



Woodcut print of a Komusô receiving alms
as depicted by Takehara Shinkei (d. 1800)
in the book 'Pictures from Famous Places in Japan'.
The National Museum of Denmark,
Department of Ethnography.
Photographer: John Lee.

KAIDÔ HONSOKU • 1628: THE KOMOSÔ's FUKE SHAKUHACHI CREDO

On Early 17th Century Ascetic Shakuhachi Ideology

by

Torsten Olafsson • 1998

The present article is based on the author's Master of Arts thesis in Japanology entitled
"Early Seventeenth Century Ascetic Shakuhachi Ideology: The Kaidô Honsoku.
A Komosô's Fuke Shakuhachi Credo dated 1628."
Eastasian Institute, University of Copenhagen, Denmark, 1987, rev. 1988.

Prologue

What is the meaning of *Sui-zen*?

Those in Japan who know are few - most of their wordbooks omit it!

Zen is to open the mind, to intuit - *Sui* is the flow of the breath, the wind ...

Sui-zen: Blown meditation?

No, *Sui* is to blow the flute, make it ring! *Zen* is the way of the skeptic ...

Yet, knowing that sound of The Flute Without Holes - why would one plead for an answer?

I: Hachiôji, about 30 miles to the west of Edo, c. 1610: Ôtori Ippei's encounter with a komusô.

In his 1614 collection of tales entitled Keichô Kemmon-shû, "Seen and Heard During the Keichô Period" (1596-1615), the kanazôshi writer Miura Jôshin (1565-1644) relates the following anecdote, told by a certain Ôtori Ippei:

"In the town Hachiôji in the Musashi Province, while I was drinking sake in a wine shop, a Komusô 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, you know ...

When I said, 'I would like you to play a melody on your shakuhachi,' the Komusô 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 can - 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, however, I shall have to hear you play with your rump!' he said.

'By all means,' I said, 'I shall play with my rump!' and then we discussed our bets while the words that the Komu had spoken were written down for successive generations.

The Komusô drew out in the open the short sword he was carrying by his side, exclaiming that it was a genuine 'Yoshimitsu'. I, myself, was obliged to draw my sword, too. This so-called sword was one I had ordered from the swordsmith Shitahara, forged as an imitation 3 feet 6 inches long and probably no more than twenty 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 Komu'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 Hachiôji!' I said."

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

Miura Jôshin concludes.

[Trsl. by T. O.]

II: Medieval Japan: Rônin, komosô, boroboro, and the Gospel of Priest Fuke - a short review.

The phenomenon of *rônin*, "wave men", is as old as the Japanese samurai class itself. As early as in the year 802, f.i., 4.000 masterless warriors are recorded to have garrisoned a frontier fortress at Izawa in Mutsu in the North (present Aomori Prefecture) in purpose of guarding Japan against the threat of the native Ainu inhabitants. One especially famous rônin of Medieval Japan is, of course, Minamoto Yoshitsune (1159-1189) who, together with his ever loyal henchman, the warrior monk Benkei, fought so bravely - and victoriously - against the Heike Clan in 1185.

The *komosô*, or "mat monks", appear much later in history, i.e. sometime during the latter half of the 15th century. However, in their capacity as *zoku-hijiri*, Buddhist "lay sages", their roots can be said to be reaching as far back as to Sakyamuni Buddha himself, if one likes. During the Early Heian Period (794-897) the *hijiri* were first of all - like the *yamabushi*, "those who lie down on the mountain" - Buddhist ascetics who practised the Tantric magic of Shingon and often acted as guides or leaders for the aristocrats on their pilgrimages into the lofty and woody wilderness.

The inter-mingling of the two - seemingly quite incompatible - social life styles of rônin and komosô eventually resulted in the formation of the Fuke Shakuhachi Sect during the course of the 17th century.

The question, one keeps wondering, is how - and when - such development could have taken place? Yoshitsune had been forced to become a rônin after the battle at Dan-no-Ura. Trying to evade the search squads dispatched by his - now hostile - brother Yoritomo, Yoshitsune had - with all of his party - to disguise as mendicant friars collecting funds for the rebuilding of the grand Tôdai Temple in Nara.

During - and following upon - the Ônin War in 1467-1477 similar "solicitation monks" known as *kanjin-hijiri*, were engaged in the raising of finances for the reconstruction of those Kyôto temples that had been laid waste by the fires of warfare. Some of these collectors were in fact komosô as pictorially evidenced in the **Kanjin-hijiri Uta-awase Emaki**, "Picture Scroll of a Poetry Contest on the Temple Solicitation Monks", and the **Sanjûniban Shokunin Uta-awase Emaki**, "Picture Scroll of a Poetry Contest on Thirty-two Professions", both dating from the late 15th century. Assuming the one of these two scrolls to be a copy of the other, both of them are seen to contain the following, identical description of the typical, late 15th century komosô:

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

'Even if he plays when the cherries are in bloom,
everybody wants to evade him.

Unwelcome - as the wind - the Komo's shakuhachi.'

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

[Trsl. by T. O.]

Thus constituting a more or less clearly defined social group in those days, the komosô may in fact have been rather numerous - and troublesome? - their range of action stretching so far as to include Westernmost Japan. One entry, dated 1486, in the **Ôuchi Uji Okitegaki**, "Recorded Commandments of the Ôuchi Clan", states as follows:

"Regarding the komosô, jugglers and monkey keepers: These are all to be expelled from this place as well as from the neighbouring villages."

[Trsl. by T. O.]

There can be but little doubt that the renowned Rinzai Zen priest Ikkyû Sôjun (1394-1481) would have employed various zoku-hijiri - and among those also some komosô - in his endeavours to collect sufficient funds for the restoration of his own temple in Kyôto, the Daitokuji. At one particular occasion, an inauguration ceremony held at that temple in 1474, Ikkyû recited the following poem:

"When confronted with the Concept of Discrimination, attack it!
When confronted with the Concept of Indiscrimination, attack it!
Whichever concept you are confronted with, attack it like a whirlwind!
Whatever false conception of Absolute Reality you are confronted with, hit it with a flail!"

[Trsl. by T. O.]

This is the exact, and full, wording of the Chinese Ch'an Priest Chen-chou P'u-k'o's (var. P'u-hua, J: Chinshû Fuke, 9th Century) *Myôan* credo as it has been preserved for posterity in Chapter 29 of the **Lin-chi Lu** (J: Rinzai Roku), "Annals of Master Lin-chi". Lin-chi (d. 855) was the founder of the Lin-chi Sect of Chinese Ch'an Buddhism.

The philosophy being expressed in Fuke's *Myôan* poem is, essentially, that of: "Forsake Dualism!"

That is, precisely, what a certain Japanese Zen monk in Hyôgo told the warrior Kusunoki Masashige (1294-1336) when he was facing the 'parting of the ways between life and death' prior to his decisive - and disastrous - battle with the overwhelming army of Ashikaga Takauji:

"Cut off your dualism and let the one sword stand serenely by itself against the sky!"

[Trsl. by D. T. Suzuki, 1973]

This is, in fact, exactly what any Zen Buddhist mentor would tell any Japanese warrior in such particular situation, and it is, quite naturally, the reason why a Chinese "Ch'an madman" like P'u-k'o should become the idol of so many a Japanese samurai individual. Even though Ikkyû Sôjun, a declared Fuke admirer, did indeed in some of his poems express his love for the shakuhachi, there exists no support of the supposition that Ikkyû Sôjun should have acted as 'founder' of anything like a medieval 'Fuke Shakuhachi Sect' as such.

However, by this time some important developments were indeed taking place to this effect, judging from the information presented in the *kyôgen* play **Rakuami**, traditionally dated as an early 16th century work.

Here, the ghost of the deceased flute-player Rakuami materializes on his own grave by the sound of a travelling monk's shakuhachi. He recites the following poem, introducing it as "The Eulogy of the Rôan Temple in Uji":

"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."

[Trsl. by T. O.]

We may - or may not - read those words as had the shakuhachi by now been adopted as a means, or 'tool', of *shugyô*, "mental training", intended to reveal the essence of Zen A dualism to its practitioners.

Anyhow, during the second half of the 16th century we do in fact meet with the first evidence of some kind of 'established Fuke monk activity', namely in two editions of the **Setsyô-shû**, "Anthology of Character Compound Readings", the first non-religious work to be printed in Japan (1591):

c. 1550-60 **'Kuromoto' edition:**

- a) The character compound *komo* + *sô* (mat + monk):

The pronunciation, given in phonetic script (*katakana*), is *ko-mo*, altern. *ko-mo-sô*.

- b) The character compound *fu* + *ke* (Priest Fuke's name):

The pronunciation given is that of *fu-ke-sô*.

1590 **'Tenshô 18' (1590) edition:**

The character compound *fu* + *ke* + *sô* is to be pronounced as - *ko-mo-zô!*

In other words: By this time - the last decades of the 16th century - according to the **Setsuyô-shû** the two concepts of *Fukesô* and *Komosô* appear as having become virtually synonymous.

Well now, these are the times of the great warlords Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi. Since the outbreak of the Ônin War in 1467, Japan has been in a more or less constant state of feudal war, the so-called "Period of Warring States". In 1573 Nobunaga wipes out the last Ashikaga shôgun of Kyôto and the final and conclusive struggle for military and political supremacy is initiated. Hundreds of thousands of fighting men - commoners, samurai and warrior monks alike - are involved. Tens of thousands lose their lives. Castles and cities, shrines and temples are destroyed. Entire feudal clans are extinguished.

The political and social changes taking place in this distressed age are far-reaching. According to the historian G. B. Sansom, quoting one authority of Japanese history, "*a modern Japanese wishing to study his civilisation in the light of national history need go back no further than the Ônin War, for all previous to that might as well be the history of a foreign country.*"

Finally, in the year 1600, Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616) comes out victorious in the battle at Sekigahara. In 1615, at Ôsaka Castle, he defeats his remaining opponents, the supporters of Hideyoshi's son Hideyori, and a new era begins: The Tokugawa - or Edo - Period, an era of general peace that should last for two and a half centuries.

This is also, and - definitely not before - the era during which the idea of creating an actual Fuke Shaku-hachi Sect was conceived and that particular organization became firmly established in Japan.

Miura Jôshin's komusô story represents the earliest known account of a Japanese Fuke Shaku-hachi ascetic's spiritual outlook - written by an 'outsider'. Interestingly, the oldest surviving philosophical testimony produced by representatives of the Fuke Shaku-hachi movement itself is dated less than two decades later, namely the utterly mysterious **Kaidô Honsoku** manuscript dated 1628.

The literal meaning of *kaidô honsoku* is "Basic Regulations for the Coastal Highways". In this specific context, however, a more fullfillingly descriptive translation would be "The Fundamental Doctrine of Fuke Shaku-hachi Itineracy". The document is signed 'Boro', "He who lives like the dew", and dated 'Kan'ei go, Chû-shun, nen-ichi-jitsu', "Fifth year of the Kan'ei Period (1624-1644), Mid-Spring (2nd lunar month), 21st day", i.e.: 1628 03 26.

The *boro*, commonly known as *boroboro*, were itinerant Pure Land Buddhist monks who practised the *nembutsu*, i.e. the "Invocation of the Amidha Buddha". They first appear during the late 13th century, judging from descriptions in a few literary works of the day, f.i. Yoshida Kenkô's (d. 1350) **Tsurezuregusa**, "Essays in Idleness", Chapt. 115.

In 1621, Hayashi Razan (1583-1657), Neo-Confucian counselor to the Shôgunate, produced his **Tsurezuregusa Nozuchi**, "Excursions into the Tsurezuregusa", commenting as follows:

"According to the 'Boroboro Story Book', the so-called '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 black, they came to be known as '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 so-called 'Komosô', they appear to have been neither monks, laymen, nor yamabushi. They wore swords and blew the shaku-hachi. 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'." [Trsl. by T. O.]

The **Kaidô Honsoku** is, definitely, the product of some of those masterless and dissocialized samurai who - as a way of survival - had had to change their identity and lifestyle into that of shaku-hachi-playing mat monks, just like the komusô who happened to suffer so utter ridicule by Miura Jôshin's Ôtori Ippei in Hachiôji.

The fate of these rōnin was harsh, indeed.

Either their lords had been dispossessed or, as extra sons or for other reasons, they had failed to find employment with their fathers' lords. Belonging to the samurai class, still they found no place in it.

When Ōsaka Castle fell in 1615 around 70.000 of Hideyori's supporters survived to become rōnin refugees, especially in the area around Kyōto. Intending to keep the samurai distinct from - and superior to - the other classes of society, immediately after his final victory Ieyasu, the Shōgun, promulgated the **Buke Shohatto**, "Ordinances for the Military Houses", the 5th paragraph of which reads as follows:

"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."
[Trsl. by G. B. Sansom, 1964]

Among the potential rioters the Tokugawa government soon came to regard the Christian converts as the most dangerous. "Rōnin Inspections", known as *rōnin-aratame*, were carried out since the early 1620s in search of Christian rōnin in particular, and the ceremony of *fumi-e*, "trampling on an icon", in which suspect persons were forced to tread on some Christian symbol, was introduced as a means of exposing the traitors. All vassals had to declare their adherence to one or other of the Buddhist sects, and special "Commissioners of Shrines and Temples", the *Jisha-bugyō*, were put in charge of controlling the affairs of the various religious institutions.

That is the light in which we should rightly appreciate the making - and substance - of the **Kaidō Honsoku** document. Constantly facing the threat of capture, inquisition and torture, every single rōnin-komosō had to be able to produce ample proof of his sincere faith in Buddhism. Whatever may have been the philosophy of the komosō until now, time had definitely become ripe for the formulation of a common ideology shared and sternly observed by all members of the Fuke Shakuichi Komosō Fraternity.

III: Yura, Wakayama Prefecture, March 26th, 1628 (21st day of Mid-Spring, Kan'ei 5): A rōnin-komosō congregation is held and the Kaidō Honsoku is declared - how ever that might have taken place ...

Towards the end of March 1628, komosō from far and near have gathered in significant numbers in the neighbourhood of the small sea-port Yura on the west coast of Wakayama Prefecture south of Kyōto; an epoch-making Fuke Shakuichi Congregation is about to take place.

For some days, the participants have been discussing the utterly critical situation of theirs and the ultimate product of their debates - a Written Testimony of the Spiritual Foundation and Rules of Conduct of their Practise - is now about to be proclaimed.

There, on Sunday, March 26th, 1628, beneath the fragile cherry blossoms, in the flickering light of the fire baskets, their senior - an ageing Komosō reverently carrying his basket hat, straw mat, bamboo flute and sword - rises, makes a deep bow, then speaks:

'Honorable Komosō Companions! We are assembled here this evening in honour of Priest Fuke, our common spiritual ancestor. Together, and in agreement, we have put down in writing a very important statement that clarifies the essentials of the blowing the Shakuichi as our Unique Means of Preaching the Ultimate Way of the Buddha.

I recommend you all to memorize every word of this credo and always to carry a copy of this Fundamental Doctrine wherever you go. May peace be with You!'

The old man - restraining himself - now produces a hand-scroll from his sleeve. Holding it up in front of him, he lowers his head in a gesture of respect.

Then, unrolling the scripture, he begins to read aloud, his voice sounding crisp, but clear:

- * **The Fundamental Doctrine of Fuke Shakuhachi Itineracy.
Issued from Yura in the Kii Province.** [§2]

- * Where from does the Komo come?
Fuke said, *'Confronted with the Concept of Indiscrimination, reject it!'*
Does he come from the Realm of Obscurity?

Fuke said, *'Confronted with the Concept of Discrimination, reject it!'*
Does he come from the Realm of Clarity? [§3]

- * Oh, how mysterious is the basket hat that the Komo is wearing on his head!
It is also called the 'Tengai'. [§4]

- * 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 Shintô Dēity and the Bell String
in front of the Buddha and is also called the 'Rainbow Coil'. [§5]

- * Oh, how mysterious is the double-leaf, fine straw 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. [§6]

- * How mysterious is the case that he carries on his back, inside the rolled up straw mat!
It is also called the 'Kenkon' which proclaims the Interrelatedness of Heaven and Earth. [§7]

- * Oh, how mysterious is the net that he has wrapped around the things!
It is also called the 'Prescribed Bag' for accomplishing an exhaustive roundtrip through all the provinces. [§8]

- * 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'. [§9]

- * Oh, how mysterious is the purse that he carries, placed on his chest!
It expresses the Totality of the Human Body. It is also called the Six Internal Organs. It contains
miscellaneous things, their colours being Bluish Green, Yellow, Red, White, and Black. [§10]

- * 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 finger-hole 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.
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.

The shakuhachi is precious beyond limit. [§11-a]

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

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. [§11-b]

* If you inquire about the so-called 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:

'The Three-fold World is Immaterial!'

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!'

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

And, moreover, now being deprived of employment anywhere, be it at any of the three barriers of Akama-ga-seki in the Nagato Province, Ôsaka-no-seki at the capital, or the two checking stations of Shirakawa in Ôshû, 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. [§12]

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

They represent the proper footwear for the steadfast treading his way [on giant rocks] in the foot-prints of Banzan and Sekitô. [§13]

* 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 magnificent piece of bamboo. [§14]

* In order that he may pass through the Five-fold Environments of Karma, the Komo's straw mat is highly tightly woven - and therefore he sleeps alone. The surface of the mat has the pattern of four squares with an eye in each of the centers. [§15-a]

As for the above, since that is a matter of human discrimination, because the Komo practises celibacy till the end, in those who listen to his shakuhachi sermons he shall create a mind of relief and disconnection and, sweeping away the Drowsiness of Illusion and Mediocrity, bring about Realization. [§15-b]

* Another poem has it that,

*'Choosing as one's hermitage the voice of the shakuhachi
is that not the Spring breeze blowing at Miyagi-no?'* [§16]

* How mysterious, indeed, is the Komo's staff!

If you are in doubt, Setchô said,
'White Clouds Everywhere!' [§17]

* How mysterious, indeed, is the sword that the Komo is carrying!

Even at Banzan's death-bed Fuke made a somersault over the screen and mattress, it is being told! [§18]

* The Komosô founder Priest Fuke's sect has 16 branches:

The Wakazari Branch Sect. [§19 - 1]

The Inu-yarô Branch Sect in Tsukushi. [§19 - 2]

The Hokkoku Noki-ha Branch Sect. [§19 - 3]

海道本則

〔端書〕〔異筆〕
 「法燈國師歸朝之節連來四居士、國佐、理正、僧恕、資伏、」
 〔端書〕
 「海道本則紀伊國由良ヨリ出、」

○法燈國師歸朝之節行來四居士、國佐理正僧恕資伏、海道本則紀伊國由良ヨリ出

薦ハ何クカラ来テソフロ、暗頭来也、暗キ国カラカ、明頭来也、明ナル国カラ歟、コモノカムリタル笠ニ不審カ候ヨ、ソレ天蓋トモ申ナリ、肩ニカツキタル布ニフシシガ候ヨ、神ノ前テノ御斗帳、仏ノ前テノ鐘ノ緒、虹蟠トモ申ナリ、セラフタ二枚ノ御座ニフシシカ候ヨ、サン候地水火風空ノ義ナリ、下一面目ハ三世不可得ノシメカクシノギナリ、中ニ入テセラフタ袋ハフシシガ候、ソレ天地ヲ沙汰シタ乾坤トモ申也、上ニ着タル網ニ不審カ候ヨ海道ヲ回セシメカタメノ定袋トモ申ナリ、結タル繩ニフシシカ候ヨ、有無ノ二字トモ申ナリ、前ニ入タル錢ニ不審カ候ヨ、五体ヲ表スルナリ、夫六腹トモ申ナリ、中ニ入タハ有難無難、色ハ青黄赤白黒也、薦ノ持タル竹ニフシシカ候ヨ、尺八コモノ重宝ヲ以テ四節四穴ト表スルナリ、裏ノ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、三ツノ節ハ三身一体、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余尊也
 神ノ前ニテ吹時ハ五寒三熱ノ苦ヲ除カンカ為ナリ、仏ノ前ニテ吹時ハ無明煩惱眠ヲ覺サンカタメナリ、智者ニ向テ吹時ハ平等專一切ノ息ヲ長メ無明凡身ヲ払テ吹ベシ、ソレ平人ニ向テ吹時ハ五相十相及盡回向ト云也。
 コモト云フソノ水上ヲタツヌルニ古モノナク今モノナシ、亦云、三界ハ無法見、見モノムマムニ柳ハ緑、花ハ紅トモ申ナリ、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関、洛陽ニテ相坂ノ関、今役ナクシテ天地同根万物一体、天地豊饒ノコモニ関モ役モナシ。

薦ノハイタ靴草鞋ニ不審候ヨ、磐石ヲ踏定メンガ為ノワラジナリ、歌ニ云、

尺八ノ声ノ内ナル隠カラ、タツネテ見ハ元ノ竹カナ、

切レコモハ見事ノ竹ヲ持テソフロ、五尺ノ境界スゴサンガタメ薦ハ目ヲアマタ持テ、ナゼニ独子ヲスルゾ、面ハ四目也、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、無明凡身ノネムリヲ払テ聴聞ヲ致スベシ、歌ニ云、

○尺八ノ声ノ内ナル隠レカハ

宮城野ニ吹春ノ風カナ

コモノ棒ニフシシカソフロ、ギムスレハ白雲万里、コモノ指タル刀ニフシシカソフロ、屏風カ蒲団カ、普化ハ七腰サシタト申。

○薦僧開山普化和尚末派十六派アリ

- 一 ワカサリ門派
- 一 筑紫ニイヌヤロウ門派
- 一 北国ノキハ門派
- 一 中国ニノキハ門派
- 一 伊勢ニサカハヤシ門派
- 一 五畿内ヤワタノキハ門派
- 一 武藏ニカムリ門派
- 一 美濃ニ若衆門派
- 一 上州ニサラハ門派
- 一 中武藏ニヨリタケ門派（禪曰、寄竹派）
- 一 下總ニキンゼン門派（禪曰、斬先派）
- 一 下野ニコキタハ門派
- 一 奥州ニタンシヤクヨロコヒ門派
- 一 奥州ニタンシヤク派ヨ
- 一 北国ニカンタンキノハ門派

リワカル派アリ

寛永五仲春念一日

暮露

The Noki-ha Branch Sect in Chûgoku.	[§19 - 4]
The Sakabayashi Branch Sect in Ise.	[§19 - 5]
The Gokinai Yawata Noki-ha Branch Sect.	[§19 - 6]
The Kagari Branch Sect in Musashi.	[§19 - 7]
The Wakashû Branch Sect in Mino.	[§19 - 8]
The Sara-ha Branch Sect in Jôshû.	[§19 - 9]
The Yoritake Branch Sect in C. Musashi.	[§19-10]
The Kinzen Branch Sect in Shimôsa.	[§19-11]
The Kogiku-ha Branch Sect in Shimotsuke.	[§19-12]
The Tanjaku Yorokobi Branch Sect in Ôshû.	[§19-13]
The Umeji Branch Sect in Hitachi.	[§19-14]
The Additional Tanjaku Branch in Ôshû.	[§19-15]
The Kandan-ki no ha Branch Sect in Hokkoku.	[§19-16]

These are the rustic and humble branches. [§19]

* Boro - 'He who lives like the dew'. [§20]

* Kan'ei 5, Mid-Spring, 21st day. [§21]

[Trsl. by T. O.]

IV: Copenhagen, the Mid-1980's: A Danish Japanology student discovers Nakatsuka Chikuzen's findings at the Kôkokuji. The interpretation and translation into English of the Kaidô Honsoku.

In August 1937, at the age of 50, the Kinkô-ryû player and shakuhachi historian Nakatsuka Chikuzen accomplished an important journey to the Kii Peninsula south of Kyôto. First paying a visit to the Kokuzô Hall at the Zen temple Kongôshoji in Mie Prefecture, he proceeded to Yura in Western Wakayama and the nearby Zen temple Kôkokuji. Being admitted to the temple's library, there he found two very old and quite extraordinary Fuke Shakuhachi documents.

The one is a rather strange letter from the Rinzai abbot Isshi Bunshu (1608-1646) to a certain Sandô Mugetsu and the other - the **Kaidô Honsoku**. Isshi's letter is commonly being referred to as **Isshi Oshô Komusô Honsoku**, "Abbot Isshi's Fundamental Komusô Doctrine". Having copied both of these manuscripts, Nakatsuka published his findings, briefly commented, in the music periodical **Sankyoku**, no. 188, in November 1937. This is but one among several scholarly articles of his printed in that magazine during the period 1936-39 (nos. 172-208).

Sad, but true: This was the time, too, when the imperial armies of Japan were already invading and occupying the Asian mainland and our planet Earth was soon to become haunted by global - and total - warfare.

In 1979, Nihon Ongaku-sha republished the complete collection of Nakatsuka Chikuzen's **Sankyoku** articles in a single, 607-page volume entitled **Kinkô-ryû Shakuhachi Shikan**, "Investigations into the History of Kinkô-ryû Shakuhachi". Four years later, in 1983, I obtained a copy of this indispensable collection of source materials which - in so much detail - illuminates the fascinating history of the shakuhachi and that of the Fuke Sect in Japan.

Acquiring the B.A. degree in Chinese Culture at the University of Copenhagen in 1974, I had studied Japanese language, culture, art - and the Myôan Tradition of Fuke Shakuhachi with Ozawa Seizan - in Kyôto, 1977-78. Earning my B.A. degree in Japanology in 1981, at the time when **Kinkô-ryû Shakuhachi Shikan** came into my hands in 1983 I had just recorded my Myôan Shakuhachi album 'Standing Waves - Zen Shakuhachi Meditations' (Olafssongs OLP 001, now available on CD: Fønix Musik FMF 1183, 2001) and was about to decide upon a satisfying subject for an M.A. thesis in Japanology.

It was the initial intention of mine to select, translate and annotate original source materials that might, at best, shed new light on the history of the Myôanji and the Myôan Tradition of Fuke Shakuhachi, i.e.: literary and pictorial evidence dating from the early 17th century, especially. Having registered and dated each and every single of the numerous documents reprinted in Nakatsuka Chikuzen's book, realizing that the date of the **Kaidô Honsoku, 1628**, might certainly

prove to be trustworthy, there was no much doubt in my mind that there, right before me - on pages 271-273 - I saw a reprint of probably *the* most important source of Fuke Shakuhachi history whatsoever.

In my endeavours to translate, interpret and annotate the text of the **Kaidô Honsoku** an awesome number of Japanological reference works were consulted and, among those, the many Japanese dictionaries of Buddhist terminology in particular. The relevant source collections, f.i. **Gunsho Ruijû**, **Kiyû Shôran**, **Koji Ruien**, **Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei** and **Nihon Koten Bungaku Zenshû**, were all investigated as well as the writings (some with sources in reprint) by Hoshi Akira, Igarashi Bunzô, Kikkawa Eishi, Kishibe Shigeo, Koide Kôhei, Koizumi Fumio, Kurihara Kôta, Mikami Sanji, Nishiyama Matsunosuke, Obata Jûichi, Ôno Osamu, Shirao Kunitoshi, Sugi Masao, Takahashi Kûzan, Tanabe Hisao, Teshima Takehiko, Tomimori Kyozan, Tsuge Gen'ichi, Tsukitani Tsuneko, Ueno Katami et al.

However, one particular Japanese publication proved to supply a certain piece of information without which the **Kaidô Honsoku** manuscript could not have been evaluated and placed in a satisfying historical and chronological context: **Shûhō Yokô**, "Lingering Light on the Eagle Peak", edited by Mori Hikotarô and published in 1938 by the Department of History, Kôkokuji, Yura, Wakayama. A sample of the 1981 reprint of this source collection came into my possession while I was undertaking final research in Japan in 1986.

The **Shûhō Yokô** contains 174 pages of reprints of historical documents preserved at the Kôkokuji, including those of the **Kaidô Honsoku** and **Isshi Oshô Komusô Honsoku**. Comparing the reprints of these with those supplied by Nakatsuka Chikuzen in **Sankyoku** and **Kinkô-ryû Shakuhachi Shikan**, basically there are no contradictions between them apart from the fact that Nakatsuka Chikuzen's publishers appear to have replaced some of the original Chinese characters with their modern, abbreviated *kanji* equivalents.

Both reprints include one specific and most extraordinary introductory paragraph which our imaginary old komosô could indeed *not* have recited on that Sunday in March, 1628:

* "When Hottô Kokushi returned from abroad he was accompanied by four Buddhist laymen: [§1]
Kuo Tsuo, Li Cheng, Tseng Shu, and Pao P'u." [Trsl. by T. O.]

This passage is written in pure Chinese, or *kambun*, i.e. with no *kana*-syllables at all, whereas the **Kaidô Honsoku** text proper is written in *kana-majiri* style, i.e. "mixed script".

The Japanese reading of the four Buddhist laymen's names is: Kokusa, Risei, Sôjo and Hôfu.

In the **Shûhō Yokô** version of the text, next to this paragraph - or 'headline' - the editor, I presume, added the following note in brackets: *I-hitsu*, "different brush", or "different writing style"! [Cp. reproduction on p. 9, far right].

In other words: This paragraph, introducing the renowned Buddhist Priest Kakushin (posthum. Hottô Kokushi) and the (legendary) four Buddhist laymen of his into the history and genealogy of the Fuke Sect, *could only have been added to the original Kaidô Honsoku scroll at a later date, that is sometime after 1628!*

In quest of a possible explanation of this apparent mystery, let us return to the socio-political scene of Tokugawa Japan during the latter half of the 1630s:

In 1637-38, in the Shimabara Rebellion in Kyûshû Christian peasants together with some rônin rose in revolt against the local feudal authorities. At first a protest against oppressive taxation and misgovernment, soon the upheaval developed into a great Christian rebellion and it required an army of at least 100.000 men to kill the rebels - some 35.000 including women and children - of whom a mere 105 are reported to have survived. This slaughter is being said finally to have brought an end to the Christian movement - and to the so-called Christian Century - in Japan.

Such was the direct and inevitable consequence of the Shimabara incident:

In 1640, by shôgunal decree, a special board of inquiry, a kind of Inquisition, the *Shûmon Aratame*, or "Bureau for the Examination of Sects", was established in Edo in order to trace the religious beliefs of the people.

All monasteries and chapels were ordered to keep a register of persons in their parish and the Buddhist clergy was thus called upon to act as police agents for the Shôgunate in the pursuit of Christians.

How would the komosô have reacted to such new, radical measures directed against them?

It is evident from the **Kaidô Honsoku** that, in 1628, even though they recognized the existence of 16 branches of their 'sect', they did have no temples of their own, least did they acknowledge even such thing as 'a human dwelling' [Cp. §12]. At any rate, from 1640 the komosô certainly had to meet the requirements of the Shûmon Aratame edicts with something very concrete, namely: A full-fledged temple organization, efficiently administered, and - equally important: A sufficiently respectable ancestry and complete clerical genealogy in place of their hitherto mere claiming to be the followers of a - somewhat accidental? - 9th century Chinese Ch'an personality such as Priest Fuke.

In lack of anything of that sort, the komosô had to raise the necessary funds for proper temple facilities as well as - more or less from out of nowhere - invent a now obligatory lineage of their religious organization, were they - hopefully - to succeed in becoming recognized and accepted as true members of the Buddhist community.

Again, as so often before if we may so surmise, these samurai, the rônin-komosô - desperate as they would have been - consulted with their Buddhist priest mentors requesting their advice.

One of them, a certain Sandô Mugetsu, addressed himself to the prominent Zen monk Isshi Bunshu (1608-1646), a close friend of the Rinzai Zen priest and swordmaster Takuan Sôhō (1573-1645), the numerous writings of the latter - it should be noted - also include two essays on Priest Fuke's Myōan statement.

In his letter of reply to Sandô Mugetsu, Isshi explains - at considerable length - how a proper genealogy and basic doctrine of Fuke Shakuhachi practise could be constructed and formulated. First of all:

"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. [Trsl. by T. O.]

The adoption of Hottô Kokushi, alias Kakushin (1207-1298), and his (legendary) four disciples into the history of the Fuke Sect was further elaborated by a certain Ton'o who, according to Yamamoto Morihide writing in 1779-80, was a Buddhist monk active during the Kan'ei Period (1624-44). Ton'o is the alleged author of **Kyotaku Denki**, "Biography of the False Bell", which was printed and published in Kyôto in 1795 [trsl. by Tsuge Gen'ichi in **Asian Music** VIII-2, 1977].

Here, being a further development of the legend, a complete lineage - that of the Chinese Chang family - was introduced connecting Priest Fuke with Kakushin. Also, besides Kakushin's four Chinese disciples, the most prominent student of his presented in the **Kyotaku Denki** is in fact a native Japanese named Kichiku. Kichiku, in turn, was eventually to be 'confused' with the kyôgen play **Rakuami's** hermit Rôan of Uji (late 15th century) and - alias Kyochiku Ryôen - incorporated into the history of the Myôanji in Kyôto as the traditional founder of that temple, the memorial site of his in the small town Uji south of Kyôto being venerated by Myôanji shakuhachi adherents still today.

At this point it ought to be mentioned that, as a rule, with the formal recognition of the "Fuke Sect", *Fuke-shû*, in 1677, every prominent Fuke temple (beside the Myôanji) would soon produce its own, unique temple genealogy originating with Priest Fuke, including Kakushin and one of the four disciples of his as Japanese ancestors and transmitters of each their particular Fuke Shakuhachi temple tradition.

As for the adoption of Kakushin into Fuke Shakuhachi history and the postulate that he should have transmitted an originally Chinese shakuhachi tradition - inspired by the tinkling of Priest Fuke's hand bell, the *kyotaku*, or "false bell" - to Japan, when he returned from the mainland in 1254, there does in reality not exist any historical evidence supporting such fantasy whatsoever.

Neither is there anything substantial in the main body of the **Kaidô Honsoku** that justifies such a supposition. What we see there is but a plain and straightforward testimony produced by - probably - *the* very last generation of those Fuke Shakuhachi practitioners who still regarded themselves as *komosô*, or "mat monks", i.e. Buddhist laymen who did neither enjoy - nor aspire to - any official, clerical status within the Buddhist establishment at all.

Miura Jôshin, writing during the first decade of the Tokugawa period or so, used the characters "old + nothingness + monk" when naming his *komusô* in Hachiôji. Not until c. 1640, in Isshi's letter to Sandô Mugetsu, do we meet with the new character compound "empty + nothingness" for *komu* which can be explained as a 'Zennification' of the ancient *komo* denomination. The re-orientation being witnessed within the Fuke Shakuhachi movement during the mid-17th century is rightly to be understood as that of a new generation of Fuke Shakuhachi rônin taking over while gaining

influence upon the shaping of Fuke Shaku-hachi ideology and administration in times of new. Honouring a historical Zen personality, Priest Fuke, as their spiritual ancestor, it became of increasing importance to 'purify' their practise of the shaku-hachi, harmonizing it with that of standard Zen Buddhist training in general. Thus, in the documents produced by the Fuke-shû komusô after 1677, for the first time in Fuke Shaku-hachi history we meet with terms like *takuhatsu angya*, "religious mendicancy", *sammai* and *zazen*, "meditation", and *shugyô*, "mental training", terms that do not figure in the **Kaidô Honsoku** document at all.

On that background, speaking of ideological and philosophical orientation, the **Kaidô Honsoku** appears to be much more all-embracing, much more eclectic - or pluralistic, if one may say so - than any of the later Fuke-shû shaku-hachi credos that we know of. Thus, by way of elaboration:

According to §§ 5 & 11, Buddhism and Shintôism were observed as being of equal significance.

§ 6 refers to the **Kongô-kyô**, or "Diamond Sutra", highly esteemed by the Zen sect.

In § 7, *kenkon* expresses the notion of 'Heaven and Earth' in Chinese Yin-Yang (J: In-Yô) cosmology.

In § 10, the five colours represent but one of the several aspects of the Chinese science of Wu-hsing, (J: Go-gyô), "The Five Elements".

§ 11-a: "Clarity of the Enlightened, A dual Mind", *isshin bodai-myô*, echoes the idea of "Three Kinds of Wisdom in a Single Mind", *isshin sanchi*, explained by Nâgârjuna (lived between AD 150 and 250) in his **Daichido Ron**, "Treatise on the Sutra of the Perfection of Wisdom" (Skt: Mahâ-prajñâpâramita-shâstra). Incorporating concepts from the **Lotus Sutra**, the locus classicus of Tendai Buddhism, **Daichido Ron** is considered important of Mahayana thought in general.

§ 11-b: In Shingon Buddhism the two mandalas known as the 'Womb World' and the 'Diamond World' form the basis of the esoteric, or Tantric, doctrine taught by that sect.

§ 11-c: 'All the Schools of Buddhism' and 'All the Buddhist Ceremonies' most probably refer to the "Five Teachings and Ten Doctrines", *gokyô jissshû*, the comparative classification of Buddhist sutras set forth by Fa-tsang (643-712) of the Hua-yen (J: Kegon) Sect.

In § 12, "Heaven and Earth have the Same Root and All Creation is One Body" is derived from the writings of Seng-chao (J: Sôchô, 384-414), a foremost disciple of Kumârajîva (344-413).

§ 15-a: "Sleeping alone", *hitori-ne osuru*, in the meaning of celibacy? The first part of this paragraph is in fact highly cryptic, carrying several, equally potential interpretations depending on how each character, or character compound, is being deciphered.

§ 15-b: The concept of "A Mind of Relief and Disconnection", *issoku setsu-dan no kokoro*, first appears in a poem by the Ch'an master Te-shan Yüan-mi (J: Tokusan Emmitsu, 10th Century).

The poem in § 16 is associated with another, famous *waka* contained in the *Kiri-tsubo*, or "Paulownia Chamber" chapter of the **Genji Monogatari** (c. 1000-1010):

"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."

[Trsl. by T. O.]

Among the several references to classical Buddhist scriptures and famous Buddhist masters, however, the most prominent Ch'an personalities being directly, or indirectly, referred to - and honoured - in the **Kaidô Honsoku** are, besides P'u-k'o himself:

* Shih-t'ou Hsi-chien (J: Sekitô Kisen, 700-790), §§ 3 & 13.

* P'an-shan Pao-chi (J: Banzan Hôshaku, n.d.), the Zen master of Priest Fuke, §§ 11, 12, 13, 17 & 18.

* Hsüeh-tou Ch'ung-hsien (J: Setchô Jûken, 980-1052), § 17.

§ 11: As for the concept "Clarity of Absolute Reality", *shin-getsu-myô*, 'shin-getsu', lit. "Mind-Moon", was introduced by Banzan Hôshaku as his illustration of the 'Mind Awakened to the Experience of Absolute Reality', the supreme quality of which he likened to the perfect roundness of the circular, full moon.

§ 12: "The Three-fold World is Immaterial", *sangai wa, hô nashi*, lit. "As for the Three Worlds, there is no Dharma", is the first line of a recorded two-line philosophical statement by Banzan, the full wording reading as follows:

"The Three-fold World is Immaterial! Where, then, pursue the Mind?"

[Trsl. by T. O.]

§ 17: "White Clouds Everywhere!", *haku-un banri*, lit. "White Clouds over the Ten Thousand Hamlets", refers to Setchô Jûken's recorded appraisal of Banzan's two-line statement presented in § 12 [Cp. note above}.

The original saying of Setchô's, *haku-un i-gai*, reads as follows:

"White clouds become cover."

[Trsl. by T. O.]

§ 18: *Byôbu ka futon ka*, "notwithstanding folding screen and mattress": Fuke, perfectly disattached from the - illusory - duality of life and death, performed a somersault over his master's death-bed, it has been recorded.

§ 13: Here, the compound *ban-jaku*, "huge rocks", can also be read as a pun and interpreted as that of *ban-zeki*, i.e.: "Ban(-zan) + Seki(-tô)".

§ 3: In this, the actual opening paragraph of the **Kaidô Honsoku**, the essential question is being asked: What is the origin of the Komo? The answer is:

"'An-tô rai ya' - Does he come from the Realm of Obscurity?"

"'Myô-tô rai ya' - Does he come from the Realm of Clarity?"

[Trsl. by T. O.]

What we see reflected here in the terms of *An* and *Myô* is - of course - Fuke's famous Myôan statement preserved in Chapter 29 of the **Lin-chi Lu**.

No present-day student of Fuke Shakuichi ideology appears to have appreciated - and thoroughly contemplated - that the 'Myôan riddle' was in fact introduced into Zen Buddhist discourse *not* by Fuke Zenji, but by Sekitô Kisen (700-790), one of the central figures in the development of the Ts'ao-tun (J: Sôtô) line of Ch'an Buddhism.

In a recorded poem of his entitled **Ts'an-t'ung-ch'i**, (J: Sandôkai), "In Praise of Identity" [Cp. f.i. the entry for 'myôan' in **Zengaku Jiten**, p. 1397], Sekitô elaborates his view of the apparent dualism of *Myô* and *An* like this:

"With Discrimination [Myô] there is Indiscrimination [An],
and Discrimination is not opposite to Indiscrimination.

With Indiscrimination there is Discrimination,
and Indiscrimination is not opposite to Discrimination.

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

[Trsl. by T. O.]

In the English translation of Fuke's Myôan poem presented by James H. Sanford, the character compounds *Myô-tô* and *An-tô* are being translated quite literally as "bright-head" and "dark-head":

"If a bright-head comes, strike the bright-head;
If a dark-head comes, strike the dark-head.
Whatever direction it comes from, strike it like a whirlwind.
And if it comes from emptiness, cut it down with a scythe."

[Trsl. by J. H. Sanford, 1981]

Or, in Tsuge Gen'ichi's translation:

"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 back as a whirlwind does.
If attacked from the empty sky, I will trash with a flail."

[Trsl. by Tsuge Gen'ichi, 1977]

In my opinion, none of these two translations convey the true significance of the Myôan statement as viewed in a genuine Zen Buddhist context. Sekitô Kisen represented the Sôtô line of Zen while Fuke was a Rinzai monk, so it is highly likely that Fuke's real errand was in fact that of *polemizing* on Sekitô's Myôan poem, the **Sandôkai**.

Tô (Chin.: t'ou) does not necessarily read as "head" at all. *Tô* also means "chief", "first", "most important", "best", and, moreover: It is the very same as the second character in the name of Sekitô, himself!

In effect, the ultimate rendering of Fuke's Myôan poem should - at best - read as follows:

"Confronted with Shih-t'ou's Notion of Discrimination, reject it!
Confronted with Shih-t'ou's Notion of Indiscrimination, reject it!
Whichever dualistic concept you are confronted with, attack it like a whirlwind!
Whatever false conception of Absolute Reality you are confronted with,
Hit it with a flail!"

[Trsl. by T. O.]

*Myôtô rai ya, myôtô da! Antô rai ya, antô da!
Shihô hachimen rai ya, sempû da! Kokû rai ya, renga da!*

[Lin-chi Lu, 29]

We ought to appreciate that P'u-k'o - with this poem - did not just warn about 'empty skies', nor merely about 'emptiness', but about *Ko-Kû*, false notions (*Ko*) of Shûnyatâ, or "Non-substantiality" (*Kû*) - *the* most essential philosophical concept in Mahayana Buddhism, namely that of Advaita - the true, Adual Âtman of Reality.

V: Yura, Mid-20th Century: The final fate of the Kaidô Honsoku.

Was the **Kaidô Honsoku** credo indeed manifolded and treasured by every komosô in early 17th century Japan as the prescribed 'ID-card' of his? Had the specific Fuke Shakuhaichi ideology testified in the **Kaidô Honsoku** ever been recognized by the komosô on a national scale? Regrettably, as of today we really do not know.

Sometime after 1628 the original scroll - or a copy of it? - may have ended up in a komusô hermitage in Uji, south of Kyôto, judging from the information contained in an undated Myôanji document entitled **Butsu-gon**, "Buddhist Sayings" [repr. in Nakatsuka 1979, pp. 427-428], in which we see some of the **Kaidô Honsoku** statements quoted, a note of comment referring to 'an old, precious document in Uji'. At the time when Kakushin was becoming generally acknowledged as 'The Transmitter of the Fuke Tradition to Japan' (mid-17th century), *only then* would the controversial 'Paragraph 1' of the **Kaidô Honsoku** have been added at the very beginning of that particular copy of the manuscript which, eventually, was incorporated into the existing body of documents preserved at the Zen temple founded by Kakushin in 1254: the Kôkokuji near Yura in Wakayama Prefecture.

One can only try to imagine how Nakatsuka Chikuzen in 1937, almost three centuries later, with the utmost of care would have unrolled the 8 feet 4.2 inches long **Kaidô Honsoku** scroll on that, late Summer's day in August.

At some time afterwards - however - the **Kaidô Honsoku** *disappeared* from the treasury of the Kôkokuji!

In 1985, the then deacon of the temple, Mr. Yamakawa Sôkyû - replying to my request of a copy of the original - laconically informed me: "*It is missing for the time being*". During a discussion with the shakuhaichi specialist Mr. Shimura Satoshi in 1986 it was revealed to me that when he and Professor Tsukitani Tsuneko, Ôsaka University, visited the Kôkokuji already in 1981 they found absolutely no trace of the **Kaidô Honsoku** scroll.

In 1986, Mr. Ôno Osamu, then director of the Central Public Citizen's Hall in Yura, conclusively confirmed the loss in a letter to me, thus commenting: "*Apparently some inconsiderate scholar has removed it*", whereas one particular, otherwise highly esteemed, Japanese Fuke Shakuhaichi research institution, the Komusô Kenkyûkai, in reply to the specific inquiry of mine simply denied that the **Kaidô Honsoku** ever existed!

Well - as for the letter from Isshi Bunshu to Sandô Mugetsu, *that* was indeed intact at the Kôkokuji in 1985 when, by mail, Mr. Yamakawa Sôkyû forwarded to me a full-scale xerox-copy of the complete, original document.

Why not the **Kaidô Honsoku**?

Epilogue

"The deep questions we write out are but marks in a dream.
When we awake, even the questioner is gone."

Ikkyû Sôjun, Daitokuji, 1457.

[Trsl. by James H. Sanford, 1981]

Torsten Olafsson • January 1998

*Torsten Olafsson: Born 1950 in Copenhagen, Denmark: Musician, composer, musicologist & japanologist.
At present (2002): Print Manager, Music- & Graphics Editor & Webdesigner at Olafssongs et al., Denmark.*