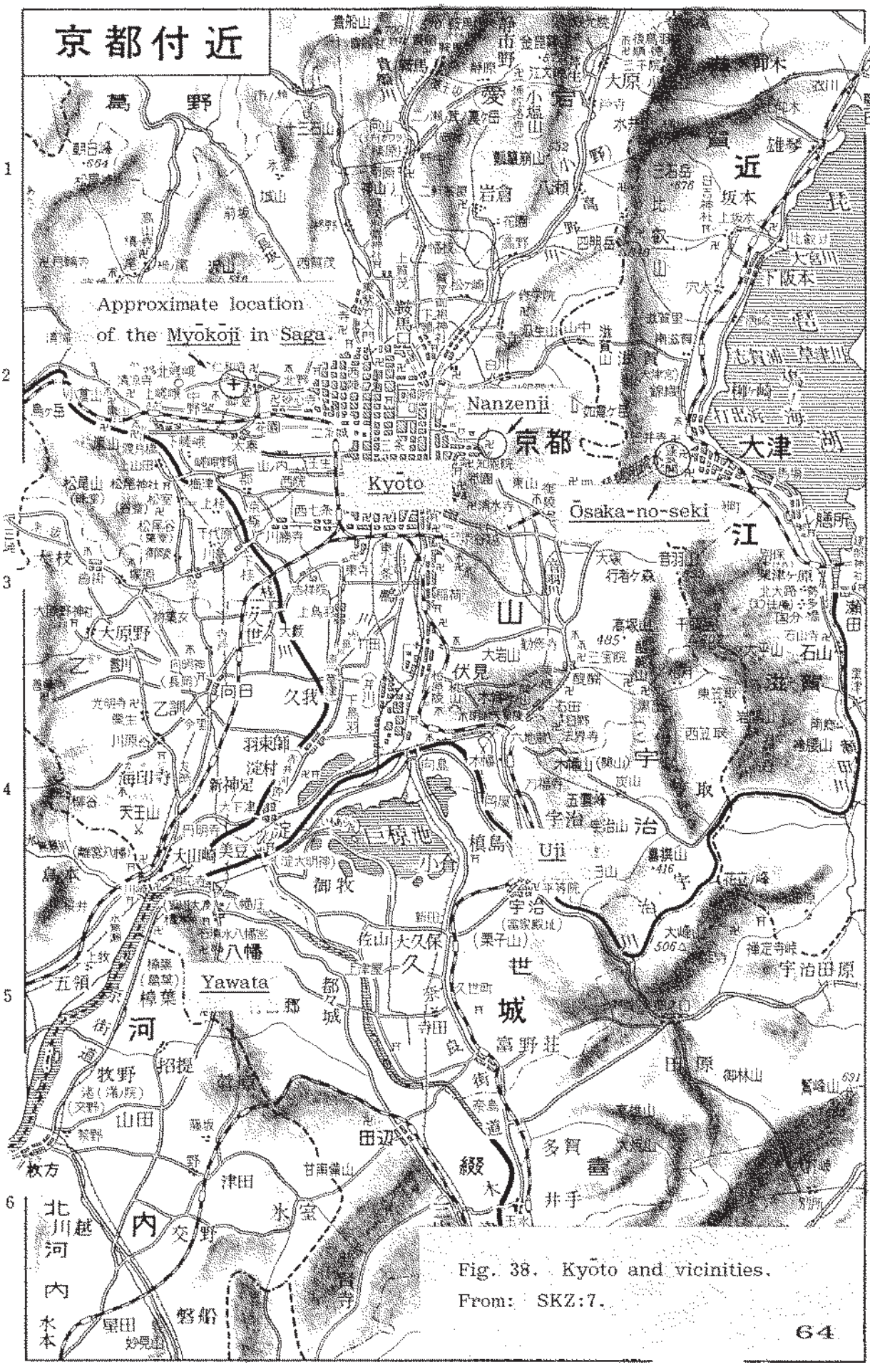


Fig. 38. Kyōto and vicinities.
From: SKZ:7.

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the 'Shirakawa Barrier', in southern Fukushima (map. p. 21), was formerly regarded as 'the gateway to the barbarous districts' of Ōshū, the 'remote provinces' of the present Tōhoku region.[165]

In ancient Japan the term san-kan[a] referred to the three important gateways on the way from Kyōto towards the north, north-east, and east, namely in present Fukui, Gifu, and Mie Prefectures, respectively (map. p. 10); later, as central authority was pushed further northwards into the Tōhoku area, the 'Three Barriers' became the appellation for those two by the coast in southern Yamagata and southern Fukushima together with the above-mentioned 'Shirakawa Barrier'(map p. 21). In the present context, however, san-kan must be a collective term referring to the three sites mentioned above and should rather be interpreted as meaning 'anywhere' or 'everywhere'.

Ten-chi dōkon, bambutsu ittai is an expression derived from the writings of Seng-chao[b] (Jap.: Sōchō, 384-414), a foremost disciple of Kumarajiva (p. 45), and it represents the idea that 'the universe and the 'Self' have the same root, the myriad beings and the 'Self' is one body', the term 'Self', ga[c] being synonymous with 'Mind', shin[d].[166]

The compound hō-jō[e] (hō-nyō?) is quite unusual and does not appear in any of the dictionaries and reference books consulted. It expresses the combined aspects of 'abundance', 'excellence', and 'circulating (or cyclic) movement'.[167]

It is evident from the content of this section of paragraph 12 that the 'declared Komo' considered himself free of attachments, and independent of any fixed position in life. But apparently, those who became 'komo' or 'komosō' would have, someway or another, previously enjoyed the privilege of being an 'employee', i.e. a retainer, be it low-ranking or perhaps even high-ranking.

The victory of the Tokugawa clan at Sekigahara in the year 1600 resulted in a major, extensive re-distribution of power among the feudal lords; on the losing side hundreds of thousands of vassals were deprived of their positions and dispersed, and as socalled rōnin, 'wave men', in order to survive in what for a considerable amount of time remained an insecure society of rapid and 'forced' change, these 'social losers' had to cope with their new life-situation the best they could and alter their outlook on life accordingly.

Although it is not being stated explicitly anywhere in the Kaidō honsoku that the 'komo' were predominantly of samurai origin, this may actually have been the case as, according to paragraph 17, they wore swords! In any case, there is no sign in the Kaidō honsoku that shakuhachi itineracy - and -mendicancy - had yet been made an exclusive monopoly of former samurai.

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165) OKJ 1981:621; NOGJ:499. 166) ZJ:990; DBTC:373; Fung 1968:246-248.
167) Nelson 843:4466, 715:3609, 258:1028.

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a) 三関 b) 僧肇 c) 我 d) 心 e) 豊穣

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Par. 13-Q: "Oh, humbly speaking, how mysterious are the strawsandals that the Komo is wearing!" (Fig. 39, p. 67)

A: "They represent the proper footwear for his steadfast treading his way in the foot-steps of Banzan and Sekitō."

[Komo no haitaru waraji ni, fushin mōshi-sōrō yo. Ban-Seki o fumi-sadamen ga tame no waraji nari.]

盤石ヲ蹈定メンガ爲ノワラヂナリ　鳶ノハイタル草鞋ニ不審申候ヨ、

In this paragraph the structure of the 'rhetorical question', 13-Q, differs significantly from the standard pattern of

Noun/noun clause + ni/wa + fushin + *ka/ga + sōro(o) (+ yo/*so).

The fact that the honorofic verb mōsu[a], 'have the honour to say' - indicating direct speech - has taken the place of *ka/ga, inevitably gives rise to the theory of mine that the Kaidō honsoku may have been produced orally while at the same time being recorded in writing. One can even speculate whether the Kaidō honsoku might, partly, be the record of a session of mondō[b], questions and answers', or 'dialogue', which was aimed at testing a would-be komosō in his proficiency in the tenets of the Fuke shakuhachi fraternity![168] Or, the author of the text may have chosen the style of a mondō with the intention of heightening the dramatic effect. Unfortunately, the Kaidō honsoku is the only known example of this particular type of Fuke shakuhachi document, so there is no way of ascertaining whether the komosō really employed the 'mondō method' as part of their training.

Ban-seki/ban-zeki, 'huge rock(s)', is usually pronounced as ban-jaku,[169] but in the present context the compound should be regarded as a pun on the close likeness between ban[c], 'rock', and ban[d] in the name of Fuke's master, Ban[d]-zan Hōshaku, and on the meaning of the first character in Seki[e]-tō Kisen's name which is, likewise, that of 'stone', or 'rock'! Ban-seki is the object of the verb fumu[f] which has varying, but complementary, meanings, namely 'to practise', 'to set foot upon', and 'to appraise'.[170]

In view of the double meaning of the sentence, considering the probability that the words were originally spoken, not just written in order to be read afterwards, the pronounciation of the compound in question would have been bàn-seki, or ban-zeki.

The essence of paragraph 13 is, obviously, that the komosō as their prime purpose followed the example of Priest Fuke in the spirit of his two 'mentors', Banzan and Sekitō.

168) Somewhat similar mondō are practised by present-day yama-bushi[g], focusing on the tenets of their particular school of 'mountain asceticism'. Swanson 1981:65-68. 169) Nelson 653:3214. 170) Ibid. 859:4571.

a) 申す b) 問答 c) 磐 d) 盤 e) 石 f) 蹈む g) 山伏

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Par. 14: "It is being said in a poem that,

歌ニ云、尺八ノ聲ノ内ナル隠レカヲタツネテ見ハ元ノ竹カナ、切レコモハ見事ノ竹持テソフ、（ロカ）

'When you search, and find
in shakuhachi sound your refuge,
is it not indeed
the essence of bamboo?'



Fig. 39. 'Waraji'.
From: SKZ:38/6.

The competent Komo possesses a splendid bamboo flute."

[Uta ni iwaku, Shakuhachi no, koe no uchinaru, kakure-ka o, tatsu-nete mireha, moto no take ka na. Kire-komo wa, migoto no take motte so(f)u (ro?).]

In this, highly suggestive 5-7-5-7-7-syllable poem, waka[a], of which the authorship remains undetermined, the sound of the shakuhachi is likened to a 'hermitage', kakure-ga[b], the literal meaning being that of 'a home for the hide-away'.[172] Moto no take most probably should be understood in the sense of 'true', 'real', or 'original' bamboo (flute). The construction kire-gomo is reminiscent of kire-mono[c], an 'able', or 'shrewd', i.e. 'competent' man.[173]

Running the risk of over-interpretation this poem may be seen as an image of the rōnin refugee, disguised as a komosō, identifying himself with the ephemeral strains of the shakuhachi flute. In any case, there is no doubt that with the restoration of relative peace in Japan after 1600, a large number of disbanded warriors inevitably ended up as homeless 'exiles' with no place - and position - to return to. This problem lasted for several decades and has, for instance, been described by John Whitney Hall, in the following way:[174]

'The strict Tokugawa class system with its clearly defined sub-units made existence outside of the accepted estates and occupations extremely difficult. Rōnin, or samurai without position or status, for example, found life particularly hard. Such unattached samurai had been cast adrift in large numbers during the civil wars and the readjustment of domains which followed the establishment of the Tokugawa regime [1600]. They proved most troublesome during the Ōsaka campaign [1614-1615] and again in 1651, when a rōnin plot against the shōgun was discovered in Edo. Thereafter every effort was made to absorb masterless samurai into the retainer band of the shōgun or daimyō. But rōnin continued to emerge from out of the main body of the samurai class in small numbers. Few positions in society remained open for such individuals except the priesthood and such professions as medicine and teaching.'

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172) Nelson 934:5020. 173) KNJED 1974:846; OKJ 1981:373.
174) Hall 1970:181.

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a) 和歌 b) 隠家 c) 切れ物

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Attempts at pacifying the samurai class in general began already in 1615 with the socalled Buke shohatto[a], 'Ordinances for the Military Houses', which stressed the equal importance of the military arts and the study of first of all Neo-Confucian literature. This was the contents of the first paragraph of the decree, the fifth of which reads,[175]

'5. No sanctuary is to be given to men who plot rebellion or incite risings. Hereafter residence in a fief shall be limited to men born in that fief.'

Among the 'potential rioters', the Tokugawa government soon came to consider the Christian rōnin especially dangerous to the regime:[176]

'Some of the Bakufu's orders were aimed at Christian rōnin, who were among the most intractable. They played a leading part in resistance to the anti-Christian policy of the government as it was carried out in Kyūshū. They were known as Amakusa Rōnin or Shimabara Rōnin after the places where they had fought against Bakufu troops in 1637.' (Map. p. 63)

The first bans on the Christian religion were issued in the period 1611-14 by the first Tokugawa shōgun Ieyasu (d. 1616);[177] missionaries were expelled, the churches in Kyōto were burned, and their clergy was arrested. The ban on Christian propagation was repeated under the reign of Tokugawa Hidetada (r. 1606-1623) in 1618, and from 1622 onwards socalled rōnin-aratame[b], 'rōnin inspections', were carried out in search of Christian rōnin, at first concentrated in and around Kyōto where rōnin fugitives appear to have been most numerous.

Under the third Tokugawa shōgun, Iemitsu (r. 1623-1655), the harsh anti-Christian policy was furthermore reinforced. Despite the fact that it was not the rōnin, but peasants and farmers, who constituted the majority of the Christian converts, Iemitsu was 'morbidly preoccupied with Christianity', the reason being that the foreign faith was 'closely associated in his mind with the potential menace to the Tokugawa family personified by the unemployed rōnin'.[178]

Beginning with the 'great martyrdom' in Edo in 1623, from this time on Christian preachers and adherents were intensively hunted down and tortured, or executed. A peculiar test, the ceremony of 'picture-trampling', fumi-e[c], was introduced in 1629: those captives who refused or even just hesitated to trample on a Christian cross, or an icon of the Christ or the Madonna, were persecuted as believers in the forbidden faith.[179]

In other words: any masterless samurai who was captured during this period, in order to escape torture and death, would have to prove that he was not a Christian, but rather a sincere devotee of Shintō and some sect of Buddhism. The Kaidō honsoku, appearing in 1628, may, possibly, represent one rare, such credo, produced in purpose of the survival of 'rōnin-komosō refugees'!

175) Sansom 1964, 3:7. 176) Ibid.:33. 177) This account is based on: Boxer 1974; Cieslik 1954; Hall 1970; Murdoch 1964; Sansom 1964, 3; Wigmore 1969; Nakatsuka 1979:278-279. 178) Boxer 1974:336, 376.
179) Sansom gives the year 1640! Sansom 1964:42.

a) 武家諸法度 b) 浪人改め

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Par. 15-a: "As it is the intention of the Komo to accomplish the process of realizing the Five-fold Source of Illusion, while observing several precepts, why does he sleep alone?

Here the fourth of the Aspects, that of 'volition', is emphasized!" ★★

[Go-shaku no kyōgai sugosan ga tame, komo wa, me o amata mochite, naze ni hitori-ne o suru so. Men wa, yottsu-me nari.]

五尺ノ境界スゴサンガタメ、薦ハ目ヲアマタ持テ、ナゼニ獨ネヲスルソ、面ハ四目也、

The present interpretation is based on the assumption that the term go-shaku no kyōgai refers to the concept of the 'Five Components of Life', go-on[a]/go-un[b], lit. the 'five mysteries' (Skt.: skandhas), established as part of the first of the 'Ten Objects' (or Boundaries) of Meditation', jū-kyō[c], propounded by the great Chinese Buddhist teacher T'ien-t'ai[d] (Jap.: Tendai, 538-597) in the seventh chapter of the Mo-ho chih-kuan[e] (Jap.: Maka Shikan), a compilation of lectures delivered in 594.[180] Acc. to the Dictionary of Buddhist Terms and Concepts,[181]

> 'This chapter asserts that the meditation on the ten objects and the ten meditations are the ultimate way to the threefold contemplation in a single mind; it reveals the region of the unfathomable, or the principle of ichinen sanzen [p. 61]. The meditation on the ten objects is meditation on: (1) the phenomenal world which exists by virtue of the five components, the relationship between the six sense organs and their corresponding six objects, and the six consciousnesses arising from this relationship; - - - '

The 'Five Components of Life' are those of (1) 'Form', (2) 'Perception', (3) 'Conception', (4) 'Volition', and (5) 'Consciousness':[182]

> 'These five components unite temporarily to form an individual living being. Form (Jap shiki[f]) means the physical aspect of life and includes the five sense organs - eyes, ears, nose, tongue and body - through which one perceives the external world. Perception (ju[g]) is the function of receiving external information through the six sense organs (the five sense organs plus the "mind," which integrates the impressions of the five senses). Conception (sō[h]) is the function of creating mental ideas or conceptions about what has been perceived. Volition (gyō[i]) is the will which acts on the conceptions and motivates action toward what has been perceived. Consciousness (shiki[j]) is the function of discernment, and gives rise to the components of perception, conception and volition. - - - All life carries on its activities through the interaction of these five components. Their workings are coloured by the karma one has formed in successive lifetimes, and so function to create future karma. - - - '

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180) DBTC:254; ZJ:349. 181) DBTC:254-255. 182) Ibid.:95.

a) 五陰 b) 五蘊 c) 十境 d) 天台 e) 摩訶止観
f) 色 g) 受 h) 想 i) 行 j) 識

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The verb sugosu[a] literally means to 'overcome', or perhaps 'pass beyond',
183 the object of which is go-shaku no kyōgai. At first I considered a translation of the latter as the 'five-fold environments of karma', or the 'five-fold world of obstacles to the rebirth as a human being', thus connecting the term with the 'Five Precepts', go-kai[b], the fundamental precepts to be observed by lay Buddhists, Hinayana and Mahayana alike, namely (1) not to kill, (2) not to steal, (3) not to commit unlawful sexual intercourse, (4) not to lie, and (5) not to drink intoxicants.[184] Thus hitori-ne[c], 'lone sleeping', is the third precept, not the fourth, which is why the sentence men wa yottsu-me nari has to be interpreted within a different context, most probably as referring to the fourth of the 'Five Components', that of 'Volition', the will which 'motivates action'. The translation as 'Five-fold Source of Illusions' is based on the Ōbunsha Kogo jiten.[185] ★

Par. 15-b: "As for the afore-mentioned, being a matter of human discrimination, because the Komo practises celibacy till the end, in those who listen to his shakuhachi sermons he will create a relieved and disattached state of mind and, sweeping away the Drowsiness of Illusion and Mediocrity, bring about Realization."

前ハ人ノ目ナレハ、終ニ我トネル故ニ、尺八聴聞ノ方ハ、一息截断ノ心ヲナシ、無明凡身ヲネムリヲ拂テ聴聞ヲ致スベシ

[Mae wa, hito no me(-)nareha*, owari ni, ware to neru yue ni, shakuhachi chōbun no kata wa, hito-iki setsudan no kokoro o nashi, mumyō bonjin o (no?) nemuri o haraite, chōmon o itasu beshi.]

There is, apparently, two possible interpretations of the phrase hito no me(-)nareba. Either with me-nareru[d], 'to get used to (seeing)', 'to become familiar with',[186] or with me nari[e], 'is a discrimination (or observance)', the classical copula nari inflected in the conditional form of the verb.

Hito-iki (or issoku) setsudan no kokoro, lit. 'a mind of relief and disconnection' (from illusion!): issoku, 'single breath', characterizes the particular kind of 'walking Zen meditation', kin-hin[f];[187] setsudan, 'abscission', 'disconnection', first appears in a poem by the Zen master Te-shan Yüan-mi[g] (Jap.: Tokusan Emmitsu, 10th cent.).[188]

Chōbun[h]/chōmon[h] refers to an 'audience', an 'audition', but can also be understood in the meaning of kiki-satoru koto[i], 'to listen attentively, and realize'.[189] A satisfyingly meaningful translation of the sentence is dependent on both of these interpretations, I think.★

183) KNJED 1974:1665. 184) DBTC:108, 345. 185) OKJ 1981:1371.
186) KNJED 1974:1079. 187) ZJ:46; Hirai 1978:89-90. Lit.: 'sutra-walk(ing)'.
188) ZJ:720, 1014. 189) OKJ 1975:774; Nelson 735:3516.

a) 過す b) 五戒 c) 獨ネ d) 目馴れる e) 目なり f) 經行
g) 徳山緣密 h) 聴聞 i) 聞き悟る事

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The statement set forth in this paragraph is most central and important as it clarifies the ultimate purpose of the komosō's shakuhachi practise, namely the attainment of Enlightenment, or 'Buddhahood'. Regrettably, the Kaidō honsoku manuscript does not supply any detailed information concerning the characteristics of the music which they played on their flutes. Still, it it possible to deduce from the content of paragraph 11 (A-5 to A-8, pp. 59-60) that different occasions called for varying types of musical events to take place. Thus, there may have existed music specified for the blowing of the shakuhachi at Shintō shrines and Buddhist temples, respectively, and it is evident that the komosō adapted his performance to the relative receptivity of his listeners: the more slowly he blew, prolonging the notes, the higher a degree of 'spiritual insight' was necessary in order to appreciate the profound message of his properly.

We can, however, but speculate whether such distinctions between differing types, and purposes, of musical pieces were actually recognized and expressed by way of titles of the events or any sort of special terminology other than the explanations attempted in the above.[190] But, one thing is beyond doubt: the shakuhachi was supposed to be handled as a most powerful means of purifying the minds of both those who listened and of the individual komosō himself!

Par. 16: "It is being said in a poem that,

歌ニ云、
尺八ノ聲ノ内ナル隱レカハ、宮城野ニ吹春風カナ、

'Chosing as one's hermitage
the voice of the shakuhachi
is that not the Spring breeze
blowing at Miyagino?'"

[Uta ni iwaku, Shakuhachi no, koe no uchinaru, kakure-*ka wa, Miyagino ni fuku, haru (no) kaze ka na.]

In the Kiri-tsubo[a], 'Paulownia Chamber', chapter of the Genji Monogatari (c. 1000-1010) there is a famous poem referring to the plain of Miyagi-no, east of Sendai in present Miyagi Prefecture (map p. 21):

"The sound of the breeze at Miyagi-no
blowing away the dew as on a string
makes me mourn for the mother
who left her child-prince alone."[191]

[Miyagi-no no, tsuyu fuki-musubu, kaze no ne ni, ko-hagi no moto o, omoi koso yare.]

Miyagi-no is a poetic 'pillow word', waka makura-kotoba[b], associated with the hagi[c], a particular kind of bush clover whose crimson-purplish or white Autumn flowers were much adored for their beauty.[192]

190) The earliest known titles of 'tunes' are recorded in the Kyotaku denki. Tsuge 1977:50-51. 191) OKJ 1981:1096. 192) Ibid.:929.

a) 桐壺 b) 和歌枕詞 c) 萩 (V)

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The hagi, although being a 'shrub', is one of the 'seven grasses of Autumn' of Japanese poetry, and another of its connotations is that of 'the love of the male and female deer'.[193] Thus, in the Genji Monogatari poem the small bush clover, ko-hagi[a], is used as an image of the small, imperial prince whose mother, one of the emperor's court ladies, had just passed away.[194] In the present context, however, the association with 'the dew which is carried away by the wind as pearls on a string' must be related to the notion favoured by the komosō of 'living their lives like the ever vanishing dew' (see par. 20).



Fig. 40. 'Hagi'. From SKZ:14/1.

Par. 17-Q: "How mysterious, indeed, is the Komo's staff!"

A: "If you are in doubt, Setchō said, 'White clouds everywhere!'"

[Komo no bō ni, fushin *ka soro *so. Gigi sure*ha, haku-un banri.]

コモノ棒ニフシンカソロソ、ギ、スレハ白雲萬里、(マコ)

According to Nakatsuka Chikuzen,[195] the famous Chinese Ch'an master Hsüeh-tou Ch'ung-hsien[b] (Jap.: Setchō Jūken, 980-1052) once, in appraisal, commented on Banzan Hōshaku's "The Three-fold World is Immaterial! Where, then, seek after the Mind?" (p. 60) with the words haku-un jōgai[c], lit.: 'white clouds act (or become) cover'. In paragraph 17, haku-un banri, 'white clouds over the ten thousand hamlets', carries the same, essential meaning of 'everywhere'.

On that background the staff carried by the Komo symbolizes the realization that 'mind' cannot be pursued as anything different from 'matter'; wherever the staff leads the Komo there is nothing but 'pure whiteness', that is mu, 'nothingness', kū, 'non-substantiality'.

Par. 18-Q: "How mysterious, indeed, is the sword that the Komo carries!"

A: "Even at Banzan's death-bed Fuke made a somersault over the screen and mattress, it is being said!"

[Komo no sashitaru katana ni, fushin *ka soro *so. Byōbu ka futon ka, Fuke wa nana-koshi o sashita to iū.]

コモノ指タル刀ニフシンカソロソ、屏風カ蒲團カ、普化ハ七腰サシタト申、

Byōbu ka futon ka literally means 'notwithstanding folding screen and mattress'; when Fuke's master lay in his death-bed, Fuke did not moan his approaching departure but offered a proof of his true understanding of utter disattachment from conventional sentimentality by way of performing a somersault over (?) the bed.[196] Therefore the sword represents the necessity of cutting off one's dependency on any sort of attachment and even so to the duality of 'life and death'.

193) OKJ 1981:929; Suematsu 1977:24. 194) Suematsu 1977:19-24.
195) Nakatsuka 1979:274. 196) Ibid.

a) 小萩 b) 雪竇重顯 c) 白雲為蓋

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Par. 19-0: "The Komosō founder Priest Fuke's sect has 16 branches."

[Komosō kaizan Fuke oshō mappa jū-roppa ari.]

虚僧開山普化和尚末派十六派アリ、

This is the only example of the character compound komosō[a] in the entire Kaidō honsoku. Fuke is for the first time being referred to as oshō[b], 'chief priest (of a temple)', and in the capacity as 'founder', kaizan[c], of a virtual komosō 'sect', mappa[d]; then follows a register of the names of the sixteen branches of the sect, claimed to be active in the year 1628.

Similar registers were produced later in Tokugawa times;[197] when these are examined and compared, it turns out that the total number of branch sect appellations listed in the various registers far exceeds the 'magical', or 'ideal', quantity of "16", the second power of four (4^2).

It also becomes evident that in terms of geographical distribution the registers differ to the extent that the overall picture of changes which, obviously, took place within the 'organization' during the course of time, i.e. until the Fuke-shū was abolished in 1871 (p. 1),[198] remains a matter which cannot be described conclusively in every detail. By the end of the Tokugawa period there were only six branch sects surviving, known by the generic term Fuke-shū no roppa[e], the 'Six Branches of the Fuke Sect';[199] five of these can be traced back to the time of the Kaidō honsoku register★which, as it will be seen in the following, must be the oldest existing example of its kind, and definitely dating from before the emergence of the Fuke-shū in 1677.

In the register only one of the sixteen names is written with kanji, all the others are recorded in phonetic script, kana. It is the only of the known lists which presents the information in such a complicating fashion and, consequently, extensive search in all sorts of available Japanese and Western reference books combined with quite a lot of 'qualified guess-work' has been carried out in the attempt at clarifying the meaning and possible significance of each branch name.

All of the branch sects except one, namely the very first, are recorded with reference to their respective geographical locations and it is noteworthy that, in general, the distribution of the branch sects, i.e. the areas to which they appear to have 'belonged', is similar to that which prevailed throughout the lifetime of the Fuke sect in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries! But the Kaidō honsoku register is evidently not a 'temple sect register' like those produced by the Fuke sect main temples after 1677, and the nature of its contents may rather be seen to place us right in the midst of the 'fight for survival - through adaptation' reality of the early seventeenth century rōnin-komosō.

197) The relevant registers are included in the appendix and will be duly referred to in the commentary.
198) Takahashi 1979:35-36; Tsukitani 1975:18; Machida 1954:375. 199) ZJ:1219.

a) 虚僧 b) 和尚 c) 開山 d) 末派 e) 普化宗の六派

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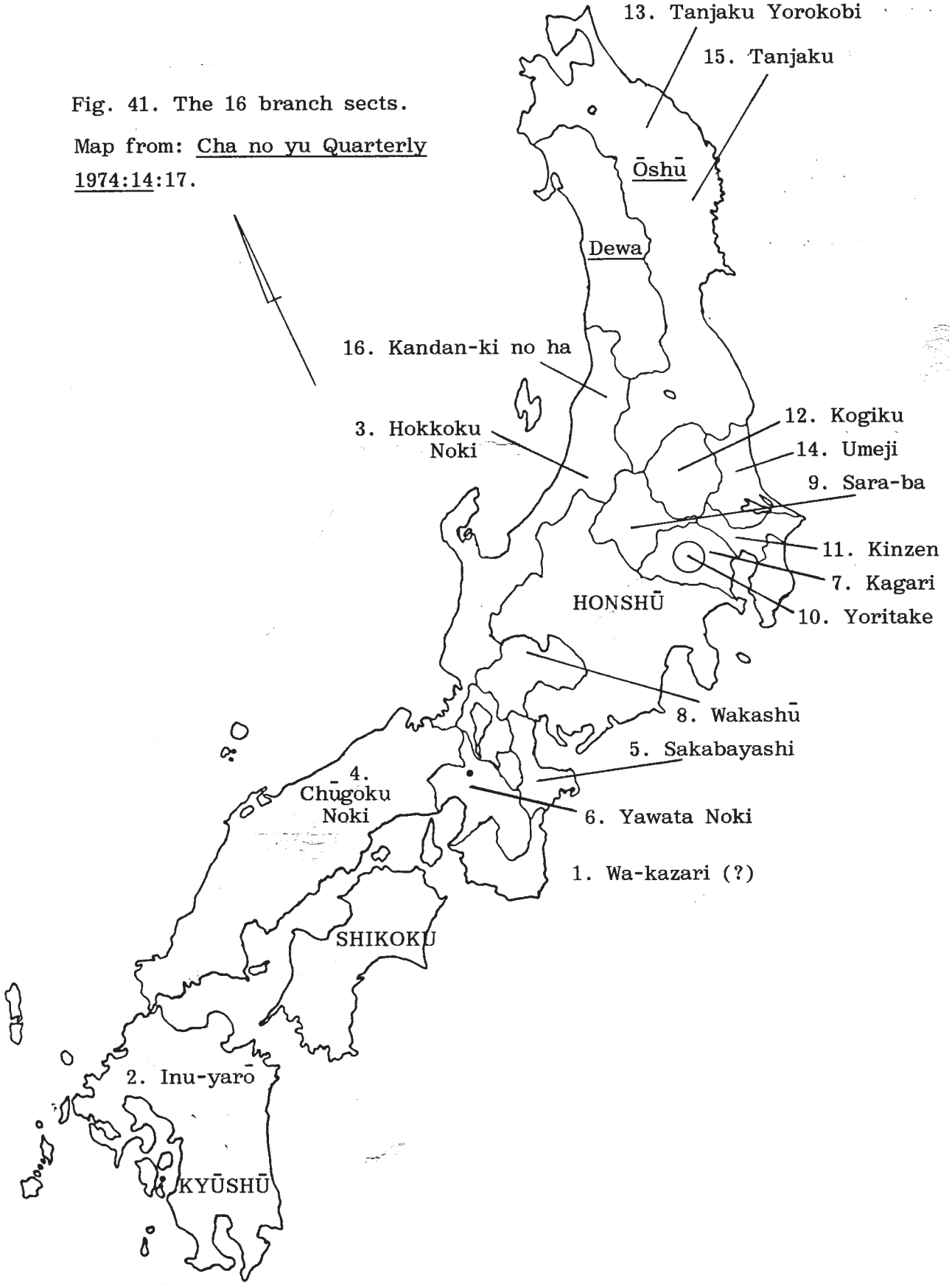


Fig. 41. The 16 branch sects.

Map from: Cha no yu Quarterly 1974:14:17.

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Par. 19-1: "The Wa-kazari Branch Sect."

一ワカサリ門派、

[Hitotsu. Wa-ka-*sa-ri mompa.]

Contrary to all the remaining, fifteen branch sects it is not specified in which area of Japan this, the first, branch sect was located, unless - of course - the appellation itself contains the area name. If that were the case at least two possibilities come to mind, namely (1) Wakasa[a], a town in modern Tottori Prefecture (map. p. 10), or (2) Wakasa[b], which is the former name of present southern Fukui Prefecture north of Kyōto (map p. 10). A third possibility might be that the name somehow refers to the region of present Wakayama Prefecture. In all three cases, then, the question arises how to interprete the last syllable, i.e. ri.

Theoretically, ri may be understood as joined with mompa: ri-mon[c] means 'the gate through which one enters the principle of deep faith',[200] and could perhaps be translated as 'main', or 'superior', in relation to the other fifteen branch sects in the list. However, the syllable ri also occurs in the name of branch sect no. 7, the ka-*ka-ri mompa, so I have had to rule out that possibility. Furthermore, it should be noted that there exist no reliable records of any off-shoots of the Fuke shakuhachi movement in the areas of modern Tottori, Fukui, and Wakayama Prefectures. (It has already been mentioned that it is not an established fact that there was any direct connection between the early Fuke shakuhachi practitioners, the komosō, and Hottō Kokushi's temple, the Kōkokuji in Yura, Kii, present Wakayama!).

Consequently, the most direct approach to the present problem appears to be accepting all four syllables, wa-*ka-*sa-ri, as 'the' actual branch sect appellation, although that means that we have to desist from attempting a determination of the branch sect's geographical distribution. Doing so, however, an interesting interpretation appears, namely that of wa-kazari[d], lit.: 'ring-decoration', a traditional New Year's symbol the design of which has also been adopted in the art of Japanese flower arrangement.[201] Could it be that this branch sect as a means of surviving had specialized in the manufacture of such New Year's decorations the plant fiber materials for which were readibly available in nature, for free? (★Illustration reproduced in the addenda!)

It is, in fact, astonishing how relatively many of the sixteen branch sect appellations can be explained in terms of some sort of 'petty craft trade' or 'service'. But it can be well imagined that instead of begging the prouder of the komosō would rather have preferred to make themselves useful to society through supplying various handicrafts or offering minor services. Some Fuke-shū komusō were, evidently, engaged in the making and selling of 'tea whiskers', cha-sen[e].[202]

200) NKDJ 20:353. 201) NKDJ 20:610. 202) Nakatsuka 1979:518-519.

a) 若狭 b) 若桜 c) 理門 d) 輪飾 e) 茶筅

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Par. 19-2: "The Inu-yarō Branch Sect in Tsukushi."

一筑紫ニイヌヤロウ門派、

[Hitotsu. Tsukushi ni, Inu-yarō mompa.]

The three, most important branches of the Fuke sect since 1677, those of the Ichigetsuji, Reihōji, and Kyōto Myōanji, all had branch temples in the area of Tsukushi, i.e. the island of Kyūshū.[203] The branch sect name listed here, however, is not mentioned anywhere else in the surviving Fuke shakuhachi documents and its meaning is therefore difficult to clarify.

Inu-yarō[a] literally means 'dog-rogue', but the compound does not figure in any of the reference-books examined. The most probable interpretation of the word inu, 'dog', is that of 'useless', or 'un-employed'.[204] The term inu-zamurai[b] was used when 'speaking evil' of a samurai,[205] or in the sense of 'a shameless [depraved] samurai'.[206]

Inu, when standing alone, can furthermore mean 'a spy'.[207]

Par. 19-3: "The Hokkoku Noki-ha Branch Sect."

[Hitotsu. Hokkoku Noki-ha mompa.]

Par. 19-4: "The Noki-ha Branch Sect in Chūgoku,"

一北國ノキハ門派、

一中國ニノキハ門派、

[Hitotsu. Chūgoku ni, Noki-ha mompa.]

Hokkoku, the 'Northern Provinces', are those connected by the Hoku-riku-dō[c], the 'North-land Highway' (map p. 29) which faces the Japan Sea towards the North-west. The only Fuke sect temple in that area, Myōanji[d], in present Niigata Prefecture, belonged to the Kichiku-ha[e].[208]

Chūgoku, the 'Central Provinces', consisted of all the provinces of the San-in-dō[f] and the San-yō-dō[g] (map p. 29), the highways on the 'shady' and 'sunny' sides of the mountains, respectively, i.e. Western Honshū. The only known Fuke sect temple here, the Saiganji[h], was affiliated with the Kyochiku-ha[i] and located in present southern Shimane Prefecture.[209]

A third Noki-ha branch sect is listed in par. 19-6, located a short distance south-west of Kyōto. In the Fuke shūmon okitegaki[j] (FSOG), 'Ordinances of the Fuke Sect', a single Noki-ha[k], lit. 'Wild Tree Branch', is recorded in the branch sect register, but according to that list, the branch sect was located in the Owari[l] Province, i.e. in the western part of modern Aichi Prefecture (map p. 29),[210] where there were no Fuke sect temples whatsoever.

203) Nakatsuka 1979. 96-98, nos. 8. 24, 30.
204) OKJ 1981:129(3). 205) OKJ 1981:129. 206) KNJED 1974:545. \\ (XXVII)
207) OKJ 1981:129. 208) Nakatsuka 1979:98 (XXVII) 209) Ibid.
210) Repr. in: KR 9:1134 (IV)

a) 犬野郎 b) 犬侍
c) 北陸道 d) 明暗寺 e) 寄竹派 f) 山陰道 g) 山陽道
h) 西岸寺 i) 虚竹派 j) 普化宗門掟書 k) 野木派 l) 尾張

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Par. 19-5: "The Sakabayashi Branch Sect in Ise."

一伊勢ニサカハヤシ門派、

[Hitotsu. Ise ni, Sa-ka-*ha-ya-shi mompa.]

There was only one Fuke sect temple in Ise, modern Mie Prefecture, namely the Fuzaiji[a], a subtemple of the Kyōto Myōanji.[211]

Saka-bayashi[b] appears to be a probable interpretation here, in that the term designates a particular globular decoration made of leaves from the sugi[c], i.e. the Japanese 'cedar' tree, which were tied into a round bundle and used as a street-sign in front of sake-shops. The literal meaning of the term is 'rice wine forest'.[212]



Fig. 42. 'Sakabayashi'. From: OKJ 1981:514.

Par. 19-6· "The Gokinai Yawata Noki-ha Branch Sect."

一五畿内ヤワタノキハ門派、

[Hitotsu. Gokinai Yawata Noki-ha mompa.]

Gokinai, 'within the five capital suburbs', is an old appellation for Kyōto and the city's south-western vicinities (maps pp. 10, 29).

Yawata[d] is a small town situated about 15 km (c. 10 miles) south-southwest of central Kyōto (map p. 64); only in this, single case is the branch sect 'defined' so precisely compared with the other fifteen branches with which, at the most, only the name of the region, or the province, is given.

The main temple of the Kyochiku-ha since the Genroku period (1688-1704) was called Kyorei-zan Myōanji[e], i.e. 'Myōanji on the Empty Spirit Mountain', and situated in the south-eastern hills of Kyōto, near the Great Buddha, Dai-butsu[f], of the temple Hōkōji[g] (map p. 78).[213]

There may have been a small Fuke shakuhachi 'center', known as the Kyūkō-an[h], in Uji, south of Kyōto (p. 39) sometime prior to the emergence of the Kyōto Myōanji,[214] but none of these can be directly connected with the Noki-ha branch sect in Yawata.

Anyhow, it may be significant that the branch sects 2 - 6 were all operating in regions which were placed under the jurisdiction of the combined Kyochiku- and Kichiku-ha of the Fuke sect, and on that background we may surmise that the first branch sect, the Wa-kazari Branch Sect, would have been part of this komosō 'branch sect complex', too.

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211) Nakatsuka 1979:98; see appendix. 212) NKDJ 8:642.
213) Nakatsuka 1979:98; NOGJ 1975:660; see appendix.
214) Nakatsuka 1979:51, col. 1.

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a)普済寺 b)酒林 c)杉 d)八幡 e)虚霊山明暗時
f)大仏 g)方広寺 h)吸江庵

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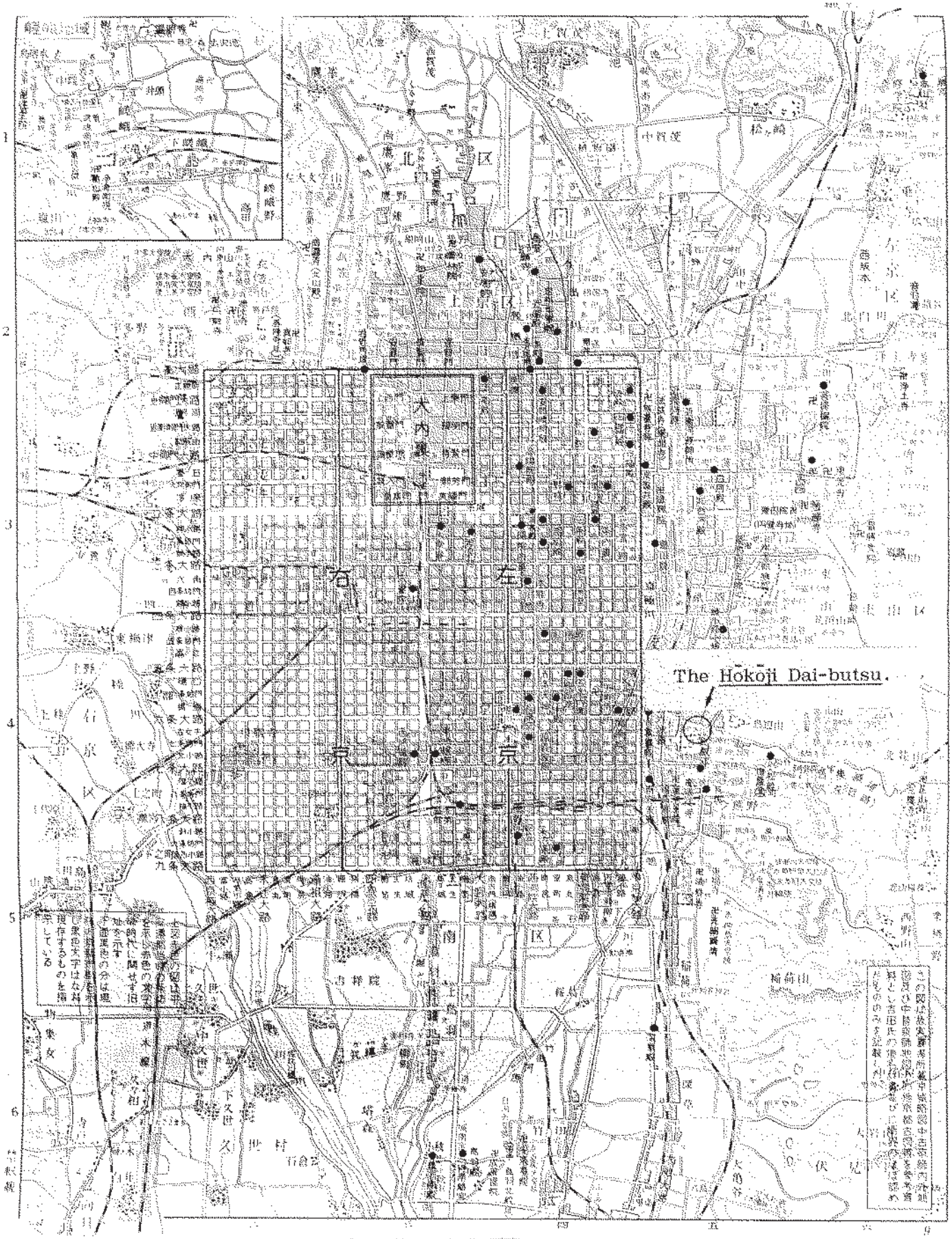


Fig. 43. Map of Kyōto. From: SKZ:8-9.

Par. 19-7: "The Kagari Branch Sect in Musashi."

一武藏ニカ、リ門派、

[Hitotsu. Musashi ni, Ka-*ka-ri mompa.]

Musashi is the old name of present Saitama Prefecture and Tōkyō, and it was in this area, in the town of Ōme, the Fuke sect temple Reihōji was established as the main temple of the socalled Kassō-ha[a], or 'Kassō Branch' of the sect (map p. 21).[215] Kassō is the name of Reihōji's legendary founder who, according to traditional Fuke sect history, died in 1266 (Bun'ei 3).[216] Before the Fuke-shū was recognized as an actual temple organization, however, the branch sect was known as the Kaka-ha[b],[217] i.e. the 'underneath the fire branch sect'.

The Kaidō honsoku appellation appears to be even older than 'Kaka-ha', but the two terms may be closely related. A kagari[c] is a special kind of iron basket designed in order to contain the burning material of a torch. Supposing that the members of this branch sect were engaged in the manufacture of such fire baskets or, rather, were employed occasionally as torch-bearers, the expression 'underneath the fire', ka-ka, is quite natural. But with the transformation of the komosō fraternity into a temple sect of Japanese Buddhism it became an essential prerequisite to have proper 'temple founders', and consequently Kassō was invented. According to the Shikoji oyobi furoji[d], 'The Four Buddhist Laymen and the Bath-temple(s)', probably a late Edo period source,[218] Kassō was a direct disciple of Kokusa, one of the four alleged shakuhachi students of Hottō Kokushi (pp. 18, 24-27). Later, however, the role of Kassō was changed into that of being the most prominent student of the Ichigetsuji founder Kinsen.[219]



Fig. 44. 'Kagari'. From: OKJ 1981:267.

This is not the only example of branch sect appellation metamorphosis: the sects listed in paragraphs 19-10, 19-11, 19-12, and 19-14 certainly did manipulate with their identities in a similar fashion.

Par. 19-8: "The Wakashū Branch Sect in Mino."

一美濃ニ若衆門派、

[Hitotsu. Mino ni, Wakashū mompa.]

Mino is the area of present-day Gifu Prefecture (map p. 10). No Fuke sect temple is recorded to have been located here.

Wakashū should, in the present context, be understood not as 'juveniles', or homosexuals, but in the sense of persons who participated as assistants during festivals and religious rituals.[220]

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215) Nakatsuka 1979:97. 216) Takahashi 1979:89. 217) FSOG, no. 1 (App.)
218) Nakatsuka 1979:428. Acc. to legend Hottō Kokushi placed the four Buddhist laymen in charge of his temple's bath-house. 219) Takahashi 1979:88.
220) DKWJ 9:576; OKJ 1981:1211.

a) 活聡派 b) 火下派 c) 簀 d) 四居士及び風呂寺

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Par. 19-9: "The Sara-ba Branch Sect in Jōshū."

一上州ニサラハ門派、

[Hitotsu. Jōshū ni, Sa-ra-*ha mompa.]

Jōshū is the ancient, 'Chinese' name for the province of Kōzuke[a], present Gumma Prefecture (map p. 21). Fuke Sect temples belonging both to the Kassō, Kichiku, Ko-zasa[b], and Umeji (par. 19-14) branch sects were located in this area, but it is not possible to establish any direct relationship between these and the branch sect listed here.[221]

Contrary to the example of Noki-ha (pp. 76, 77), here the syllable *ha can be interpreted in at least three ways: (1) as ha[c], 'branch sect', (2) ha[d], 'leaves', or (3) ba[e], 'place', 'site'.

The latter possibility should be noticed because during the times of the Fuke-shū some komusō were assigned specific begging sites, or ba[e], along the streets.[222] However, in connection with the word sara a translation as 'leaves' may seem to be more probable.

The Sara[f], or 'Sal' tree is especially important to Buddhists because Sakyamuni Buddha is known to have passed away in a grove of such trees, the Sanskrit name of which is shāla. In India some species grow to be thirty meters tall and produce light yellow blossoms. The Japanese varieties, known as tsubaki[g], i.e. 'Camellia', are much smaller and their flowers are predominantly red. The leaves of the Sara tree is a common motive in Zen Buddhist painting.[223★]



Fig. 45. 'Sara'. From: Kameyama 1981:175.

Par. 19-10: "The Yoritake Branch Sect in Central Musashi."

一中武藏ニヨリタケ門派、

[Hitotsu. Chū-Musashi ni, Yo-ri-ta-ke mompa.]

Yoritake[h] is a personal name,[224] whereas yori-take[i] literally means 'approaching bamboo' and refers to bamboo culms which have drifted ashore from a river or the sea, i.e. 'driftbamboo'. The sound of flutes made from such pieces of bamboo is said to be especially beautiful.[225] In case the 'Yoritake Branch Sect' komosō were really bamboo gatherers they would have written their branch name in the same way as Kichiku[j], whom we have met with in the Kyotaku denki as Hottō Kokushi's only, legendary Japanese shakuhachi disciple (p. 27)! Acc. to traditional Kyōto Myōanji history, Kichiku was later named Kyochiku;[226] in fact the two names are frequently confused in recent writings on the history of Fuke shakuhachi. The evidence contained in the present paragraph may indicate that the 'Kichiku legend' somehow originated in the Kantō, not the Kansai, area!

221) Nakatsuka 1979:96-101; ZJ:1219. 222) Sanford 1977:424, note 61.
223) DBTC:364; OKJ 1981:543; Kameyama 1981. 224) O'Neill 1972:339.
225) OKJ 1981:1189. 226) Tomimori 1979:9-10.

a) 上野 b) 小笹 c) 派 d) 葉 e) 場 f) 紗羅 g) 椿 h) 頼桓 i) 寄竹 j) 寄竹

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Par. 19-11: "The Kinzen Branch Sect in Shimōsa."

一下總ニキンゼン門派、

[Hitotsu. Shimōsa ni, Kin-zen mompa.]

The northern part of present Chiba Prefecture was formerly known as the Shimōsa Province (map p. 21), and here, near the town of Matsudo[a], the socalled Kinsen-ha[b] of the Fuke Sect established its headquarters, the Ichigetsuji. Kinsen, the temple's legendary founder, is supposed to have been the disciple of the Buddhist layman Hōfu (pp. 18, 24-27);[221] according to tradition he died in 1258 (Shōka 2).[222]

As a parallel to the case of Reihōji's alleged founder Kassō (p. 79), the 'person' Kinsen appears to have been invented by the Ichigetsuji komusō for the purpose of self-legitimization, too. Originally their branch sect was known as the Kin[c]-*sen[d]-ha, the literal translation of this term being 'the parsley selecters' branch sect'.[223] Kin[c] is not a common character in the Japanese language and I only reached at the above interpretation upon consulting a Chinese-Japanese dictionary.[224] Here the word is made synonymous with sari[e], the equivalent of seri[f], that is 'parsley'. Sen[d] means 'to discuss', 'to select', 'to use', etc.[225]



Fig. 46. 'Seri'. From: SKZ:116/1.

Par. 19-12: "The Kogiku-ha Branch Sect in Shimotsuke."

一下野ニコキクハ門派、

[Hitotsu. Shimotsuke ni, Ko-*ki-ku-ha mompa.]

The mother temple of the Fuke-shū Kogiku[g]-ha, 'the small chrysanthemum branch sect', was the Shingetsuji[h] in present Ibaraki Prefecture (map p. 21).[226] However, four of the six Kogiku-ha Fuke Sect temples listed by Nakatsuka Chikuzen were actually located in former Shimotsuke Province, i.e. present Tochigi Prefecture (map p. 21).[227]



Fig. 47. 'Nogiku'. From: SKZ:115/1.

In the FSOG (p. 76) this branch is listed as Kogiku[g]-ha[i].[228] Originally, this appellation may simply have referred to the wild varieties of the chrysanthemum known as no-giku[j],★ but during the process of establishing the Fuke Sect temple organization this term was 'personified', too, to become the name of the 'layman' Kogiku, Kogiku koji, the seventh successor in the line after Hottō Kokushi's alleged disciple Risei (pp. 18, 24-27).[229]

221) Takahashi 1979:104. 222) Ibid. 223) FSOG, no. 2 (App.).
224) DKWJ 5, no. 13591. 225) Nelson 769:3899. 226) ZJ:1219.
227) Nakatsuka 1979:98-99. 228) FSOG, no. 5 (App.). 229) Takahashi 1979:123.

a) 松戸 b) 金先派 c) 薪 d) 詮 e) 菜 f) 芹 g) 小菊
h) 心月寺 i) 派 j) 野菊

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Par. 19-13: "The Tanjaku Yorokobi Branch Sect in Ōshū."

一奥州ニタンシヤクヨロコヒ門派、

[Hitotsu. Ōshū ni, tan-*shi-ya-ku yo-ro-ko-*hi mompa.]

According to Nakatsuka Chikuzen there were eleven Fuke temples, the socalled Ōshū-Dewa jū-ikka-dera[a], in the present Tōhoku region which comprises the present prefectures of Fukushima, Miyagi, Iwate, and Aomori (= Ōshū), Yamagata, and Akita (= Dewa)(map p. 29).[230]

These eleven temples do not appear to have been regarded as 'full-fledged' Fuke Sect temples in that they were not subordinated to any of the recognized, major branch sects of the Fuke-shū. It should be mentioned, however, that according to Takahashi Kūzan, the Tanjaku branch sect(s) were transformed into a socalled Fuchi-ha[b];[231] the fact that both a Tanjaku-ha and a Fuchi-ha figure in the FSOG list[232] only adds to the general confusion which characterizes the study of Fuke Sect branch temple history.

The Kaidō honsoku register contains two 'tanjaku' branch sects, an 'additional' branch being listed as number 15. Yorokobi[c] means 'joy', or 'pleasure', so apparently these two branch sects were named in accordance with their favouring the tanjaku which may either have been the narrow poem cards, tanjaku[d] (or tanzaku[d]) mentioned previously (p. 9), or, more likely, a special type of 'short shakuhachi'.

Par. 19-14: "The Umeji Branch Sect in Hitachi."

一常陸ニウメヂ門派、

[Hitotsu. Hitachi ni, U-me-ji mompa.]

Takahashi claims that a certain Buddhist layman, Umeji[e]koji, founded the Umeji[e]-ha and its main temple the Shōganji[f] in present Tochigi Prefecture in the year 1392 (Meitoku 3).[233] According to Nakatsuka and the Zengaku Jiten, however, the Umeji[g]-ha mother temple was the Jijōji[h] in present Gumma Prefecture, which Takahashi, surprisingly, believes to have been the main temple of the socalled Nezasa[i]-ha.[234]

Anyhow, judging from the Kaidō honsoku register, the Umeji[g], or 'plum field', branch sect of the komosō originated in former Hitachi, i.e. present Ibaraki Prefecture, and represents yet another example of what I have termed the 'personification' of pre-Fuke Sect branch sect appellations.

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230) Nakatsuka 1979:100-101. 231) Takahashi 1979:87.
232) FSOG, nos. 7 and 14 (App.). 233) Takahashi 1979:124.
234) Nakatsuka 1979:99; ZJ:1219; Takahashi 1979:130.

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a) 奥州出羽十一ヶ寺 b) 不智派 c) 喜び d) 短冊，短尺
e) 梅時，梅士 f) 松岩寺 g) 梅地 h) 慈常寺 i) 根笹

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Par. 19-15: "An Additional Tanjaku Branch in Ōshū."

一奥州ニタンシヤク派ヨ、

[Hitotsu. Ōshū ni, tan-*shi-ya-ku ha-yo.]

The characterization of this second Tanjaku branch sect, vague as it is, may indicate indirectly that there was in fact only one such branch sect operating in the entire area of the present Tōhoku region, and that an 'obscure' off-shoot of the komosō movement was included in the register in order to reach an 'ideal total' of sixteen branches of the sect. This is, furthermore, the only case where the term ha is used, not that of mompa; the suffix yo expresses the meaning of 'over', 'more than', i.e. 'extra', or 'surplus'.[235]

Par. 19-16: "The Kandan-ki no ha Branch Sect in Hokkoku."

一北國ニカンタンキノハ門派、

[Hitotsu. Hokkoku ni, kan-*tan-ki no ha mompa.]

Like one of the three branches of the Noki-ha (par. 19-3, p. 76) this, the sixteenth, branch sect was belonging to the 'northern provinces', Hokkoku, but it is mentioned nowhere else in later Fuke shakuhachi documents and the actual significance of its name is uncertain.

Among the many possible interpretations of the compound *kan-*tan, gandan[a], for example, refers to the 'first day of the new year', whereas kantan[b] is the name of an ancient town in northern China as well as a famous Nō play by Zeami (1363-1443).[236] Here, the compound appears in conjunction with the syllable ki, a Japanese word which has numerous meanings; but in view of the subject matter of many of the foregoing subparagraphs I have also in the present case been inclined towards finding a probable explanation within the 'vegetable kingdom', if not the 'material world' of traditional Japanese culture.

Thus, in the lack of any definite clues, I have decided upon the following provisional reading of the branch sect appellation in question, namely as kandan-ki no ha[c], i.e. 'the leaves of the Chinese sandal tree'!

Par. 19-17: "These are the rustic and humble branches."

一(マヽ)リワカル派アリ、

[Riwa-karu ha ari.]

Ri-wa-shi[d], here inflected as a '-kari' adjective, is a rare but so much more expressive characterization of the afore-mentioned branch sects of the komosō, ri carrying the connotations of 'rustic', 'ill-mannered', wa those of 'obscene', 'licentious', 'indecent', 'lewd', 'morally corrupt'.[237]

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235) Nelson 145:408. 236) OKJ 1981:336; NKDJ 5:394. 237) NKDJ 20:428; Nelson 151:446, 605:2898.

a) 元旦 b) 邯鄲 c) 漢檀木の葉 d) 俚猥し

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Despite the difficulties in giving conclusive interpretations of all of the above sixteen branch sect appellations contained in the Kaidō honsoku register there seems to be no doubt that the majority of the names must refer to some, specific attribute characterizing each respective group, or clique, of the Fuke shakuhachi komosō 'organization'. Even if a few of the branch names could be read as surnames, i.e. Yoritake, Kogiku, Umeji, and Nogi (Noki!), I am inclined to believe that originally the komosō would not have been concerned with naming their factions after persons but rather in accordance with some aspect, be it abstract or more concrete, of the characteristic activity which each of the groups being formed decided to recognize as their specific purpose or matter of joint concern.

As we have seen in the above, the branch sects appear to be named either after plants (9, 10, 11, 14), trees (3-4-6, 16), a material (10), special devices (1, 5, 7, 13, 15), or various kinds of 'service functions' (2, 8). This classification should, of course, not be taken too seriously as, for instance, the 'ring-decoration' wa-kazari[a] (p. 75), could in fact be 'young parsley', waka-zari[b], and any of the terms might be understood in the sense of 'service', 'job', or 'work' involving the cultivation, use, or manufacture of the materials in question.

Anyhow, we can not rule out the probability of some of the terms being local place names, but even if that were the case they prove to be too insignificant to be included in the general reference books of Japanese geography and topography which I have had at my disposal.

It remains a question whether we should expect the individual komosō to have carried any visible token of the branch sect with which he was affiliated. Judging from the information given in the main body of the Kaidō honsoku, the fashion of dress and equipment of the komosō was uniform no matter which particular clique he belonged to. Theoretically, many, if not all, of the branch sect appellations could have been rendered graphically and schematically in the shape of a mon[c], or 'family crest', but it is perhaps more likely that the komosō would be travelling completely incognito; only on certain, special conditions would he state his branch relationship and, if so, in secret gestures, words, or - sounds. In fact, the latter was the practise of the Fuke-shū komusō, the etiquette of whom included a repertory of high-pitched calls, the socalled neshirabe[d], which they used to greet one another.[238] The komusō were obliged to carry no less then three documents of authorization: a certificate of sect membership, a travel permit, and a written summary of the sect's basic principles, the socalled honsoku (p. 51),[239] which included the passage about Priest Fuke in Chapter 29 of the Lin-chi lu (p. 35), all issued from one of the main temples of the sect. It is, however, doubtful whether the pre-Fuke-shū komosō would have been subjected to such strict control and supervision.

238) Sanford 1977:426, note 77. 239) Ibid.:422.

a) 輪飾 b) 若菜 c) 紋 d) 音調

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Par. 20: "Boro, 'those who live like the dew'."

[Boro.]

The best known of the surviving accounts of the 'Boro', or 'Boro-boro', Pure Land nembutsu monks of the Japanese Middle Ages is contained in Chapter 115 of the Tsurezuregusa[a], 'Essays in Idleness', written from 1319 to 1331 by Yoshida Kenkō[b] (1281/1283-1350), here in Donald Keene's translation:[240]

"A large number of mendicant priests[241] had gathered at a place called Shukugawara[c/242] and were reciting the Invocation to the Buddha in nine stages[243] when a latecomer joined them and asked, 'Excuse me, is there a priest named Irooshi among you?'

One of the number replied, 'I am Irooshi. Who are you, and why do you ask?'

---

240) Keene 1967:98-99. The only other existing, direct references to the early Boro monks are included in the following literary works:

Boroboro no sōshi[d], 'The Boro-boro Story-book' (n.d.) by the famous Kegon monk Myōe Shōnin[e] (1173-1232). Quoted in: KS 2:34; Kurihara 1975:83.★ (I-II)

Imamonogatari[f], 'Tales of the Present Times' (n.d.), by the painter and poet Fujiwara no Nobuzane[g] (1175-?). Quoted in: KS 2:35. (VI)

Shasekishū[h], 'The Book of Sand and Stones' (1279-1283), by the Shintō-Buddhist syncretist Mujū Ichi'en[i] (1226-1312). Quoted in: KS 2:34. Nakatsuka Chikuzen happens to have misquoted this entry to the effect that the komosō should have been in existence already at this time, the late Kamakura period! Nakatsuka 1979:45.★ (XX-XXI)

Shichi-jū-ichiban shokunin utaawase[j], 'Poetry Contest on Seventy-one Professions' (c. 1500), by Higashibōjō Kazunaga[k] (1460-1529). See pp. 91-92.(XXII)

241) Boro-boro[l]. 242) Probably a place in the city of Kawasaki, present Kanagawa Prefecture. Keene 1967:99. Map p. 21.

243) Kuhon no nembutsu[m], an elaborate version of the 'invocation of the Amida Buddha', the nine modulations of which represented the nine grades of Amida Buddha's Western Paradise, the Pure Land. NKBT 30:182, note 14; OKJ 1981: 1372.

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a) 徒然草 b) 吉田兼好 c) 宿河原
d) ぼろぼろの草紙 e) 明恵上人
f) 今物語 g) 藤原信実
h) 沙石集 i) 無住一圓
j) 七十一番職人歌合 k) 東坊城和長
l) ぼろぼろ m) 九品の念仏

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'My name is Shirabonji. I have been informed that my teacher, a certain gentleman, was killed by the mendicant priest Irooshi in the Eastern Provinces, and I have come to here hoping to have the honor of meeting that man and exacting vengeance. That is why I ask.'

Irooshi said, 'You have come on a noble mission. Yes, such a thing indeed happened. But fighting with you here would pollute this place of devotion. Let us go to the river bed before the temple and join in combat there. My fellow priests, I ask that under no circumstances you aid either of us. If this dispute should involve many, it would hinder the performance of the holy service.'

The two men, having settled the circumstances of the duel, went together to the river bed where they fought to their heart's satisfaction until they ran each other through and both died.

I wonder if what we call boroboro - mendicant priests - actually existed in the old days. They seem to have originated in recent times under the names boronji[a], bonji[b], kanji[c], and so on. These men act as if they have abandoned the world, but they have strong worldly attachments; they seem to be seeking the way of the Buddha, but they make a business of quarrelling. Though they are unruly and unprincipled in their behaviour, their contempt for death and their utter detachment from life is appealing. I have recorded what others have told me about them."

The foremost attribute of the Kamakura period Boro monks were their garments which were made of crude paper and, according to Fujiwara no Nobuzane, had the two characters of the 'loanword bo-ro' imprinted on them.[244] The additional appellations mentioned by Yoshida Kenkō, boronji, bonji, and kanji, indicate that both Sanskrit and Chinese words were used for the decoration of these 'robes' which were considered 'especially suitable for monks to wear because women took no part in their manufacture'![245]

The composite term boro is, obviously, not a Chinese construction and I am more likely to understand the compound as representing the 'phonetic equivalent', or ate-ji[d], of some other imported word, concept, or - perhaps - name! In fact, whereas the (modern) Chinese pronounciation of the Japanese bo-ro[e] is mu-lu,[246] there is one particular 'Chinese ateji' the sound of which is very close to bo-ro, namely the last part of the transliterated Sanskrit personal name Bhadrapala: Bá-tó-p'ó-ló[f] (Jap.: Baddabara)!

Even though Bhadrapala is 'the name of several persons appearing in various sutras',[247] there are two of them which seem to be significant in this context:

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244) - - - Boro to kaku wa ka-na nari[g]. KS 2:35. 245) Ury 1972:167, n. 66. 246) Mathews 643:4589, 597:4186. 247) DBTC:22.

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a) ぼろんじ b) 梵字 c) 漢字 d) 当て字 e) 暮露

f) 跋陀婆羅

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(1) In the Surangama Samadhi Sutra (Jap.: Shuryōgon sammai-kyō[a]) (p. 38), the 'Sutra of Resolute Meditation', which was translated into Chinese by Kumarajiva,[248] twenty-five ways of controlling the mind by meditation are listed;[249] here 'Bhadrapala' is the name of the Bodhisattva who regarded 'meditation on touch' as the most effective method:[250]

> "Bhadrapala who was with sixteen companions who were all great Bodhisattvas, rose from his seat, prostrated himself with his head at the feet of the Buddha and declared: 'When the Buddha with awe inspiring voice (- - -) appeared in the world, I heard of the Dharma and left home. At the time of bathing, I followed the rules and entered the bathroom. Suddenly, I awakened to the causal water which cleanses neither dirt nor body; thereby I felt at ease and realized the state of nothingness. As I had not forgotten my former practice, when I left home to follow the Buddha in my present life, I achieved the state beyond study. That Buddha named me Bhadrapala because of my awakening to wonderful touch and my realization of the rank of a son of Buddha. As the Buddha now asks about the best means of perfection, to me touch is the best according to my personal experience.'"

This is the 'Bhadrapala' who was adopted as the patron figure, or guardian, of the Zen temple's bathhouse:[251]

> 'In China the Ch'an-oriented monastery had evolved slowly over the centuries between the early T'ang dynasty and the Southern Sung [618-1279] in step with the development of the characteristic teachings, practices, and ceremonies of the Ch'an schools. - - - Ch'an monastic regulations are detailed, and the everyday activities of monastic life as well as the elaborate ceremonial functions called for quite distinctive furnishings, equipment, and ceremonial objects.'[252]

According to Martin Collcutt, the bathhouse and latrine were indispendable to the Zen temple community; the Zen monastic codes 'devote considerable attention to the etiquette and attitude of mind to be maintained in using these buildings.'[253] As for the design and function of the Zen bathhouse, I shall quote from Collcutt's detailed description:[254]

> - - - 'Over the door hung a plaque reading 'clarity' (hsuan-ming[b]), a reference to the lay Buddhist sage Bhadrapala who, with 16 followers, attained enlightenment and was granted bodhisattvahood through contemplation of water while bathing. - - -
>
> Above the entrance to the bathhouse proper hung another plaque reading 'perfumed sea', perhaps a reference to the perfumed water used in the traditional purification ceremony of bathing a statue of the Buddha. A statue of Bhadrapala was set on an altar near the entrance. - - - '

248) DBTC:398. 249) Lu 1975:16. 250) Ibid.:19-20. 251) Collcutt 1981:202. 252) Ibid.:171. 253) Ibid.:202. 254) Ibid.:202-203.

a) 首楞厳三昧経 b) 宣明

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The bath, consisting of two large basins, was heated by a stove in an annex at the rear of the building. This was the domain of the bath steward, who could fuel the stove or add cold water according to signals on wooden clappers from the bathhouse: 'One for more hot water, two for more cold, three when satisfactory.' - - - '[255]

I find it reasonable to assume that the bathhouse stewards would not have had the status of fully ordained monks but rather that of zoku-hijiri (p. 33), that is in the temples which were established in Japan during the Middle Ages. Perhaps the lay monks who supervised the bathhouses saw themselves as successors of Bhadrapala's sixteen followers who, in a Zen Buddhist context, are known as jū-roku kaiji[a], the 'Sixteen Bodhisattvas',[256] jūroku zaike no bosatsu[b], the 'Sixteen Resident Boddhisattvas', or jūroku zaike koji[c], the 'Sixteen Buddhist Laymen',[257] of Ba-to p'o-lo (p. 86), whence the appellation boro(boro).

This is a theory of my own; none of the Japanese scholars who have discussed the probable role of the Boro have dealt with the problem along these lines. Being but a theory, it is anyhow well substantiated by the fact that, as mentioned already (p. 79), according to legend the four Buddhist laymen of Hottō Kokushi's were placed in charge of the Kōkokuji's bathhouse![258] If the Boroboro did indeed regard themselves as the followers of Bhadrapala we have an explanation of the claimed existence of the exact number of 16 branches of the Fuke shakuhachi movement prior the to Fuke-shū! The question is, however, whether it can be satisfyingly proved that the Boroboro practised the shakuhachi, like the komosō, and could thus be the immediate forerunners of the latter in this respect? This is, in fact, the generally accepted opinion among the Japanese scholarship, but the evidence is in reality rather weak, which will be shown later in the commentary.

(2) The second, relevant Buddhist figure known by the name of 'Bhadrapala', acts as the 'interlocutor' of one of the fundamental Pure Land sutras, the Hanjū Sammai Kyō[d] (Skt.: Pratyutpanna-samadhi Sutra), the 'Sutra of Meditation to Behold the Buddhas'.[259] The translation into Chinese was perfected by Lokakshema (Chin.: Chih Lou-chia-ch'ien[e]) in A.D. 179 and is also known as the Bhadrapala Bodhisattva Sutra.[260] 'This sutra belongs to the earliest period of Mahayana and is one of the first sutras to mention Amida Buddha':[261] '"The Bodhisattva, who hearing the name of the Buddha Amitabha [Amida] wishes to see him, may see him by constantly thinking of the region where he is.' The term used here is 'thinking' (nien[f] in Chinese) and not 'uttering'.'[262]

255) Monks in medieval monasteries did not get bodily into the bath. Ibid.:203.
256) ZJ:578. 257) Ibid.:1167. 258) NSJT 2:744. 259) DBTC: 151.
260) Suzuki 1980, 2:166. 261) DBTC:151. 262) Suzuki 1980, 2:156.

a) 十六開士 b) 十六在家の菩薩 c) 十六在家居士
d) 般舟三昧経 e) 支婁迦讖 f) 念

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According to Alicia and Daigan Matsunaga,[263] although the Hanjū Sammai Kyō 'failed to become a textual source of the mainstream development of Chinese and Japanese Pure Land thought, it did play a significant role in the evolution of the Japanese movement as the basis of Tendai Jōgyō sammai[a] meditation devised by Chih-I[b] [the founder of the Chinese T'ien't'ai[c] school, 538-579] and brought to Japan by Saichō and Ennin.' Pure land devotion had existed in Japan before their time, but Ennin (794-864) is credited for having popularized the Jōgyō sammai, i.e. 'perpetual (walking) chanting meditation', on Mt. Hiei. It is noteworthy that, according to Matsunaga and Matsunaga, the 'Tendai emphasis upon the nembutsu in meditation was the direct antecedent of the rise of Jōdo and Jōdo Shinshū, the most popular Pure Land sects in Japan.'[264]

The nembutsu was, eventually, incorporated into the practices of some of the schools of Japanese Shingon Buddhism. Apart from Kakuban (1094-1143) and his followers who even, during the mid-twelfth century, established connections with the newly emerged Jōdo movement of Hōnen (1133-1212),[265] Ippen (1239-1289), the originator of the last of the four Japanese Pure Land sects, the Ji-shū[d], or 'Time Congregation', is supposed to have studied not only Zen but also the Shingon nembutsu under Hottō Kokushi![266★] - probably shortly before he experienced a divine inspiration at the Kumano Shrine in present eastern Wakayama Prefecture in 1274.[267] At first, Ippen's movement is said to have 'merely constituted one variety of nembutsu hijiri':[268]

> - - - 'The name ji (time) signified that its followers did not neglect a single moment of chanting the nembutsu whether they be walking, sitting, eating, or sleeping, and each chanting was believed to be equivalent to the nembutsu at the moment of death. - - -
>
> The practice of constant yugyō[e] (travelling) demanded considerable sacrifices from the followers of Ippen. Arranged in groups of approximately twenty, they would tour the countryside handing out nembutsu tablets, while enduring painful hardships and renouncing all attachments to property or family. Each monk or nun was limited to twelve personal items to carry with him, and besides these, each also carried on his shoulders twelve small boxes. At night these were arranged in blocks to form a barricade separating the monks from the nuns. - - -
>
> In later periods, householders unable to participate in the yugyō activities became associated with the Ji sect as zoku jishū (layman), who practiced the six-watch nembutsu or kechienshū[f] (affiliates), who provided food, finances and lodging for the wandering priests and nuns. - - - '

263) Matsunaga 1982, 2:34. 264) Ibid.:11. 265) Ibid. 266) Ibid.:130. 267) DBTC:184. 268) Matsunaga 1982, 2:131, 1:157.

a) 常行三昧 b) 智顗 c) 天台 d) 時衆 e) 遊行 f) 結縁衆

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I have found it justified to delve into the above matters concerning the tradition of the nembutsu and the Ji sect in order to illustrate that the Kuhon no nembutsu ceremony mentioned in the Tsurezuregusa (p. 85) might have been performed by a group of Ji sect adherents! Unfortunately, none of the reference books on Japanese Buddhism examined contain any specific information on the socalled boro monks, so which of the four main Pure Land movements, i.e. the Yūzū nembutsu-shū, Jōdo-shū, Jōdo Shinshū, and Ji-shū, they may actually have belonged to remains an unsolved problem.

However, the Boroboro nembutsu monks who, eventually, took up the shakuhachi as part of their musical activities most probably would have been either Yūzū or Ji monks, I believe. The sect of the former was founded by Ryōnin (1072-1132) who 'was gifted from childhood with a beautiful melodious voice',[269] and greatly refined the singing of sutras, bombai[a], as a powerful means of spreading the faith. As for the latter, the Ji sect, this became the foremost Pure Land sect from the mid-fourteenth century through the early sixteenth century and 'played an important cultural role during the Muromachi period that has been referred to as the 'Jishū Ami Culture' due to the fact that individuals affiliated with the sect frequently assumed Ami (an abbrieviation for Amida) into their names. This suffix often appears in the names of leading renga poets of the day, famous Nō dramatist (i.e. Kan-Ami, Ze-Ami), and also among prominent physicians who served the Daimyō in battle.'[270]

On this background it becomes significant that the name of the shakuhachi player who enters the stage as a ghost in the kyōgen play mentioned previously (p. 40) includes the suffix 'Ami', namely Rakuami! The text presents this figure neither as boro nor komosō, but we may surmise that he was a shakuhachi player once affiliated with the Ji sect, not the Zen sect!

Even though any such phenomenon as a 'Medieval Pure Land shakuhachi tradition' must be said to have left no traces whatsoever in Japanese literature, we are facing the fact that the afore-mentioned Tendai monk Ennin (p. 89) is recorded to have employed the shakuhachi as a tuning device when rehearsing the reciting of the Amida Sutra.[271] In other words, while the shakuhachi ought not be claimed to have been played in a way equalling the performance of the nembutsu, the instrument may very well have been used as a most convenient tool, or 'standard', for the purpose of proper intonation! In fact, there is a picture in the Shichi-jū-ichiban shokunin utaawase (p. 91, Fig. 48) which shows a blind biwa player with a short hitoyogiri, presumably a 'tuning pipe', by his side.

Furthermore, this valuable 'poem contest picture scroll' which must date from the period around 1500 also features the only existing illustration of the boro the Japanese Middle Ages.

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269) Matsunaga 1982, 2:12. 270) Ibid.:134. 271) In: Kojidan[b], 'Discourse on Ancient Matters' (1212-1213) by Minamoto no Daiken[c]. Takahashi 1979:21.

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a) 梵唄 b) 古事談 c) 源顕兼

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Fig. 48. 'Biwa hōshi' (no. 25).
From: GR 28:513.



Fig. 49. 'Boro' (no. 46).
From: GR 28:555.



Fig. 50. 'Boro' (no. 46).
From: Nakatsuka 1979:553.



Fig. 51. 'Boro' (no. 46).
From: Kurihara 1975:85.

Like the 'Picture-scroll of a Poetry Contest on Thirty-two Professions' (p. 31), neither has the original 'Poetry Contest on Seventy-one Professions' hand-scroll survived till the present.[272] Both have been preserved only as inaccurate reprints of various later copies. That is regrettable in the present case especially because, contrary to the komosō picture in the Sanjūniban shokunin utaawase emaki (SNSUE), the boro in SISU is not rendered playing the flute but sitting on the ground with an oblong 'instrument' inserted between his left arm and hip. The accompanying text does not clarify whether this is a sword, or a flute![273]

272) GR 8 (Index):163-164, 166-167. 273) GR-version repr. in the appendix!

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In fact, being a 'personal' utaawase as the SNSUE, the SISU, written by Higashibōjō Kazunaga, does probably not describe any actual event having taken place at any particular time or place, and we should therefore not accept the drawings which were contributed by the painter Tosa Mitsunobu[a-274] (p. 31) as 'documentary' in the sense that the 'models' were really present 'in person' for their portrayal.

This means that even if the SISU, according to the Kokusho sōmokuroku, may have been produced during the Meiō period (1492-1501),[275] the figure of the boro could well be an anachronism, a phenomenon of bygone days, which was only being treated poetically for the purpose of literary and artistic pastime.

But why, then, did the komosō who produced the Kaidō honsoku 'sign' the document 'Boro'? Apparently, the Fuke shakuhachi practitioners of the early seventeenth century saw themselves as historically connected with the early medieval boroboro movement even if the nature of this relationship remains obscure to the twentieth century, Western student of Japanese shakuhachi history!

At this point there is one particular comment on the 'boro-komosō connection' which has to be mentioned, namely that which is contained in Hayashi Razan's[b] commentary on the Tsurezuregusa (p. 85-86) entitled Tsurezuregusa nozuchi[c], 'Excursions into the Tsurezuregusa', dated 1621 (Genna 7).

Hayashi Razan (1583-1657) was a central figure in all of Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616), the first Tokugawa shōgun's affairs, and the first Confucian scholar to be appointed counselor to the shōgunate. Being extremely well versed in most aspects of Japanese culture Hayashi Razan produced a multitude of detailed, scholarly writings and in his study of the Tsurezuregusa he supplies the following explanation of the boroboro described in Chapter 115:[276]

> - - - "According to 'The Boroboro Story-book', the socalled 'empty sky priests' were 7 feet 8 inches tall and tough and strong. Clad in paper-garments decorated with pictorial designs they carried swords, 1 foot 8 inches long, and held octagonal, rattan-wound shafts by their sides. Walking on high clogs, 1 foot 5 inches tall, their hair being long and coloured black, they came to be known as the 'boro'. It is being said that they took beautiful women as spouses and travelled together all over the country in groups of thirty.
>
> Later, as for the socalled komosō[d], they appear to have been neither monks, laymen, nor yamabushi. They wore swords and blew the shakuhachi. Carrying straw mats on their backs they wandered the roads and, showing up at people's gates, they begged and received alms. This, it is being transmitted, is the tradition of the boroboro."

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274) KSM 4:108. 275) Ibid. 276) In: Kurihara 1975:88-90. (XXV)

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a) 土佐光信 b) 林羅山 c) 徒然草野追 d) 薦僧

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[Horo-horo no sōshi hitomaki ari. Kokū-bō to iu mono no, karada no nagasa nana-shaku hassun, chikara-tsuyoshi. Egaki kami-ginu ni, isshaku hassun no tachi o haki, hirumaki no hakkaku-bō o yokotae, isshaku gosun no kōri o haki, kami nagaku, iro kuroku shite, boro to iu mono ni nari. Hitori no bijo o tsuma to shi, dōgyo sanju-nin sho-koku o ariku to i(h)eri. Sono ato, komosō to iu mono, sō to mo miesu, zoku to mo miesu, yamabushi to mo miesu. Katana o sashi, shakuhachi o fuku. Senaka ni mushiro o oi, dōro o ariki, hito no monkō ni tatte, mono o koi-morau. Kore boroboro no nagare nari to ii-tsutaetari.]

Having compared the above reference to the Boroboro no sōshi with those contained in the Kiyū Shōran and Kurihara 1975 (p. 85, note 245) it has become evident that none of these three surviving 'quotations' from the original work can be trusted as 'direct' and reliable renderings of the actual wording of the text. Being but 'excerpts' from what must have been a more thorough, and detailed, description of the 'boroboro' in Kamakura times, the relative dissimilarity between the three available passages claimed to quote from the work of Myōe Shōnin makes me speculate whether at least the two, or perhaps all three of the 'quotations' were deliberately misinterpreted, or manipulated, beyond the actual contents of the original. In lack of a trustworthy reproduction of the original Myōe Shōnin work, no conclusive clarification of this problem should be attempted.

However, Hayashi Razan's commentary clearly shows that the boroboro were regarded as the 'forerunners' of the komosō, but apparently Hayashi did not refer to the contemporary representatives of the movement. Obviously, his description of the komosō was based on that of the Sanjūniban shokunin utaawase emaki (p. 31) which is the reason why I have translated the passage in the past tense!

I am, nonetheless, quite convinced that Hayashi Razan would have known about the activities of the contemporary shakuhachi itinerants, and that his reference to the komosō in a Tsurezuregusa-boroboro context may have been intended to shed light upon the origins of the komosō fraternity which, supposedly following the defeat of Toyotomi Hideyori's about 100.000 rōnin in the Ōsaka campaign (1614-1615, p. 67),[277] must have incorporated a considerable number of masterless samurai, the potential enemies of the Tokugawa government for several decades to come.

Whatever the characteristics of the komosō movement may have been during the preceeding sixteenth century, I find it self-evident that the inclusion of samurai into the ranks of the komosō inevitably must have brought about a significant redefinition of the ideology of ascetic shakuhachi practise.

In Hayashi Razan's description of the komosō there is one element which was probably not existent during the late fifteenth century, i.e. at the time of the SNSUE (p. 31), namely the possession - and practise? - of the sword! This aspect of the komosō must be a later development having taken place during the period of fierce feudal war, i.e. during the sixteenth century.

277) 70.000 survived to become refugees in the area around Kyōto. The number who had fought on the Tokugawa side was 'even greater'. Sansom 1964, 3:33.

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It can be no cöincidence that the name of the Chinese Zen monk Fuke appears for the first time in a komosō context (p. 34: Kuromotohon setsuyōshū, c. 1550-1560) during this very same period, and the reason is that the myōan philosophy of Priest Fuke is in reality intimately connected with the Zen philosophy which underlies the art of Japanese swordsmanship, practised to perfection by the samurai. Fuke's master, Banzan Hōshaku, once gave the following sermon:[278]

"[Zen is] like one's wielding the sword in the air, one does not ask whether it hits the object or not; the air is not cleft, the sword is not broken."

This is the kind of sword which Fuke employed in his attack on the dual concept of 'myō' and 'an' as well as that of 'kokū' (pp. 35-37). Daisetz T. Suzuki relates a samurai anecdote which well illustrates the way in which a samurai ought to 'cut through' any dualistic attitude whatsoever and, first of all, the dualistic notion of 'life and death':[279]

'Kusunoki Masashige (1294-1336) came to a Zen monastery at Hyōgo when he was about to meet the overwhelming army of Ashikaga Takauji (1305-1358) at the Minatogawa, and asked the master, 'When a man is at the parting of the ways between life and death, how should he behave?' Answered the master, 'Cut off your dualism, and let the one sword stand serenely by itself against the sky!' This absolute 'one sword' is neither the sword of life nor the sword of death, it is the sword from which this world of dualities issues and in which they all have their being, it is the Vairocana Buddha himself. You take hold of him, and you know how to behave where ways part.'

The sword here represents the force of intuitive or instinctual directness, which unlike the intellect does not divide itself, blocking its own passageway. It marches onward without looking backways or sideways. - - - '

The fundamental attitude required for the samurai when entering combat was that of mu-ga[a], 'non-ego', or mu-shin[b], 'no-mind'. In the words of the Rinzai monk Takuan Sōhō[c] (1573-1645) who was 'one of the greatest figures in the Zen world of the Tokugawa period',[280]

- - - "This - what may be termed the 'non-interfering' attitude of mind - constitutes the most vital element in the art of fencing as well as in Zen. If there is any room left even for the breadth of a hair between two actions, this is interruption. When the hands are clapped, the sound issues without a moment's deliberation. The sound does not wait and think before it issues. There is no mediacy here, one movement follows another without being interrupted by one's conscious mind. If you are troubled and cogitate what to do, seeing the opponent about to strike you down, you give him room, that is a

278) Suzuki 1973:203. 279) Ibid.:90. 280) Suzuki 1977, 3:363.

a) 無我 b) 無心 c) 沢庵宗彭

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happy chance for his deadly blow. Let your defence follow the attack without a moment's interruption, and there will be no two separate movements to be known as attack and defence. This immediateness of action on your part will inevitably end in the opponent's self-defeat. - - - "

Takuan appears to have been seriously concerned with the example of Priest Fuke and composed two treatises on the dualism of myōan, namely Meian sōsō kyūjū-ku[a], 'Ninety Paraphrases on the Duality of Meian', and Meian sōsō-shū[b], 'Anthology of Meian Dualism' (n.d.).[281] Even if Takuan does not seem to have referred directly to Priest Fuke when explaining the essential philosophy of the samurai swordsman,★ we know of at least one samurai mentor who certainly did so, namely Suzuki Shōzan[c] (1579-1655), a samurai, Zen teacher, moralist, and kanazōshi writer, who 'dismissed the Zen patriarchs and founders practically in one breath, accusing them of having taken it easy one way or the other. The only ancient of whom he thought highly was P'u-hua - - - .'[282]

In other words - to cut a long story short - I find it highly probable that the name of Priest Fuke would only have entered the ideology of ascetic shakuhachi practise in Japan alongside with members of the samurai class 'infiltrating' the groups of itinerant shakuhachi players known as komosō! One may at first wonder what could possibly have been the circumstances conditioning such a development, but upon an investigation into the characteristics of late Medieval samurai training methods it turns out that the boroboro, the komosō, and the warriors had one thing in common: the ascetic practise of travelling on foot! Suzuki explains that significant aspect of samurai activities as follows:[283]

'There is another thing the swordsmen learned from Zen. In olden days they used to travel all over Japan in order to perfect themselves in the art by experiencing every form of hardship which might befall them and by undergoing training in the various schools of swordsmanship. The example was furnished by the Zen monks, who did the same thing before they attained final enlightenment. This practise is known among the monks as angya[d], 'traveling on foot,' whereas the swordsmen call it musha-shugyō[e], 'training in warriorship.'

I do not know how early this practise started among the swordsmen, but we read about the founder of the Shinkage-ryū[f] traveling all over the country. - - - '

According to Suzuki,[284] the Shinkage-ryū, founded by Kami-idzumi Ise no Kami Hidetsuna[g] (d. 1577), 'used to be one of the most popular schools of swordsmanship in the feudal days of Japan', and even though this tradition of

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281) KSM 7:656. 282) Tyler 1977: 6, 152-153, 169. 283) Suzuki 1973:128.
284) Ibid.:120.

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a) 明暗雙々九十個 b) 明暗雙々集 c) 鈴木正三
d) 行脚 e) 武者修行 f) 新陰流 g) 上泉伊勢守秀綱

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samurai itineracy may have been initiated long before the mid-sixteenth century it is noteworthy that the period of Shinkage-ryū popularity can be seen to cöincide with that of Priest Fuke appearing in a komosō itinerants context!

As for the word 'Boro' figuring as a 'pseudo-signature' in paragraph 20 of the Kaidō honsoku we have seen that the probable origin of the term as the phonetic equivalent of the Chinese transliteration of Sanskrit Bhadrapala can be interpreted both with Zen Buddhist and Pure Land connotations (pp. 87-90). Although the information supplied in the Boroboro no sōshi that the boroboro took wives might indicate a connection with the Jōdo Shinshū whose founder, Shinran (1173-1262), married and thus gave rise to blood succession, a unique feature of the sect,[285] Japanese monks had in reality been taking secret wives since about the ninth century, and it was 'a known practise among those living on Mt. Hiei',[286] i.e. the Tendai monks who were armed - like the boroboro! - and well trained as socalled sōhei[a], or 'warrior monks'.

Still, the most popular Pure Land sect in Muromachi times being the Ji-shū, the 'Time Congregation', considering that sect's emphasis on travelling and perpetual chanting of the nembutsu (pp. 89-90), I have already proposed that in case the boroboro tradition was really continued throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, they would most probably have been affiliated with the Ji sect (p. 90). This would also explain why, ultimately, the activities of the boroboro came to an end, or - rather: were taken over and - undergoing a certain degree of metamorphosis - continued by other groups, like for instance those of the komosō and Fuke-sō:

> 'Although during its days of popularity, the Ji sect was for a time the most important Pure Land movement, it declined swiftly. Travelling priests were unable to properly conduct missionary activities during the time of civil war between the Daimyō, and many Jishū temples were destroyed by warlord and peasant revolts. In particular they began to lose support among the peasant masses, who sought to rebel against all forms of the oppressive establishment and its allies. And as the Ji sect commenced to decline, the Jōdo Shinshū Honganji movement under the leadership of Rennyo [1415-1499] quickly moved in to fill the the void, in company with the Zen sect that appealed to many of the former samurai followers of Ippen. - - - '[287]

'Thus, despite the scarcity of surviving and reliable source materials illuminating the early Medieval boroboro and their activities, I think it is possible to appreciate their significance to those later generations of ascetic itinerants and Buddhist missionaries who stepped in their footprints. Their name was added at the end of the Kaidō honsoku not, I believe, because one thought of the Boro in his capacity as shakuhachi player but simply with great deference to those who lived - and died - like the evanescent dew.

285) Matsunaga 1982, 2:88-89. 286) Ibid. 287) Ibid.:135-136.

a) 僧兵

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Par. 21: "Kan'ei 5, Mid-spring, 21st day."

寛永五仲春念一日

[Kan'ei go, chūshun, nen-ichi-jitsu.]

Kan'ei is the era name, nengō, for the period 1624-1644. Nen, which means 'to think', 'to imagine', as for instance in the compound nembutsu, is also met with in the meaning of 'twenty'.[288]

Chūshun, the 'middle of Spring', is the second month of Spring according to the lunar year, the first month of which is roughly equivalent with the Western month of February.

As the first day of the second lunar month in the year Kan'ei 5 according to the Gregorian calendar was March 6th, 1628,[289] consequently the date of the Kaidō honsoku, twenty-first day of the second lunar month, equals that of the twenty-sixth day of March which was a Sunday![290]★ The corresponding cyclical character for the day in question should be mizunoto-ushi[a].[291] In case any other of the remaining 59 cyclical characters had been included in the date this ought to cause suspicion that the date might have been deliberately forged. Likewise, had the document been dated within the early first, or late last, year of the Kan'ei period, an eventual discrepancy between the date and the actual time of era name change would have been easy to unveil.[292] On the basis of the subject matter of the Kaidō honsoku, however, I am inclined to trust the date as reliable.

The second half of the second lunar month is significant in a traditional Japanese context in more than one respect. It is the time when the first, tender green leaves and the flowers of plum and cherry trees are adored and celebrated.[293] It is also the period during which the vernal equinox takes place, and in connection with this: the matsuri known as Shumbun-no-hi[b], or 'Vernal Equinox Day', nowadays on March 21st:[294]

> "The week during which the vernal equinox occurs is called higan[c], which means 'other shore' and comes from the idea, according to Buddhist belief, that there is a river marking the division between this earthly world and the future one. Only when one crosses the river, fighting strong currents of temptation, to the 'other shore' does he gain enlightenment. The observance of the season was started by Prince Shōtoku in the seventh century. It was made a national holiday in the Meiji period in view of its general religious significance to the people. The visit to the family cemetery is a happy event in some districts, the people have[d] a merry time there with food and sake. Common higan food (no meat) is o-hagi[d] or soft rice balls covered with sweetened bean paste. Sushi, or vinegared rice with vegetables, is also made in some homes and offered to ancestors and neighbors. It is a holiday set aside to honor nature and show respect for growing things also. - - - "

288) NKDJ 15:672. 289) Tsuchihashi 1952:96. 290) Ibid.:121-123.
291) Ibid.:117-120. 292) Tonomura 1985:76. 293) OKJ 1981:1349-1350.
294) Bauer 1974:133.

a) 癸丑 b) 春分の日 c) 彼岸 d) お萩

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According to Matsunaga and Matsunaga, the notion of higan originates with the Meditation Sutra, Kammuryōjukyō[a], [295] in which the first of thirteen meditations allegedly taught by the Buddha is that of meditation on the setting sun: [296]

'The meditations set forth in this sutra are forms of reflection utilized to purify the mind to such a degree that past transgressions can be washed away. Each so-called sin or crime is regarded as an action hindering the attainment of Enlightenment and damaging for the effect it leaves upon the mind. To give an example of the purpose of the meditations - in the first, the setting sun symbolically represents the Pure Land in the west transcending the phenomenal world, and at the same time drawing within its embracing rays all existents to itself. The serenity induced by this meditation ideally creates an atmosphere of reflection capable of illuminating interior ignorance, just as the light of the sun makes it possible to distinguish phenomena in the exterior world. Such symbolism led to the fall and spring equinoxes becoming periods of self-reflection and meditation upon the 'land beyond' (higan, lit. 'other shore') in the Pure Land Sects.'

There is, obviously, a close relationship between the purpose of 'meditating on the setting sun' and that of certain, specific aspects of the ascetic shakuhachi practise of the komosō expounded in the Kaidō honsoku:

11 A-6 (p. 59): "When he plays in front of an image of the Buddha, it is in purpose of the intended awakening from the Drowsiness of Earthly desires Originating in Illusion."
11 A-7 (p. 60): "When the Komo plays face to face with educated persons he should prolong his breathing in utterly constant concentration and blow so as to drive away the Mediocre Body Originating in Illusion."
15-b (p. 70): " - - - because the Komo practises celibacy till the end, in those who listen to his shakuhachi sermons he will create a relieved and disattached state of mind and, sweeping away the Drowsiness of Illusion and Mediocrity, bring about Realization."

In this light I find it highly probable that the Kaidō honsoku was in fact produced in connection with some, major komosō event, or ceremony, taking place at the time of the coming of Spring when both the vernal equinox, the higan, and the bursting of the short-lived cherry blossoms, the symbol of the samurai, were celebrated! The crucial question, however, is that of where this event could possibly have taken place?

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295) 'Traditionally believed to have been translated by Kalayasas (383?-442?), however, there is no extant Sanskrit original nor any evidence an original version actually existed in India. It is quite likely that the sutra was composed in China or possibly Central Asia.' Matsunaga 1982, 2:32-33.
296) Ibid.:33.

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a) 観無量寿経

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If we accept the second paragraph of the Kaidō honsoku (p. 28) as the 'genuine opening paragraph', the komosō gathering took place in Yura in Kii, present Wakayama, which, it should be mentioned, during the Edo period developed into an important trading port on the searoute connecting the Kansai with the Kantō area.[297] As stated previously (p. 28), however, paragraph 2 could, in theory, have been added later, that is if the Kaidō honsoku version examined by Mori Hikotarō and Nakatsuka Chikuzen were in reality but a copy of the original manuscript; while thus speculating, concerning any alternative solution to the problem of the Kaidō honsoku's place of origin, there appears, surprisingly, to be a number of reasons for focusing on the Yoshino area in southern Yamato Province, present Nara Prefecture:

1. Mount Yoshino is 'perhaps the most famous place of all' for viewing the cherry blossoms: '1000 trees at a glance', from late March to Mid-April.'[298]

2. Since times of old the Yoshino mountains have exerted a distinct force of attraction upon the practitioners of Japanese mountain asceticism:[299]

> 'One of the first mountains to attract attention was the lofty and mysterious Kimpusen (also known as Mitake), mentioned in poetry and writings from earli-earliest times. By the Heian period the entire general area from Kimpusen to Kumano [map p.103] became recognized as a place of Shugendō activities. One of the early attractions to Kimpusen was the belief in the ferocious Zaō Gongen.'
>
> 'A Shugendō pilgrimage route was established from Kumano to Kimpusen, ultimately uniting the religious activities of both areas and Zaō Gongen came to be enshrined at Kumano. The fusion of mountain practices gave an apparent unity to the great mountains themselves and they were identified with the dual mandara [pp. 55-57]: Kimpusen representing the Kongōkai and Kumano, the Taizōkai. - - - '

Zaō Gongen[a] is, according to legend, the third and final manifestation of Sakyamuni Buddha appearing to En no Gyōja[b] (seventh century), the semi-mythical founder of the Shugendō yamabushi, as he was practising in Yoshino. Zaō Gongen is depicted with an angry countenance, holding his left hand in the 'sword mudra', symbol of conquering ignorance, and his dynamic appearance is 'quite unique in Japanese iconography':[300]

> - - - 'The appearance itself supposedly symbolized the deity's magical function of granting longevity and the fulfillment of requests. Zaō Gongen evolved from the mingling of mountain faith, esoteric and Pure Land Buddhism, coupled with the very mundane hope of the aristocrats of finding gold in the mountains.'

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297) NKDJ 20:28. 298) Bauer 1974:101. 299) Matsunaga 1982, 1:244-245; ibid.:246. 300) Ibid.:245.

a) 蔵王権現 b) 役行者

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The planting of the famous cherry trees at Yoshino is ascribed to En no Gyō-ja who, consecrating them to Zaō Gongen and 'warning the people against injuring them if they valued their future existence', managed to make them objects of special care.[301] There are four large groves of cherry trees on the Yoshino Hill, totalling some 100.000, and between the first and the second, next to the Zaōdō[a], the main hall of the Kimpusenji[b] and second-largest wooden edifice in Japan (34 m),[302] is the site of the former Yoshino Palace. According to the New Official Guide of Japan, the original Zaōdō, founded by Priest Gyoki (670-749), was destroyed by fire in 1348,[303] apparently in a battle which forced Emperor Gomura-kami to flee to a place 8 km south of the present town of Gojō in south-western Nara prefecture. The site of this, second Yoshino Palace is marked by a group of plum groves containing more than 10.000 trees, one of the 'most distinguished places in the Kinki District for viewing plum blossoms'.[304]

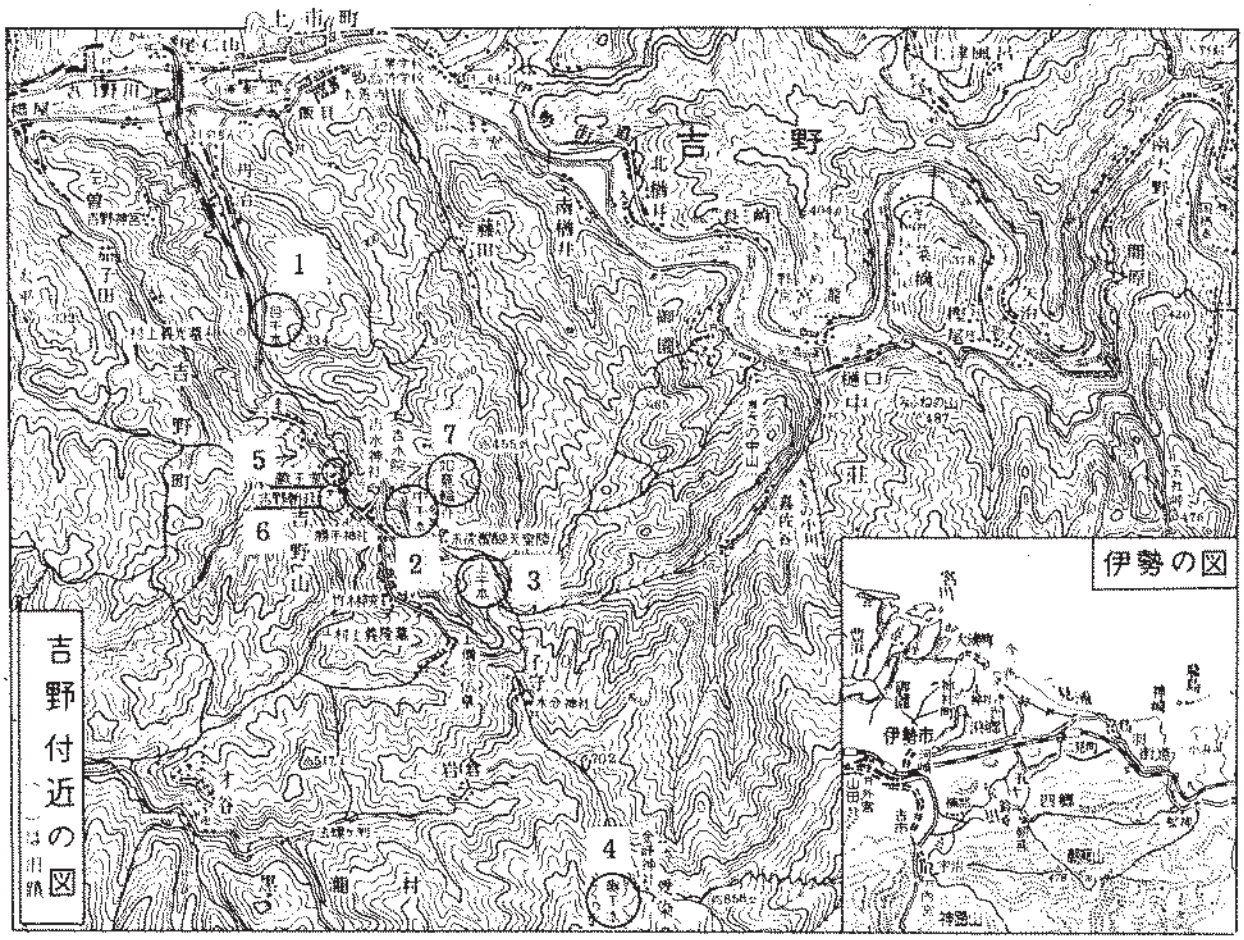


Fig. 52. Map of Mt. Yoshino. (1) Hitome Sembon cherry grove, (2) Naka no Sembon grove, (3) Kami no Sembon grove, (4) Oku no Sembon grove, (5) Zaōdō, (6) Yoshino Imperial Garden, (7) Nyōirinji. From SKZ:11.

301) NOGJ:740. 302) Headquarters of the Kimpusan Shugen Main Sect. Ibid. 303) Ibid. 304) Ibid.:738

a) 金峰山寺 b) 如意輪寺

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3. Already while Emperor Godaigo was in power, Hōmyō[a] (1279-1349), the 'Middle Restorer' of the Yūzū Nembutsushū had been allowed to perform the sect's particular variety of the nembutsu, aiming at the 'union of oneself and others',[305] at court and, subsequently, 'when Go-Daigo was driven from Kyoto by Ashikaga Takauji, Yūzū Nembutsushū members faithfully served him in exile at Yoshino'.[306] The Jishū, too, came to be favoured by the Yoshino Court:[307]

"In 1387 Sonkan (d. 1400), a son of the Imperial court at Yoshino, became the twelfth successor of the Yugyō-ha[308] and is generally regarded as the 'Middle Restorer' of Jishū. Under his influence the movement established close ties with the Yoshino court in exile. - - - "

The founder of the Jishū, Ippen (p. 89) is recorded to have studied the shingon nembutsu with Hottō Kokushi, the followers of whom, as mentioned on p. 22, were also loyal to the Southern Court! Hōmyō, like Hottō Kokushi, was initially a monk of the Shingon center on Mt. Kōya, and as a result of the special relationship which had been established between Shingon and the Yūzū Nembutsushū during his lifetime, the yūzū nembutsu was eventually incorporated into Shingon practise and is frequently used during Shingon funeral ceremonies today.[309]

4. It is evident that the shakuhachi was practised at the court in Yoshino. In the Yoshino shūi[b], 'Gleanings from Yoshino',[310] Prince Kanenaga[c] (d. 1383) is recorded to have played the shakuhachi in purpose of the Yoshino River's good fortune; so powerful was his performance that, relates the anecdote, the fish in the river could not help dancing happily on the water surface![311]

5. Kusunoki Masakatsu, grandson of Kusunoki Masashige (p. 94) who 'won for himself the lasting reputation of being the greatest of loyalists to the throne',[312] was adopted into Fuke shakuhachi legend for similar reasons and presented in the Kyotaku denki as the fifth successor, Kyomu[d], of Kichiku/Kyochiku:[313]

"In the concluding years of his life, Kichiku lived in the east of Kyoto and occassionally went about in the capital city. Eventually he taught this music to Jinsai. This heritage was handed down from Jinsai to Gihaku, from Gihaku to Rinmei, from Rinmei to Kyofū, and from Kyofū to Kyomu. Kyomu is identical with Kusunoki Masakatsu, who was descended from Emperor Bitatsu.[314] The Southern Dynasty was at a low ebb and all its adherents were doomed. No matter how ardent his chivalrous spirit, no matter how brave his will, Kusunoki realized that the times had wrought, and shut himself up (in Yamato, instead of raising an army in vain). (One day he left in secret for Goshū.[315]) There he met Kyofū, from whom he learned the tradition (of the kyotaku)."

305) DBTC:515. 306) Matsunaga 1982, 2:17. 307) Ibid.:134.

308) Inaugurated by Donkai[e] (1265-1327) who established the custom that the main temple of his branch of the sect, located in the Sagami Province (p. 21), 'serve as the final resting place after missionary activities'. Matsunaga 1982, 2:133. 309) Ibid.:17-18.

310) Authorship uncertain. Tales from Yoshino covering the period 1336-1358. OKJ 1981:1180, 1344; KSM 7:912. 311) Quoted in KR 35:1002. Acc. to Takahashi, Prince Kanenaga studied a particular southern shakuhachi tradition while partaking in a military campaign in Kyūshū. Takahashi 1979:28-29. (XXVI)

312) Reischauer 1960:553. 313) Tsuge 1977:52. 314) Reigned (572)-585.

315) Ōmi Province, present Shiga prefecture. Map p. 10.

a) 法明 b) 吉野拾遺 c) 懐良 d) 虚無 e) 呑海

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Although as a whole the historicity of this account is, of course, doubtful, it connects the Fuke shakuhachi movement directly with Yoshino, the famous Imperial loyalist Kusunoki clan establishing the necessary link. Just as Masakatsu's grandfather Masashige sacrificed himself for Emperor Godaigo (p. 94), Masakatsu's father Masatsura[a] (1326-1348) gave his life for Emperor Gomurakami in the battle at Shijō Nawate[b] east of Ōsaka (map p. 103) in 1348. According to tradition, Masatsura passed through Yoshino and, stopping by the Nyōirinji[c] a short distance east of the palace ground, 'inscribed on the temple door a poem and the names of his 143 men, as he led them on his last fight for the Imperial cause'.[316]

Thus, in view of the strong evidence that the Kaidō honsoku was produced by masterless samurai, once loyal retainers, the site of the Nyōirinji could well have been included in what I imagine to have been a 'rōnin-komosō pilgrimage' to the Yoshino mountains taking place at the time of the Spring equinox in 1628! There is, it should be stressed, nothing in the contents of the Kaidō honsoku itself which can be seen to support this theory of mine, and when considering the posbility that the manuscript might after all have been "issued from Yura in Kii" as stated in the controversial second paragraph of the document, the reliability of that statement ought to be further 'tested'.

At the time of 1628 the only important Buddhist establishment in Yura was Hottō Kokushi's Kōkokuji. Surprisingly, very little is known about that temple's history during the sixteenth century. The temple's official time table only mentions one, significant event, namely the burning down of the temple by Toyotomi Hideyoshi's troops in 1585![317] In the same, socalled 'Kii campaign' of Hideyoshi's the powerful warrior monks of the Shingi-Shingon monastery Negoroji[d] (map p. 103) had been subdued and their temples destroyed whereas the influential Shingon center on Mt. Kōya with its equally impressive army of armed monks was threatened but spared.[318] Could it be that the monks of Kōkokuji were actually allied with one of these major Shingon centers and that their temple was eliminated on those grounds? If this was actually the case the Kōkokuji must at that time have been 'more a Shingon than a Zen temple', and the claimed connection between the temple and the komosō would appear to be rather more probable considering the obvious Shingon elements contained in the philosophy of the Kaidō honsoku. The fact that Hottō Kokushi's followers became closely related with the Southern Court may, it should be noted, rather have been because of their Shingon interests which must have appealed to the court aristocrats with whom 'Zen did not supplant esoteric Buddhism'. Even though emperors like Kameyama (r. 1259-1274), Go-uda (r. 1274-1287), and Godaigo practised zazen, 'that too was conceived of as a source of magical power and a means of exorcising baneful spirits'.[319]

316) NOGJ:740. 317) Mori 1981, 3:121. 318) Sansom 1976:411-412. The temple was restored in 1601 (Keichō 6). Mori 1981, 3:121.
319) Collcutt 1981:85.

a) 正行 b) 四条畷 c) 如意輪寺 d) 根来寺

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Fig. 53. Map of Central Japan.
From: Cha no yu Quarterly 14:17.
Compare map on p. 10.



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In any case, although it remains an open question where exactly the Kaidō honsoku was produced, its place of origin would probably be somewhere on the Kii Peninsula, south of Kyōto. At the time of its creation the Tokugawa shōgunate had been in power for almost three decades and those opponents of the new regime among the masterless samurai who had at first changed their identities to become komosō as a temporary measure apparently found themselves facing the necessity of remaining komosō for the rest of their lives. We do not know for how long the komosō may have recognized, and treasured, any particular ideology of their own, but as we have seen in the above, by 1628 an elaborate and comprehensive 'komosō ideology' was indeed in existence. When we compare the ideological orientation of the Kaidō honsoku with that of later seventeenth century sources, however, it appears that the Kaidō honsoku can be said to represent a very late phase of komosō ideology. Soon afterwards, with the appearance of the 'Letter from Priest Isshi to the Komusō Sandō Mugetsu' and the Kyotaku denki, the ideology of ascetic, Fuke shakuhachi practise underwent remarkable changes which can only be explained on the background of the general socio-religious developments in Japan during the middle decades of the seventeenth century:[320]

> 'In 1640 a board of enquiry was established in Yedo - a kind of Inquisition - called Shūmon-Aratame[a], the Examination of Sects. In 1664 all daimyos of 10.000 koku and above were ordered to establish a similar office. - - - In order to trace the religious beliefs of the people all monasteries and chapels were ordered to keep a register of persons resident in their parish, with particulars of birth, death, marriage, travel, occupation, and so forth. Thus the Buddhist clergy was called upon to act as police agents for the Bakufu in the pursuit of Christians.'

According to Nishiyama no Matsunosuke,[321] the 'All Sects' Regulations', Shoshū Hotto[b], issued during the Kambun period (1661-1673), seems to have been the ultimate reason for the contemporary komusō to decide upon the formation of a virtual 'Fuke shakuhachi sect', which was eventually acknowledged in 1677, but in fact the attempts at revising the ideology of the Fuke shakuhachi movement so as to satisfy the requirements for being accepted as a virtual Zen Buddhist sect are evident already with 'Priest Isshi's Letter' and the Kyotaku denki which may both date from the early 1640's. In those two documents Hottō Kokushi and the legendary four Buddhist laymen are for the first time connected with the Fuke shakuhachi itinerants who are furthermore being referred to as kyomu, not komo(sō) as in the Kaidō honsoku! But, paradoxically, there is one, single example of the term kyomu appearing in a source prior to the Kaidō honsoku of 1628, namely the Keichō Kemmonshū[c], 'Seen and Heard During the Keichō Period', dated 1614.[322]

320) Sansom 1964, 3:42. 321) Nishiyama 1975:28. 322) Keichō 19. Repr. in Kurihara 1975:183-184; KR 35:1026.

a) 宗門改 b) 諸宗法度 c) 慶長見聞集

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Here the author, Miura Jōshin[a] (1565-1644), relates what must be characterized as the most amusing anecdote in the history of the shakuhachi, about a certain Ōtori Ippei[b]s 'close encounter' with a travelling komusō, retold in Ippei's own words:[323]

"In the town Hachiōji[c] in the Musashi Province,[324] while I was drinking sake in a wine shop, a komusō came up to the gate playing the shakuhachi. I called out at him, and he came inside.

'Dear me! You are an auspicious practitioner of asceticism, I suppose. You seem to be a devoted person!' I said. 'If it is your intention to be scattered in the world, sparing a home for ordinary humans, please let me entertain you with some wine!' (I myself played the shakuhachi when I was young.)

When I said, 'I would like you to play a melody on your shakuhachi,' the komusō played a tune. While I was listening, slightly smiling I rolled up my kimono so as to uncover my buttocks, and when - tapping my rump - I said,

'I can play better than you - with my arse!' the komu got very angry and exclaimed,

'What an inconsiderate and most uncomplimentary remark! Although many years ago I held a high position, now I have become one who has abandoned the world. But even so, when I recall my former occupation, I do not grieve over poverty and lowliness, but hold on to the fate of the Way of the Buddha and reserve all my considerations for the purpose of the doctrine.

I have no inward possessions, no outward desires, and with a tranquil self I follow in the footprints of Priest Fuke and have entered upon the Way of True Disattachment and Spiritual Deliverance. But even though I strive hard in ascetic discipline, I find it difficult indeed to maintain a peaceful mind when I am confronted with an atrocious word. And even if that might be changed, could I possibly alter my way of thinking?

At any cost, I shall have to hear you play with your rump!' he said.

'Certainly,' I said, 'I shall play with my arse,' and then we discussed our bets while the words which the komu had spoken were written down for successive generations.

The komusō drew out in the open the short sword he was carrying by his side, proclaiming that it was a genuine 'Yoshimitsu'. I myself was obliged to draw my sword, too. This socalled 'sword' was one I had ordered from the swordsmith Shitahara, forged as an imitation 3 feet 8 inches long and probably no more than twenty-five years old.

I also shouted out the name of my sword and drew it as if ready to pay back with my life. A townsman took charge of the stakes, and I exclaimed,

'Well now, would you like to hear me play the shakuhachi with my arse?'

At that moment I grasped the kyomu's shakuhachi and when I succeeded in playing it, holding it underneath me, everybody could hear it. I said,

'Believe me, it is better that I played with my arse than that the komu played with his mouth!' and then I was the winner of the dispute.

'If there is anyone who does not believe any of this, just ask the people in Hachiōji!' I said."

"Ippei was certainly not made of wood and stone. He told the most colourful stories," Miura Jōshin concludes.

If this is indeed a true story, the Keichō Kemmonshū testifies that the Fuke shakuhachi practitioners in the Kantō area were known as komusō[e],[325] var.: komusō[d],[326] as early as in the late Keichō period, 1596-1615. In the more conservative area of the Kansai where the Kaidō honsoku was composed, however, the term komo remained in use for another decade or more, we may assume.★

323) Leaving out the romanization in this case, the text is reproduced in the appendix. 324) Map p. 21. 325) KR version.(XI) 326) Kurihara version.(XII)

a) 三浦浄心 b) 大鳥一兵衛 c) 八王子 d) 古無僧 e) 虚無僧

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Conclusion

Despite the deplorable fact that the original Kaidō honsoku manuscript appears to be no longer available for thorough and critical scholarly examination, the two - by and large identical - reprint versions presented by Nakatsuka Chikuzen and Mori Hikotarō show with sufficient clarity that among the representatives of early seventeenth century, pre-Fuke sect ascetic shakuhachi practise at least a portion, or fraction, of those who called themselves komo or komosō definitely was sharing 'an elaborate and comprehensive spiritual ideology unique to their kind'!

Like their successors, the komusō of the Fuke sect, the komosō who were responsible for the production of the Kaidō honsoku certainly venerated a Chinese Zen monk, P'u-hua, as their supreme example, but as it has become evident from the present study of the semantic content of the Kaidō honsoku vocabulary, their philosophy was not at all exclusively 'Zen Buddhist' but rather a mixture, or synthesis - if not a 'conglomerate' - of ideas and concepts derived from several of the most important philosophic systems of the East: Indian Vedanta philosophy and 'basic' Buddhism, Chinese Taoism and Yin-Yang/Five Element cosmology, and Japanese Shintō, Shingon, Tendai, Zen and Pure Land Buddhism.

In terms of actual practise the activities of these itinerant, shakuhachi-playing lay-monks can be seen as related with that of the mountain worshipping yamabushi, the nembutsu reciting Pure Land ascetics, the mendicant, meditative Zen monks, as well as that of the travelling samurai trainees of the late Muromachi period.

Although the Kaidō honsoku is little detailed in respect to the nature of the shakuhachi music being performed, we may assume that the purpose of blowing the shakuhachi was regarded as very similar to the recital of magic formulas like the Tantric mantra and dharani, as well as the temporary, or perpetual, singing of the nembutsu, favoured by Pure Land, Shingon, Tendai, and Zen monks alike.

If we may so surmise, already during the sixteenth century a significant and growing number of masterless samurai happened to mingle with the groups of shakuhachi-playing komosō who, possibly, had emerged in the late fifteenth century as kanjin-hijiri, 'temple solicitation lay-monks'. While the early komosō may not have acknowledged any particular ideological superstructure of their own, it appears to have been mainly due to the inclusion of samurai - and perhaps some former 'warrior monks'? - in their ranks that the gospel of Shih-t'ou Hsi-chien, P'an-shan Pao-chi, Chen-chou P'u-hua, and other renowned Chinese Zen figures was adopted as the spiritual foundation of this uniquely Japanese tradition of musical asceticism, commonly referred to as 'Fuke shakuhachi'. P'u-hua's way of teaching the 'cutting off of one's dualism' would appeal to Japanese warriors especially, deeply concerned as they were about how to face death fearlessly.

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The Kaidō honsoku has, most properly, been characterized as "a valuable source dating back to the early Edo period" (Ōno Osamu, p. 12). However, to describe it as "an account of the personal effects of the komusō [komosō!], rendered in plain 'kanamajiri' style" (Igarashi Bunzō, p. 12) is not only incorrect, but, apparently, a suspiciously looking attempt at preventing the general public from gaining real insight concerning the true content and significance of the manuscript as historical evidence. Even Nakatsuka Chikuzen who - in appraisal - presented a two pages long commentary on the value of the Kaidō honsoku as a genuine source of komosō history and ideology (Nakatsuka 1979:274-276) was unwilling to interprete its subject matter as anything but 'Zen Buddhist' and wrote about these 'admirable' komoso that, "could there possibly be such sincere persons among present-day komusō of whom we say that that they devote themselves to the Zen of Fuke?"[327]

As we have seen in the above, the 'Zen of Fuke', or 'Fuke Zen', should only be regarded as one of the 'schools of thought' which are represented in the 'ideological complex' being expounded in the Kaidō honsoku. Supposing that the original komosō movement gradually came to be dominated by masterless retainers from all layers of traditional samurai society, representing the wide variety of religious preferences of Japanese society in general, it is not at all surprising that the ideology of their movement as it happened to become outspoken and - more or less widely - recognized within their circles, ended up displaying that rather high degree of philosophical complexity to which the Kaidō honsoku is testimony.

Until quite recently the Kaidō honsoku document of 1628 was preserved at the Kōkokuji in Yura, Wakayama; at present it is reported to have disappeared.

A critical and un-prejudiced examination of its subject-matter based on two reliable reprints has, first of all, revealed that,

(1) by 1628 the Fuke shakuhachi movement of Japan was composed of but loosely organized groups of itinerant lay-brother outcasts with no actual temple organization, no specific genealogy of their own, and

(2) the opening paragraph claiming the renowned Kamakura period Rinzai priest Shinchi Kakushin, posthumously Hottō Emmyō Kokushi, to be the historical transmitter of the Fuke shakuhachi tradition to Japan must have been conceived and added to the original - written in a manner 'different' from the rest of the document - later than 1628!

The Kaidō honsoku evidence thus, unquestionably, runs counter to the orthodox view rigorously being promulgated by some Japanese conservative pseudo-historians who stubbornly keep asserting that 'Fuke shakuhachi' is an ancient Rinzai Zen Buddhist secterian tradition originating with China's Priest P'u-hua in the ninth century and introduced to Japan by Hottō Kokushi in 1254.

327) - - - Fuke-zen o shimpō suru to shōsuru gendai no komusō no naka no sono yō na shinken na hito ga arō ka.

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Whether or not the original Kaidō honsoku manuscript may indeed have been 'deliberately removed' from the Kōkokuji archives (p. 4) remains an open question. Suffice it to say that there are no doubt those Fuke shakuhachi devotees in Japan today who do not mourn over the loss.

Epilogue ★

Once you have cut off your dualism
the essence of the shakuhassun
transcends past and present
the one sound blowing forth
of a mind non-born, non-perished
exceeds the deepest of friendships
beyond limit

(From the kyôgen play "Rakuami"
- see p. 131.)

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